Walking the Chehalis Language Trail Home:
A Strategy for Chehalis Language Revitalization and
Development

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# Abstract

This thesis explores the problems and potential solutions associated with indigenous language revitalization. Although much has been written and developed in terms of revitalization methodologies and practices, successful models are relatively rare. Despite various revival techniques examined in the literature, distinct accounts of success for many tribes and indigenous groups have not stemmed the overall decline of indigenous languages.

What this research argues is that indigenous language revival begins within and is driven by indigenous community. Therefore, revitalization efforts must commence with a thorough assessment of indigenous language experience. This thesis considers the arguments presented in the literature regarding language development and also examines in the international context, successful language programs as a means to identify strategies present within them to rejuvenate and develop language models.

This research further evaluates a tribal language program from the Chehalis Tribe located in Washington State, USA as a means to isolate what worked well for us and what did not. The results of that evaluation, together with the information from the literature and successful indigenous language models, enabled the development of a strategy for language revitalization for Chehalis.

This thesis begins the model development process by creating a Chehalis basket methodology which incorporates the components identified as supporting Chehalis language and culture in the community. This *basket* weaves strands of the methodology into the practices identified in my Chehalis language revival model as a means to support a new language learning environment driven by the Chehalis community experience and by the changes in thinking necessary for success.

What the thesis argues and demonstrates is that in order for language revitalization to be successful, certain prerequisites, (like decolonization), need to exist before any model can be implemented. Building on those prerequisites, the practices associated with that model are referred to in the research as *Tu'pa?,* a set of principles to facilitate language learning, development and support.

# Acknowledgement

There are numerous people I must acknowledge, whose invaluable support on my journey towards this thesis completion formed many necessary elements in my success. I am especially grateful to my primary supervisor, Dr. Patricia Maringi G. Johnston, without whom I may not have found the strength and stamina to complete this arduous process. You have been my counselor, editor, sponsor, proof reader and esteemed companion on this voyage. I am deeply appreciative for your academic and professional guidance, your words of encouragement, profound patience and commitment. These were critical in my thesis development. You saw forest, while I was mired in the weeds, unable to envision the path through. I would not have completed this thesis without your companionship and mentoring. You have challenged me to think in ways I could not have imagined. To my mentor and advisor, Alan Parker, I have counted my blessings in your participation throughout my Bachelor, Master and Doctoral journeys. You have envisioned a world in which we indigenous people can rise above the constraints we face to excel in both academia and our personal lives. Thank you both for your kindness and generosity.

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I also want to acknowledge the Chehalis language community, especially my Chehalis mentor, Katherine Barr. Without her commitment and assistance we could not be where we

find ourselves today. Dr. M. Dale Kinkade, our Chehalis linguist was also critical to my current Chehalis language abilities. These two individuals formed the foundation upon which my work is based. The Chehalis community will be forever indebted to the value and personal commitment of these particular individuals.

Special recognition to my twin sister, Mary DuPuis, my favourite Soots, Heather Hoyle, dear friend and Cowlitz colleague Christine Tobar Dupres and long time family friend Jolynn Amrine Goertz who took the time to read and provide feedback on my thesis, thank you. To my father, Curtis DuPuis, whose strength and integrity was essential, for actively supporting me throughout the entire process, *NaXh Q$^w$o-lah*! I also want to acknowledge my mother, Judy Anne Wilson DuPuis, whose valuation of education inspired me to work toward this degree. You are forever missed and I dedicate this work to your beloved memory with a grateful heart. You were a guiding light and inspiration for me all my life Mom. I must note to readers that my mother unexpectedly passed away during the second year of my doctoral program which was absolutely devastating to our family. Mary, especially, ensured I continued on when the grief threatened to overwhelm and I was ready to give up. It took a long time for me to accept a vision of thesis completion wherein my mother was no longer physically at my side, but I carry her in my heart.

My biggest thanks is dedicated to my husband, Jesse Conwell. He has always made himself available, assisting me to process my thoughts and remain focused on the completion of this degree. Thank you for being interested, for sharing your life with me, for listening, but mostly for caring. You gave up so much for me to complete this degree and your sacrifices are acknowledged here. I love you deeply and hope you are proud.

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# Prologue

I am an enrolled member of the Chehalis Tribe located in Western Washington, in the United States. I grew up on the Chehalis reservation, as an active member of my tribe. In my youth, I spent most summer days at my *Kaiya*'s[1] house. My Kaiya taught me, my siblings, and our cousins about the cultural traditions of the Chehalis people. We helped her and other family members gather materials for the different types of Indian baskets that my Kaiya taught us how to weave. We collected bear-grass in the mountains, cedar from the hills, sweet-grass from the ocean, and cattails from the sloughs and marshes. Later my Kaiya learned to make pine needle baskets and we helped collect the fallen needles wherever we could find them. Kaiya shared her family stories about how our family travelled to gather these materials, back before there were roads and cars in use on the reservation. Her children, my father and his siblings, also learned these ways before us grandchildren were born. My father and his brothers fished daily before and after school to catch salmon and steelhead for family meals and to sell to the non-Indians near the reservation.

Some of my fondest memories are of my Kaiya laughing at our childish attempts to collect the very best basketry materials. She taught us how to care for and prepare these materials prior to making baskets. During these times she shared the tribal history, which was reaffirmed for us by our father's stories and family songs that surrounded our youth. As we grew older we attended local, non-tribal schools and it was there that we learned from non-Indians how there were no more Indians left, these Indians had all died away and no longer practiced their (our) cultural teachings. I often heard this history and failed to question the truth behind it even though my home life, my *real* life told a vastly different story. I was too shy to disagree or share in class about my own truth and my own experience living on the reservation. This divided experience created a reality of community life at odds with our

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[1] *Grandmother* in Chehalis

school and non-tribal lives for me and my siblings. We didn't really fit in with the non-Indian ways of life, perplexed by common occurrences such as little league baseball and other after school activities which we never experienced.

As I grew older, I began to see the allure of non-Indian ways and struggled to reconcile these two types of life for myself. The only other Indians at my school were my twin sister and our younger brother. It wasn't until I was attending my 20th high school reunion that I learned that some of our non-Indian friends were actually enrolled at other tribes. These friends never mentioned being tribal members, perhaps because they witnessed the excessive teasing that my siblings and I experienced fairly regularly. I credit my strong home life with allowing me to graduate from high school and later from college without losing my tribal identity.

Now, as an older adult, I question the lack of my culture, especially my Chehalis language use in our community. Most of the tribal members from my father's age group never learned the Chehalis language. Many of the tribal elders who were my Kaiya's peers lost their tribal language early on. My father recalls some of his elders speaking the Chehalis language to each other on a daily basis, but they often lapsed into English and back to Chehalis as they spoke. My father understood the greetings and casual questions they spoke to him in Chehalis, although he always answered in English.

When I think about the decline of the Chehalis language, I picture my great grandparents and their peers walking along a strong clear road through the tribal forests, speaking entirely in Chehalis. As the road continues along, it begins to decay and become overgrown. This part of the road is where my grandparents are walking, falling behind their elders and losing the pertinent thread of the conversation.

As my Kaiya and her generation fall farther behind, they begin to use new words to describe their route and experience. They are themselves trailed by their own children, my

father's generation. Now the road becomes even harder to follow. It is vastly overgrown and difficult to make out. This generation, my father's generation, are looking around and ahead to discern whether they are still following the proper trail or if they have missed a turn. When this group sees other people ahead, they mistake them for their own tribal elders and hurry to catch up. Not realizing they are following an entirely different group of people, a group of non-tribal people who have come upon the Chehalis forest and settled in.

The road they are now following begins to widen and clear once again. It is then that my father and his peers see that they have indeed lost their way. Almost nobody around them speaks Chehalis, English is heard and used everywhere. As my father and his people look back, the original road and their ancestors have fallen away and nearly vanished into the mists of the past. It has now become a matter of deciding which will serve their children, my generation, best.

Should they lead us forward into what appears to be a bright and new future with these strange non-Indians around them or attempt to find their own people, still hidden in the past? Today, it is up to myself and my own generation to determine which road to travel. It is our history and tribal knowledge that allows us to make sense of our world, except our world seems to have changed. My generation must begin the arduous task of retracing our steps, if we still can. This is my story. This is my journey. I hope to arrive among my people, hearing their joyous cries of greeting... in the Chehalis language.

*Sun-syeth itten squats-thl Marla Conwell. Sunsyeth itten K'oy we Judy Anne DuPuis. Sunsyeth itten Kwo-mah we Curtis DuPuis. Sunsyeth itten Shuh-mahloh[wh] we Chehalis. Chehalis chin. Tuhlaychee-tools Xh[w]aa-q[w]oot-waa itT'ah shum-alloh[wh]. Tsu-nay tit skay-tahchee.*

My name is Marla Conwell. My mother is Judy Anne DuPuis. My father is Curtis DuPuis. My people are Chehalis. I am Chehalis. I am giving[2] a blessing of strength down to your people. Today is a good day.

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[2] Can also mean *sending* in Chehalis

# *Chapter One: About Language Loss and Revitalization*

## 1.1 The Decline of the Chehalis Language

The area now known as the United States used to be comprised of indigenous peoples speaking a multitude of indigenous languages but the impact of first contact and ongoing colonization is still being realized today. The rapidly disappearing *tongues* of the Native American, and the resulting loss of a significant number of fluent speakers is a circumstance that many tribes are facing. As a result of that situation, many of these tribes, including my tribe, the Chehalis are developing language retention plans, attempting to capture the remaining linguistic knowledge and cultural information before these languages and dialects are gone. If the language is completely lost, tribal people will also lose one of the most important ways of retaining cultural knowledge: using their native dialects to interpret and pass on the information carried forward by their ancestors. The decline of our Chehalis language and understanding how the rapid change from Chehalis to English occurred is vital to understanding where our revitalization efforts in the future must focus, and how language revitalization should occur. That is the focus of this thesis and research.

I am an enrolled member of The Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation[3] which is a Federally recognized Native American Indian tribe located in rural Western Washington State in the upper northwest corner of the United States, south of the Washington State capitol. The history of the Chehalis people places us in the Chehalis River watershed which ranges from the Cascade Mountains west to the Pacific Ocean.[4] The relocation and amalgamation of our tribe was with others onto a reservation within the Chehalis River

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[3] Referred to commonly as the Chehalis Tribe

[4] The history of our people is being undertaken by Mary DuPuis, (for her doctoral dissertation), so that history will not be repeated here, as it is being covered elsewhere.

watershed about thirty miles south of the state capitol where we have remained since the mid-1800s.

**(a) Figure 1: Geographical Map of Chehalis**
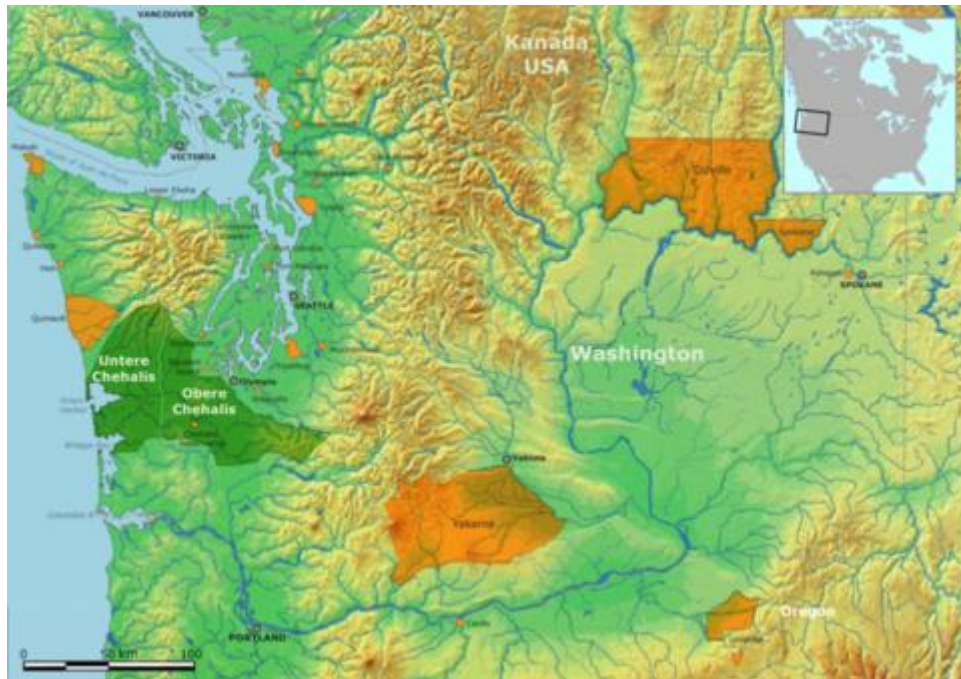


*Chehalis Tribe, 2017*[5]

Chehalis is a collective name for several bands of Salishan Indians who resided and travelled on the Chehalis River. The name "Chehalis" means "sand" and initially was recognized as referring both to the sandy banks of the local rivers as well as one of the larger villages situated nearer the Pacific Ocean, close to Westport. Later the name applied to the river and the tribes living upriver. Before first contact with European settlers, the bands of Salish-speaking Indians lived along this river as well as its tributary streams and creeks. Our Longhouses, occupied primarily during the winter, consisted of cedar plank houses built with the ends facing the river. The rivers and waterways provided the majority of foods, which

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[1]Image sourced from
https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/File:Confederated_Tribes_of_the_Chehalis_Reservation-_map_of_traditional_Chehalis_Tribal_Territory.png

included salmon, steelhead, and eels, all of which migrated upstream and later, back to the Pacific Ocean. We also consumed various shellfish such as freshwater clams and crayfish.

Pacific Northwest Coast tribal peoples travelled primarily via shovel-nose canoes, using the rivers and tributaries. Many of our sacred and cultural sites and natural resources are located within the boundaries of the Chehalis reservation where we have managed to protect our tribal lands. In the meantime, however, our language has deteriorated and now, like other tribes in Washington State, is in jeopardy of disappearing.

It is important to understand the origins where we, the Chehalis Tribe, have come from. Unfortunately the unique physical and historical setting of the Chehalis tribal membership has played an important role in contributing to the loss of our cultural traditions and our language. Specifically, the continuously small membership numbers and isolated location have *not* worked in favor of language retention at Chehalis. This situation is compounded by the singularity of the elements of the Upper Chehalis language: economically speaking, no other tribe can share the financial burden of developing Chehalis language materials because our language differs considerably from other tribes.

Additionally, while many Native American Indian tribes have experienced language loss due to a variety of factors including exposure to non-Indian lifestyles, boarding school experiences, and loss of cultural support, the Chehalis Tribe's unusually low membership enrollment over the past 100 years has had a more significant impact on reducing the number of possible language learners among the residual tribal members. Moreover, although personal accounts of the boarding school era appear to be relatively minimal for the Chehalis Tribe generally, with few boarding school attendees being reported by the Chehalis membership, this has still impacted the loss of the Chehalis language.

Native Americans identify the Boarding School Era as a time when native children were forcibly removed from their familial homes and placed in boarding schools located far

from their reservations. The federal government instituted the oppressive policies of removing Indian children from their homes from approximately 1880-1920. While at boarding schools, children were not allowed to speak their language, dance, practice their native religions or see their families. This era is very painful in Native American tribal history and is considered as contributing to Chehalis language loss today, which is exactly what the policy intended.

This oppression can further be most clearly witnessed through local, state and federal educational practices, which characterize the Native American experience in the past tense and from a Western perspective. The emphasis on the historical roles of tribal peoples denies current experiences resulting in overt racism mirroring the boarding school experience and is common for most of the states in America to discuss Native Americans as a bygone race. Many citizens can recall learning about the Native American Indians, but few would say they actually knew any Indians.[6]

## (b) Language Loss

The general loss of cultural information for Chehalis appears to have occurred as a result of a tribal shift from cultural accomplishments such as basketry and regalia-making, to non-tribal religions and practices. In other words, tribal and local economics have also influenced the rapidity of the loss of cultural support and language. Unfortunately this is all too common among many indigenous groups around the world, resulting from increased technological communications which are present in email, online activity, television, music and video games.

According to some tribal elders, the 1950s were a time when many tribal adults and most tribal elders still spoke or at least understood the Chehalis language, if not primarily then certainly privately, in the home. The Chehalis youth during this time could commonly

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[6] As a tribal member, I remember the shame and embarrassment I felt when my classes learned about Native Americans. My sister and I were the only Indians at our school and I can recall other students looking at me with curiosity during American History classes, as if I were an unusual spectacle rather than a fellow human, in the words of Said (1978) "something to be studied."

understand what was said when Chehalis was used around them although the response was typically in English. By the 1970s, only the very elderly appeared to be fluent in the Chehalis language, with a residue of tribal member comprehension among those members who were middle-aged adults. These adults not only knew of and recognized the limited Chehalis language in use among the elderly members of the Tribe, they often understood what was spoken to them in Chehalis. This understanding of the language coupled with the choice to respond in English sounded the death knell of the language because it resulted in the following generations' unfamiliarity with the Chehalis language.

Our reservation is approximately 4,800 acres and is divided between two counties, Thurston and Grays Harbor. We have nearly 1000 enrolled tribal members today. Membership into the Tribe relies on the applicant being both a blood-related direct descendant with at least 25% Indian blood,[7] and whose mother or father must have been an enrolled member of the Chehalis Tribe. The Chehalis Tribe marshals our blood, meaning one can have any other federally recognized Native American Indian blood, which will be counted as Chehalis Indian blood for the purposes of enrollment.

As noted previously, the Chehalis Tribe faces substantial challenges in our attempts to preserve our traditional language among other important cultural information including songs, dancing and arts and crafts. Our last fluent speaker, Katherine Barr, who was an invaluable and irreplaceable resource of our language passed away October 30, 2015. This means that we have no remaining fluent speakers and must now salvage the language from previously recorded materials, including archives. However, the problem is that none of us could be considered fluent in the Upper Chehalis language and so our efforts have previously been engaged in developing a blended use of Chehalis with English. The problems associated with that effort are outlined in Chapter Five.

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[7] Known as *blood quantum*

The Chehalis Tribe was fortunate to have a long standing relationship with Dr. M. Dale Kinkade, Professor Emeritus of Linguistics, from the University of British Columbia, regrettably, he passed away in December 19, 2004.[8] Dr. Kinkade studied and became fluent in our language for which he developed a writing system using the *International Phonetic Alphabet* (IPA) and later became our principal linguist. He wrote and published the *Upper Chehalis Dictionary*[9] to preserve our Chehalis language.

The Chehalis language's location within the Tsamosan branch of the Salishan language family also poses some further problems. Both the Upper and Lower Chehalis languages belong to separate and distinct branches, as illustrated in Figure 2.[10] and based on online samples of the language families in the northwest areas of Washington State.[11] This is particularly important because the Chehalis cannot easily duplicate language development activities or share the associated costs with other tribes in terms of the development of a revitalization program.

**(c) Figure 2: Linguistic Map of Chehalis**



Figure 2: Chehalis Language Family
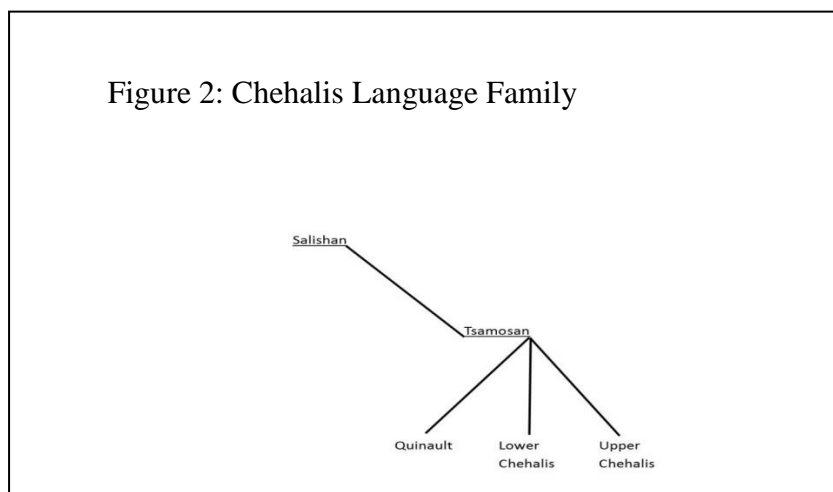
*A drawing of the language families related near Chehalis, M. Conwell, 2017.*

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[8] Obituaries, 2004
[9] Kinkade, 1991
[10] Based on (Hillary Rudd, 2004 http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/mcr/article/view/21406/24805)
[11] Kinkade, 1991, preface

This isolation, much like an island in the sea, means we must develop our own materials as we are unable to rely on other tribal language programs for assistance. Additionally, because Chehalis stands alone from other tribal languages in terms of speakers, resources and its location on the Tsamosan branch, language program development within other Western Washington tribes have not served as appropriate prototypes for the Chehalis.

While there were five bands of Chehalis at first contact, the main spoken language was Upper Chehalis, which was articulated by all five groups. In recognition that language cannot be separated from other factors like power, identity and culture, there is a contestation for the right to speak the Chehalis which includes issues related to knowledge validity and control.[12]

As a result of these difficulties, over a 70 year period the Chehalis Tribe has experienced several iterations of language development plans and activities. The first developments began during language collection activities dating back to the early 1950's when tribal linguist Dr. Kinkade arrived and sought out tribal speakers to collect as much information as possible about the Chehalis language which later resulted in the Upper Chehalis Dictionary.[13] Both the Upper Chehalis and Lower Chehalis languages are associated with the Chehalis Tribe but Upper Chehalis was most commonly spoken among the majority of our bands of people.

Because the Chehalis language had already experienced a significant decline by the 1950s, language classes were held in the late 1970s for interested tribal members. These language lessons, modeled after traditional Western style classes, were English based and

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[12] MFD Young, 1971 in Kinkade, 1991
[13] Kinkade, 1991

attempted to teach and describe the Chehalis language using proper terms from the English language.[14] These initiatives are discussed further in Chapter Five.

## 1.2 Aim of the Research

If we lose our language, it stands to reason that we could also lose our culture, therefore it is exceedingly urgent that our language be revitalized. In recognizing the struggles of indigenous peoples globally, to retrieve, retain, and be able to speak their own languages, the primary intent of this research is to identify the best practices for indigenous language revitalization that can and will inform a Chehalis language teaching model to transform the Chehalis community into a community of Chehalis language speakers. The results of this investigation, information for developing a Chehalis language model, will be given back to the Chehalis language community. This examination will contribute to one of the most vital elements necessary for Chehalis identity: the reclaiming of language and the distinctiveness that is Chehalis.

The majority of language revitalization efforts seems to be written by Westernized and classically trained linguists for an audience comprised of their peers, other Westernized linguists. This research however is positioned within an indigenous framework: it draws on native perspective to develop and revitalize the Chehalis language.[15] For that reason and others, creating a partnership with my tribal participants will elicit a deeper element of integrity resulting in an elevated level of accuracy as well as renewed commitment to our Chehalis language.

I will draw from other language models as a means to ascertain what has worked for other indigenous groups. Examining for example, best practices from Maori and Hawaiian

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[14] The Tribe has several elders today who still recall those lessons and share how they learned to speak some Chehalis during those years. There are audio recordings of these 1970s classes and one can hear the students laughing and assisting each other with pronunciation.

[15] Demas, E., and Saavadra, C. 2004. (Re)conceptualizing language advocacy: Weaving a postmodern mestizaje image of language. In K. Mutua and B.B. Swaderner (Eds.), Decolonising research in cross-cultural contexts

language models *as identified by* Maori and Hawaiian will inform new ways to improve student participation and community involvement for Chehalis language revitalization, as both Maori and Hawaiian language revitalization have experienced some success in this area.

I believe the most pressing issues in language development for the Chehalis, since the loss of our last fluent language speaker, will be to identify a new means of creating an immersion style program conjoined with the implementation of the Chehalis language into the daily speaking and business life for the Chehalis Tribe. It is my fervent hope that the comparative analysis between Maori, Hawaiian, and Chehalis and others language efforts and experiences, together with my autoethnography recounting my experience and relationship with both Katherine Barr and her language work, will reveal some commonalities present and used by language learner experiences that will help us moving forward with our language revitalization plan. The continued language development after this thesis work is completed, will mean implementing the findings from this research into the practices and operations of the Tribe.

One of the primary positions that underpin this research, which I have taken *as given* to enable a successful language revitalization to occur includes emphasizing that the research model must be undertaken by a member of the Chehalis Tribe for Chehalis tribal use. As well, it is important the research be developed within the Chehalis tribal community, meaning the tribal population's response to previous language activities be utilized in the immersion process.

Tribal groups can and must develop and implement their own native language teaching methods. These activities necessarily result in language products that are more conducive to the native experience than typical classroom style teaching can provide. Understanding tribal and indigenous language and cultural knowledge is a vital component to understanding and empowering tribal realities.

Any progress derived outside the Chehalis community will necessarily miss the mark because the insider status of the researcher is a necessary element for this model. Indigenous language models using foreign frameworks do not engender culturally relevant outcomes, resulting in awkward and uneven language patterns. Equally important to this research is the concept that the Chehalis language learners themselves must bear the responsibility for language activity development and information since the need for retaining these elements arises from the loss of our fluent speakers and the fact that Chehalis language activities occur nowhere else. The Tribe's decision to deny use of Chehalis language learning within local, non-tribal school districts for example, increases the importance for tribally driven learning models within the cultural population. This tribal denial was based on the community perception that we, as a tribe, have shared altogether too much tribal cultural information since first contact. There is a distinct sense that some things must be retained for tribal use only. This includes the Chehalis language. Finally, this research depends on the language participants to determine the importance of the knowledge being shared and the methods of knowledge transmission.

**(a) Research Question**

The primary question and focus for this research then is what might a successful language revitalization program for Chehalis look like? As noted previously, the significance of this research lies in the identification of best practices as utilized in other successful language regeneration models. A review of the literature and the autoethnography of Katherine Barr will form the basis for a comparative analysis between these best practices and the experiences from recent Chehalis language curriculum and classes. The resulting findings will be used for proposing new changes and ideas for consideration in the development of and for rebuilding and reinvigorating the Chehalis language curriculum and classes for the Tribe. My hope is that the suggested changes and lessons learned will serve to stimulate new

community interest in and renew language classes for the Chehalis tribal community, as well as potentially informing other tribal language programs about indigenous models for language revitalization. Finally, the development of a Chehalis language model contributes to the ongoing strategies of indigenous language revitalization.

## 1.3 Significance of the Research

When I initially began this work in 2002, I acknowledge that I was, and still am, very much the apprentice. I sat at the feet of Katherine Barr as she instructed me. Katherine educated me in family history and tribal knowledge of historic events. She demonstrated the ways in which traditional knowledge was passed on by sharing information and having me tell her what this was teaching me about being Chehalis. She was able to correct my misconceptions and ground my understanding in family stories that she felt reflected a broader tribal experience. She reiterated the respect shown to elders and explained why things were done in particular ways. There were many times I felt unworthy of the teachings, but I persevered for the sake of future tribal members.

The relationship I experienced with Katherine during my language learning lessons, while often guided by Katherine, at times relied on my own leadership as well. Hinton observes that in some cases or activities it is the apprentice who must guide the process, although the master holds the knowledge to be shared.[16] Self-identification of appropriate tribal learning techniques is inherent to this method, as is the language master being identified as the primary resource for the language knowledge. As a result of that position, I have taken this onboard and so have focused on Katherine, and to a certain extent Dr. Kinkade, as the knowledge holders, language facilitators and experts of the Chehalis language. I will be privileging the Chehalis indigenous knowledge, voices and experiences of our last speaker as

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[16] Hinton, 2002, P. 18

well as the members of the Chehalis Tribe. I am hopeful that we as Chehalis people, will learn more about our language and our cultural background after developing more transformative and empowering understandings of our history by developing our own language teaching method.

## 1.4 Research Methodology

This research is grounded within an indigenous framework and draws from indigenous ways of knowing and doing.[17] The research methodology, which informs the methods, sits within an indigenous framework.

### (a) Background: Living in the Chehalis Landscape

The notion of research is contested. While it has been common for previous researchers to take a position placed outside of the investigation, that is not going to be the case with this research. I am a part of this research landscape. Because of my positions as Chehalis tribal citizen, former General Manager of the Tribe, protégée of one of the Key Informants, and researcher, it is too difficult to extricate myself from the research. As Patricia Johnston argued in her doctoral thesis,[18] part of the struggle she faced with her research, was one of trying to separate herself from her work. This caused her grief and anxiety as she fought to reconcile her conflicts. That is because, as outlined by Smith,[19] there are particular western frameworks and views relating to assumptions about how research is conducted, reported etc., particularly relating to the role of the researcher, and our roles as indigenous researchers within those frameworks. Johnston finally concluded that in recognizing the multiplicity of her positions within the research, as Maori, as a parent, as a researcher, a lecturer, policy analyst etc., she did not have to *step outside* because the research was inseparable from who and what she was. That stand did not make her work any less rigorous,

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[17] Smith, 1999
[18] Johnston, 1998
[19] Smith, 1986

indeed Johnston argued that it resulted in another level of accountability and responsibility to the research.[20] I am taking that same position within this research.

I have a vested interest in this work: it has been driving me and has been my life's work for over twenty years. I am Chehalis. I want to ensure my tribal language, Upper Chehalis, survives and flourishes, and that it can be shared and imparted to future Chehalis tribal members. My attempts to learn and subsequently revive the Upper Chehalis language has been a force framing my life and spurring my passion for my tribe and our words and language. For example, I became involved with the initial development of the most current version of the Chehalis Language program beginning in 2002. The Chehalis Tribe received an *Administration for Native Americans* (ANA) federal grant administered through Health and Human Services (HHS) in Washington D.C. This grant allowed the Tribe to access federal grant funding to pay for my position as the Language and Culture Program Manager and included a substantial stipend for Katherine Barr. In total, the Tribe received approximately four federal *Administration for Native American* program grants over a ten year period, to develop language program activities, lessons, recordings, and collections. The Chehalis Language Program development and history is further developed in Chapter Five.

These particulars have enabled me to be involved in our language efforts rather than from merely an *observer* position. My further interest in this work also comes from my relatively recent employment with the Chehalis Tribe as the General Manager of the Tribal Government operations from 2015 through 2017. My employment seated me in a good position to support language revitalization activities.

I have been mentored and groomed by Katherine Barr, the last speaker of fluent Chehalis. While she was not an enrolled Chehalis tribal member, but enrolled at Quinault when she was a baby, the common intermarriages between different tribes in our region have

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[20] Johnston, 1998 P. 23

resulted in families who could claim enrollment privileges in several tribes and it is also quite common to enroll children in these different tribes to ensure families could retain that particular tribal heritage as well as access to the hunting, fishing, and gathering rights which accompany such enrollment. Therefore, although Katherine was enrolled Quinault, she actually had stronger ancestral ties to Chehalis than most of today's tribal members.

Another important point for consideration with this research is that I am known by the tribal members and our community. I am therefore a recognized insider of the Tribe. Basil Bernstein[21] acknowledges who owns the speaking voice, whether self or other. Considerations of the insider/outsider status of the informant enable future readers to self-identify the intent and veracity of the information being shared by the research.

Finding the voice to decry the accepted methods of materials collection was one of the first steps to asserting ownership of the information and how it was to be used or shared according to Smith.[22] As one result of deconstructing the methodology, scholars have become more sensitive to issues addressing who has a voice and who is silenced.[23] Such questions spur further ideas and other queries including who can speak on behalf of others.

Because I am known, I can use my relationships to further the collaboration and research aims. As Swaderner[24] stated and Chilisa[25] reiterated, research conducted in a collaborative fashion with the participants, results in greater outcomes.[26] Swaderner notes the importance of adhering to an important founding element for developing research methodology, keeping in mind that I am a community tribal member as well as a researcher. This placement within the Chehalis community serves to exemplify *Transformative*

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[21] Bernstein's work on language 'codes' and styles has been used by many who examine language revitalization. For example, Johnston, 1998 and Smith, 1999.
[22] Smith, 1999
[23] Scott LeWitt, 2013
[24] Swaderner, 2004
[25] Chilisa, 2012
[26] Demas, E., and Saavadra, C. 2004. (Re)conceptualizing language advocacy: Weaving a postmodern mestizaje image of language. In K. Mutua and B.B. Swaderner (Eds.), Decolonising research in cross-cultural contexts

*Participatory Action* as drawn from the Chilisa model.[27] The transformative nature of this research is developed from the changes and restructuring of the teaching activities used in the Chehalis language experiences from 2002 - 2008. As we learned and experienced both successes and failures in our classes, we were able to discard what wasn't working for us in favour of new ideas and attempts. The Chehalis language students identified the elements which supported their learning aims while disregarding those methods which did not move their work forward.

Further, I take great care when positioning myself within this research. For instance, consciously moving away from the notion of studying subjects and instead collaboratively partnering with research participants. This research approach seeks to encourage my fellow tribal members to remain fully invested in positive outcomes and development results. Because I am a part of this research landscape, I am accountable to my tribe for this research. I shall abide by the unwritten rules governing the type of information shared with non-Chehalis tribal members, which excludes most religious and some cultural information.

## (b) Chehalis Language Research Methodology

Constructing a Chehalis methodology to weave together the themes of this research has become integral. That methodology is modeled on the concept of Chehalis basketry, which remains one of the most significant and widely practiced traditional arts remaining for the Chehalis Tribe today. Chehalis baskets were used for a variety of purposes including as tools to carry food and materials for building shelters, and storing objects of historic interest. Eventually, these baskets developed into decorative art forms describing tribal events and cultural themes, thus becoming representative of the life experienced by Chehalis tribal members. Baskets remain one of the most important cultural arts of the Chehalis, although

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[27] Chilisa, B., 2012. *Indigenous Research Methodologies*

mats, beadwork, wool weaving, and carving are also important. It is therefore appropriate that such a tool is used to represent the Chehalis methodology developed as a result of this research.

When building a basket, one must keep the materials rigid enough to define and display a pattern or story, if one is embedded within the basket, as this serves to elevate the status of a basket from merely utilitarian to decorative as well as considered as an informative piece of Chehalis culture. Some specific basketry design patterns are understood to belong within or originate from specific Chehalis families. Several of these particular designs include roses and other flowers, canoes, and a design known as the Chehalis *fly*. Even those baskets without overt designs are defined by the selection of materials and the imagination of the weaver.

Some weavers have developed a coded signature which allows for identification of their work. This is not entirely common and often only the artist and their closest family members alone recognize the codes embedded into the designs or objects. One example, used by a family member, is a particular shade of brown raffia ribbon-like fiber which is incorporated into the very beginning of the basket, on the bottom, for a few centimeters. My relative carefully collected and dyed this particular raffia herself to serve this special purpose. As she ages, her remaining signature dyed raffia supplies correspondingly dwindles, resulting in increased importance for its identification of her work.

Traditionally, the Chehalis did not mix materials such as raffia, cedar bark, cat tail grasses, sweet grass, or bear grass reeds within a single basket although these combinations have since become a significant feature of contemporary Indian basketry. Raffia is a contemporary long straw-like fiber utilized by packing companies during the late 1800's onward to protect items in shipping containers which came to port in Seattle from places such as Japan and other areas. This raffia was strewn along the port beaches in Seattle when the

containers were unpacked. Indians working in Seattle found this material and incorporated it into their baskets after discovering the strength, versatility, and ease of dying, which resulted in vibrant baskets for selling to Seattle tourists. Raffia is an excellent example of how Native American Indians incorporated many new materials and designs into their traditional art forms after first contact.

Cedar is a bark collected from the cedar trees in the Pacific Northwest during the months of May and June. It can only be collected in small width strips, up to a 12 inches wide, from living trees. It is taboo to take too much from a single tree as this exposes the under-bark to the elements and insects which could kill the tree if too much were collected. Of course, if one is cutting down a cedar tree then as much bark as can be collected will be brought home since cedar wood, under the outer layer bark, is used for starting fires or carving objects, including canoes in the Northwest.

Cattails are a type of broad grass collected during the summer and fall from wet land areas in the Northwest. There are male grasses with a brown coated tip resembling the tail of a house cat, although these are not used for baskets. Instead, we collect the female reeds, which closely resemble flax, by carefully cutting the grass off from its root with a sharp knife. Leaving the root allows the plants to regenerate for future harvests. This is muddy, difficult work to conduct so men and young boys can sometimes be the best collecting partners available!

Sweet grass is collected from the salty coasts near the beaches during the month of August only. These grasses are thinner and more narrow than cattails and are used for finer weaving work. The Chehalis collect sweet grass from a place called *Bowerman Basin* in Grays Harbor, a restricted and protected wildlife area. The Tribe has coordinated with the State to disperse permits to tribal members allowing for the collection activities to take place. The sweet grass are collected by carefully, yet firmly tugging on the reeds at the water line.

This releases the grass from the rooted jacket-like structure in which is grows. Gathering in this manner leaves the root intact protecting the plant for future harvests.

Finally, we use bear grass, a sharp flat reed or grass with razor edges from the mountains in late summer and fall. The grasses are cut off at ground level with a knife to leave the roots intact for future years. One must wear protective gloves when gathering bear grass as it is very tough and sharp. We collect the male plant for bear grass, leaving the female reeds behind. Bear grass dries to a light tan color and was traditionally dyed vibrant colors using berries, barks, black mud. Contemporary dying practices rely on commercial powder dyes and these dyes last longer and are more resilient than traditional dying methods.

The choice of materials for weaving the basket is just as important as the actual weaving. Selection is based on numerous considerations, including the intended purpose of the basket and the availability of appropriate materials. The significance of selection reflects the weaver's intent and also serves as a visual indication of the weaver's skill and knowledge in the endeavour. When weaving, one packs the basket materials tightly to ensure a strong and tight structure capable of weathering the future. Weavers shape their baskets through tightening or loosening the warps to draw in or expand the basket's character. The strength of different basket models reflect their uses. For instance, cedar and open weave baskets were used to collect materials that required drainage when collecting water mussels and shellfish. The open woven nature of these baskets allows the sea water to drain from the shellfish which facilitated easier transportation. Cattail baskets were often woven in a coil style with lids which features a more closely entwined creation used for storing dry goods such as herbs or dried meat. Another form of basket was crafted from cedar root, from the roots of the cedar tree. These were very tough baskets- it is very difficult to collect and process the materials and these cure into extremely strong, watertight baskets which could easily hold water or be used in cooking fires.

It is important to note that a basket's strength relies on the quality of both the materials and the weaver's skill. A weak basket can fall apart during crucial moments such as when transporting or cooking foods or carrying delicate materials. In the past, resources were scarce and required a lot of effort to collect so a weak basket could have devastating consequences for the family or tribe who experienced a failure of this nature. What this says about weavers' skills and material selection is that the Tribe relied on strong, solid choices in material selection and workers' skills in order to survive.

This Chehalis methodology also relies on a basket in this research, shaped by both historical accounts of the language, culture, knowledge and history of the Tribe as well as the use of contemporary skills incorporating the warp to undertake modern designs. The tenets and perceptions of our tribal history, language and culture serve as the vertical warps defining the walls of the basket. The weft or horizontal material weaving the warps together is comprised of the tribal community. The difference between the warps and wefts of my methodology is that the weft, or tribal community formed at Chehalis, signifies how the community holds the warps or language, culture, knowledge and history of the Tribe together, preserving it for future generations. We share our stories together to reinforce our tribal experience and reveal how it has shaped our community. The collaborations between our families and with other tribes and governments have resulted in the cultural knowledge we still retain today.

These warps or spokes are drawn together to form the base of the basket and support the methodological structure because none of these elements can meaningfully exist independently of each other. The warps can be pulled tight to retain accurate historical information or loosely gathered in order to allow for the expansion of new concepts and information. In terms of historical information, the warps are constricted because we envelop our tribal history as it occurred and do not seek to fashion changes in the actual historic

accounts or experience. When instituting new ideas and practices, a loose configuration permits the creator to employ the necessary elasticity for changing structures and ways of thinking and ways of interpreting new experiences.

The weft or horizontal material weaving the warp together represents my tribal community since the weft never ends but instead builds upon itself, increasing the community understanding of the interplay between the elements of history, language knowledge and culture. This intersection of warp and weft ensures that our tribal members understand past accounts of tribal history identify the processes which led to our current circumstances. We seek to learn from our past in order to prevent reoccurrences of damage resulting from colonization practices. Therefore the weft represents the tribal community's involvement with and development of tribal culture and language for the next generation of tribal members.

It is acknowledged that the language aspect in our basket is weak, and so that intersection with culture similarly creates an area of the methodology basket that is weak. Into the future, that area of weakness will cause stress which could result in a damaged tribal basket. This potential for ruin emphasizes the urgent need to reinvigorate our language as a means to strengthen our Chehalis basket for future generations' use.

**(c). Transformative Participatory Action Research**

This research also draws from a *Transformative Participatory Action Research* (TPAR) methodology described by Bagele Chilisa as "*Participatory ... and involves a whole range of powerless groups of exploited people- the poor, the oppressed and the marginalized*".[28] She identifies TPAR as requiring the full and active participation of the community in the entire research process. A good example of these points can be drawn from the previous Chehalis languages classes, which took place from 2002 through 2008, wherein members from approximately 8 Chehalis sub-families participated. This is significant

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[28] Chilisa, 2012, P. 235

considering the Chehalis descended from five main families thereby representing a large representation of community involvement. Additionally, it is important to note the implication of the number five for the Chehalis people. In Chehalis tribal stories there always five episodes whose action reinforces the story message. There were five bands of Chehalis sub-tribes and these comprised the five main families of the Chehalis Tribe. For Chehalis people, the number five represents a spiritual alignment with our environment and embraces the cultural framework supporting tribal life. What makes TPAR important for this research is that participation leads to learning and reflection. This is the reason there are exactly five chapters in this thesis. Such cultural knowledge continues to inform the research and to create changes when and where necessary as the research progresses. This is a process I have been engaged in for the past twenty years. What this thesis research has enabled me to do is to step back and reflect on every aspect of our previous Chehalis language program experience as a means to transform future Chehalis language endeavors.

Chehalis language participants, for example, each identified the language information in which they were most interested and assisted the teaching staff to develop lesson plans based on this information. Language experiences at Chehalis also support Chilisa's statement that the subject of research originates in the community itself, and the problem is defined, analyzed, and solved by the community.[29] In fact, even the youngest language learners at the Tribe were able to identify the terminology they wanted to learn. This respect for the community's desires, regardless of age, influenced the positive participation witnessed during those Chehalis language classes.

Chilisa continues by identifying the *ultimate goal* as the radical transformation of the social reality and the improvement of the lives of the people themselves. The beneficiaries of the research are members of the community. Use of blended language patterns at Chehalis has

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[29] Chilisa, 2012

kept the language needs near the forefront of the community mind. We see several generations incorporate Chehalis words and concepts into their English as a means of retaining and embedding the language into their daily lives. Cultural events and activities also reflect this reinforced presence as language elements are used to underpin ideas and traditions. These changes reflect Chilisa's insistence that the process of participatory research can create greater awareness in the people of their own resources and mobilize them for self-reliant development.[30]

The continual enhancement in the variety of cultural classes and community projects as well as increased participation therein demonstrates the veracity of Chilisa's ideas. Chilisa identifies TPAR as a more scientific method of research in that the participation of the community in the research process facilitates a more accurate and authentic analysis of social reality. The Chehalis Tribe uses a variety of methods to seek tribal input for community projects which also includes the community's identification of when language classes should be offered. Finally, Chilisa notes the importance of the researcher as a committed participant and learner in the process of research, that is, a militant rather than a detached observer.[31] As a Chehalis tribal member, I can verify the vitality for the researcher to be a member of the Tribe. Non-tribal members fail to accurately read the community's needs and intents, particularly for cultural events and activities. Therefore, this research fits these themes of empowerment and self determination, the purpose of drawing from this methodology is one of empowering the Chehalis tribal community to identify and begin the next steps needed to further embed the Chehalis language into the life of the Tribe.

These attributes are present in this research project and are reflected by the various tribal members who have participated in the Chehalis language classes. The Chehalis tribal membership has expressed interest and need for developing a method to transmit our cultural

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[30] Chilisa, 2012
[31] Reason, P. and Bradbury, H., 2008, P. 5

information via the Chehalis language. This need relies on the membership's ability to learn the Chehalis language and use it to communicate and retain both historical information and contemporary knowledge such as those related to basketry and other cultural arts.

In order to set the context for using TPAR, I am including some background information collected specifically from previous Chehalis language classes held during 2002-2008. Initially, these language classes were conducted using a Westernized classroom perspective. As I have mentioned previously, the choice to use the classroom style was based on my own experience of attending school in a colonized, dominant society setting. I had not formally studied any indigenous teaching methodology at this point and so was unprepared to examine the effectiveness of this versus other class environments.

What I examined from these first classes was the metaphorical distance instilled between teachers and students from this setting. Students observed the standard protocol of respect for the instructors, which further removed them from the personal element of indigenous language learning. These first classes also relied on lessons developed by our linguist, Dr. Kinkade, which focused on distinct elements such as structure and proper syntax rather than on conversational elements which might be used in common everyday exchanges. Since the students were also learning the English terminology and processes governing sentence grammar, this resulted in a clinical and impersonal relationship between the indigenous students and their traditional language which emphasized English rules over the indigenous Chehalis language actuality. These missteps resulted in an initial loss of engagement with the life of the Chehalis language which created a missed opportunity to develop an indigenous perspective to reengage and reconnect the participants.

## (d). Auto Ethnography

Pole and Morrison identify some of the principle common characteristics of ethnography as a focus on a discrete location, event, or setting with a concern for the full

range of social behavior within.[32] The auto-ethnographic portion of this research will focus on the language setting in which Katherine Barr lived her life with an emphasis upon understanding the social behaviors displayed by Katherine inside this background, as well as using a description of Katherine's language activities and choices to highlight the concepts and theories which are grounded in the data I have collected. My argument for utilizing an autoethnography format is based on the fact that Katherine Barr passed away prior to the completion of this thesis. Therefore, I am recounting her narrative from my perspective of our relationship and based on my recollections of her words, stories and her account of her life. My close involvement with Katherine characterizes this autoethnography as a reflection by me of both our lives. From my viewpoint, notes, and memories, the chronicle of her language activities holds great importance for the Chehalis language experience and sets the context from which future decisions about language revitalization will occur.

Brewer, in Pole and Morrison, identifies methodology as the "broad theoretical and philosophical framework into which these procedural rules fit".[33] Pole and Morrison additionally locate ethnography within the general approach of naturalism in which concern is noted for the setting and location within which the social action is created and experienced.[34] The intent to collect data from real life allows researchers to experience the inner life of the subjects being examined.

The use of interviews is one method utilized by this research to examine Katherine's experience in her own words. According to Brewer, in Pole and Morrison, all qualitative methods have the capacity to be ethnographic methods only if they are deployed within the framework of ethnographic methodology.[35] My fieldwork, from 2002 through 2015, resulted in copious notes taken during personal interactions with Katherine Barr during language

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[32] Pole & Morrison, 2003 P. 3
[33] Pole & Morrison, 2003 P. 5
[34] Pole & Morrison, 2003 P. 6
[35] Pole & Morrison, 2003 P. 9

lessons and discussions. Since the majority of my autoethnographic materials come from my private collection, this research is an opportunity to gift these materials back to the Chehalis language learning community. Wolcott, in Pole and Morrison, identifies *intent* as a crucial factor in defining fieldwork.[36] The Chehalis tribal language collection activities in which I have participated have always been meant to be returned to my community. The development of a language learning model for Chehalis therefore becomes the vehicle highlighting the intent behind this research.

## 1.5 Methods

This research utilizes the following research methods:

## (a) Comparative Analysis

The research investigates best practices of language development and revitalization methods, drawing specifically from Maori and Hawaiian language revitalization and then comparing our own Chehalis language efforts against those endeavors. The research will draw on the best practice characteristics common to all as a means to identify the elements present in successful language retention efforts that can be integrated into our Chehalis language revitalization progress.

Maori and Hawaiian language faced challenges around language loss but in their accomplishments to revitalize language, have experienced some success. Now recognized for their successful strategies for indigenous language revitalization, these examples lend themselves to an analysis from which to draw from those strategies for Chehalis redevelopment.[37] The research will further explore other initiatives and ideas in the literature and reports, as a means of contributing towards a language revitalization model.

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[36] Pole & Morrison, 2003 P. 10
[37] Each peoples have experienced challenges in language revitalization. For Chehalis, colonization by English speaking people and geographical spaces has compounded a different set of issues resulting in a more complete loss of the language.

**(b) Interviews, Recordings, Field Notes**

This research utilizes previously recorded materials gained from my language lessons with Katherine Barr and Dr. Kinkade as a means to put forward a Chehalis perspective and model in this work. I will also rely on my prior interactions and field notes regarding Katherine and her early experiences with the Chehalis language and the role it may have played in her youth and adulthood, including conversation with her younger sister, Cindy Andy. I will utilize reflections on my experiences from my participation in previous Chehalis language classes to build a new program model.

**(c) Auto Ethnography**

Using an autoethnography format, I will draw from my personal memories and recollections, the language experiences shared by Katherine Barr. I am seeking to determine how Katherine was able to retain her language skills and knowledge while others of her generation made the transition to speaking English only because I want to replicate the methods she used to keep her language skills active in her life. I want to understand as well how Katherine's knowledge was kept intact over the years while other people were unable to maintain their Chehalis language skills.

**1.6 Outline of the Thesis**

There are five chapters in this thesis. As noted previously on page 27, this is deliberate and in keeping with the Chehalis recognition of the power of the number five for the Chehalis tribal community as detailed earlier.

Chapter One sets the context for the thesis with the background experience of the Chehalis Tribe from first contact with non-Indians through to present day. It outlines briefly, the circumstances that contributed to Chehalis language loss and the intent of the thesis to focus on language revitalization. Chapter One sets out the methodologies and introduces a

Chehalis basket methodology to establish a parameter. The methods used in this research are also discussed and set the rest of the thesis, that draws on twenty years of language program development in Chehalis.

Chapter Two examines the nuances of language revival beginning with the impact of colonization on language loss. This chapter also examines linguistic observations drawn from the literature and the challenges associated with second language learning. Questions stemming from earlier Chehalis language models are also considered here.

Chapter Three examines language revitalization models in the indigenous Maori and Hawaiian communities. Also considered are elements and issues associated with support structures for learning a second language. This includes a review of the roles of school and family in language learning efforts as well as a consideration of the needs specific to second language learners.

Chapter Four reviews the past language revitalization efforts which have taken place at the Chehalis Tribe since 2002. Despite twenty years of language programming, little progress has occurred. Issues and challenges are highlighted as a means to identify how, where, and why progress has been limited. The Chehalis language support structure is assessed here as well. The work of Katherine Barr, fluent Chehalis speaker, and Dr. Dale Kinkade, the tribal linguist associated with Chehalis revitalization efforts are outlined.

Chapter Five begins with an overview of our Chehalis language program from 2002 introduces a Chehalis language revitalization model, the Chehalis *Tu`paʔ.* The chapter draws from the success models in the literature, the highlighted issues and challenges in our language programs and the advice of Chehalis language experts *Tu`paʔ* incorporates necessary elements for successful language development for the future of Chehalis language revitalization.

## *Chapter Two: The Nuances of Language Revival*

**Part A: Introduction**

Chapter Two is organized into two parts. Part A examines the influence of English on native languages, prescriptive pronunciation, and questions about revitalization, including legitimacy, attendance and literature. The use of technology is also featured in Part A as are the repercussions of non-indigenous approaches to learning language.

Part B examines language teaching and learning techniques and strategies more explicitly as a means to inform the outcomes for language development as well as a consideration of the consequences. Part B's secondary focus is language loss and its impact on identity for indigenous peoples.

**2.0 The Influence of Colonial Models**

This chapter examines issues associated with language learning, particularly as applied to second language learners. I address concerns related specifically to the influence of English on indigenous languages in terms of challenges for pronunciation, transliteration, and gaining buy-in to attend classes and outline how these obstacles can derail indigenous language revitalization strategies. This is considered as a means to identify (in Chapters Three through Five) approaches to overcome these challenges. One problem associated with developing language programs involves models relying on colonial language as the academically accepted language model for learning. Linda Smith[38] and Leanne Hinton[39] both argue that colonial and patriarchal models for language revitalization fail to thrive when applied within indigenous contexts. Ormsby-Teki et al.[40] concurred with this assessment and noted developments within the field of indigenous methodology challenges patriarchal and

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[38] Smith, L. T., 1999
[39] Hinton, L., 2002
[40] Ormsby-Teki, T., Timutimu, N., Palmer, H., Ellis, R., & Johnston, P., 2011

colonial perspectives in the development of indigenous models. Indigenous languages such as Chehalis were not traditionally taught in Westernized classroom style approaches to teaching relying predominantly on memorization and rote repetitions.

Instead, as Fishman notes, indigenous learning appears to be organized in the environment and settings, readily found within family or small group settings.[41] In particular, the passing of language through culturally appropriate avenues, which reinforces cultural knowledge, leads to more permanent engagement within the heart and consciousness of indigenous communities.

Steven Mintz shared background on language changes in his book, *Native American Voices*, in which he reviews Native American history through the lens of an oppressed people while remaining objective or at least dispassionate. He includes commentary and notes from participants over the past several decades.[42] Mintz's revelation of the ways in which non-Indians influenced the Native American tribes' existence, including the loss of language, land and cultural practices, paints a bleak picture for tribal descendants. While Mintz noted differences in the French, Spanish, and English interaction in North America, the outcome was the same in the final result: decline of tribal languages, all of whose deaths can be traced to contact with Europeans. These changes were manifested mainly in a shift from intact indigenous language use to include more English use until the indigenous languages were lost.[43] Although few tribes, such as the Cherokee, developed a written alphabet comparatively early on, most tribes were forced to learn English almost immediately in order to maintain relations with non-Indians.

Settlers considered Native Americans and their languages to be savage because the customs and sounds were foreign to the non-Indian experience. The accepted practice for tribes was to learn English and incorporate it as much as possible during interactions with

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[41] Fishman, J. A. (Ed.). (2001)
[42] Mintz, 1995, P. 26
[43] Mintz, 1995

non-tribal people since colonizers failed to learn tribal languages. Failure to utilize English resulted in poor trading outcomes for Natives, as well as derision and condescension on the part of the settlers. These negative encounters positioned the English language to be perceived as superior and prepared indigenous children to use English as a means to get along better in the new world. The focus on English, initially meant to support younger tribal members, soon became a protective measure against poor treatment by settlers. This change then crystallized into nearly universal use of English which progressed to further federal policies targeting indigenous people.

Andrew Dalby, while investigating how languages and pronunciations change, asserted the primary reason languages are lost is due to parents making the choice to stop teaching language to their children.[44] He further simplifies the issue by comparing the loss of language to the loss of culture, stating the loss of minority languages was a direct result of nationalism, generally favoring English.[45] Nationalism, according to Dalby, was evidenced by strict use of the English language and reliance on non-Indian practices in an effort to become familiar with contemporary expectations resulting in a better fit within the culture of the settler. The reasons behind the change to English use are as important as the change itself.

Dalby examined the afterlife of dead languages wherein words are incorporated into the dominant language and become widely used, although their parent language is no longer spoken. This is true of Chehalis, in the example of *Masi*[46] which was traditionally used only in religious or ceremonial settings. This has since become the most commonly used form of giving thanks in everyday situations. The use of the ceremonial form during daily activities would be corrected immediately and be considered a significant social gaffe. The change from the *common* form to the *traditional* form was due in large part to its easier pronunciation versus the difficulty of the informal *NaXh Qwo-lah* or *thanks*. Although Dalby doesn't

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[44] Dalby, 2003
[45] Dalby, 2003, P. 207
[46] *Thank you* in Chehalis.

address the changing of pronunciation as positive or negative regarding language purity, his concern with accurate documentation of dying languages is helpful for determining if a well-documented language has the potential for being revived in later years. It is clearly easier to revitalize a well-documented language compared with one for which few written accounts exist. One issue plaguing the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) use at Chehalis is the variability of the vowel sounds. Much like English, vowel sounds can change depending on context, subject, speaker and whether it describes a diminutive form.

In terms of documenting language nuances and changing patterns of speech, the *Phonetic Symbol Guide* by Pullam and Ladusaw identified some technical reasons behind changes in pronunciation, often attributed to either the use of IPA or the American tradition of transcription processes.[47] Pullam and Ladusaw shared ideas put forth by Boas which underscore the American transcription process, namely transcriptional work is developed through practice, rather than by following strict rules. Therefore, a linguist may hear sounds differently, depending on the country of origin.[48] This reflects beliefs outlined by Boas indicating that a listener's personal heritage and speech informs how a new language is transcribed. Some of Boas' research work was based on the experiences and notes his students prepared after their internships and classes with him. Indeed, his work, when compared to the work of his students, reflects the more rigorous and technical style employed in his own research.

Eco, in *The Search for the Perfect Language*, asserts the *word* of a language only remains pure if it does not spread.[49] In terms of purity, as a language spreads into use by people, it becomes the property of the community, inevitably changing.[50] This acknowledgement by Eco accepts agreed upon notions of the inevitability of language

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[47] Pullam & Ladusaw, 1986, P. xviii
[48] Pullam & Ladusaw, 1986, P. xxiii
[49] Eco, 1995, Chapter 16
[50] Eco, 1995

evolvement which have been presented by many linguistic professionals. Again this is based on linguistic changes in major languages and does not adequately address the impact on a declining language such as Chehalis. The idea Eco posits is that language cannot remain pure or perfect unless it remains stagnant, which is intriguing and echoes David Crystal's assertions. I spoke earlier to the issue of whether perfect pronunciation is necessary for language retention. The fact that many leading linguists agree on the definition of a language's livelihood being based on changes denoted by activity doesn't signal the end of the discussion. Each tribe needs to make the determination for their own language. We cannot continue to let non-tribal people make these decisions.

Interestingly, Eco's criteria for a perfect language rejects all existing languages, resulting in his delving into artificial language development.[51] It is ludicrous that every language failed to meet his criteria for purity. His common use of phonetic spelling for many of the artificial languages as well as in teaching traditional languages to new users brings its own challenges, even as it eases new learners into the comfort of their own alphabet. Acceptance of phonetic spelling accepts even ridiculous spellings such as "Kwik-ee Mart", but also potentially changes pronunciation as well. Such acceptance also fails to address the pronunciation challenges English words can impart to non-Anglo languages. A Chehalis example of this is the word for bluebird. Chehalis teaches the word to be pronounced as *sss-naw*, except the letter "a" actually makes an "o" sound, as in the English word *now*. But if one were to write the word phonetically, it would appear as *snow* which is pronounced entirely differently from either s-naw or s-now along with a completely different meaning in English.

Davis, in *Mother Tongue: How Humans Create Language* supports the changing pronunciation of languages as a positive marker for language life.[52] He considers the most common linguistic misconception to be *prescriptivism,* or the belief there is only one correct

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[51] Eco, 1995, Chapter 16
[52] Davis, 1994

way to speak a language.[53] As mentioned above, this was a huge struggle I experienced while teaching pronunciation to the Chehalis language students in classes.

Katherine believed in prescriptivism in order for one to be speaking Chehalis correctly.[54] This is a challenge for Chehalis language students as the Chehalis language is incredibly complex. Davis further argued a language's natural progressions in sound variation create changes in language development, which corresponds to language adaptability. This refines Boas' idea that languages are only changed via exposure to outsiders. Although many texts address issues of pronunciation and language evolvement, this doesn't work when considering a declining language such as Chehalis, rather than large world languages like English or Spanish. In fact, this was a gap in the literature in living language discussions.

An additional consideration is the associated burden or responsibility one may have for any pronunciation changes when attempting to resuscitate languages. These pressures may result in fewer people wanting to learn to speak Chehalis for fear of changing or damaging the language unintentionally. When languages such as Chehalis experience even minor changes in tenor or pronunciation, the very real danger is loss of the original pronunciation. A consideration of how Chehalis has already changed significantly from the past is consoling.

Ultimately, pronunciation can be deconstructed into the associated issues of classification and framing. Bernstein suggests framing an issue can determine both its importance as well as the acceptance of a proposed resolution to the concern or problem.[55] In terms of classification, Bernstein identified the importance of audience when making resolutions about language and their ascent or descent into or from use.

For instance, when researching an issue, the intended audience, comprised of fellow researchers and authorities on the topic in question, and/or educational staff requires one's terminology to occur at a higher level using sophisticated vocabulary. If writing a textbook,

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[53] Davis, 1994, P. 13
[54] Also a change in pronunciation could lead to a change in meaning.
[55] Bernstein, 1996

then the needs change to include a general narrative, which determines how a theory will be positioned and also guides the presentation of the topic for the reader, whom, in the case of many textbooks, is not assumed to be an authority.[56] Bernstein simplified my question of Chehalis pronunciation by asking about the acoustics of the situation. For example, whose voice is heard? Who is speaking? Who is hailed by this voice? For whom is it familiar?[57]

Further, Bernstein declared, "To know whose voice is speaking is the beginning of one's own voice."[58] This is fundamentally different from Boas' work since Boas did not apply those queries to his own work but instead presumed the only voice who ought to be considered was his own and perhaps those of his colleagues.[59] Additionally, Bernstein's theories of pedagogising knowledge which rests largely on recontextualizing information, then offers a platform for language changes to occur while remaining true to the natural or intended pronunciation of language. In effect, if it is a Chehalis person pronouncing Chehalis vocabulary, the nature of being Chehalis becomes the defining or qualifying factor which determines the pronunciation as correct. Bernstein further advocates that "power constructs relation *between"* which can be used to identify the boundaries between who has power and says a pronunciation is correct and who does not.[60]

Bernstein also maintained "control establishes what is considered to be legitimate communications". This statement acknowledges the accepted practice of those in power making the decisions and choices about what will count or be considered relevant. For instance, we know history is always told from the perspective of the conqueror, according to Linda Smith and others, so applying this theory to Chehalis language pronunciation implies that only a Chehalis tribal member is qualified to make the determination on proper or

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[56] Bernstein, 1996, P. xvi
[57] Bernstein, 1996, P. xxv
[58] Bernstein, 1996, P. xxv
[59] Boas, 1911
[60] Bernstein, 1996, P. 5

acceptable pronunciation, and this cannot be thrust onto outside decision-makers.[61] All of the facts and ideas shared above, in terms of prescriptive pronunciation increased my reluctance in being deemed the authority who determines whether the Chehalis language remains intact. Since the loss of Katherine Barr, I have discarded this question from my research at this time. Once we are able to develop language skills within our tribal members, we can decide for ourselves if changes to the language are detrimental or can be considered a mark of language vitality and growth.

## 2.1 Prescriptive Pronunciation

Katherine Barr believed in language prescriptivism, meaning that failure to pronounce words exactly meant it was not Chehalis being spoken. Several resources have grappled with fluctuating pronunciation vs. prescriptivism. J.K. Chambers' description of changing language patterns identified some important considerations about the loss of historical knowledge and the impact on language changes, including ways in which this occurs.[62] According to Chambers, children and teens speak more like their peers than their parents, which generates opportunities for increased pronunciation changes when children interact with others in their age groups.[63] He further posited that these changes would occur within any language situation. The impact of such changes on both small and dying languages must unfortunately have a far greater negative impact than comparable change would on robust languages such as Spanish or English. In fact, major languages have so many speakers that change may be viewed as inevitable. But the same cannot be said for indigenous languages in which even small changes reflect a profound difference in meaning with potentially disastrous consequences.

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[61] Smith, 1999
[62] Chambers, 1995
[63] Chambers, 1995, P. 146

My main point is that even very small changes can have a significant impact because language is connected to culture and can change cultural views. In Chehalis there is a traditional method of giving thanks which is reserved for religious and spiritual activities as noted previously. The common use of *thanks* is more complex and difficult to pronounce, resulting in a mixing of the forms. Katherine brought this to my attention early on in our lessons and I noticed the failure to use the correct form in common or conversational situations. The traditional word is always used, regardless of the occasion. When I brought this to my community, people shrugged and said the traditional, ceremonial word was easier, and that they could not correctly pronounce the common form. This change  resulted in a large number of Chehalis people failing to recognize the appropriate code and in loss of the correct form.

Another challenge is the impact of prescriptivism on language integrity, particularly in an extremely small language family such as Chehalis, whose pronunciation is unlike most of the surrounding tribal languages. Small changes in pronunciation will be passed on almost immediately to future speakers who may have no idea a change has occurred The resulting speech is therefore not a reflection of the true language. In terms of prescriptivism, I see it's applicability to traditional or spiritual speech because our cultural information supporting use of traditional speech doesn't change much, so the motives behind tradition still stand.

Compounding this issue for Chehalis is the variability of pronunciation occurring depending on the speaker, topic, and time. There are difficulties determining when variations are acceptable or completely incorrect. Since the hallmark of a living language can be measured by varying pronunciations combined with new words, such as car or TV, then attempting to prevent changes, as called for by prescriptivism, appears to be an unnatural element in language growth. This sentiment is shared by many in the linguistic field, but I acknowledge these experts are mostly non-indigenous and view or make judgements on the

indigenous languages in question from an outsider and Westernized perspective. However, what needs to be understood is that *context* is what drives which form of language should be used. For example, *traditional* or ritual language is never meant for everyday use. *Common* language codes may be suitable for polite speech or in the workplace but feels stilted in personal situations. Similarly, *conversational* speech might not be appropriate in professional settings or presentations.

Boas, wrote from the position in which he believed there was a problem related to the exact nature of Indian languages. He offered several theories for Pacific Northwest indigenous language development and its relation to or influence on culture.[64] Boas gave very clear instruction on pronunciation and associated attempts to use language as one of the means to classify races but also using physical type and customs as well. He acknowledged naturally progressive changes in most languages and resulting changes being attributed to an intermixture of races or groups. He did note that variation in possible sounds was unlimited while also claiming every language has a definite and limited group of sounds.[65] Boas posited different interpretations of Indian phonetics depending on the nationality of the observer, such that certain nationalities may hear a sound one way but others may hear a completely different sound which is related to the similarity of these same sounds in the listeners' repertoire, while there are no actual changes in the pronunciation of the sound by the speaker. This matter of observer perspective has contributed to the many varieties of spelling and pronunciation in American Indian language accounts by different groups since first contact.

Fishman agreed that the necessary influence a listener's background projects onto the language pronunciations is present.[66] The associated acceptance by Boas' peers lends an additional air of authority which does not leave room for an indigenous perspective. Such assessment offers insight into the difficulty of interpreting the meaning and proper

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[64] Boas & Powell, 1966, P. v
[65] Boas & Powell, 1966, P. 12
[66] Fishman, 2001

pronunciation of historical accounts of tribal languages. If ethnographers who had a poor ear for language were present for data collection, then the resulting ethnography becomes inaccurate while simultaneously being accepted as the correct or official version. This certainly happened for the Chehalis Tribe.

Boas sent his student Thelma Adamson to collect information at several Northwest tribes. Unfortunately, Adamson's notes and recordings are considered to be faulty and poorly collected by most in the field, including Chehalis linguist, Dr. Kinkade. Kinkade disparaged Adamson's work which was later accepted as the official collection representing the Chehalis language.[67] An additional factor complicating these accounts are the dismal nature of Adamson's collecting habits: poorly transcribed notes and faulty duplication are the main residuals left by Adamson's visit to the Chehalis Tribe. Boas also noted and accounted for changes in pronunciation over time as a reflection of the speakers' and observers' participating in communication. In the case of the Chehalis language, if the listener's first language is not a Pacific Northwest Indian language, there are profound effects on the resulting clarity of the Chehalis language.[68]

Boas' handbook was deemed useful by peers for information regarding American Indian languages. He became accepted professionally as the leading authority for Pacific Northwest tribal languages. Boas also assumed future listeners would naturally embody a certain minimum level of linguistic knowledge and communicated to the language speaker with this type of background. Therefore his work is geared towards his peers and students rather than to the indigenous communities with which he worked. His discourse on lexicographic influences offers the reader a fair sense of the reasons behind linguistic differences and changes, *from an outsider viewpoint*. Significantly, it is imperative to note

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[67] Kinkade, 1995
[68] Boas & Powell, 1966, P. 14

that Boas' work retains a strong sense of authority in the field of Native American linguistic studies despite his obvious status as an outsider to the Tribes.

Other tribal language programs, including those sponsored by the *Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival* (AICLS) in California, are less concerned with prescriptivism and consider the emphasis be on retaining any portion of the language which remains.[69] The quantity of indigenous tribal languages shared by the many tribes in California were such that several groups of California-specific language advocates were developed to embrace and assist Californian tribes to maintain and preserve their indigenous languages. AICLS is just one of these assemblies and includes smaller groups covering regional tribal language programs. L. Frank Manriques, a language revitalization participant at AICLS for the past 20 years maintains, "*You have to take it back down to what you can do, what one person can do.*"[70]

Language advocates from various American Indian tribes have been reluctant to offer concrete opinions regarding prescriptivism. In fact members of the same tribe can be reluctant to voice opinions. It is an issue fraught with elements such as the authority of the speaker or listener to make these determinations, the degree to which the speaker may make broad statements, as well as the familiarity or acceptance by the Tribe to identify language authorities.

Some language programs depend entirely on language activities to impart necessary cultural and linguistic information between participants. For instance, a pen pal program was developed for Cherokee students from the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians located in North Carolina.[71] The program was designed for Cherokee immersion students from different Cherokee language programs corresponding to each other exclusively in Cherokee. The article does not articulate if there was a spotlight on

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[69] "Many Californians," 2012, P. 21
[70] "Letters in Cherokee," 2012, P. 18
[71] "Letters in Cherokee," 2012, P. 18

pronunciation, but I imagine less focus on direct pronunciation when working with diverse young age groups who are learning about the different dialects of Cherokee language, as children and young people alter their speech and communication habits to duplicate other youth according to Chambers.[72]

Crystal concurs with the process of changes in language equating to language life and serving as examples of a language's vibrancy. He argues these changes in pronunciation, which language purists see as the death of the original language, are quite common in all languages. Languages are always in a state of flux: the only languages which do not change are the dead ones.[73] Crystal's studies on language life and death are a compilation of research on both native indigenous languages as well as various forms of non-tribal languages such as those spoken in areas of Asia or Europe. He also argues that for language to be useful or meaningful it needs to meet the following requirements: participants need to feel they are contributing something to it, and also getting something out of it, everyone must have an opportunity to speak, conversational roles should be clear, speaking as a mother, professional, spectator, etc., a sense of when to speak and when to stay silent as well as developing a mutual tolerance for a speaker's lack of clarity and a listener's inattention.[74]

Crystal's studies of the electronic communication also bear noting as we begin to see language revitalization practices become more reliant on electronic communication in efforts to both broaden the platform for ideas about languages and also to attract and interest younger language learners. He posited language as the primary means of understanding our society, and in turn, ourselves.[75] Thus, the emphasis on the growing and changing which are necessary for languages to be considered living becomes more than a matter of reframing the importance of prescriptivism and instead becomes a conversation about how to keep

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[72] Chambers, 1995, P. 146
[73] Crystal, 2005, P. 357
[74] Crystal, 2005, P. 120
[75] Crystal, 2005

languages truly alive, thriving, and growing. Although this shift in focus spotlights the positive results which come from additions to a language, particularly the addition of new words such as TV, etc., changing pronunciations may be unavoidable to some degree. This is embodied in the struggle to duplicate sounds precisely, while communicating with others who may not have the ear to respond in kind.

## 2.2 Questioning About Revitalization: Legitimacy, Attendance, Literature

In *The Fate of Progressive Language Policies and Practices*, editors Dudley-Marling and Edelsky examine liberal language projects in the first chapter entitled *Progressive Language Projects: Some Framing Issues* as well as in chapter 11, *First Language Support in the Curriculum*, by Nanci Goldman, Joyce Rogers, and Brian A. Smith.[76] One other section, chapter 15, entitled *Students' Right to Their Own Language: A Retrospective* by Geneva Smitherman, in Dudley-Marling and Edelsky, shares the perspective "*…enlightened academics saw their task clearly to struggle for such legitimacy*" when talking about legitimizing the language and culture of the oppressed.[77] The language issues addressed in this text were primarily Spanish-language related, although some value exists in terms of classroom language activities to use and avoid. Important insights about classroom language techniques was related to its primary relevance, which would be to increase class participation overall.

A valuable peer-reviewed source, from The Evergreen State College, by Cosette Lelani Smith posed the question "What can teachers of Native American learners do to advance the move toward revitalization of Native languages?"[78] Smith's research led to the conclusion that teachers of Native American learners are simply one component in the challenge against the English Only movement. Smith asserts that teachers of Native American

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[76] Dudley-Marling & Edelsky, 2001, P. 209
[77] Dudley-Marling & Edelsky, 2001, P. 280
[78] Smith, 2000, P. 3

learners have their first responsibility to their students.[79] Smith references the use of the Quinault Indian language in the Tahola high school as a stance for inclusion into local schools, and not limited to those schools serving tribal members on reservation, which remains particularly contentious for tribes. The decision about where tribal students will learn the tribal language and even, who gets to learn the tribal language is very emotional for many indigenous people. The Chehalis Tribal government currently elects not to allow Chehalis language classes in non-tribal schools. Katherine Barr was similarly opposed to Chehalis being taught in local schools because it was one of the few remaining elements kept relatively private by the Tribe.

Smith comes from a strong language background both in her family and tribe and has participated in her tribal language program for many years. Smith's acceptance of her tribal language being taught in the local, non-tribal school is an appropriate answer for the Quinault Nation, creating a captive audience for the language lessons. Unfortunately, many tribes, the Chehalis numbered among them, will not allow non-Indians to learn the indigenous language as it is perceived to be a cultural resource for tribal use only. Smith's comparatively short Master's thesis does not sufficiently explore which tactics will increase classroom attendance since attendance is mandatory in the Quinault school system, however it opens the topic of indigenous language inclusion in non-tribal curricula and the potential challenges and solutions. Smith's reflections on how an indigenous language influences students' self-image, culture, community, and sovereignty allude to other research supporting her hypothesis of a native language's inclusion into the school curriculum having a positive effect on students' overall development and achievements. Smith relies heavily on language curriculum used in tribal settings wherein the language is included in non-tribal classrooms. Her dismissal of indoctrination in favor of teaching students to develop inquisitive assessment skills was a

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[79] Smith, 2000, P. 6

wonderful contrast to current mainstream American education pedagogy. Her determination to place native language within this framework works for those tribes who have incorporated their language or culture into local school systems. However, this assessment isn't applicable for those tribes who do not identify with the model.

## 2.3 Use of Technology and Books

Michelle Rindels' article about technology for saving Native American Indian languages is particularly timely as it demonstrates the lengths to which tribes will go in order to entice a younger audience to learn endangered tribal languages.[80] Chehalis has begun to explore these means as well. This move to an online presence also supports Crystal's observation of the electronic development of teaching materials effectively changing how language and cultural information is imparted to students.[81]

One idea developed by the Hochunk language program is a traditional language version of "*Who Wants to be a Millionaire*?"[82] The Hochunk Nation also incorporates other online applications to share their native language. The increasing move toward digitalization and game-based language lessons is going to be an element which improves class attendance for young people. Thornton Media assisted the Hochunk in these indigenous language applications, including several for iPhone and iPad, and is recognized as a leader in the tech side of indigenous language revitalization.[83] The high cost of electronic material development will prove to be one of the challenges for digitizing indigenous languages. The opportunity for cost sharing and resource leverage will also be a comparable obstacle for tribes whose language programs stand alone.

Reyhner subsequently worried that digitalizing language may not be the saving grace it is hailed to be, which contradicts other linguistic authorities such as Crystal and Eco, who

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[80] Rindels, 2013
[81] Crystal, 2005
[82] Rindels, 2013
[83] Rindels, 2013, P. 2

maintain that increasing focus on digital and online habits will only continue to rise and thusly need to be part of most new language revitalization plans.

Conversely, other linguists such as Hilaire Paul Valiquette, in Hoffman, agreed with Reyhner's views on the potential negative effects which digital language learning may have on indigenous language recovery. Valiquette stated "*Computers are the most questionable of language teaching tools. They are not cost effective, they bypass intergenerational teaching, they often involve handing over control to technical experts. They are very often connected with bad language teaching, such as word lists. Their use makes a patronizing statement: 'the superiority of technology of the dominant culture is saving you.*"[84] Reyhner continued with the "three M's of indigenous language": *Methods*, which determines teaching techniques used at various age levels and stages of language loss; *Materials* which governs how one will use available tools for teachers and learners, including audiotapes, videotapes, storybooks, dictionaries, grammars, textbooks, and computer software; and *Motivation* which is concerned with increasing the prestige and usefulness of the indigenous language within the community as well as using teaching methods which learners enjoy so they will come back for more indigenous language instruction.[85]

When considering the use of computers for digital language learning of the Chehalis language, one must consider the spelling style associated with the Chehalis language. For instance, the Chehalis dictionary uses the IPA system of writing, which is vastly different from the American writing system. Great difficulties, related to student adverseness to learning and using the IPA style and trouble rendering the non-English language sounds into English spelling have been a large obstacle for Chehalis. The issue of IPA and American alphabet use needs to be explored or the development of something altogether different will need to be examined prior to digital development.

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[84] Hoffman, E.D. (2012). *American Indians and Popular Culture: Vol. 1: Media, Sports and Politics P. 347*
[85] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. xviii

Joan Hall's *Teaching and Researching Language and Culture* explores the various elements for successful language-teaching methodology.[86] Opening with definitions of language and culture followed by case studies demonstrating the teaching of these two disciplines is completed by research and resources. Hall viewed language as manifest in the responses to social and political forces and also articulated the changing landscape of linguistic practices in the shift from a purely scientific study of the individual parts making up a language to the more recent use of social science methodologies.

## 2.4 Use of Gestures and Body Movement

Hall also maintained that language seldom stands alone as a method of communication, and it is therefore appropriate to include gestures and body language to our interpretive experience. The incorporation of gestures prove useful when teaching pre-school age and younger students because pairing actions with lessons is already common in Western schooling. More challenging is incorporating these ideas into adult classes without infantilizing adult learners. Hall's work falls in line with the *Total Physical Response* (TPR) practices which are hailed by Leanne Hinton as the key to cementing the language into the brain through appropriate movements.[87] Hinton's other efforts to develop a more natural immersion process supports the use of gestures to accompany instructions. She maintains we should look at how children learn languages for guidance and to model these immersion practices on the home lessons in which children learn to speak.[88] Her advocacy for modelling immersion on childhood language experience is deeply connected to the indigenous ways of passing on language. Some of the innovative methods of incorporating TPR and whole body movement into language transmission activities will renew interest in native language learners.

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[86] Hall, 2002
[87] Hinton, 2002
[88] Hinton, 2002

Hall's text, from a linguistic perspective exemplified the problem of being written for use by fellow linguists, rather than for those seeking indigenous language reclamation without a linguistically educated background. Another concern is that many linguists come from non-indigenous backgrounds, lack the strong, personal relationships to these indigenous languages, and write primarily for non-indigenous professional peers.

Gina Cantoni, author of *Using TPR-Storytelling to Develop Fluency and Literacy in Native American Languages* in Reyhner, has adapted the Total Physical Response method to language learning into an approach which is tailored to Storytelling specifically.[89] TPR-S incorporates vocabulary into stories heard, watched, acted out, retold, revised, read, written, and rewritten. According to Cantoni, using stories as a focal point for language learning encourages children to learn indigenous languages in a second-hand fashion, since the primary act is that of communicating a story to the children. It is a sneak approach to language learning. Additionally, the teacher asks questions of the students as a means to embed the story and its associated vocabulary into students' minds in a way which may feel more natural to some children and adults.

The ultimate goal of TPR-S is to have children and adults learn to develop their own stories using the indigenous language as a means of expression. This form of TPR was particularly interactive, especially as the language lessons developed more intricacies and became more advanced. Once students began to speak the language in response to the stories or the teacher's interaction, the focus became centered on responding to the students or developing the story line as opposed to a critique of the students' language use and pronunciation. According to Cantoni, it is essential for students to speak their native languages in addition to just understanding their dialect. She suggested all student attempts to use the language be encouraged and rewarded and never criticized. Further, the learners are

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[89] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. 53

not to blame for a slower progress when lessons are reliant upon minimal speakers, language lessons or limited home use.

Despite the various language transmission methodologies identified here, I recognized a gap in the literature regarding techniques for improving class attendance in a non-compulsory setting. This fissure will be difficult to fill. At Chehalis I collaborated with the Tribe's Heritage Committee to determine how to improve low attendance. The dilemma is that Chehalis tribal members surveyed in 2003 identified the need for Chehalis language classes as vital, but with a corresponding sentiment that someone should be attending and learning, but perhaps not the respondents themselves. In fact, my detailed participant rosters revealed the absence of any members of the leadership and governing body and only sporadic Heritage Committee member attendance in classes.

Some incentives developed by the Chehalis Tribe include *Chehalis Language Scholar* logo clothing and accessories. Receipt of these items were dependent upon attending a number of classes and demonstrating understanding of basic vocabulary. Another idea considered only very briefly and almost immediately dismissed was the potential offering of a learning stipend to dedicated scholars. This idea never had the prospective for becoming reality for it was considered too disagreeable to have to pay people to learn their own language.

Some tribes like Navajo, have several thousand people who might understand the language, yet still experience significant difficulties in generating new active participants and maintaining classroom attendance. I recognized low attendance as an element present in both large and small language efforts.

## 2.5 Issues of Reading and Writing Indigenous Languages

Author Jon Reyhner acknowledged linguistic teaching guidance needs for language students in *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages.*[90] In this book, comprised of essays and papers selected from the *Fifth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium,* held in Louisville, KY in May 1998, Reyhner reiterated the eight points of language learning developed and identified by Hinton. These eight points include being an active teacher; not using English at all; using gestures, context, objects, and actions; rephrasing for successful communication; rephrasing for added learning; willingness to play with language; realizing that understanding must precede speaking; and being patient.[91] Reyhner underscored the inherent difficulties of reading and writing indigenous languages due to the commonly shared history of missionaries developing such written systems as a means of religious conversion and control over tribal groups. Another important consideration for reading and writing includes the incorporation of English as a means to learn languages. I explore the necessity for decolonization further in Chapter Four and Five of this thesis.

In terms of a hierarchy of needs, reading and writing are considered less significant and even secondary to learning and speaking when reflecting on appropriate language continuation activities, which Johnston reflects on in her thesis.[92] Essentially, Reyhner saw reading and writing indigenous languages as problematic because of the history behind the missionary practices, since the emphasis needed to remain on keeping the language as a living and changing reflection of the indigenous way of life.

Reyhner alluded to the work of H. Russell Bernard, who stated the two most important activities to help preserve language diversity included building indigenous language nest immersion opportunities and to develop publishing houses in order to publish reading

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[90] Reyhner, Cantoni, St. Clair, & Yazzie, 1999, P. ix
[91] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. xiii
[92] Johnston, 1998 P. 58

materials in indigenous languages.[93] Accordingly, Reyhner also identified primary discourse, associated with face-to-face conversation, and secondary discourse occurring between people who do not share closely related experiences as important advances and denoting different stages of indigenous language usage and ability, which in turn can be used to indicate the strength of a language.

According to Richard Littlebear, in McCarty, the American government's silencing of Native American languages serves as an acknowledgement of the power of tribal linguistics.[94] Littlebear argues against saving our indigenous languages simply because these languages used to have political, economic or global relevance. Instead, Littlebear attests to the inherent spiritual relevance our languages contained and continue to hold for us tribal people. Littlebear, in McCarty, noted "*If we all just spoke our languages to our young people, we would have no need for indigenous language curricula or for conferences such as this one to save our languages. If we just spoke our languages, all of our languages would be healthier, but I know that is not what's happening. We do not speak our languages and our languages are dying. We are also confronted with a voracious language, English, which gobbles up everything in its way. We have to devise strategies now to face the problems our languages have never encountered before.*"[95] Littlebear's words reflect the choices at Chehalis to respond in English when hailed in Chehalis.

Littlebear concluded with "*Since this is the first time and only time we are going to lose our languages, we have to devise new strategies accordingly.*"[96] His strategies include understanding the lack of elders living from the previous century, which means we no longer have that particular linguistic and spiritual link to the previous existence of our tribal cultures. Secondly, according to Littlebear, language is the basis of sovereignty. Once our languages

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[93] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. xiii
[94] McCarty, (2013). *Language planning and policy in Native America, history, theory, praxis*
[95] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. 1
[96] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. 1

disappear, each of the other attributes of sovereignty begin to fall apart until they are all gone. Littlebear states "*Our land base and sacred practices are passed on through our languages, not by English, the language spoken by the people who killed our people and oppressed our languages*".[97] Littlebear's third idea concerns protocol in ceremonies and the languages used during those times. Littlebear recognizes the people who have a right to use these words and languages are dying, leaving no speakers behind. The loss of this specialized language is considered a major obstacle to reclaiming indigenous languages everywhere. Littlebear's fourth idea concerns people needing to go to college and then returning to their people in order to help preserve the tribal language and cultures. His fifth idea, concerns our ability to encourage our elders and our fluent speakers to be more accepting of those who are beginning to learn the languages. Littlebear's vision of language change is radical because he embraces pronunciation changes as evidence a language is living and growing, remaining relevant to the Tribe. He states new speakers will continue to shape our languages as they see fit, just as his generation did and the generation before them. A last idea shared by Littlebear is we must remember our children are not genetically wired for learning and acquiring our tribal languages[98].

Stephen Greymorning, in Reyhner, et. al. wrote the essay "*Running the Gauntlet of an Indigenous Language Program*" which compared the development of a tribal language program as akin to running a gauntlet in terms of trying to identify potential problem areas and bypassing those dangerous turns, which could result in death.[99] Greymorning commented on his development of a curriculum which referenced a large numbers of language materials, but was never put to use. Greymorning, maintains we must address the struggles to pass on languages that continue to occur despite language teachers attending transformative trainings.

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[97] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. 1
[98] McCarty (2013).
[99] Reyhner, J., Cantoni, G., St. Clair, R. N., & Yazzie, E. P. (Eds.). (1999). *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages*. P.6

How can we close the gap between instructors receiving these trainings and actually being able to use the methodologies being learned? Arapaho language teachers, criticized for their ineffectiveness by non-language teachers, were forced to justify their existence within the school system despite few resources and classroom time for teaching.

Greymorning called for a multifaceted approach which entails having the language seen and heard in as many places as possible, including street signs, radio, computers, videos and books. He also addressed recording children's stories and books for use in Head Start and early learning programs. Greymorning attributed indigenous languages as sacred gifts which should be shared with tribal youth. Additionally, he supported the use of digital media for language materials. Our youth will always be drawn to the digital realm and therefore we must meet them there, while trying to mitigate the lack of intergenerational learning related to this method.

Daniel S. Rubin's contribution "*Sm'algyax Language Renewal: Prospects and Options"*, in Reyhner, et. al., was developed from his program located within School District 52 in Prince Rupert, British Columbia. Rubin recounted past language transmission methods, which relied very heavily on rote instruction and repetitive practice.[100] This style of language teaching has been identified as the least effective way of learning an additional language stemming from its Westernized approach. Rubin, in agreement with T. L. McCarty, affirmed the strong distinction between acquiring and learning a language, which actually reflects the differences between meaning and surface forms of language. According to McCarty, teacher-centered instruction does not help language learners acquire a deeper understanding of meaning due to the passivity of this learning style. Additionally, McCarty assured readers that language acquisition is more complex and subconscious than repeating, imitating, or

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[100] Reyhner, J., Cantoni, G., St. Clair, R. N., & Yazzie, E. P. (Eds.). (1999).

practicing. To understand the essence, the life within the language, is the point of language learning.[101]

Rubin identified five levels of fluency for language accumulation. The first level is passive, and the learner is able to understand common words or phrases. The second level is symbolic in which the learner is able to use these common phrases and sentences in formal settings as symbols of language participation and cultural ownership. The third level is considered to be functional use. The learner is able to speak the language with a basic understanding of linguistic rules and usage but with minimal vocabulary. The fourth level is fluent in which the learner is able to speak and understand the language with confidence and skill. The fifth level is creative, in which the learner is able to speak and understand the language fluently in ways which create new word usage and structures.

Rubin suggested using oral literature as curriculum because it embodies a different worldview from the standard Western perspective. He additionally emphasized that traditional indigenous ways of knowing need not reference European traditions to be valid. Essentially, he advocated for language to be taught in the schools and he detailed the types of linguistic materials which should be produced and utilized. His technique valued the sharing of language as paramount in the effort to preserve the unique tribal knowledge and history embedded in language.

Rubin advocated against the teacher as the main or only source of language lessons, instead encouraging the development of roles for tribal elders who are necessary to the process of passing on language and traditions. This innovative approach is recognized in the indigenous community but seldom used in present day schools due to the strict requirements for degrees or certification of teaching staff by governments, in addition to issues of elders' stamina.

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[101] McCarty, T. L. (2013). Indigenous literacies, continuum or divide? In M. R. Hawkins (Ed.), *Framing languages and literacies, socially situated views and perspectives.* P. 170.

Rubin's example of language learning used by Jim Green, in Reyhner, et. al., who taught Lakota in South Dakota, incorporates a method called *The Silent Way*, which is named because the teacher does a minimum of speaking.[102] In the Silent Way immersive methodology, the teacher only speaks in the native language and encourages the students to do the talking and learning. Rubin emphasized cultural immersion as an experiential approach to learning languages. His theory entailed combining language with traditional culture as a means for youth to absorb both directly from interactions with tribal elders. Of course this technique assumes the availability of fluent speakers which does not exist at Chehalis today.

Finally, Rubin recommended the following key issues be considered when developing an indigenous language program. First, consider what level of fluency is the ultimate goal. Second, determine who will provide instruction. Third, decide when and where the spoken and written indigenous language will be valued and used. Finally, define what role the local tribal communities and the home will play in language renewal.

## 2.6 Repercussions of Non-Indigenous Approaches to Learning Language

Stan J. Anonby's encounter with the Kwakwaka'wakw indigenous language program in the paper *Reversing Language Shift: Can Kwak'wala Be Revived?*[103], in Reyhner, et. al., offers a cautionary account of the disasters created by non-indigenous approaches to indigenous revitalization. Anonby, a non-native, assigned himself the role of learning and teaching an indigenous language. Anonby, served the community in a religious capacity and described the indigenous community as having a lack of strong Kwakwaka'wakw identity which his outsider status rendered him inappropriate to gauge. As an outsider and unsolicited language learner, Anonby failed to grasp the incongruity of judging this community's sense of identity. He employed a Westernized objective view of this community and its needs from his

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[102] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. 27
[103] Reyhner, J., Cantoni, G., St. Clair, R. N., & Yazzie, E. P. (Eds.). (1999). *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages*.

perspective as a religious leader assigned to serve. He also outlined the recent history of the Tribe and noted the language shift which had taken place over the last century.

Anonby identified the problem drinkers and people who have done poorly as keepers of the language, stating they seemed to speak the language better and more frequently while under the influence of alcohol or drugs. These tribal members would only use their indigenous tongue to communicate after drinking or using, according to Anonby. Additionally, he taught himself the language using methods learned at a second language acquisition course at the University of North Dakota. He then appointed himself to approach the community to develop a language program. He began classes with a somewhat broad number of attendees, which dwindled to less than a half dozen over the course of several weeks. Anonby revealed some of the tribal youth expressed anger with him for learning their language so easily when they had wanted to learn it for years. He was never able to view his position as other than the great white savior who had determined to save this people from their own foolhardiness by teaching them their language and culture in addition to a Western religion while he was there. His paper concluded that unless the tribal group was willing to radically change their way of approaching their language, it would be dead within several decades, with the exception of him, of course.

Anonby personified an outcome feared by many indigenous tribes when considering sharing their language with non-tribal people. His failure to respect the cultural and linguistic boundaries of the Kwakwaka'wakw people resulted in the language being documented and recorded but in a way which reduced its value to the community because of the negative practices associated with the experience.

**Part B:**

**2.7 Engaging Learners From Every Age Group**

Gale Fiege's article on Lushootseed language, which considered the Tulalip Tribe's creation of an eight week long summer course, as well as a Montessori preschool, into which they incorporate the Lushootseed language corroborated the need for tribes and indigenous groups to utilize all seasons for language immersion and revitalization. The Tulalip curriculum's current focus is everyday words and phrases, employing flash cards and family songs.[104] Lushootseed also incorporated different immersion techniques which were dependent on the age of the learner and the particular learning environment. Summer classes utilized an alternate learning timetable than weekly classes which reflects the differing needs of learners from an indigenized approach.

*How Language Works* describes the process when languages begin to die as well as how they can evolve and change. Crystal firmly maintained languages are always in a state of flux and the only languages which do not change are dead ones.[105] Additionally, Crystal specified the distinct differences in learning aims, teaching methods, and achievement levels between foreign languages and second languages.[106] Most valuable was the section focused on achieving success in language learning.[107] Crystal's hypothesis is that learners of different ages have different learning needs which may require diverse teaching methods to be incorporated into the learning environment. Pairing elders and youth together to maximize multigenerational learning opportunities promotes the advantage of improving cultural retention in youth when they personalize language and cultural lessons but also preserves historical information from elders who have experienced the activities or knowledge firsthand. Intergenerational learning is particularly valued in indigenous communities. Crystal

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[104] Fiege, 2013, P. 5
[105] Crystal, 2005, P. 357
[106] Crystal, 2005, P. 431
[107] Crystal, 2005, P. 434

also referred to other work which indicated typical Westernized classroom learning is not the most effective way to teach languages. He mentioned that students in high school Spanish and French classes were often unable to use these languages conversationally or even functionally despite years of lessons. Crystal's preference for non-Western styled learning coincides with similar views held by Hinton, Greymorning, Reyhner, and Little Bear.

Leanne Hinton promoted the hypothesis that language teaching is best learned when emulating teaching methods which are used on toddlers by their parents and family in the home.[108] Hinton identified how children not taught language via classrooms still somehow develop language skills to communicate effectively with their families. Hinton's supposition is that words combined with appropriate actions and some partial repetition is far more effective in securely placing the new knowledge. Greymorning's findings support this as particularly appropriate for indigenous languages. For instance, when handing a teddy bear to a baby, the parent might say, "Here's your bear." "You love your bear." "You are hugging your bear, aren't you?" This type of language acquisition method is far more natural than a system of writing words, repeating by rote, and memorizing terms without hearing them used within context to help learners recall lessons in a variety of situations.[109] Additionally, Hinton asserted this method can be effective with learners of any age and that the use of action and repetition engages learners to decipher the meaning of the vocabulary as demonstrated. Many immersion programs utilize this form of natural learning and have developed the process to incorporate adults as well. In fact, broad age spans are not limited by these methods. Katherine Barr's techniques in our private lessons were of this nature and embodied an indigenous immersive element.

Patsy M. Lightbrown's work, *How Languages Are Learned*, identified techniques for instructors to utilize when working within varied age groups of language learners, as well as

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[108] Hinton, 2002
[109] Hinton, 2002

pitfalls to avoid.[110] Lightbrown agreed with the premise that young learners' ages reflect their ability and style of learning, particularly with language. Lightbrown also noted Chomsky's Innatist theory about language acquisition and the universal principles which underpins how languages are learned.[111] Chomsky's argument that children come to learn far more about the linguistic rules governing patterns of speech at early ages is compelling when one considers the addition of second languages and the general ease which is demonstrated after comparatively little time. He emphasizes how understanding universal language rules can be applied to learners of second languages too. Although Chomsky's work suggests that learning the rules of a language develops naturally, Lightbrown did not investigate further.

A natural progression includes attempting to identify if Innatist theory applies to learning implicit language rules governing second languages. Lightbrown embraces the interactionist theory that children learn a language's rules through interaction within the family home. This theory is prominent in immersion and is supported by authorities such as Hinton and Crystal. This does not imply that issues related to parental figures' use of improper grammar and other language rules impact children negatively, however examples exist of children being able to speak correctly within certain language rules while having grown ups in their home with lax or non-existent adherence to such imperatives.

Catherine Snow, in Lightbrown and Spada, investigated the ways in which adults address children and believed that both the interaction and type of voice and speech pattern being used with children probably differs from the patterns and tones used with adults. Interaction with children may be characterized by slower speech and simpler sentences allowing children to grasp the information more completely.[112] Lightbrown's investigation of language learning conditions revealed that younger children may be exposed to language in more common environments allowing the younger children to pick up the ability to become

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[110] Lightbrown & Spada, 2006, P. 2
[111] Chomsky, 2006
[112] Lightbrown & Spada, 2006, P. 21

bilingual learners more effectively than older kids who are more likely to learn in shorter more conscripted situations such as classes during the school year.

## 2.8 Classroom Teaching and Learning

Lightbrown offers six proposals for a variety of classroom teaching: Get it right from the beginning; Just listen…and read; Let's talk; Two for one; Teach what is teachable; and Get it right in the end.[113] Each have a number of proponents advocating their use. Crystal and Hinton both include elements in their suggestions for language transmission. For Chehalis, just listening, not reading, let's talk, and teach what is teachable were used during my initial language collection work with Katherine Barr and Dr. Kinkade. According to Lightbrown, repetition should be avoided as it enables the student to reflect on other things besides the lesson. The lack of full focus on language lessons results in disinterest as well as a lack of engagement from the student. This lack of engagement permits students to speak without focusing on what they are saying.

When Chehalis classes began in 2002, the teaching was comprised of repetition. This was based on my lack of teaching experience and was the model used when I was a student. Lightbrown identifies this style as ineffective which is evidenced by the few Chehalis students who seldom missed class yet still failed at pronunciation of more complicated Chehalis sounds. Lightbrown concluded with an argument for form-focused instruction and corrective feedback, which includes correcting persistent errors, especially when students appear unaware of the pronunciation error and identifying similar error clusters in student groups.[114] Clusters of mispronunciation indicate that the lesson isn't adequate for student needs.

McCarty estimates that though most children are no longer learning native languages as their first languages, these languages remain in culturally important positions as languages

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[113] Lightbrown & Spada, 2006, P. 137
[114] Lightbrown & Spada, 2006, P. 179

of heritage.[115] McCarty is also a proponent of language planning and policy occurring as part of a socio-cultural process, wherein the framework allows for critical examination of the relationships between language, power, and inequality. This also develops a platform for justice, advocacy, and social change to occur.[116] In fact, McCarty opines that native language revitalization instructors be viewed as occupying and opening new ideological and implementational spaces. She explored the ways indigenous languages have been seen as existing either within or outside a safe cultural perspective throughout United States political history and envisioned her theory of language planning and policy encapsulated within the notion of cultural continuance as developed by S. J. Ortiz's book *Woven Stone*, which recognizes "the hybridity of contemporary youth language and cultural practices, enabling them to be re-envisioned as resources rather than liabilities for language regenesis."[117] The revisualization and reframing of problems related to language revival places McCarty's work squarely within other indigenous methodologists, even though McCarty herself is not indigenous. Her theory of language is accepted and shared by her peers, who include Hinton, Crystal, and Reyhner.

McCarty's developments situates the cultural perspective of language revitalization in the context of indigenous empowerment with warnings to indigenous language teachers and students to be wary of identifying tribal languages as dying or moribund; stating this type of attitude is responsible for killing off feelings of possibility in terms of language regeneration. McCarty also shares the numbering of language privileges as based on a conception of languages "*as neatly-bounded, abstract, autonomous grammatical systems*", while simultaneously diverting attention from the "speech-community dynamics of language contact and change" which obscures the complex dynamics of actual language-in-use.[118] Her

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[115] McCarty, 2013, P. xxiv
[116] McCarty, 2013, P. xxv
[117] McCarty, 2013, P. xxvi
[118] McCarty, 2013, P. 8

view of actual use trumps concepts of numbering, a basic tenet of many tribal language programs. This focus suits an indigenous way of applying meaning to language use versus concentrating merely on the number of speakers. Reframing the focus from numbering remaining speakers to actual language use also encourages tribal speakers who may worry the effort is too great or they alone are responsible for keeping their language alive.

## 2.9 Language Planning and Policy

Language planning and policy are divided into three distinct types of activities according to McCarty. The first identifies *Status Planning* which applies a planned use of language for particular purposes and includes education, cultural activities and social life. The second is *Corpus Planning*, which concerns decisions about linguistic forms and norms. The third type is known as *Acquisition Planning*, which involves decisions about who will acquire the language and how this happens. McCarty's student scholars have integrated her three types of language planning into the goals of policy planning and cultivation planning, which further identifies functions including revival, maintenance or reacquisition.[119] McCarty notes these processes to be interdependent and a multi-layered construct, involving multiple processes, agents and levels as development occurs. McCarty assigns particular activities to each type of language regeneration action. Language revival seeks to restore oral or written fluency for languages with no remaining native speakers, whether or not there is a quantity of written documentation. Chehalis currently meets this criteria. Language revitalization refers to activities designed to engender a new interest in or regeneration of speaker use and knowledge of native languages. This regeneration activity also applies to Chehalis. Finally, a reversal of language shift refers to the social mechanisms and contexts which promote language transmission from one generation to the next.[120] Hinton agrees that these processes involve two primary sets of activities: teaching the language to those who do not know it, and

[119] McCarty, 2013, P. 34
[120] McCarty, 2013, P. 38

motivating speakers and learners who may know it to use it. McCarty's statement that at its root, language revitalization is about personal and community identity, is a belief shared by many tribal groups, including Chehalis. For Native American tribes, this belief underpins many of the basic characteristics used to identify members.

Essentially McCarty maintains language policies are not socially neutral, but are equally intertwined with struggles for linguistic and educational sovereignty, democracy, and human rights. McCarty sees language revitalization through a lens of ethnography, but also applies ethnographic knowledge to a counter-hegemonic project of linguistic, social, and educational justice.

## 2.10 Language As A "Problem"

McCarty identifies the viewpoint of language as a *problem* to be one of the foremost aspects at the basic root of the language revitalization field. Boas states this belief explicitly in his work, which reverberated throughout the field since he is considered one of the experts of Pacific Northwest Indian languages. His position is one upon which much of the existing, non-indigenous Pacific Northwest linguistic work is based. Many ideologies about language are comprised of beliefs which are taken for granted and include assumptions about the syntax and pronunciation rules governing a particular language. For Chehalis, there are several rules which exist outside of the stated tenets, despite rigid guidelines on sentence structures and pronunciation. For instance, in Chehalis, the diminutive form of a word should be noted by a change in vowel sound, according to the Chehalis dictionary. In actuality, the vowel sound changes can be quite varied and can move around depending on the word, the speaker, the context, as well as move from the beginning of the word to the ending. Another consideration which complicates these guidelines is the fact that the Chehalis are comprised of five bands of Indians, which also increased the variability of sounds. One is either correct or incorrect,

seemingly whether following the language rules or not. Documenting the changes in vowels is dependent on linguistic knowledge not held or known to the average Chehalis learner.

Reyhner's *Education and Language Restoration*, emphasizes tribal repatriation of artifacts, knowledge, and languages. Cultural appropriation includes the ways in which tribal and indigenous languages have been stifled, which according to Reyhner is simply a form of linguistic appropriation, particularly when incorporated by New Age practices that borrow religious beliefs and practices. Reyhner refers to the success of maintenance or developmental bilingual programs, meaning programs which incorporate the indigenous language into the learning of English as a way to both learn English and maintain linguistic knowledge of the indigenous language.[121]

As early as 1980, University of New Mexico professor Bernard Spolsky stated "*In a community that respects its own language but wishes its children to learn another, a good bilingual program starts with the bulk of instruction in the child's native language…*"[122] This view increased among language teachers facing challenges with non-English speaking students. It used to be a commonly held belief that children should be submersed in an entirely English-speaking environment in order to learn English. For Indian boarding school students, this type of submersion in English not only failed to impart the new language in a meaningful manner but the Indian students' difficulty in learning English led them to be tagged as stupid or of lower intelligence.

Reyhner also stated indigenous activists reject "much of the mainstream thinking on what should be included in college curriculum as a means of emphasizing tribal languages, history, and culture. Conversely, other Native Americans want tribal colleges to offer the same curriculum as non-Native American colleges so that students can transfer to them easily

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[121] Reyhner, 2006, P. 26
[122] Reyhner, 2006, P. 27

or graduate from a tribal college and get a good job."[123] Having to choose between preserving and emphasizing native tribal traditions, languages and culture or focusing on mainstream American education values fails to take into consideration the cultural values of many tribes who want their children to be able to excel in the larger non-native community while concurrently holding onto tribal values and cultural knowledge. The reaction to the coercive assimilation in BIA and non-tribal schools have led to a backlash of devaluing that which is considered non-tribal or white. This devaluing of non-tribal education results in many indigenous students' beliefs that excelling in school is an example of turning their backs on their tribal culture and history. The additional influence of parents who are disassociated from the school experience enhances this feeling. These beliefs have resulted in Indian children achieving lower levels of education, earlier drop-out rates, and distrust of more highly educated tribal members.

*Learn in Beauty*, a collection of papers presented at the second annual Learn in Beauty conference held in Flagstaff, AZ in June of 2000, presented several indigenous language programs which are striving to move forward in a post-colonial direction.[124] *Learn in Beauty* identifies confrontations faced by Arizona native language programs within the local school system. Native language teachers expressed worries about introducing an indigenous language program into a primarily non-indigenous environment. One of the challenges of teaching indigenous language in a school environment is the lack of trust and associated ambivalence from tribal elders. The doubts expressed by elders related back to their own experience in BIA boarding schools where language use was discouraged in favor of English. Several authors expressed their communities' hopes for language revitalization combined with worries about culturally appropriate teaching methods.

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[123] Reyhner, 2006, P. 31
[124] Reyhner, Martin, Lockhard, & Gilbert, 2000, P. vi

Another paper, *Post-Colonial Recovering and Healing* by Angela Weenie, in Reyhner et al., identified naming and defining the problem as the first step toward post-colonial recovery and healing.[125] Weenie saw her circumstances and experience working with indigenous language revitalization as an opportunity and confirmation of her ability to speak to post-colonialism. According to Weenie, resistance was as much a personal struggle as it was a group struggle. She compared the effort to escape colonialism as similar to that of escaping an abusive relationship in terms of the need for healing. Further, she stated "*Emancipatory projects require a critical examination of the colonial structures of domination and oppression. Resisting colonialism entails a reasoned and critical analysis of the systematic and systemic practices which exclude certain groups from full and equal participation in mainstream society.*"[126] These beliefs are shared and expounded by Linda Smith (1999), who incorporated the tenets of indigenous methodology into all research and education work, instead of limiting it to language activities.

Robert N. St. Clair, in Reyhner et al., identifies the differences between Western non-indigenous ways of thinking as based on a print culture which emphasizes verbal metaphors. According to St. Clair, the indigenous way of thinking uses visual metaphors[127] and teachers need to be aware of this distinction. Further, he used a new rhetoric of epistemic knowledge-seeking as a context to address the visual metaphor as a means of expressing knowledge.[128] By which St Clair refers to the Westernized ways of thinking being based on a print culture while indigenous ways of thinking are often based on oral culture which relies on a visual metaphor.

This text focused on language teaching methods both in and out of schools. One author, J. Dean Mellow, in Reyhner et al., documented how educators must walk a fine line

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[125] Reyhner et al., 2000, P. 65
[126] Reyhner et al., 2000, P. 65
[127] A visual metaphor is a representation of something by means of a visual image which suggests a particular association or point of similarity.
[128] Reyhner et al., 2000, P. 85

between perpetuating mainstream Western approaches with the alternative of blindly rejecting them.[129] Mellow opened with the following questions "*Why do we listen to a non-Indian talk about linguistics? We are trying to teach our students orally. Why do we need him to tell us how to teach language? He never lived like an Indian, so why does he think his way of teaching will be effective? He never walked in my moccasins and never will.*"[130] An indigenous language teacher at a previous conference had posed the preceding questions to Mellow and his response was to explicitly examine the influence of Western beliefs about indigenous language teaching in *An Examination of Western Influences on Indigenous Language Teaching.*[131] One suggestion originating in tribal communities is for tribal children to learn from contemporary school curriculum during school hours and then attend classes teaching traditional values and cultural information after school. Unfortunately, the majority of children will want to enjoy after school hours in play, sports, or electronic pursuits. Therefore, conducting cultural classes after a typical school day can often be viewed as a penalty, leading to an attitude not conducive to learning or retaining cultural or linguistic knowledge in a meaningful manner. The additional hours necessary for linguistic learning which would come after a full day of school are also problematic as children are weary and less engaged after a full school day.

Reyhner believes identity development from an indigenous perspective is less concerned with striving for individualism and more to do with establishing connections and understanding ourselves in relation to things around us. This proclamation is corroborated by traditional tribal practices which stem from the concept of collaboration for survival. Reyhner identified Western or direct instruction teaching approaches using lectures and textbooks as forming the indoctrinating teaching methods and materials of many schools today, which does not help develop strong identities. Rather, giving students an engaging educational framework

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[129]Reyhner et al., 2000, P. 104
[130]Reyhner et al., 2000, P. 102
[131] Reyhner et al., 2000

where they can thoughtfully experience and interact with their social and physical environment produces in them a strong personal and cultural identity. Reyhner also proposes the importance of determining whether teachers are seen as friends or enemies, offering insightful views about approaching students more successfully.

Reyhner further recommends that minority communities teach children to separate attitudes and behaviors leading to academic success from those guiding towards a loss of ethnic identity, culture and language. Second, it is necessary to clearly demonstrate that family, community, and tribes value academic success. Third, insistence that children recognize and accept responsibility for their school adjustment and academic performance is vital. Last, educational success should not be viewed as a ticket out to leave one's community behind. Reyhner differentiates between voluntary minorities who choose to come to America as a land of opportunity and non-voluntary minorities such as Indian tribes. This theory is ground-breaking in expressing that voluntary minorities do better in school because they see education as an opportunity to succeed for economic advancement while non-voluntary minorities experience a reality which reinforces how their people were pushed out and discriminated against.

## 2.11 Challenges in Learning a Second Language

In terms of language revitalization, Reyhner identifies the pervasiveness of English as the biggest challenge to indigenous language revival. Additionally, he emphasizes that non-indigenous people cannot revitalize native languages. Although he notes that non-tribal people can help to support revitalization efforts, these efforts are truly dependent on family and tribal community support. According to Reyhner, ideally this initial exposure to native language begins in the home with the youngest children learning from the older members of the family. Finally, Reyhner also maintains that language immersion must occur with some training of the speaker and learners. This diverges from Hinton's belief that immersion can

occur in the home, between two untrained people. Hinton clarifies that the learner, usually the younger person, should read immersion methodology for best practices and additional assistance in developing the immersion program. Greymorning, on the other hand, and particularly McCarty concur with Reyhner's views on the necessity of insiders participating in language and materials development.

One of the subtler challenges of language revitalization, according to Reyhner is language learners simply memorize vocabulary without being able to hold a meaningful conversation. This is known as parroting, and he referenced Hinton's use of Total Physical Response (TPR) as assisting with true linguistic knowledge because the act of moving the body while learning and repeating vocabulary can help set the information, making it more accessible and usable.

The increasing tribal language programs being developed and funded in the United States is encouraging for tribal communities because the variety of models enables tribes to share successful techniques, reducing the reliance on non-tribal sources. According to *News from Indian Country*, the US federal Administration for Native Americans recently funded a Tlingit language program in Alaska for Language Preservation and Maintenance which validates the need for continued indigenous language assistance and funding. Additionally, the ANA also approved federal expenditures for Ojibwa language revitalization in Wisconsin. The Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa tribe was offered funding to hire an Ojibwa language instructor for their Early Childhood Head Start program.[132] Both of these language programs utilize elders and adult speakers to teach tribal youth. This recognition of youth as natural language learners is addressed across indigenous communities in hopes of creating life-long speakers. ANA language grants promote language curriculum, training and

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[132] "Wisconsin Tribe," 2013, P. 15

certification efforts for indigenous language models offering intergenerational mentoring activities between youth and elders.[133]

According to the Joseph K. Lumsden (JKL) Bahweting Anishnabe Public School Academy, a charter school in Saulte Ste. Marie, Michigan, director of curriculum and instruction Carolyn Dale, their program also embraces a variety of teaching methods based on the ages of the language learners.[134] "*It is not just the students we are educating. Our teachers are building a culture.*"[135] Recognition of the strong relationship between language and culture strengthens tribes by reinforcing traditional and contemporary knowledge shared in an intergenerational approach. Although more than half of the students attending JKL are Saulte tribal members, the language and culture classes incorporated there are meant for all members of the student body. The school offered students the opportunity to practice speaking the native language with tribal elders and other native speakers at various events outside of the language curriculum. Depending on age and grade levels, students in grades kindergarten through eighth learn language in addition to native dances, drumming, and singing. Incorporating the teaching of traditional knowledge into local schools that aren't solely for tribal children remains a divisive topic. The Chehalis Tribe elects not to institute our language in the public schools. Instead we have chosen to pass on these practices in classes and situations that are restricted to Chehalis tribal members.

Hinton's, *Bringing Our Languages Home,* identifies methodology and case studies documenting families who have developed their own ways of reclaiming tribal languages.[136] Hinton includes a chapter on the Miami language, which shared an indigenous language revitalization experiment from the perspective of various family members. The Miami language project is unique because it was developed by a single tribal member who had no

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[133] "Wisconsin Tribe," 2013, P. 15
[134] Austin, 2011, P. 64
[135] Austin, 2011, P. 64
[136] Hinton, 2013

access to spoken language materials but instead relied entirely on written records. This speaker replies to every interaction with Miami followed by the corresponding English response. The choice to embed Miami into every encounter allows Miami to begin the reconstitution process, thereby generating new speakers and learners of Miami.

Hinton's examples are primarily tribal language programs, but also incorporate Gaelic language models as well as other non-tribal language efforts. Participants explain the methodologies used in these attempts, varying between adult and child perspectives. These excerpts demonstrate the different language needs of learners and include varying areas of focus. In fact, these case studies are so diverse they offer a variety of potential focal points for language.

*News from Indian Country* also references new educational programs geared toward tribes working to revitalize their languages, such as the Luiseo language program located on the Pechanga reservation in California, as well as from other successful California tribal language programs. [137] Specifically, the Tribes mentioned have utilized *Thornton Media, Inc.* to develop indigenous language video games, storybooks, and electronic flash cards.[138] Chehalis has considered establishing contact with this or a similar businesses to see what might be possible, however the development cost has proven prohibitive. The ability to draw a younger audience might justify initial expenses, although even this cost may be too high for small populations.

*The Skin That We Speak*[139] comprises commentary on language and identity using African Americans as the primary subject. Yet the focus on language, literacy and power for students and teachers holds true for many minorities.[140] Editor Joanne Kilgour Dowdy shares her experience as a colonized speaker in which she states the issue is "*not really about*

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[137] "Tribes Campaign," 2013
[138] "Tribes Campaign," 2013, P. 19
[139] Edited by Lisa Delpit and Joanne Kilgour Dowdy, 2002
[140] Delpit & Kilgour Dowdy, 2002

*whether she has a non-dominant language or not. The issue is about having enough opportunity to practice that language in 'legitimate communications'.*"[141] The perspective of seeking identification of appropriate contexts for language practice is more conservative than opinions shared by Hinton, McCarty and even Reyhner. Chapter 7, *I ain't writin' nuttin': Permissions to Fail and Demands to Succeed in Urban Classrooms* by Gloria J. Ladson-Billings, in Delpit & Kilgour Dowdy, also applies to indigenous students and is not confined to urban classrooms. The practices exemplified by some of these teachers proves particularly appropriate for inclusion in an indigenous language class. The hypothesis that it is the teacher's responsibility to ensure all students are moving forward in language lessons holds true no matter the audience. Of critical importance is the flip side, which is that advanced learners not be held back by repetitive lessons geared toward beginner speakers. Several chapters emphasized the need for division by student learning levels which may not be possible in smaller tribal models.

A charter school in Fort Hall, Idaho incorporated the Shoshoni and Bannock Indian languages into its curriculum early in its inception. The focus remains teaching efforts in either Shoshoni or Bannock with a small forty-minute window of time used for the English language which takes place during a language arts component.[142] Students, beginning with the kindergarten class, have the majority of their lessons in one of the native tongues with a gradual increase of English through the fifth and sixth grades. The expectation is that students will be fluent in Shoshoni or Bannock as well as English by sixth grade. One of the challenges faced is the lack of language materials in either Shoshoni or Bannock as neither was a written language until within the last fifty years. This particular challenge is faced by many tribes as few developed written languages prior to contact with Europeans. This school's focus on its younger students acknowledges that languages are easily learned at earlier ages. Choices to

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[141] Delpit & Kilgour Dowdy, 2002, P. 12
[142] Sunderland, 2013, P. 13

develop written language brings about challenges such as alphabets representing non-English sounds, spelling concerns, and phonetics.

An Ojibwa language camp developed a Jenga game, played in teams of at least two players per team, which incorporates Ojibwa language as the sole means to communicate strategy.[143] Jenga was in addition to cribbage as a means to transmit Ojibwa. An additional attempt targeted toward adults and older learners was an effort referred to as the *Bemidji Ojibwa Language Project*. This project coordinated with more than 150 area businesses to create signs with Ojibwa phrases and language placed prominently throughout the town of Bemidji.[144] Community members have commented on the opportunities presented by this project for both native and non-native people to keep the language active and alive. Michael Meuers, in Opstedahl, one of the initial developers of this project was inspired by the success of a similar campaign in Hawaii with native Hawaiian. Meuers hopes to develop the Ojibwa greeting *boozhoo* into a greeting as common as *aloha*[145]

## 2.12 Association of Language & Identity

Crystal, discusses how relations to ethnic and national identity are associated with language loss and change.[146] Language isolates, which are languages that cannot be or are not related to any of the major families, describes Chehalis quite accurately.[147] Crystal's examination of the complex challenges facing language isolates helps to define areas where reclamation activities need to be primarily focused for tribes like Chehalis.

Crystal used many examples of Native American tribal languages, but also included moribund European languages as examples of previously thriving languages that demonstrated the complexities of thoughts and beliefs which these languages communicated.

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[143] "Ojibwa Language Camp," 2013, P. 9
[144] Opstedahl, 2013, P. 12
[145] Opstedahl, 2013, P. 12
[146] Crystal, 2010, P. 34
[147] Crystal, 2010, P. 336

The importance of these challenges lies in language as a means of carrying cultural knowledge and identity which are typically deeply embedded within language. Thus, when a language ceases being used frequently, the knowledge, and therefore aspects of identity, entrenched within that language are also lost to the community. He also shares different examples of language reclamations strategies, includes the logic behind these approaches and some subsequent success rates resulting from use of said strategies. Of importance for consideration, Crystal highlights that there are different needs of languages with a smaller speaker/learner base because having few language speakers restricts the opportunities for developing strong revitalization strategies. This work however, requires further development. Finally, Crystal also indicates the important language planning requiring government policies about language selection and support.

While some programs mentioned their strong numbers, looking closely at the quantitative data, when available, showed that these programs typically numbered less than a dozen students. My first instinct, once I recognized that the challenges related to improving low language class attendance could be considered a hole in the data, was to attempt to find answers through my own research. Strategies, successful or otherwise, were not evident in either the literature or research I conducted. Indeed, I did not recognize any attempts to address this phenomenon. The question of how to increase class attendance will not be addressed in this research and has been discarded from my thesis. I will instead focus on best practices of successful indigenous language models. I number the Maori and Hawaiian languages, see Chapter Three, chiefly among this group.

## 2.13 The Potential for Development of Immersion Classes at Chehalis

Hinton's ideas for immersion could have been tailored for the Chehalis experience since her immersion strategies can be restricted to a program with as few as two people. Hinton developed what she called the *Master-Apprentice Language Learning Method*

(MALLM) for immersion style teaching and learning of indigenous languages. Her book is a textbook for non-linguist learners in search of methodology for language acquisition in a more culturally appropriate manner. Prior to reading this book I believed an immersion program could not be developed for Chehalis despite the successes of immersion models in indigenous communities because these models usually had so many participants. This sentiment was rooted in the belief that immersion programs relied on several speakers and learners, meaning it must incorporate more than two people. Hinton's theories on what works for language acquisition explains the difficulties commonly experienced in a classroom style learning approach.

Hinton combines several methodological approaches, including a model called *input hypothesis*, which was developed by Stephan Krashen. Input hypothesis verifies that language is learned by understanding what is being said. *Total Physical Response* (TPR), another method utilized wherein language learning activities are combined with physical actions, ensure learners identify the content of the message rather than the words.[148] *Linguistic elicitation,* or asking the teacher for phrases the learner wanted to know in the new language and *monolingual elicitation,* having the learner ask for clarification of vocabulary in the target language are also included. An additional process utilized by Hinton is a modified form of *communicative competence,* which requires participants to focus on learning appropriate communication for different situations such as greetings, asking questions, etc.

## 2.13 Meaning of Language for Indigenous Peoples

Beginning with first contact and continuing today, Indian languages were seldom taught to new arrivals. James G. Swan, wrote about his attempts to learn the Chinook language, sharing one of the earliest writings on language education after first contact.[149] According to Swan, initial attempts to learn Chinook vocabulary were an opportunity for

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[148] Hinton, 2002, P. xv
[149] Swan, 1857

Chinook and Chehalis Indians to share false information in efforts to make him appear foolish.[150] Swan overcame these attempts to mislead his vocabulary knowledge by slow repetition and writing an approximate spelling of the words in question and then asking various unrelated Indians if the words meant what he was told they meant. In this manner he developed a close approximation of pronunciation by continually refining his spelling according to the different speakers he interacted with. Swan's experiences and his choice to verify vocabulary via other informants is an interesting preference when viewed with the lens detailed by Boas. Boas' theory that one hears sounds and languages based on one's own linguistic background would render Swan's solution invalid or at least deeply flawed. If Swan was aware of and heeded Boas' hypothesis, his selection of speakers to confirm what he was told could have resulted in greater differences and potentially resulted in different outcomes.

The fact that the Chinook and Chehalis speakers attempted to mislead Swan was typical of many settler and Indian interactions. There was and remains a lot of mistrust on behalf of both parties, resulting in tricks and misinformation. In the case of Chehalis, there are no remaining speakers with which to compare our lessons or check our work. It was with very great sadness that the Chehalis and Quinault tribal communities announced the passing of the last Chehalis language speaker, Ms. Katherine Barr on October 30, 2015 at age 95. Katherine's previous language work will ensure a continuation of the Chehalis language however.

*Can Threatened Languages Be Saved,* edited by Fishman, contains contributions by numerous leading authors on socio-linguistic theory and also presents several case studies documenting various language revitalization activities focused on immersion techniques.[151] Fishman opens with the preface "*Why is it so Hard to Save a Threatened Language*?" which

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[150] Swan, 1857, P. 49
[151] Fishman, 2001

explains the concept of Reversing Language Shift (RLS).[152] Fishman states there is a noticeably underrepresented focus on applied directions, priorities and emphases. Fishman also states that a specific, culturally related language is not the same as language in general, and he follows with the argument that failure to take collective worries about indigenous languages seriously will have deleterious social consequences.[153] Chapter Two, *Reversing Navajo Language Shift, Revisited* by T. Lee and D. McLaughlin, in Fishman, presents the present day conditions that frame the shifting dynamics of Navajo language use.[154] Navajo exemplifies native language with several hundred thousand speakers, and yet it is still an endangered language which demonstrates the need for continued vigilance. Currently, the number of Navajo speakers is estimated to be in the tens of thousands which represents a continued loss of speaking ability. Navajo language methodologies used in the Rough Rock school district detailed in Chapter Two have relied on a variation of language immersion theories that require exclusive use of Navajo for the first half of the day followed by use of English for the remainder. This split day separation of language use is not common. Other in-school language classes utilize indigenous language for a greater percentage of class time based on the belief that children learn English solely from TV, movies and digital media.

One particular peer-reviewed Master's thesis, *Chi AtshWaNamiSnwit: This Language Belongs to Us* by Ervanna Little Eagle poses the question "What are the effects of language recovery programs in recapturing the cultural identity of Indigenous people?"[155] Little Eagle's research was focused on viewing the loss of different languages as a means of looking at language recovery from a proper perspective, meaning from an indigenous perspective.[156] Little Eagle's principally identified the American boarding school era, as being primarily responsible for the loss of native languages and cultural identity. Her preferred method of

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[152] Fishman, 2001, P. xii
[153] Fishman, 2001, P. 3
[154] Fishman, 2001
[155] Little Eagle, 2004, P. 3
[156] Little Eagle, 2004, P. 7

language revitalization is immersion. Her research framework identifies similar and supporting aspects that dovetail into the immersion theories advanced by Hinton. Little Eagle developed her language research and addresses several teaching methodologies associated with immersion such as learning in an indigenous manner which reflects the ways in which children learn languages in their homes. Little Eagle also carefully outlines her arguments, firmly refuting the conviction that the Western belief system is the only viable means of succeeding in the American experience. Little Eagle's review of indigenous language immersion techniques offers a unique viewpoint on some of the challenges and successes that indigenous language efforts have encountered such as reliance on first language speakers who are often of advanced age or are medically fragile. Little Eagle's experiences involve learning and teaching from an indigenous perspective and are also supported by Linda Smith.

*Teaching Indigenous Languages*, Reyhner's compilation of papers presented at the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, provides an opportunity to learn about tribal-specific approaches to language and literacy development. Chapter 21, *Four Successful Indigenous Language Programs* by Dawn B. Stiles, in Reyhner, et. al., is particularly relevant to my research as I seek common themes present in successful indigenous language models. Stiles compares the Cree, Hualapai, Maori, and Hawaiian language programs and describes common components and problems of implementation.[157] Stiles concludes that successful indigenous language programs absolutely need to link together language and culture, and need not rely on written teaching materials. Instead Stiles notes the primary need as that of community support and parental involvement. Other chapters, such as *Issues in Language Textbook Development* [158] and *It Really Works: Cultural Communication Proficiency* by Ruth Bennett, in Reyhner, et. al.,[159] identifies various writing systems used by indigenous language programs and seeks to explain the importance of

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[157] Reyhner, 1997, P. 248
[158] Reyhner, 1997, P. 116
[159] Reyhner, 1997, P. 158

cultural competency for communicating cross culturally. My search for appropriate models highlighted immersion program activities and methods.

Our greatest challenge for the continuation of Chehalis language development will be expanding immersion style activities as we move forward without the aid of Katherine Barr. According to different indigenous language development theories, it is still possible to create an immersion situation without a first language speaker, but the depth of recovery and missing first speaker guidance generates additional challenges which will be difficult to overcome. Some of these are related to identification of proper pronunciation and its importance in maintaining the language accurately. Other worries include the development of our writing system and decisions to either continue forward with the IPA structure or consideration of a phonetic system. The loss of Katherine has been a significant game-changer for our planned immersion activities and I will be focused on sorting the Hawaiian and Maori language development models that could assist the Chehalis language to develop some version of immersion activities.

*Vanishing Voices*, by Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine states that the loss of a language often equates to the loss of the very meaning of life itself. Of course the associated cultural loss is just as devastating. After outlining the sheer number of languages known to have died in the 1900s alone, Nettle and Romaine, also seek to memorialize these losses and then use these examples to galvanize a recognition of the importance of any language loss to collective human knowledge. Nettle and Romaine share several strategies employed by linguists working with dying or endangered European languages.[160] Nettle and Romaine quote anthropologist Dell Hymes: "*One way to think about a society is in terms of the voices it has and might have.*" *Vanishing Voices* relates a brief history of English as a means to describe the changing language needs reflected in many countries where English is used. This includes

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[160] Nettle & Romaine, 2000

a brief description of the decimation of many minority languages. Nettle and Romaine argue that the use of language is a potent symbol of a community's views on class, gender, ethnicity, and religion which all emphasize the role of language within community. They proclaim "*the vocabulary of a language is an inventory of the items a culture talks about and has categorized in order to make sense of the world and to survive in a local ecosystem.*"[161] This is particularly relevant when researching Native American languages, whose focus on survival and passing on of cultural information clearly demonstrates the strong group dynamics often present in tribal communities. McCarty's work supports this hypothesis and details how major languages have grown and become altered by outside influences.

*Adult Native Language Literacy*, by Marilyn Gillespie and Eugenie Ballering summarizes the findings of research activities conducted over two years by the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC. A literature review of native languages grounds the research work,[162] while detailing the findings of the Working Group Meeting on Native Language Literacy held in the summer of 1992. The Working Group reviewed different tactics used by a variety of language programs to indicate the prevalence of various techniques. Finally, the Working Group addressees some key issues that need to be attended to in order to move native language literacy forward.[163] These key issues include a focus on language learning methodologies, identification of the audience (may or may not include linguists or language specialists), and development of appropriate materials. There are several applicable resources included which suggest learner assessment styles and tools, program design, and curriculum development tools and ideas.[164]

*Through the Language Glass*, by Guy Deutscher, investigates differences between world-views through the lens of language. According to Deutscher, looking beyond the

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[161] Nettle & Romaine, 2000, P. 60
[162] Gillespie &Ballering, 1992, P. 3
[163] Gillespie &Ballering, 1992, P. 23
[164] Gillespie &Ballering, 1992, P. 59

superficial level of labels to the concepts behind them actually emphasizes the similarity between concepts, although different language labels might predict otherwise.[165] Deutscher explores issues of sex and syntax demonstrating that language changes our understanding of basic cultural concepts and the changing roles held by various individuals when engaging in different types of communication.[166] Deutscher contends that languages have more than one life: a public role denotes via a system of conventions agreed upon by a speech community and a private existence as a system of knowledge that each speaker internalizes, exemplified by communication techniques and purposes used within a family, a personal group or even two individuals.[167] This text proved useful for explaining the basic requirements a language speaker must meet in order for the language to be considered at minimum operating efficacy as defined by authorities such as Fishman, Crystal, and Deutscher. Deutscher develops his ideas about the purposes for language and identifies the basic needs behind a language's use and advancement.

*Modern Tribal Development*, focuses on tribal policy considerations for Native American Indian tribes, laying out several concerns for tribes to be mindful of when tribal policies dictate economic development. These concerns center on whether particular ventures will preserve tribal culture while generating income and if tribal culture is or should be a prominent consideration.[168] The Chehalis Tribe already incorporates aspects of our culture into some of our most successful endeavours such as the Great Wolf Lodge water park. Other Chehalis tribal enterprises demonstrate a much smaller degree of culture as part of their marketing. For instance, the Lucky Eagle casino appears to downplay many aspects of the Chehalis culture but then sells tribal member cultural art pieces in the Gift Shop. In terms of supporting our Chehalis culture however, all Chehalis tribal enterprises and endeavours

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[165] Deutscher, 2010
[166] Deutscher, 2010, P. 194
[167] Deutscher, 2010, P. 233
[168] Smith, 2000, P. 14

contribute approximately 30% of profits into tribal programs that are geared towards our elders, youth, and cultural departments.

Although Smith does not include specific tribal language policies in his examples, he mentions the importance of tribal languages and culture in developing tribal economic policies, plans and guidelines. Smith states that "*Economic development without concomitant principles of cultural and social identity simply leads to consumerism…Cultural identification without economic development is not self-sufficient and diminishes as disposable resources are reduced and pure survival becomes the individual's goal.*"[169]

My additional explorations identify some of the major differences between teaching Native American children and teaching non-Indian students. Some of the best practices for improving native language barriers can be found in *Teaching the Indian Child*. Reyhner, compiles articles by various teachers and authors focused on overcoming the educational challenges experienced by native children. The introduction, by Benedict J. Surwill, opens with the sentiment that "*being an American Indian in itself is no problem, however, being an American Indian and growing up and going to school in a non-Indian environment and society frequently is a problem.*"[170] This example of indigenous perspective breaks new ground by identifying the existence of non-tribal education and life experiences as the real problem for tribal children. Previously, the Indian problem was the accepted viewpoint for those concerned with incorporating tribal groups into mainstream non-indigenous culture and everyday living, and it still is for many governments. This conviction that the trouble is associated more closely with the non-indigenous world is shared by many indigenous researchers, writers, and historians. Linda Smith further develops the theory in her *Decolonising Methodologies* and is accepted internationally for her ground breaking work.[171]

Reyhner's chapter *Bilingual Education: Teaching the Native Language* examines the current

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[169] Smith, 2000, P. 8
[170] Reyhner, 1986, P. vi
[171] Smith, 1999

belief that attempts to quickly assimilate individuals led to failure in the past. Reyhner's argument affirms that off-reservation boarding schools, common in the late 19th century, lead to a distinct cultural disintegration instead of cultural replacement, as was intended. Reyhner reviews tribal language policy changes over the last century as well as the move towards language revitalization, which many tribes are in the process of developing. In fact, several tribes, such as the Utes, located in the state of Utah, USA have incorporated their indigenous language into business negotiations and require Ute language instruction from preschool through twelfth grade.[172] Reyhner also points out that the results of the Rock Point School's education program indicates that in order for children to learn English as a second language, initial work and study should be conducted in the child's native indigenous language first.[173]

*The Need for an Adapted Curriculum* by Hap Gilliland (1986), addresses the needs of Native American students, which Gilliland identifies as "*a dilemma of not rejecting one's own rich cultural heritage while preparing to be successful in a context which at best ignores or at worst contradicts such a heritage…*"[174] Gilliland contends that Native American Indian children live in two cultures, and are to be considered as having a double advantage. This is a perspective seldom seen in indigenous education, until recently. Gilliland also comments on the diverse learning styles among children, noting that teachers who rely mainly on one style may place Indian children and other segments of the population at a distinct disadvantage. Additionally, Gilliland observed that the perceived lack of interest on the part of indigenous parents in Native American homes often proved challenging for the teachers, continuing that knowledge of native languages can positively influence children's ways of learning English and that many difficulties or mistakes might be attributed to different sentence construction or linguistic rules.

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[172] Reyhner, 1986, P. 14
[173] Reyhner, 1986, P. 21
[174] Gilliland, 1986, P. 3

Sandra Fox's chapter on using a *Whole Language* approach for Indian students states that an early focus on the elements of communication, include listening, speaking, reading and writing and should be combined together. This combination process is known as the Whole Language approach because each portion relies on the other pieces to maximize a child's learning experience.[175] Fox further develops her argument that Indian children particularly may not have the background experience in reading, or writing, but most importantly may be lacking in active listening and speaking skills. This shortcoming can be attributed in part to historical trauma, which sets the blame for student inability to succeed on the feet of the negative generational changes since first contact.

Fox's methods for improvement are integrated in such a way that each segment emphasizes the skills of listening for various purposes, including listening to directions, recognizing rhyme, listening for sounds in words as well as the meaning of words.[176] Fox also shares examples for organizing a Whole Language program appropriate for kindergarten through high school. Fox emphasizes the changing needs of children which vary depending on age, but also notes that many Indian children may not begin at the grade level most common to their age.

Many of the strategies and theories advanced above offer some hope for Chehalis to utilize as we rebuild the development of the Chehalis language in the absence of our remaining speaker. We will be essentially breaking new ground as we rely on the most recent students of the Chehalis language. Although we no longer have direct access to Katherine Barr, we are rich with our recorded materials as well as our Chehalis language dictionary, itself a source of both language and cultural knowledge and history.

The main points considered in Chapter Two for development of language models concerns the influence of English on indigenous languages, including prescriptivism,

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[175] Fox, 1986, P. 103
[176] Fox, 1986, P. 104

revitalization, and technology. Part B observes language teaching and learning practices and approaches more explicitly to enlighten readers of the potential for language development and associated consequences.

# *Chapter Three: Language Loss / Revitalization*

## 3.0 Introduction

As noted in Chapter One, this thesis research identifies models of best practices for indigenous language revitalization. The loss of indigenous languages globally is well documented by Crystal, McCarty, and Reyhner among others. Revitalization programs have had varying results and my research identifies several important themes informing both the debates and models for language revitalization that were also experienced at Chehalis and include firstly the role of colonial models in contributing to language loss, and secondly, best practices from indigenous models, discussed in the following sections.

In Chapter Two, I outlined briefly issues associated with the damage inflicted on indigenous languages through colonization that depicted other as equating to less than.[177] Those practices set the stage for broad approval of acceptable, i.e. Western, standards for what came to count as language both socially and/or individually, and which saw the undermining of indigenous languages across a range of avenues like knowledge, culture, etc. within societal institutions like schools.

The role of schools in assimilating indigenous minds to take on the philosophy of the colonizer cannot be underestimated. Schools were and are powerful colonizing forces which resulted in indigenous language and culture being deemed inferior which in turn set the platform for language death. For example, the Tribes of Washington State have had little or no influence or contribution to the developments and determining factors which drives the American schooling curriculum. For the Chehalis, this has been true since first contact. The total lack of non-Indian perspectives in local schools is so pervasive that even the tribal children themselves do not question their lack of representation in the curriculum. For instance, the dominant institutional schools surrounding the Chehalis reservation, which most

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[177] Johnston, P. PhD thesis P. 333

Chehalis children attend, belong to regional Educational Service Districts (ESDs) which focus on the broader, colonized American history and use English exclusively as the language of learning. These schools developed from Washington State educational standards which privilege European values and world views over all others.

The lack of representation of indigenous viewpoints is not only reflected in school curriculum but in the entirety of non-indigenous, dominant American culture. There was never a time when settlers attempted to learn the Chehalis language or cultural and historic values, aside from the occasional anthropologist seeking to collect Chehalis information for their own purposes. Even these collection efforts were framed from the perspective of saving the savage, a history of a disappearing people. This, then is the setting in which the Chehalis find themselves today: outsiders seeking to perpetuate their cultural values and language knowledge for the future generations of Chehalis.

When one considers how primary language is retained and the methods used in this transmission, it becomes apparent that the classroom setting of Western civilization proves distinctly inappropriate in terms of retaining and incorporating traditional indigenous knowledge. And so we need to look to indigenous models of successful language revitalization from which to learn. While some of this occurs in classroom contexts, others either do not or incorporate language learning across a range of sites that might include schools.

Chinook Jargon, a trade language utilized by settlers and Native tribes alike, was named after the Chinook Tribe who inhabited the Columbia River region located on the border between the states of Washington and Oregon in America.[178] In *The Chinook Indians*[179], the Chinook, also called "T'sinu'k" or "Tsinuk" settled within the Willapa Bay

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[178] Ruby & Brown, P. 105
[179] Ruby & Brown, 1976

region, displacing the Lower Chehalis people into whose territory they migrated.[180] The Chinook were one of the larger tribal groups in the region and the Jargon, comprised elements from many languages and was considered easy to learn.

In terms of colonization effects for the Chehalis language, Chinook Jargon developed as a means for tribes to overcome the settlers' disinterest in learning Indian languages while simultaneously providing an avenue through which both groups could conduct trade activities. The Tribes' unfamiliarity with and confusion between English and French, which were the primary languages spoken by settlers during this period of early first contact, generated a need for a mutually useful language in order to communicate and trade goods between these diverse groups.

As mentioned previously, there is a definite disconnection between the Upper and Lower Chehalis languages from others within their language family, refer Chapter One. The Upper Chehalis language, a language isolate, was spoken by several bands of Chehalis located within the southern reaches of the traditional Chehalis territory. These bands, which included groups such as Kwaiailk and Satsop were eventually brought to reside together on the current day Chehalis Reservation along with clans of Lower Chehalis bands such as the Humptulips, Wynoochee, Chehalis, and what are now known as Shoalwater Bay, all of whom spoke the Lower Chehalis dialects. According to *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest* the junction at the Chehalis and Satsop rivers also identifies the boundaries between the two Chehalis languages. The Upper Chehalis comprised two major dialects known as *Oakville* Chehalis and *Tenino* Chehalis. These tongues were named after the settler towns in those locations but represented the Chehalis bands which also resided there.[181]

In terms of colonization's effects on the Chehalis language, it is of utmost importance to note the prominence of the Chehalis languages on the Pacific Northwest tribal regions,

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[180] Ruby & Brown, 1976, P. 4.
[181] *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest* (Ruby, 1992) P. 102

above and beyond the traditional grounds of the Chehalis. This is evidenced by a revelation shared by Boaz from his interview with several residents living at Bay Center, WA who were members of the Chinook and Clatsop tribes. Boaz recognized during this conversation that they were both speaking the Chehalis language. Further conversation revealed that these people had incorporated the use of Chehalis when their tribal populations dwindled. Boas extrapolated from this experience that Chinook in particular, being a fair sized population who were instrumental in the development of Chinook Jargon, had in fact incorporated large amounts of Chehalis language elements and vocabulary into the Chinook Jargon.

Therefore, from first contact, when communications between settlers and the Tribes began to gain importance, the Chinook Jargon was comprised of a large influence from Chehalis, including a variety of Chehalis words, and ways of speaking, all of which became broadly used by most people residing within this regional area. The dominance of the Chehalis language was over a far larger area than was previously recognized since first contact.

There are some challenging issues that need to be addressed specifically which impact the Chehalis language revitalization activities and recovery plan. These concerns sit within wider debates and discussions associated with language learning that include, but are not limited to, questions about how to engage people in learning their language, what language do we learn, and how do we learn that language? For that reason, this chapter focuses on successful language revitalization strategies as a means to help inform Chehalis language recovery, regeneration, and revitalization.

## 3.1 Language Revitalization (Models of Best Practice)

Several successful indigenous language programs have rebounded from the brink of extinction, which provides some promise for other struggling languages. This chapter

examines Maori and Hawaiian language strategies. It is envisaged that the revitalization approaches will help to inform our current Chehalis language recovery.

**(a). History (Background) Maori and Hawaiian**

Maori language revitalization activities have become well known throughout the world and is seen as a positive indicator for other indigenous language activists. According to Stiles, Maori have a common language regardless of where in New Zealand they reside. Archaeological data trace tribal, iwi ancestry to Polynesian migrants about 800 AD or earlier followed by other waves of migration, with the last major influx dated archaeologically at around 1100 AD. Maori dialects were commonly spoken prior to European contact, but were gradually replaced by English use after colonization. Once the assimilation of Maori into the European lifestyle began, the language further retreated from common use to presence mainly in remote iwi locations and in Native schools.

Karetu outlined how the New Zealand "Pakeha"[182] government's decision enforced an English-only policy for all schools funded through public monies.[183] As in the United States and elsewhere, the use of indigenous languages in public schools, communities and homes was replaced by English. This key element signaled the disenfranchisement of Maori from secondary institutions and further education and future employment opportunities. Instead, Maori were selected for trades such as manual labor, farming, and lower echelon work activities. Female students were expected to become housewives and home makers and so were particularly discouraged from higher level education activities. According to Johnston, in Ormsby-Teki, T., et al., "*Maori language was banned from being spoken in schools and posited as an inferior language, the view being that prohibition would facilitate the demise of the language (and culture) making it easier to supplant with English and British views of the*

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[182] A white New Zealander, as opposed to a Maori.
[183] Karetu, T. S. (2002). Maori: New Zealand Latin? In B. Burnaby & J. Reyhner (Eds.), *Indigenous languages, across the community*. Northern Arizona University. P. 28.

*world*."[184] This repositioning of Maori language was no accident, but a deliberate move to assist the assimilation process.

McTaggert also attributed the decline of Maori language use at that time to the English language requirement used by schools and stated Maori parents, "*both rural and urban, thought that the learning of English by children in schools would help their future success in the fields of education and work*."[185] Additionally, the implementation of government strategies known as *pepper potting*, which moved Maori families into non-Maori or Pakeha communities, expedited the decline of Maori culture and facilitated the integration of British mores.[186] The use of Maori language fell away in favor of English, echoing the experience witnessed in American schools wherein indigenous children were also forced to learn and use the English language.

Other indigenous cultures had similar experiences. According to Hawaiian history, the Islands were settled by the first Hawaiians in the 1200's, and the Hawaiian language was spoken by the Hawaiian people since time immemorial.[187] After first contact with non-indigenous Europeans in the 18th century, led by James Cook, the Hawaiians experienced a unification into the Kingdom of Hawaii by Kamehameha in 1810.

In 1893, the Hawaiian people had the highest literacy rate of any indigenous people in their territory with newspapers and books written in Hawaiian and the King James bible transcribed into the Hawaiian language. Hawaiian language was also strong in the home and schools.

By 1896, however, colonization ended widespread use of the Hawaiian language, resulting in it's being banned from use in the Hawaiian Islands, after the illegal occupation of

[184] Ormsby-Teki, T., et al. (2011). *Reo O Te Kainga: A Ngai Te Rangi tribal response to advancing Maori language in the home* [Research Report]. Whakatane, New Zealand: Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi. P. 9.

[128] McTaggert, S. (2014). Te reo Maori and the Tamariki of Te Tai Tokerau: a twenty-first-century demography. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 142

[186] McTaggert, 2014

[187] Warner, S. N. (2001). *The movement to revitalize Hawaiian language and culture.*

Hawaii by US businessmen instigated the overthrow of the monarchy by America. Duplicating the experience of Native Americans in North America, Hawaiian children, like Maori children, were punished for speaking their native language in schools. These events occurred after a long and storied history of Hawaiian language schools, newspapers and books.[188]

After 1920, Hawaiian pidgin became the accustomed language in use by Native Hawaiians, white Hawaiians and Asian immigrants, having replaced the general use of the Native Hawaiian language.[189] By the 1950s, speakers of Hawaiian pidgin tended to be treated as lower on the societal ladder than English speakers while Native Hawaiian speakers had been further marginalized. Hawaii became the 50th state in the United States in 1959, and the English language became the firmly embedded dominant language as a result.

This development, as well as the Civil Rights Movement[190] taking place in America, inspired a Hawaiian language revival known as the *Hawaiian Renaissance*, which began in the 1960s resulting in acknowledgment of the traditional Hawaiian language as the official language of Hawaii, in addition to English.[191] Unfortunately, both language scholars and speakers alike noted that while Hawaiian was taught in schools once again, it was now being taught as a foreign language.[192] This meant that although Hawaiian was being taught once again, it was not the dominant language nor the language from which other subjects were transmitted to the students. It is a well known phenomenon that foreign language classes in high schools and tertiary schools have not resulted in fluency among students. Fluency often depends on immersion methods such as takes place in common environments during which all communication occurs in the target language. Therefore, the exercise of Hawaiian as a

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[188] Quoting Luning and Yamauchi; Hawakami & Dudoit, 2000, P. 46
[189] Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 95).
[190] Warner (2001:135)." P. 130
[191] Luning and Yamauchi quoting (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Wilson, 1998
[192] Language planning and policy in Native America (W.H. Wilson, personal communication, 19, July 2009. P. 128

foreign language in schools did not result in increased usage among Native Hawaiians as anticipated.

**(b). Te Kohanga Reo (Maori efforts)**

Meanwhile in Aotearoa New Zealand, the 1970's saw a shift in thinking, driven by Maori who were witnessing the decline of their language. In this period of time the most prominent strategy to language revitalization, began and is known internationally as *Te Kohanga Reo*, which was later fully developed in the 1980s by Maori elders who remained concerned about the pervading loss of language. The subsequent development of *kohanga reo* and Maori language immersion centers for preschool students, incorporated four principal tenets. The first is the use of Maori language as the exclusive language in use, both conversationally and educationally, in the preschool environment. Kohanga reo is also a holistic learning method involving the *whanau* (family), the community and the school, in a culturally sensitive and supportive language immersion process.

This process ensures Maori knowledge will not be lost in a state government system which remains founded on assimilation policies and procedures.[193] The primary importance of involving the family in language immersion reflects the conviction that one must learn language within the home life *in addition to* school activities and experiences.

According to Cherrington,[194] the second tenet that contributed to the success of Kohanga Reo was whanau family decision making, management, and responsibility, wherein the whanau made decisions about each Center's operation. This learning provides children and their families with the means to strengthen and pass on their knowledge of language and culture in appropriate Maori ways. All instructional materials are in the Maori language and many cultural stories and songs are integrated into the content of the learning experience.

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[193] Cherrington, K. (1997). Building a child centred model: "An indigenous model must look to the future." In Ah Nee-Benham, M., & Cooper, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Indigenous educational models for contemporary practice in our mother's voice.* New York: Routledge. P. 34.
[194] Cherrington, 2012

The third tenet, relates to accountability, both culturally and administratively, and posits the importance of principles and values of Maori *tino rangatiratanga*, also reflected in numerous ways through daily practices at *Te Kohanga Reo*. For example, all conversation and instruction is in Maori language. Additionally, tribal values are revealed through ceremony. For example, each day begins and ends in *karakia*.[195] The first activity of the morning begins with a child standing to deliver a greeting that describes their tribal affiliation, the canoes which carried their ancestors to Aotearoa New Zealand, and the names of the mountains, rivers, seas, tribal meeting grounds, and *marae* (houses) that their tribe identifies with, thus reinforcing a child's identity and grounding them in their home and iwi life.

The final tenet is to ensure the health and well-being of the children in Kohanga Reo.[196] Maori teachings identify the children as natural carriers of Maori *tikanga,*[197] who will be responsible for ensuring these beliefs and understandings are carried into the future. The children are considered a vital resource in the *iwi* and therefore must be cared for carefully.

McTaggert similarly described the evolution of Maori language classes in the Maori educational system, "*by the mid-1980s, Kura Kaupapa Maori immersion schools began to appear, with Maori-language immersion and bilingual units also evolving in non-immersion schools at this time*".[198] As mentioned earlier, the Maori Language Act was passed in 1987 and recognized *te reo Maori* as the official language of Aotearoa New Zealand, also requiring the Pakeha government to support and promote its use.[199] The success of the Maori Language Act and associated recognition have resulted in Maori people being recognized as leaders in

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[195] Translated as "prayer"
[196] Karetu, T. S. (2002). Maori: New Zealand Latin? In B. Burnaby & J. Reyhner (Eds.), *Indigenous languages, across the community*. Northern Arizona University. P. 28.
[197] Translated as "cultural knowledge"
[198] McTaggert, S. 2014. Te reo Maori and the Tamariki of Te Tai Tokerau: a twenty-first-century demography. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 143.
[199] Ngaha, A. 2014. Te reo Maori and Maori identity: what's in a maunga? In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 76.

the genre of indigenous language revitalization. In the 1990s, Maori tertiary institutions or *Wananga* were established as another vehicle for promoting te reo and *Maoritanga.*

Ngaha noted that 1995 saw the Maori Language Commission, Maori academics and others refocus their te reo revitalization efforts at community and iwi levels. This theoretically gave ownership of and responsibility for the revitalization project back to local Maori."[200] This is a key point: that revitalization of Maori ways was driven by the people, for the people, in recognition that for the language to survive, Maori needed to take control for themselves. This aligns with Smith's belief that for Maori language to be successful, it had to be driven by Maori: Maori had to take control. The learning of te reo could not be left up to schools or the education system to support or develop as these were the very institutions that had been responsible in contributing to Maori language demise in the first place.[201]

Today, Maori language immersion programs have expanded beyond the preschool age and can be found in schools serving children and families from birth through college, as well as in the community and the home. Eventually, young graduates of kohanga reo programs entered into elementary school classes in which te reo Maori had not yet been incorporated in the 1980's. This lead to the introduction of *Kura Kaupapa Maori* immersion elementary schools, secondary schools, tertiary schools, and community programs for adults, initiatives also driven by Maori. Aranga-Low notes:

*"The rapid success of kohanga reo released hundreds of Maori 5-year-olds with a knowledge of spoken Maori, customs, and values into an educational system lacking in the most basic support structures. In order not to lose the confidence and hope engendered by the success of kohanga reo, parents and communities demanded an extension of the structure into primary schooling (ages 5-11). In 1985, the first Kura Kaupapa Maori, full-immersion Maori*

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[200] Ngaha, A. 2014. Te reo Maori and Maori identity: what's in a maunga? In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 76.
[201] Johnston, P. 1988.

*elementary school, began at Hoani Waititi Marae in Auckland. This extension has continued into kura-secondary colleges and whare Wananga, or tertiary institutions."[202]*

### (c). Punana Leo (Hawaiian Efforts)

In 1984 the Maori language revitalization movement inspired Hawaiians to develop their own language revitalization effort, the *Punana Leo* Movement, modeled on Kohanga Reo, the Maori immersion nests.[203] "*The Punana Leo Movement grew out of a dream that the mana of a living Hawaiian language be reestablished throughout Hawai'i from the depth of our origins there. The Punana Leo, initiates, provides for and nurtures various Hawaiian Language environments, and we find our strength in our spirituality, love of our language, love of our people, love of our land, and love of knowledge.*"[204] The Hawaiian language immersion methodology included a preschool to college immersion program which does "*not introduce English into the classroom until the fifth grade, even though the students come to school speaking English and use it outside of school. Students learn mathematics and other academic subjects and the use of computers in the Hawaiian language.*"[205] This focus on immersion techniques, mirroring Maori concentration, ensures Hawaiian language is interconnected with the educational experience of the students, while simultaneously acknowledging the fact that English skills will not whither at the expense of Hawaiian, being rooted in the dominant culture already.

By 1987, the ban on speaking the Hawaiian language in educational institutions established in 1896, was repealed and immersion programs were legally allowed to be introduced in both public and private schools.[206] *Papa Hana Kaiapuni*, a language immersion

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[202] Aranga-Low, L. 1997. Grounding vision on the three baskets of knowledge: "kia ora ai te iwi Maori." In Ah Nee-Benham, M., & Cooper, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Indigenous educational models for contemporary practice in our mother's voice*. New York: Routledge. P. 48.
[203] Quoting Reyhner and Singh (Wilson, 1991).
[204] 'Aha Punana Leo, 2010.
[205] McCarty, 2003. P. 7 Teaching Indigenous Students, Honouring Place, Community and Culture
[206] Teaching Indigenous Students, Honoring Place, Community and Culture, P. 32

program was introduced to schools that same year by the Hawaii State Department of Education.[207] "*Inspired by community-organized Maori immersion preschools in New Zealand, Hawaiian language activists developed a private Hawaiian language preschool. Similar to Maori language revitalization, Hawaiian language activists identified an urgent need to retain their language which resulted in development of the program at a grass-roots level. Like its Maori counterpart, the Hawaiian program was designed to incorporate traditional cultural practices within the classroom, as well as establish use of the native language as the medium of instruction. Both Maori and Hawaiian language programs were founded on efforts to restore use of the heritage languages among children and youths while also increasing a sense of pride in the traditional cultures.*"[208]

Since the repeal of the 1896 Hawaiian language ban, numerous language immersion programs have been incorporated into Hawaiian school curriculums, including bachelor and doctoral programs in local Hawaiian universities.[209] *Papa Hana Kaiapuni* advocates a holistic approach in which the Hawaiian language is incorporated into both the classroom and home with the learning process following the format which reverses the roles of the child and parent, resulting in children as teachers and adults as learners. Within Maori frameworks, the role of the learner/educator recognizes expertise and not age, so at times younger adults or children can assume the role of teacher, referred to as *Ako,* highlighting the importance of immersion whether operating from adult to youth or vice versa. This contrasts with Western models that depict children as learners and adults as teachers.

Older students are also encouraged to mentor younger students, in both the classroom and the community.[210] This intergenerational approach enabled Hawaiian language learners to absorb generational, contemporary, and traditional differences in language, with the elders

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[207] Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Wilson, 1998. P. 47 The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language
[208] The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language…. Journal article P. 47
[209] Luning and Yamauchi. *Teaching Indigenous Students, Honoring Place, Community and Culture*, P. 32
[210] The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language…. Journal article P. 55

influencing the young and vice versa.[211] The Kaiapuni curriculum integrates traditional Hawaiian culture into the curriculum, recognizing that speaking the language is only one aspect of the learning process, social, historical, and cultural teachings must also be included in the classroom environment.[212]

"*Besides learning the culture through the curriculum, students practiced traditional Hawaiian customs through their daily activities. Every morning before entering the classroom, students would oli (chant) together in unison, reciting a traditional chant which asked permission of the kumu (teacher) to enter the classroom, signifying their readiness to learn.*"[213] This tradition mirrors the Maori *karakia* activities for opening class sessions. "*The program also provided opportunities for students to learn and demonstrate their traditional cultural values. Students engaged in practicing values such as 'malama i ka aina' (taking care of the land) and 'lokahi' (unity) through activities such as building and maintaining the loʻi (taro field).*"[214]

Papa Hana Kaiapuni schools typically provide one hour of instruction in English starting in the 5th grade.[215] To fully benefit from the program, Kaiapuni schools prefer students to start in kindergarten if possible, which enables students to embrace the learning experience.[216]

A full Hawaiian immersion school, *Nawahiokalani'opu'u* (Nawahi) Laboratory School is a K-12 school which also follows the language nest approach closely resembling the Aotearoa New Zealand methodology. This school is affiliated with the University of Hawaiʻi-Hilo's College of Hawaiian Language program and offers a "*college preparatory curriculum, teaching all subjects through Hawaiian language and values. Students also learn English and*

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[211] The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language…. Journal article P. 62
[212] Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000). P. 49 The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language…. Journal
[213] The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language…. Journal article P. 53
[214] Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000. P. 54 The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language…. Journal
[215] Kawakami & Dudoit, 2000. P. 47 The Influences of Indigenous Heritage Language…. Journal
[216] Slaughter, 1997. Page 48

*a third language such as Japanese…the goal is for learners to achieve Hawaiian dominance alongside high levels of English fluency and literacy.*"[217] The method employed at this school is known as an additive language learning approach which emphasizes adding, rather than subtracting, a second language from students' communicative repertoires, within a larger, culturally based system of support. The Hawaiians refer to this as *honua*, or the places, circumstances, structures where use of Hawaiian is dominant and the Hawaiian *mauli*, culture or life force, is supported and maintained.[218] Nawahi's 100 percent high school graduation rate and 80 percent college attendance rate[219] combined with requirements for elementary students to learn the Japanese language and Chinese characters and for the middle and high school students to learn Latin results in consistent high achievements.[220]

As previously mentioned, the success of 'Aha Punana Leo is credited to the administrators' refusal to adhere to the rigidity and beliefs of the state, who insisted Hawaiian was an oral language and therefore not valid as a reading and writing curriculum. In response, 'Aha Punana Leo instructors developed a curriculum which did not incorporate the teaching of English until students reached the fifth grade, and testing in English was not introduced or conducted until the sixth grade. Instructors also taught language from a Hawaiian perspective, which incorporates the environment, the culture, and the essence of Hawai'i.[221] Students enrolled in a bachelor program at Ka Haka 'Ula's enter into a Hawaiian language-only course wherein the instructors teach only in Hawaiian during their second year, and which mandates all communication occur in Hawaiian, including personal communications. Thus, the students must speak Hawaiian when conversing with each other and in the final two years students must continue with their daily classes plus integrate intensive Hawaiian studies and also

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[217] Wilson and Kamana 2001, 2006. Framing Languages and Literacies Teresa L. McCarty Page 181.
[218] Wilson & Kawai'ae'a, 2007, P. 181
[219] Indigenous Youth Bilingualism from a Hawaiian Activist Perspective, Wilson and Kamana P. 372
[220] Indigenous Youth Bilingualism from a Hawaiian Activist Perspective, Wilson and Kamana P. 373
[221] Indigenous Youth Bilingualism from a Hawaiian Activist Perspective, Wilson and Kamana P. 372 quoting Wilson and Kamana, 2001

mentor underclassman. Graduate and doctoral programs are also offered and tend to follow similar language guidelines.[222]

## 3.2 Issues Associated with Learning a Second Language

### (a) The Role of Schools and Family

Kawharu and Tane are highly critical of teaching te reo Maori in schools and identify the institutionalization of language characteristic in textbooks or lesson plans within parts of school curriculum as focusing on language structure rather than as communication.[223] Many indigenous communities, often deprived of educational opportunities afforded to non-indigenous peoples, prize the importance of communication over textbook education. Kawharu and Tane maintain that teaching indigenous languages at home with the involvement of the family and extended family is more likely to incorporate the context and meaning intrinsic within the indigenous language. Language has life inside words. The use of inflection conveys meaning because language is seen as the link between the present and the past. From this perspective, therefore, the cold, impersonal pages of a school textbook may not have the ability to convey the nuances of language to a learner reading the text without the benefit of dialogue and discussion.

"*A whanau learning environment also encourages a two-way dialogue and opportunity for discussion and debate. The kaumatua was not dismissive of the role of schools in learning- he came from a school-teaching background, but he was clear about the role they should have in promoting the learning of te reo and tikanga. Schools, he explained, should be a secondary level of learning.*"[224]

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[222] Indigenous Youth Bilingualism from a Hawaiian Activist Perspective, Wilson and Kamana P. 373

[223] The background to this situation is related to Maori positioning the language to be studied at university level as a means to argue for its validity as a language.

[224] Kawharu, M., & Tane, P. 2014. Casting a new net: connecting marae and te reo in the information age. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 191.

According to Ormsby-Teki et al., research argued for the advancement of Te Reo Maori in the family homes. That project draws from the principles supporting kaupapa Maori research and emphasizes the importance of the family in developing Maori language and culture in children specifically, and the community generally.[225]

Robust supports the assertions of Johnston and McTaggert and says, "*Within Maori society, respect for the relationship rests in the base of the kin group, whanau/family, hapu/subtribe, and iwi/tribe. Throughout Maori society, whether it be the gathering of food, holding meetings on marae/meeting house or the planting of crops, Maori incorporate the spiritual and physical dimensions of learning handed down from generation to generation.*"[226] This intergenerational connection further supports the practice of teaching language learners in a community and family based, supportive environment, an environment that transcends the traditional classroom and incorporates all activities within which the family and the learner engages in, from the home to the classroom to the marae. Again, this is also a belief embedded in the Hawaiian methods of language transmission, an importance on the family language activities is paramount.

Ngaha highlights a direct correlation between language and cultural knowledge, saying, "*Language is more than the words that are communicated from one to another. Language helps to present our identity in diverse ways: through our relationships with others; through the engagement in and with aspects of our culture; and through the way we use language in our day-to-day interactions.*"[227] Furthermore, according to Ngaha,

"*Expressions of identity do not rely on the use of the indigenous language. They are sometimes seen in the choice of language used, in the practice of customs and traditions, or*

[225] Ormsby-Teki, T., et al. 2011.

[226] Robust, T. T. 2002. Ko te reo mauri o te mana Maori: The language is the life essence of Maori existence. In B. Burnaby & J. Reyhner (Eds.), *Indigenous languages, across the community*. Northern Arizona University. P. 2.

[227] Ngaha, A. 2014. Te reo Maori and Maori identity: what's in a maunga? In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 75.

*even in the content and context of discussion."*[228] By this, Ngaha means we are not restricted to the knowledge embedded in our language but can be open to enhanced relationships with those of our community based on interactions and nuances of experience which encompass more than just the spoken word. Thus, the entirety of one's life conveys the meanings of one's background and personal history, which is inseparable from culture and tradition.

Reyhner and Singh argue for development of language nests being one of the more successful methods for enhancement of a language learning experience from the classroom to the home. Maori students, for example, not only immersed themselves in the language at school, but the home and whanau continued the instruction once the student returned home, which is one of the fundamental principles supported by TKR, that language had to also be spoken in the home. Supporting language within the home provides a space for all members of the family to not only teach and learn Maori, but to strengthen the family bonds, and develop a better understanding of cultural mores essential to fully understanding the context the language is meant to convey. Students must not only learn to speak Maori, they must learn to think in Maori.[229]

According to Ormsby-Teki, et al., "*If one wishes to increase one's ability to speak then one must speak as often as one can. Taken for granted in this research is the tenet that speaking a language is inherently necessary to improving the speaking of said language. The same applies to any of the other language skills – writing more improves writing, reading more improves reading*"[230] Therefore the role of language in school may be to learn about the structures present in language use while home-based language learning reinforces the ability to converse and offers the opportunity to hold conversations and communicate in an individual and personal manner. Developing a text-based Maori language lesson plan for the

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[228] Ngaha, A. 2014. Te reo Maori and Maori identity: what's in a maunga? In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 76.

[229] Reyhner, J., & Singh, N.K. 2015. *Teaching Indigenous Students, Honouring place, community, and culture.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. P. 32.

[230] Ormsby-Teki, T., Timutimu, N., Palmer, H., Ellis, R., & Johnston, P., 2011

school *must* be supplemented by language learning in the home, with involvement by all family members. This approach is absolutely necessary for language to truly become a living language and serves to emphasize the learning.

In their research about the importance of language development, Ormsby-Teki, et al. recognized some parents may feel inhibited or too busy to implement comprehensive language support in the home for a variety of reasons such as, "*both parents work and don't have time to devote to classes, some lacked the motivation to fully commit, not having members of the peer group speaking also, getting put down for making mistakes or were not grammatically correct, it's easier to speak in English, constant correction, negative comments, being embarrassed, not feeling confident*"[231] According to Ormsby-Teki, et al., to ensure successful implementation of language revitalization initiatives, the following must be taken into consideration:

First, that "language survival is premised on the belief that **language is valued** and that **language must be used within the home or a similar type social context**. For this to happen, language must become and remain a social language."

Second, "**all whanuu members must participate in speaking Te Reo within the home**, since a language needs many actors to use it".

Third, *"the establishment of language communities that are whanau based, community based, or/and hapu (sub-tribe) based are essential to ensuring that language use is located within a place for it to thrive*."

Fourth, "*those people that can speak te reo within the whanau, hapu and iwi, must speak* for without their leadership and commitment, language regeneration cannot occur."

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[231] Ormsby-Teki, T., Timutimu, N., Palmer, H., Ellis, R., & Johnston, P., 2011 P. 82

Fifth, "***community language mentors/teachers or researchers are needed to assist with implementing any language regeneration strategy***."[232]

The key point being made from Ormsby-Teki, et al. was the emphasis on *using the language for all communications*, whenever possible. Without indigenous language use in the home and community, all school efforts and revitalization models cease to matter. One may plan and strategize how to keep a language alive but without daily use, language growth will not succeed. This is an important consideration for language revitalization strategies.

What is also significant from this research is the provision for both a model and a strategy for language development. What the literature is highlighting is that a successful indigenous language effort will develop an environment in which conversations are conducted with an engaged listener, a speaker who feels comfortable enough to practice their language skills, even if they start with short sentences or games.

Therefore according to Ormsby-Teki, et al., creating a supportive and reassuring learning environment for speakers to practice language skills without judgment enhances those skills. Engaged listening will augment the ability to understand the spoken language, and prepare for speaking. Possible solutions for facilitating a comfortable learning environment include, "*having access to a mentor, having a key motivating driver or active person in the language encouraging others, supportive environment, positive parent/child and grandchild/grandparent relationships, create fun learning games, incorporate language into daily activities*."[233]

Wilson and Kamana, describe Hawaiian language learners ages twelve to thirty as the ideal age group for language revitalization classes. This does not mean to suggest that other ages will not benefit from revitalization activities, but rather the ease with which this learning occurs may be readily apparent during this time period. It is noted that students in this age

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[232] Ormsby-Teki, T., Timutimu, N., Palmer, H., Ellis, R., & Johnston, P., 2011
[233] Ormsby-Teki, T., Timutimu, N., Palmer, H., Ellis, R., & Johnston, P., 2011

group are more likely to use Hawaiian when speaking with their peers, teach the language or encourage language learning among their children and expand societal language use.[234]

## 3.3 Place-based Traditional Environments for Language Learning

Encouraging the use of language while engaging in traditional activities also promotes language learning, allowing students to embrace their indigeneity through subsistence activities and language development resulting in learning to embrace the importance of heritage and culture in a contemporary world.[235] Place-based language learning is another method for learning language because traditionally, geographic locations were important to survival and as such, factored significantly in the daily lives and development of traditional languages.[236]

According to McTaggert, "*A person's iwi, or indeed all of their iwi, can be linked to geographical locations but also transcends the firmament. It is considered a marker of an individual's social networks, of their whanau and whakapapa, of cultural, social and economic capitals, of possibilities and predispositions for language success*."[237] The author suggested that the correlation between use of te reo and iwi membership or affiliation may reflect two things. First, it can infer the group/iwi habitus: the mindset and dispositions of that group towards language acquisition and education. Second, it can reflect real material conditions in which Maori construct strategies and attempt to implement them.[238] In effect, engaging the iwi and whanau in language development is intrinsic to the success of a Maori language program because language learners need the support of their family and community to reinforce the skills the students are developing, to understand the context in which

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[234] Indigenous Youth Bilingualism from a Hawaiian Activist Perspective, Wilson and Kamana P. 375
[235] Indigenous Youth Bilingualism from a Hawaiian Activist Perspective, Wilson and Kamana P. 370
[236] Indigenous Youth Bilingualism from a Hawaiian Activist Perspective, Wilson and Kamana P. 371
[237] McTaggert, S. 2014. P. 166
[238] McTaggert, S. 2014. P.168

language is utilized and applied and to emphasize the holistic connection between language, people, and place.

Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu based in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, for instance, developed an iwi language initiative, known as *Kotahi Mano Kaika (*KMK). This strategy was developed for the purpose of teaching 1,000 Kai Tahu families to speak Te Reo Maori in their homes. The incorporation of KMK into that iwi's Maori Language Revitalization Strategy in 2001, stimulated "the development of Kai Tahu dialect language resources for the home, cluster initiatives involving weekly language lessons, kura reo, kapa haka (cultural group), wananga (tertiary institution), hikoi (to journey), fun nights for whanau, the establishment of a website with online resources, information about upcoming events, and language tests were all part of the project. In addition to the use of new technology such as the internet, the KMK project incorporated a number of innovative strategies for language revitalization at an iwi level." [239] For example, this approach strengthened the involvement of the community in the language learning experience and created a bridge between the home and the iwi, thereby ensuring the language is not isolated to a classroom or the home but is incorporated into the fabric of a learning community, in which every interaction is an opportunity for learning language and the concepts associated with the development of language. This spotlight on intergenerational connection further reinforces the practice of teaching language learners in a community and family-based supportive environment, an environment which transcends the traditional classroom and incorporates all activities in which the family and the learner engages in, from the home to the classroom to the marae.

**(a) Second Language Learners**

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[239] Ormsby-Teki, T., Timutimu, N., Palmer, H., Ellis, R., & Johnston, P., 2011

This segment focuses on some elements related to second language learners, particularly some of the specific challenges faced by them. Adult-aged second language learners face issues when learning indigenous languages, particularly when their first tongue is English. They tend to utilize their first language too much, applying those linguistic tenets to their understanding of the second language. Lack of a good ear for the nuances and pronunciations of the new language poses additional problems and further aggravate the mispronunciations which result. These subtle changes in pronunciation also create big changes for the target language and these new changes can be passed on to other new speakers very quickly.

The concepts and traditions encapsulated in te reo Maori, markedly differ from the language of the colonizers in contemporary learning environments. Karetu states "*Although language must change to survive, this does not mean the wholesale discarding of good traditional ways of expression and their replacement with grammatical structures which are unnatural to a native speaker's ear, yet sound so wonderful and clever to the ear of a second language learner. I am certain that the very high proportion of second language learners who exist in all of our cultures will have an impact on our languages, but their influence must not be permitted to dominate, particularly if their changed forms are incorrect or have no innate wairua or ethos which emanates from the language itself.*"[240]

As mentioned above, the continued challenge for second language learners is in having been exposed to and speaking a language not traditional to their whanau, which may inadvertently change the meaning of te reo Maori because of their exposure to *non-Maori epistemologies*. Sylvia Ashton-Warner, in Karetu, suggested developing curriculums which incorporate Maori students' own experiences, thereby, drawing a student into the learning experience because they see themselves in the curriculum. She argued students would become

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[240] Reyhner, J., & Singh, N.K. 2015. *Teaching Indigenous Students, Honoring place, community, and culture.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. P. 32. Quoting 'Aha Punana Leo 2010.

invested in the learning environment because the curriculum and teachings around the language would be a reflection of themselves, their whanau, and their iwi.[241] Hohepa, (citing McCarty and Littlebear), acknowledged the importance of language in accessing tribal knowledge and further supported the idea that language revitalization must take into account the intertwined relationships between language, generational knowledge and teaching. "*Associated with language rights are questions of access to cultural knowledge and values indexed by that language. Language is the key to the perpetuation of a culture, its knowledge and its value systems.*"[242] This understanding I believe is central to the Chehalis decision to reserve some language and cultural information for Chehalis only use.

Ngaha also asserted "*… as a result of urbanization, greater engagement with the non-Maori speaking population and reduced contact with the home community, the language shift from Maori to English has accelerated rapidly to a point where the shift and attrition of te reo in the rural community is now comparable to that for whanau Maori living in urban settings. The geographic isolation of rural Maori communities can no longer be expected to support the retention of te reo.*"[243] Ngaha's contemporary, Hohepa shared this view and added "*When a language is not able to be used to any great extent, it is not just the language which may be lost. Important stores of cultural knowledge may also be at risk.*"[244] This risk is recognized by indigenous people everywhere since cultural and historic knowledge remains embedded in tribal language.

Fishman's *Reversing Language Shift* (RLS) provides a comprehensive discussion of intervention efforts related to language loss. He spoke of "theory and practice of assistance to

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[241] Karetu, T. S. (2002). Maori: New Zealand Latin? In B. Burnaby & J. Reyhner (Eds.), *Indigenous languages, across the community*. Northern Arizona University. P. 25.

[242] McCarty, T. L. 2013. Indigenous literacies, continuum or divide? In M. R. Hawkins (Ed.), *Framing languages and literacies, socially situated views and perspectives.* New York: Routledge. P. 181. Quoting Wilson and Kamana 2001, 2006.

[243] Ngaha, A. 2014. Te reo Maori and Maori identity: what's in a maunga? In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 76.

[244] Hohepa, M. 2014. Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 103.

[25] Fishman, J. A. (Ed.)., 2001

speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users."[245] Fishman believes such language shifts cannot be reversed at a societal level if it is not also reversed at the family and local community levels.

According to Hohepa, Fishman is "*critical of efforts to reverse language loss through controlling the institutional language of education, mass media or government without sufficiently safeguarding the intimate, intergenerational language transmission context. What Fishman is referring to is the transmission of language across generations in families and communities*."[246] Hohepa's recognition of the difference between language structure and conversational language use reflects the Maori beliefs governing language acquisition. Hohepa commented that in efforts to reverse language loss, Fishman advocated a diglossic existence in which distinct forms of the language are used in different settings or domains for cultural communities whose languages have little political power in the public and institutional levels of society, such as Chehalis. Fishman recommended that community language remain bounded in socio-cultural traditions, values, beliefs and practices. "*If these traditions are still extensively practiced in modern life, in the sense that they occur regularly in day-to-day lives and across a range of contexts, then concentrating efforts in this way may be fruitful. Indeed, it has been argued te reo Maori was protected from total loss much in this manner*."[247]

Hohepa also noted instances where Maori language was being used in Maori cultural contexts, such as *powhiri* and other traditional settings. Hohepa continued her argument by quoting Baker as saying "The goal of language regeneration is not to return simplistically to the traditional way but to ensure that traditions live on, in meaningful and contextualized

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[245] Fishman, J. A. (Ed.)., 2001

[246] Hohepa, M. 2014. Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

[247] Hohepa, M. 2014. Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 103.

ways, alongside language and culture. It is also well established that learning in a mother tongue can provide a greater likelihood of academic success."[248] What this suggests is that language must modernize and change to survive. This argument also speaks to my struggles with prescriptivism.

Kahananui and Anthony state Hawaiian and other indigenous language learners should recognize the importance of memory in learning languages and should not try to find the equivalent of their first language word in the learning language because concepts and meaning does not translate directly across spectrums. This concept can be difficult to relay to new learners because the links between objects in the old and new language are erroneously assumed to be direct. As an example, critics of Punana Leo claim teaching the Hawaiian language to youth results in a contemporary evolution of the Hawaiian language: youth create or modify the language to fit their modern day world, thereby, losing the traditional, cultural identity of the language. This viewpoint encapsulates a two worlds philosophy[249], the idea that language use is static and does not evolve.[250]

Kahananui and Anthony also encourage students of Hawaiian to completely immerse themselves in the language they are learning, which requires one to check their primary language at the door and learn to think in Hawaiian. Students should first learn "*to listen and speak, second to read, and third to write…listening and speaking are total experiences. Reading and writing are partial experiences because they do not give the learner complete control of the second language. Without the listening and speaking skills the learner will have an incomplete grasp of the language, and progress will be limited.*"[251]    Teachers    are encouraged to ban the use of first, typically English, language or use it only to provide

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[248] Hohepa, M. 2014. Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 105.
[249] Wilson & Kamana, 2009
[250] Wilson, W. H., & Kamana, K. 2009. Indigenous youth bilingualism from a Hawaiian activist perspective. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *8*. P. 370.
[251] Let's Speak Hawaiian Kahananui and Anthony, P. xi and xii.

instruction at the beginning and end of class. The second, indigenous, language should be in use throughout the majority of the class time. An inclusive seating arrangement, which is a feature of many indigenous teaching methods, a square, circle or semi-circle is encouraged not only to "facilitate the flow and movement of individual recitation" but to also enable the teacher to manage a routine flow of recitation and to vary the flow as needed.[252] These ideas are also shared by Leanne Hinton in her Master-Apprentice Learning methodologies and reflect common traditional indigenous learning elements rather than Westernized ideas of teaching.

Some Native American tribes have also wrestled with the two worlds philosophy and the rejection of tribal languages evolving with the introduction of modern-day accouterments. For example, the Chehalis language includes words for book, cow, horse, and other animals and items introduced post contact. This is an example of language evolving over time, and also acknowledges that the language evolved prior to the lifetimes of our current elders. So, to suggest that language could not evolve in our lifetime to incorporate words for modern day accessories and experiences does not accurately represent the ongoing progression languages have naturally experienced since time immemorial.

Conversely, in tiny language communities such as Chehalis, it is possible to change the language in a detrimental fashion through use of inappropriate contexts such as confusing spiritual or religious terms with everyday terminology. Using diaglossic mediums to conduct various language use is prevalent in Chehalis. We have several ways to voice a variety of communications which are guided by the circumstance, the personage with whom one is speaking and the subject being discussed. Using a diaglossic approach to share language knowledge helps ensure that the nuances of the language are retained.

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[252] Let's Speak Hawaiian Kahananui and Anthony, p xiv.

Hohepa also notes many indigenous groups in danger of language and culture loss view schooling as a major means of regeneration. But the opposite is also true, as Reyhner stated earlier: many members of American Indian tribes are distressed by the implications of succeeding in white education as evidence of succumbing to the dominant non-Indian culture. David Crystal disagreed and believes "*identifying and establishing a strong presence of an endangered language in the educational system was an important strategy for avoiding language death….The role of schooling can be seen as a tool used to help support the (re)transformation of a language and a culture back into the lives of a people"*, but not as a means by itself.[253]

Hohepa identified further evidence which demonstrated a "*positive relationship between kohanga reo attendance, self-reported te reo Maori competencies and levels of local knowledge which suggests that early opportunities to learn through the medium of Maori are linked to knowledge about the local hapu, iwi and geographical area. This relationship should not be unexpected as the curriculum of kohanga reo generally includes culturally located teaching such as children's pepeha (tribal sayings or proverbs), which may contain information about hapu, iwi, marae, waka (canoe), awa (river), and so on.*"[254] "*In addition, participants attending Kura Kaupapa Maori were more likely to perceive themselves as excellent at speaking, reading and understanding Maori…*" Moreover, Hohepa stated "*Access to Maori-medium education gives Maori children and youth a direct opportunity to learn Maori language and cultural knowledge.*" Keeping in mind however, that these different school types were not developed by the Pakeha government but by a Maori response to language loss.

[253] Crystal, D. 2005. *How Language Works: How Babies Babble, Words Change Meaning, and Languages Live or Die*.
[254] Hohepa, M. 2014. Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 107.

Basil Bernstein's theories of codes can be used as a lens through which to view Maori and Hawaiian indigenous language efforts.[255] Using Bernstein's system, Johnston developed a classification system for identifying diverse (Pakeha and Maori) concepts of difference which she argued are a result of different coding.[256] To simplify, coding helps one to determine how to exist, behave, or speak in specific situations. Johnston argues in the introduction to her thesis, that *a code contains an accumulation of beliefs and views about difference that "represent underlying principles which regulate how we make sense of it... A code can thus be seen as sets of rules that determine what it is that counts as 'Pakeha conceptions of difference' and 'Maori conceptions of difference'. They "govern what gets recognized, what is privileged and what is not.*"[257] Pakeha concepts of difference implies a *less than* quality to indigenous dissimilarities. Johnston maintained that *the first code - 'Pakeha conceptions of difference' - identifies Maori as different from Pakeha linguistically, culturally, in terms of Other, and ... physically in terms of perceptions about race. The second code - 'Maori conceptions of difference' - focus on how Maori see themselves as different from Pakeha, but not inferior.*[258]

Johnston and Bernstein's descriptions here will be explored further during the results portion of this thesis. The significance of their work to this research lies in an examination of colonizing forces exerted over native languages and communities. Therefore, in order to decolonize the indigenous concepts of how language is learned, one must be able to recognize the presence of colonization and how they have impacted our current circumstances.

**(b) Language Contexts**

Bernstein's and Johnston's ideas about codes help to distinguish in the Chehalis context, different environments and codes associated with language use. I have identified three specific and different types of language used in Chehalis contexts. First is *traditional*

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[255] Bernstein, B. 1992 Unpublished Manuscript.
[256] Johnston, P. 1998
[257] Johnston, P. 1998 P. 327
[258] Johnston, P. 1998

language use, which encompasses the spiritual and ceremonial uses of language in formal cultural procedures and other particular settings. Access to and use of this language is restricted. The second context can be referred to as *common* language use which is professional or proper uses of language and includes settings like meetings and gatherings, meaning these speakers do not use shortcuts in their speech. I call the third context for language *conversational,* which transliterationalizes,[259] including the realms of personal and family use, which incorporates the use of slang and wherein linguistic short cuts are frequent. These different language types and codes, which Johnston argues become present through and help identify, existing issues with second language learners who may not recognize the codes associated with the evoking context. According to Johnston *('evoking context' refers to specific context for differences and there are many forms of these. Each of those contexts would recognize and regulate language in specific and not necessarily similar ways.* An example of related phenomenon is prescriptivism, which appears to discount the relaxed conversational nuances which occasionally appear in informal situations. Prescriptivism, in addition to requiring that no changes in pronunciation occur, also means that the context signals the form of language to be used and is engaged, regardless of the informality of the given context.

Community also has a role to play as a context for language. Robust argued "*In the past, people from the community have preserved their stories in korero/oral tradition, which have been told many times by their tupana/ancestors and theirs before them. Oral history of the hapu/extended families has been the main form of communicating these histories. However, the community has now moved to also record their histories in the form of pakiwaitara/stories by using computers, audio and video methods of recording.*"[260] Robust

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[259] Transliteration is a term used in the New Zealand context where English words are translated into Maori. For example days of the week (wiki = week), etc.

[260] Robust, T. T. 2002. Ko te reo mauri o te mana Maori: The language is the life essence of Maori existence. In B. Burnaby & J. P. 5.

continued by confirming "*In 1986 te reo Maori/Maori language was the first language spoken in 85% of the households in the Motatau community. This has been reinforced with the establishment of kohanga reo/language nests, located at the school prior to moving to its present location on the Motatau marae/meeting place. Families have also taken it upon themselves to ensure te reo Maori is maintained in the home.*"[261]

What Johnston, Robust, Ormsby-Teki, et al. and others identify is that "The revitalization of Maori language needs to occur across different sites concurrently" to grow the language effectively, but the complexity of which language is used is based on the context for language use.

## 3.4 Conclusion

From the Maori revitalization experience, the fact that competent and knowledgeable Maori speakers were mostly over forty years old on average meant adults taught children and grandchildren.[262] In terms of Hawaiian language revitalization, it was the opposite. The children learned their Hawaiian language in the schools and learned this very quickly, bringing it home to teach the adults. Since the Hawaiian language was taught in a youth-to-adult format due to the lack of fluent adult speakers when language revitalization was first introduced into educational institutions, this resulted in fluent children who became the teachers of the adults in their families. Elders spoke the language, but with the introduction of language classes into schools, youth became more proficient in speaking the language resulting in a void being created between the two groups. Adults, neither child nor elder, were not speaking the language and they needed to learn for the children to have the language bridge the gap between school and the home.

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[261] Robust, T. T. 2002. Ko te reo mauri o te mana Maori: The language is the life essence of Maori existence. In B. Burnaby & J. Reyhner (Eds.), *Indigenous languages, across the community*. Northern Arizona University. P. 6.
[262] Te Kohanga Reo Maori Language Revitalization Jeanette King The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice, Hinton and Hale P. 121

*"Education is not neutral. What children hear, read, learn, and do in school can help them build a strong positive identity or it may, through insensitivity and ethnocentric assimilationist curriculum and instruction, destroy Indigenous cultural and family values and leave students susceptible to the allure of today's negative peer and popular media-dominated consumer culture."[263]*

Maori and Hawaiian share many similarities in their development and implementation of contemporary language learning. Both languages experienced significant loss through forced English language schooling and their governments' banning of language use, and punishment of children enrolled in the schools for using their indigenous language. While Hawaiian and Maori language approaches share some similarities in their history and development, the method of implementation is different. Maori was initially taught in the *kohanga reo*/language nests by adults to youth, while Hawaiian is taught youth to adults, based on the unique educational needs of the students. Therefore, a word can tell a story, and the placement and the order of these words are important to the meaning behind the words. Without this understanding, the word is flat, a word is a word that has lost its meaning. Despite the common Western belief that "efforts which have involved teaching Indigenous students English and academic subjects as *a replacement for* rather than *in addition to* their Native language and culture have shown success in improving academic performance of Indigenous students in the United States and in other countries" both Maori and Hawaiian have found the opposite to be true.[264]

While one can teach another how to say a sound and one can train oneself to hear a sound, one cannot train oneself to understand context. This is the crux of language revitalization: it is more than knowing which words to use, it is parsing the information to

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[263] Reyhner, J., & Singh, N.K. 2015. *Teaching Indigenous Students, Honoring place, community, and culture.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. P. 34.
[264] Reyhner, J., & Singh, N.K. 2015. *Teaching Indigenous Students, Honoring place, community, and culture.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. P. 7.

make sense of cultural and historical practices which are necessary for understanding oneself. The context is coded and not knowing the code can result in the wrong use of words, like the Chehalis term for *thank you* discussed in Chapter Two. For instance, both Hawaiian and Maori demonstrate that although a word can tell a story, the placement and the order of these words are just as important to the meaning behind the words. It is this contextual knowledge which informs both the speakers and listeners of Chehalis language how to interpret the communication as well as the intention behind the speech. Without this understanding, the world is flat, a word is a word, and the contextual cultural knowledge loses its meaning.

Therefore, what the research has revealed to me is some thoughts about language revitalization: the importance of developing an immersion context for any learners of Chehalis language, strategies for community, that English rules do not apply to use of Chehalis, and finally, each Chehalis context is ruled by a code that we need to recognize and know when using our language.

## *Chapter Four: Chehalis Language Efforts*

### 4.0     Introduction

This chapter identifies and examines themes of what worked and what did not in revitalization experiences at the Chehalis tribal community. As outlined in previous chapters, the work of Katherine Barr and Dr. Kinkade forms an integral part of language programming at Chehalis and is examined in detail in this chapter. Katherine's experience as the last fluent speaker of Chehalis is central for the lessons she incorporated into her own life, enabling her to retain her language. Likewise, Dr. Kinkade served as the tribal linguist for several decades and was fondly regarded within the Chehalis community which reflects the community appreciation for his work and respect towards the Chehalis people.

Chapter One backgrounds the setting for this thesis research as a means to inform the reader of particular characteristics pertinent to thesis development. In Chapter Two I examined themes expanded by both Westernized and indigenous authors as revealed in the literature. This information informed my delving into language loss and revitalization. This thesis carries these elements forward as a means to understand and emphasize the Chehalis experience relayed here, in Chapter Four.

### 4.1     Katherine Barr Autoethnography

Autoethnography tells a personal story and allows readers to become intimate with the subject. This autoethnography is told from my perspective and is based on my understandings and shared experiences with Katherine Barr as it relates to indigenous language revitalization. Therefore, although I am sharing details from Katherine's life, they come from my viewpoint and feelings. My relationship with Katherine was deeply personal and I want to give our story to my readers because her teachings are lessons about language learning. Katherine was a powerful person in many ways, this was revealed in her spiritual life and especially in her

language capabilities. Katherine was very unique in terms of her Chehalis and other Indian language speaking abilities in that she was able to fully retain her Chehalis language skills despite learning English as a second language at age six, when she began attending school. This is unusual because Chehalis, unlike major languages such as Spanish or French, was only spoken by a few hundred people, with the number of speakers sharply decreasing over time. Katherine's language experience, compared with that of her peers, was situated by her ability to preserve her Chehalis language fluency while those around her quickly lapsed into English use as their common means of communication, resulting in eventually losing all but a few words of Chehalis.

Katherine was born February 20, 1920 to her father Marion Davis and her mother, Bertha (Petoie) Davis. Our shared family connection is thus: Katherine Barr's mother Bertha (Petoie) Davis married my father's great uncle Fred Bobb after her first husband, Marion Davis, passed away and hereafter was known as Bertha Bobb. Fred Bobb was a step-father to both Katherine and her younger sister Cindy. Fred Bobb's sister was Harriet (Bobb) Pete, who was my father's grandmother.[265]

Katherine learned the Chehalis language from her parents while she was quite young. According to Katherine, her father spoke Quinault and her mother spoke Nisqually, although both understood each language as well, but they both spoke Upper Chehalis together when they did not want Katherine to know what they were talking about. Unfortunately for them, she picked up all three languages quite easily and could understand all three tongues, speaking the Chehalis and Quinault languages exceptionally well.

By the early 1980s, Katherine spoke Chehalis with just a small handful of fellow speakers of advanced age who gradually passed away over the next 15 years leaving her as the sole surviving speaker. She recalled Lillian Young as one of the speakers she knew best

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[265] There is a strong cultural protocol which prohibits depicting family trees in a public fashion. Therefore, this element will not be presented here, further than is detailed in the work already.

and with whom she spoke Chehalis for most of her life. Katherine also maintained a long distance friendship with Dr. Kinkade during these years and recollected him speaking with her father before he passed away when she was a small child.

A few days into my new job as the Language and Culture Program Manager for the Chehalis Tribe, I went to visit Katherine Barr and share the recent developments with the Chehalis language. The focus of my job was the consideration for developing a Chehalis language program. I was really quite frightened about whether she would agree to participate in this new endeavour because it was so vital for our Tribe. I was desperate for her participation and she became quite excited when we spoke and also recounted our familial relationship which connected her to me. She asked after Dr. Kinkade and expressed her interest in participating in the latest language activities.

In order to facilitate language program development, I myself had to become more familiar with the language. Hearing and learning the Chehalis language was one of the most daunting tasks I have ever faced. Katherine worked closely with me several days per week for six years giving me one-on-one lessons and correcting my pronunciation. When I first heard the Chehalis words to count from one to ten, I very nearly cried at the difficulty! I was certain I would never be able to pronounce these words. My mind set was so fully colonized that I never considered how absurd it was to force a Westernized teaching style into an indigenous learning environment. Katherine worked with me on pronunciation and vocabulary building in a mentorship immersion style which reflects an indigenous learning methodology. Once we had shifted our learning style, through trial and error, our progress became more natural and easier. Our focus was on the teaching styles we would use for interested tribal members. She and Dr. Kinkade developed vocabulary worksheets centered on a variety of topics including

birds, animals, insects and trees. Also included were components belonging in a house, family relations, body parts, colors, counting, introductions of self and other lessons.[266]

Katherine's instruction methods were loosely based on a non-indigenous Western style, at the very beginning of our mentorship relationship, but she quickly found this non-Indian style to be too foreign and the difference between her recollections of learning Chehalis when younger, emphasized her discomfort with Western style teachings. Within the first three weeks of our lessons, we intuitively developed the format which later allowed us to become settled into a naturally immersive manner although unfortunately I often relied on English to carry me forward. Katherine shared how she learned the languages as a child, from hearing her parents talking and intuiting the subject matters. She spoke about how one teaches a very young child- through repetition and gentle teasing.

Our first lessons were focused on some basic questions and responses such as *aye,*[267] *meethla,*[268] *meethla en spooten,*[269] and *een-inch?,*[270] plus various introductions. Katherine would ask me questions in Chehalis and then in English if her hints were unable to indicate the subject at hand. I loved those hours spent on her couch by the woodstove.

There were times she would grow frustrated while trying to remember a particular word or phrase. We discovered that if she could calm her mind and let it drift, then I could look the word up in our Chehalis dictionary and try to pronounce it. I mostly butchered my words at first but she was always able to correct me. This became our method for bridging roadblocks. Sometimes I would offer reading from the dictionary on various words and topics I was interested in. No matter how poorly I spoke, Katherine could immediately correct my pronunciation and speech, even when she couldn't initially elicit the words herself.

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[266] I have since learned word lists are generally considered to be an ineffective teaching style as well as 'bad form' by many linguists.
[267] *Yes* in Chehalis
[268] *No* in Chehalis
[269] *I don't know* in Chehalis
[270] *What do you know?* in Chehalis

I asked Katherine if her family members spoke Chehalis with her but she thought most of her children knew only a few words, phrases and prayers. She stated that although she held tightly to her Chehalis language skills, there was a small part of her which feared her children would not fare well or perhaps would suffer poor treatment if they learned too much. Katherine's choice to downplay Chehalis fluency around her children was rooted in the boarding school experiences of others of her generation. She had heard stories about the exceedingly poor treatment of indigenous people who spoke their languages off reservation and wanted to protect her children and family from such possibilities. When I asked about her sister Cindy, Katherine remarked the 11 year age difference between them had played a role in Cindy's language skills, Katherine was learning and speaking English at school by the time Cindy was born and their parents began to speak English with them both to some degree as well.

It was during her middle childhood years, ages 8-15, when Katherine perceived the amount of English beginning to infuse her world. She recalled noticing that only the very elderly spoke Chehalis or other Indian languages and many people responded back in English. During these years, 1928-1935, Katherine realized the change to English was growing more prominent and permanent. It was at this time the Chehalis reservation began to become more closely linked to the non-Indian world. There were few roads to or from the reservation, at least not good quality roads and none were paved. There was no electricity to the reservation until the mid 1950s either. People had to pump water, use kerosene lanterns and either walked or rode horses to visit one another. Katherine described the changes to the prairies making up the Chehalis reservation during this time. When she was older, someone planted trees all over the main part of the reservation resulting in the brushy wooded features that still existed when I was a child. I remember being indignant when the trees were cut down in the 1990's, my dad laughed and said it finally looked how *he* recalled it from his own youth.

Katherine spent some years in Seattle during World War II. She had lapsed primarily into English by then and saw those around her doing the same. It was during these years she began to see a connection between losing her Indian languages and beginning to prosper in the non-Indian world. Katherine stated this marked the beginning of the time when she actively worked to keep her fluency. She prayed about it and came to see her devotion to the Chehalis language as an integral part of herself and her identity. She focused on her commitment to the language and embraced the work that this entailed. She ensured she maintained contact with those of her peers who could still speak Chehalis and tried to use her Chehalis language skills whenever possible. She recalled dreaming more vividly in Chehalis as her English increased. Although she dreamed and thought in Chehalis more frequently at this time, her English use became cemented in her vocabulary. Years later when she and I worked together, she would preface her English words with muttered phrases such as "it is, how do you say…?" and "what is that word that means…" During these moments when she searched for her vocabulary in English, I could easily recognize how foreign the English language was for her, one that must be rifled through, like a card catalogue at the library to express herself properly.

Even though she had established regular contact and meetings with Dr. Kinkade during the years of her children's early childhood, it was never her singular focus to pass on her language through concerted language transmission activities. The reasons behind this decision were twofold: her children didn't express a strong desire to speak, being busy with the daily work of childhood, and; Katherine herself was too busy earning a living and felt that it would likely not benefit her children to speak Chehalis or Quinault. Her means of language retention during these years was rooted in her friendships with other adult speakers, including Dr. Kinkade.

She maintained her relations with friends such as Lillian Young, with whom she not only spoke in Chehalis, but also joked. The difference between her language practice with Lillian and her exchanges with Dr. Kinkade were related to the quality of the communications. With Lillian, Katherine shared all news and daily life activities via Chehalis. This practice allowed her to continue to develop new and creative exchanges which are attributed to the most fluent degree of language use.[271] Developing new ideas, and passing on the daily life activities of herself and those around her likely ensured she remained fluent. She did not use Chehalis in the formal, teaching ways but used it to communicate the changing norms of her daily life. Her ability to adapt new words which captured the appropriate changes in her life also fortified the use of Chehalis in the forefront of her mind. She declared that although she spoke English more frequently, her thought processes were rooted in Chehalis.[272]

The same few internal moments which I utilized to translate from English into Chehalis were also used by Katherine to translate from Chehalis to English. Of course her English grew to expert fluency over her lifetime, but after years of using Chehalis part-time at best, she still found she often needed those few moments to make the appropriate changes to her sentence structure. Katherine spoke of her Chehalis language dreams and imaginings which led me to believe this was a substantial part of retaining her fluency in Chehalis. Although she certainly grasped every opportunity to use her Chehalis words, her inner thoughts and experiences were also characterized by her Chehalis which remained in the forefront of her mind.

By the time I began my lessons with Katherine, she had lost her last remaining tribal speaker friends and had lapsed into English use for the most part. This fact, complicated by

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[271] Fishman, 2001

[272] The sentence arrangements of the Chehalis language more closely resemble that of Spanish than of English. Chehalis also relies on the context of the sentence to imbue the tenses which allow one to parse the time frame, and point of view from the speaker's words.

her aging mind, sometimes created moments of confusion or frustration when she could not easily recall the specific words or phrases she wanted from Chehalis. Once we stumbled upon the fact that she could always *correct* mispronunciations, we were able to move forward more easily. If she concentrated or tried too hard while attempting to elicit the words she needed, she would sometimes experience greater problems. Her ear for Chehalis enabled her to grasp the words I tried to pronounce and allowed a back-door access to her Chehalis vocabulary but seemed to work mainly for Chehalis but not English. She also spelt the words phonetically in her mind when she attempted to write in Chehalis and relied on the dictionary to use the IPA spelling. It appeared to us both that her Chehalis speaking didn't include a visual representation of the speech, much like one may do when spelling a complicated word like Wednesday for example. She knew the sounds and sentence structure innately and only had trouble when trying to write it properly according to the Chehalis Dictionary and its use of IPA.

Katherine also used her Chehalis language when praying in the Shaker Church. I will not speak of her religious beliefs more than to note their utmost importance and primary place in her daily life. Katherine believed in living out the principles of her religion in the context of caring for others, maintaining a personal relationship with the Lord and adhering to her faith. She embodied the practice suggested by author Marilyn French, who stated that if one were prepared to "spend your life helping people who have nothing, then do it. If not, then drop it." [273] Katherine seldom spoke of her generous, giving ways, but her actions revealed the depths of her heart and character. She cared greatly for both her language and the Indian people around her. This caring translated into her willingness to participate in the Chehalis language program even though her advanced frailty and diminished physical stamina interfered with her daily activities.

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[273] French, 2016

In terms of heartening the revitalization of the Chehalis language, Katherine encouraged all tribal members to attend her classes. This sentiment was and is shared by the Chehalis Tribal membership as a whole, although it seems to apply only to other tribal members. For example, the majority of Chehalis tribal members agree that our language is important and should be resurrected, although it seems to be the common belief that *someone* should do this, not necessarily themselves.[274]

Katherine's *personal commitment* to language preservation was responsible for the amount of language materials held by the Tribe today. If not for her, there would be even fewer language and culture resources for our membership. No Business Committee[275] members nor members of the Heritage Committee[276] attended either. It is my belief that this lack of commitment for attending the language classes sent a clear, if unintended, message about the importance of the Chehalis language. The classes we held were comprised of a small core group of approximately 15 people consisting of tribal members and their families. Many of these attendees were young tribal members, still attending middle school and high school. Other members who regularly attended included people from my immediate family. We also had a few people who attended irregularly as well.

I think one of the deterrents for continued class attendance was the complexity of the Chehalis language. It is extremely difficult to learn the many sounds not found in English. The use of the IPA as well created additional challenges for those who wanted to learn to speak Chehalis but were not interested in learning how to use IPA. If one only attended a few classes, you might still not come away with the means to introduce yourself or maintain a conversation beyond a very simple greeting resulting in an inability to converse naturally.

Katherine's preference for immersion style classes reflects the means suggested by many of the indigenous linguistic authorities from my literature review. Although we

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[274] See Chapter Five
[275] The governing body of the Chehalis Tribe
[276] The tribal sponsors of the Chehalis language classes

attempted to use immersion methods in class, the complexity of the language combined with the beginner's grasp by most students discouraged this approach for many years. Fortunately later classes could be conducted with Chehalis instructions and questions although this only applied to part of the class time. Katherine sometimes grew frustrated with the slow progress of her students. Although she acknowledged the difficulty inherent in Chehalis, she suffered from the lack of fluency in those around her. I believe her spirit flagged when the classes were put on hiatus and another co-teacher came aboard.[277]

Katherine once told me if we present-day students had attempted to speak to our ancestors, these ancestors would not understand what we were saying. Despite Katherine's very advanced age and fragility, she galvanized the Tribe to retain what we still had available to us. Her language lessons often began with cultural or historical anecdotes such as where we collected certain basketry materials, or what the reservation was like in those early days of her youth.

Katherine spoke about a time when the Chehalis Indian people had much less than today, yet seemed to share things much more freely than she had seen in the past decade. She shared cultural information indicating to tribal members how to determine when seasonal activities were appropriate. She told me when the big black ants come out in spring, this designated it was time to capture the Pacific lamprey eels which migrated at Rainbow Falls. When the cedar trees leaked their sap in May and June, it signalled a time to gather cedar bark.[278] Katherine could be quite rigid and believed wholeheartedly in language prescriptivism. Her absolute belief that there ought to be no changes to the pronunciation of Chehalis is echoed by other language scholars who seek to preserve languages as is and who brook no changes in pronunciation or inflection. One of the challenges we face with no remaining fluent speakers is that prescriptivism will simply not work for us any longer. The

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[277] See page 152
[278] Cedar bark can only be gathered in these two months from living trees, because the sap allows the bark to loosen from the inner wood. Gathering bark from fallen trees can occur year round.

complexity of the language is such that pronunciations are changeable and indicate different states of being or knowing.

Overall, I believe Katherine's choice to live true to her roots in terms of practicing cultural arts, keeping her language and relying on her religion enabled her to carry on for as long as she did. I prefer to believe her advanced age of ninety five, when she passed, is indicative of the sustaining power of her linguistic and cultural knowledge. So ultimately, the greatest lesson that Katherine embodied for me was the need for Personal Commitment. Personal commitment is also reflected in the Maori and Hawaiian language successes, as discussed in Chapter Three. We often see examples of personal commitment surrounding us in our everyday lives, it is what inspires big changes and small victories. As our Chehalis language and culture continues to deteriorate, as we lose bits and pieces each year, it becomes more evident that we need for each one of us Chehalis tribal members to commit and dedicate a part of our lives to retaining our language and cultural information. We cannot rely on the mythical someone who should learn and pass on this information. We must *be* that someone ourselves! We must see what strikes joy in our hearts and apply ourselves to developing the strength to be personally responsible for carrying on our language and cultural knowledge. And that is perhaps the ultimate lesson shared by Katherine, the power of personal commitment and the changes it can bring to a community. ***Chaa**-talus walksthl*?[279]

## 4.2 Dr M. Dale. Kinkade

The contextual back story of the Chehalis Tribe's linguistic endeavours reflects the cultural struggles seen within the Tribe as well. Language preservation activities arose during the early 1950s when linguist Dr. M. Dale Kinkade first began collecting and recording

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[279] *Which way will we be going?* in Chehalis

Chehalis information. [280] In the 1950s, many of the Chehalis tribal elders spoke the Chehalis language as a primary means of communication, with younger generations from birth to middle-age, understanding Chehalis but responding in English. My father, Curtis DuPuis, is an enrolled Chehalis tribal member and recalls riding his bicycle around the reservation and hearing the elders of the time calling out to him in Chehalis, asking how he was doing, inquiring about his family and occasionally asking him for help. He understood what was being said to him but he always responded in English. He stated many elders still spoke and certainly understood Chehalis at that time, although some used English which began to be more common. [281]

Eventually in the 1970s, the shift to English on the Chehalis reservation yielded more English speakers than Chehalis speakers and the Chehalis language truly began its descent into neglect. At that time, the few remaining elders who spoke Chehalis would gather to practice their Chehalis skills and preserve their language fluency. Dr. Kinkade maintained contact with Chehalis tribal speakers such as Lillian Young, Dan and Murphy Secena, Silas Heck, Blanche Pete and Joseph Pete,[282] as well as Katherine Barr, many of whom had become close friends. Dr. Kinkade would visit the Chehalis reservation and often resided with my paternal grandmother, Hazel Pete.

My parents took my siblings and I to visit Dr. Kinkade at the University of British Columbia when I was approximately 10 years old. This visit was important for several reasons. First, it strengthened the friendship between my family and Dr. Kinkade. Secondly, Dr. Kinkade immediately recognized me when we reestablished his relationship with the

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[280] Dr. Kinkade's language preservation activities recorded verbal information and took copious notes using the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) to record the different sounds and nuances which do not appear in the English language. He reviewed and incorporated the Chehalis collections amassed by cultural anthropologists Franz Boas and Thelma Adamson as a base model. He spent many years collecting linguistic and cultural information at Chehalis which he began to integrate into a comprehensive Upper Chehalis dictionary with cross referencing between English and Chehalis. Dr. Kinkade went on to work with many other American Indian tribes to develop repositories for the native languages in America. He had a well-regarded ear for Indian languages and his linguistic background helped him formulate a variety of techniques to preserve what he learned. He spent many years working in the Linguistics Program for the University of British Columbia.

[281] C. Dupuis, personal communication, 2016

[282] Unrelated to my great-grandfather Frank Pete, another source of Dr. Kinkade

Chehalis Tribe, as noted previously, where my new job was to develop and implement a renewal of the Chehalis Language Program after many years of dormancy. I called Dr. Kinkade at his home in July 2002 and introduced myself as Marla DuPuis Conwell. He interrupted me to ask if my grandmother was Hazel Pete and if my father was Curtis DuPuis. I replied that was correct and he exclaimed that he knew exactly who I was and that he had been waiting for me to call him. It gave me shivers to be recognized so immediately! He explained his past work with the Chehalis language and shared that he had published the Chehalis language dictionary back in April 1991.

I gathered the language materials from years past so Dr. Kinkade could assess the state of the materials and identify missing pieces. With both Dr. Kinkade and Katherine Barr on board, I finally began to make some progress. Dr. Kinkade agreed to come down to the Tribe via train from Vancouver, British Columbia on a monthly basis for one full week at a time. Together we three decided Dr. Kinkade would utilize his linguistic background and develop written lesson plans to teach how to recognize sentence structure and the elements necessary to compose sentences and communications. The Chehalis Tribe was very fortunate to have Katherine available to teach the Chehalis language for several years beginning in 2002, along with Dr. Kinkade. Between the two of them they developed several years' worth of language lessons. Unfortunately, Dr. Kinkade relied primarily on a westernized approach to language learning, from a linguistic perspective which, in hindsight, we should have reconsidered. When he developed the Upper Chehalis Dictionary for the Tribe, the work was centered from a professional linguistic perspective and used the *International Phonetic Alphabet* which proved very challenging for the everyday Chehalis tribal member to use.

## 4.3 Setting Up the Chehalis Language Classes

Katherine had also attended standard American schools, so when the three of us initially met, we did not envisage the process from an indigenous perspective in terms of classroom set up. Although Katherine was very explicit in describing how she learned the language at the feet of her parents and not through Westernized learning methods, she also expressed doubts about how Chehalis teaching and learning could be incorporated in typical classroom fashion. In fact, she had learned Chehalis despite her parents' attempts to conceal this language from her.

Despite the daunting task of maneuvering the Chehalis language into the proverbial classroom, we set about determining how best to proceed. While Dr. Kinkade continued to write and develop lesson plans based on the American equivalent, Katherine and I set about familiarizing me with Chehalis. We spent hours each day in her living room talking about the aspects of the language that might pose challenges for the students while she also instructed me on pronunciation. It took the three of us approximately 5 months to hold the first language class.

Dr. Kinkade spent many hours writing and verbally recording all of the lessons he developed in the Elders' Center located on the Governmental Campus of the Chehalis reservation. His recordings included word lists so that we could use these digitally in the future. Katherine usually came every day during his week-long visits, and they would spend hours speaking in Chehalis together. They spoke almost exclusively in Chehalis when they conversed and this really had a very positive effect on Katherine who simply glowed from being able to speak her own language.

We held classes with Dr. Kinkade one week per month, which included every day from 8 - 5:30 during the standard work week of Monday through Friday during the weeks in which he came to the reservation. Although many tribal members held regular jobs, the tribal

government allowed tribal members to drop in for classes and private instruction as their work allowed. This meant that we might have groups of students sitting around a table with Dr. Kinkade learning the lessons directly from him and sometimes Katherine if she were present throughout different hours of the day.

During slow times with no students, Dr. Kinkade visited with Katherine and recorded lessons for student use during those times he was off-reservation. The class schedule was set based on community input and availability. The tribal people identified times and days which could generate the most number of participants and the later afternoon hours were reserved for those who worked off reservation and couldn't come during the day and for tribal youth who had just finished school for the afternoon.

These first lessons with Dr. Kinkade focused primarily on the sentence structure and how to use the Upper Chehalis Dictionary.[283] Dr. Kinkade developed tests and word games for our use, encouraging a fun sense of competition between those present to guess the answers. Katherine provided the cultural component to these language lessons, embedding the work with information and Chehalis history that demonstrated why we did things the way we did, or how ways came to be regarded as correct or incorrect. She often corrected Dr. Kinkade or confirmed his information and he certainly regarded her as the ultimate authority of Chehalis language.

During the weeks when Dr. Kinkade was home in British Columbia, I worked with Katherine daily at her house learning the Chehalis language. As mentioned previously, Hinton insists that the use of words combined with appropriate actions and some partial repetition is far more effective in placing the new knowledge securely in the mind of the learner. My individual work with Katherine bore this out. As well as being more natural to indigenized learning, our familiar conversational lessons helped me evoke the words by recalling the

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[283] Kinkade, 1991

context in which they were used. Katherine used her words in many ways, allowing the repetition to emphasize the ways these words could be used. Katherine's techniques always embodied an immersive element and she stated this reflected how she learned Chehalis herself.

Despite the difference in how I was learning Chehalis individually versus how the regular classes were developing, we still did not make the connection in increasing fluency. The majority of the classroom teaching was a form of repetition because we believed that this was the way for the language learners to both imitate and memorize the complex sounds. This method was based on the model used when I was in school. Lightbrown, identifies this style as being ineffective and this is evidenced by the students who seldom missed class and yet failed to properly pronounce many words and more complicated Chehalis sounds, even after months of attending classes. Likewise, Lightbrown argues for instruction which focuses on form and curative feedback, which includes correcting persistent mistakes, particularly when students are unaware of the blunder, and identifying similar errors in a majority of language students.[284] Since groupings of mispronunciations can indicate the lesson isn't meeting students' needs, this was an opportunity to reevaluate and identify other ways to teach and learn. Unfortunately, we did not.

Another aspect of these first six months of classes was the symbolic distance that existed between the teachers and students during this period. Students observed the standard protocol of respect for the instructors, which included allowing a physical space to exist between the front of the classroom and the students, further removing them from the delicate element of indigenous language learning. Also important was the reliance on elements of English language rules and structure which consequently valued English tenets and criteria over the indigenous Chehalis language. It is significant to note that this does not reflect

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[284] Lightbrown & Spada, 2006, P. 179

traditional Chehalis learning tenets which emphasize relationships between individuals as a means of strengthening cultural lessons and indigenous knowledge. These mistakes resulted in a gradual loss of engagement with Chehalis language, a commitment already wavering due to the complexity of pronunciation and use of IPA utilized by linguists worldwide which many students were not interested in learning.

## 4.4 Evaluating Our Progress

After the first six months of classes, we reviewed our approach to teaching. It was time to see if our efforts were effective enough. Katherine guided this process with her reiteration of her concerns that while I was learning from her in the traditional manner, we as a group were still teaching in a different, less effective way, as evidenced by my growing fluency and the corresponding lack of such fluency in the other students. I suggested that my daily lessons were longer and more intense than the other students experienced, but agreed that we hadn't fully captured the heart of our participants yet. We saw this setback as an opportunity to develop a more indigenous perspective although I had not the words or concept as such, at this time, based on my experiences with Katherine, to reengage and reconnect with our students.

Another change included development of conversational elements for common everyday exchanges. Finally, we brought our queries to the Chehalis language students themselves. We asked what they wanted to learn. Fortunately, the language students were able to identify the information they were most interested in. They worked with the teaching staff as a group to develop topics and themes from which lesson plans could be based. Since the newer language goals truly originated from the language learner community itself, we saw an increased engagement from the group. In fact, even the youngest language learners at the Tribe were able to identify the vocabulary they wanted to learn which included words for

currency, casual greetings and traditional land names. This respect for their desires influenced the positive participation witnessed during those later Chehalis language classes.

Our Chehalis lessons continued on in this manner for the next ten months while we worked closely with Dr. Kinkade. Too soon, his battle with brain cancer forced us to end our time together. He was no longer strong enough to make the trip down to our reservation. We gave him some time to get settled in his new hospice living situation in Vancouver, British Columbia before making two trips up north to see him. The language students were eager to see him one last time and wish him well on his journey to the other side. It was devastating to lose him so early on in our endeavor however the language students agreed to continue classes as a means to honor his dedication and work for our Tribe.

During this time, Katherine's health also began to decline. She grew very fragile and relied on my ability to lead the language classes when she grew too tired to stay long or if she needed to miss classes, which became increasingly common. Teaching the Chehalis language was very difficult for me due to the complex sounds and my unfamiliarity with the language generally. By the time Dr. Kinkade passed away, I had mastered the use of the Dictionary and this ability allowed me to resume the work with Katherine that Dr. Kinkade had begun. Katherine and I continued to work closely most days of the week preparing our lessons and continually correcting my pronunciation.

Without Dr. Kinkade, our class tactics began to change once again. Katherine's recollections of learning Chehalis when she was a child, emphasized her discomfort with Western style teachings. I began to mirror the immersion style of learning I used with Katherine, in the classroom. Although my initial mindset had been so completely colonized that I hadn't considered the absurdity of incorporating a Westernized teaching style into our indigenous learning atmosphere, I really saw a difference with the immersion techniques we began to incorporate. It was during this period directly after Dr. Kinkade passed away that we

revised the Chehalis language class schedule to reflect the community's winter activities which meant classes would resume on Wednesdays only, from five until seven pm.

In the Native American world, it is imperative and culturally important to offer food and drink at events and gatherings. The expected provisions could be as simple as coffee and donuts. With these culture mores in mind, my mother began cooking elaborate meals for every class. She would spend most of the day each Wednesday baking pies or cookies. She cooked whole turkeys, hams, salmon or chickens and provided two to three side dishes as well as rolls or biscuits. Her cooking was famous on the Chehalis reservation as she created everything from scratch and did not utilize pre-baked or commercial ingredients. She and my father used traditional gardens and orchards to grow as much as possible. They traded produce and baked goods for sides of beef from neighbors. My family raised their own pigs and turkeys for food. They were both recognized as adhering to traditional values such as canning and preserving foods, catching fish and smoking them in the old ways. The temptation of these meals certainly made a distinct difference in the language class attendance! Word of mouth about the food being offered spread widely and we began to witness an intergenerational mix of people who brought their family with them to class.

Remaining mindful of the fact that I had no previous experience with decolonization theory at this time, I still recognized that something good was happening with the new changes. Katherine's innate ease with mentorship immersion styles reflected her indigenous knowledge and incorporated a sense of relief and familiarity. Barbara Aragon,[285] a Behavioral Health Subject Matter Expert with the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) speaks about the theory of transformation via suffering, stating that "... *suffering for no purpose has no honour, but suffering has to have meaning and we*

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[285] https://www.samhsa.gov/tribal-ttac/about-us

*must know that we will be transformed through this suffering...*"[286] This idea was particularly relevant once we began to remove the typical Westernized teaching elements from our classes and began incorporating the immersion techniques demonstrated by Katherine. Once we had shifted our learning style, through trial and error, our progress became more innate and enjoyable. Throughout the classes, Katherine shared how she learned to speak her Indian languages as a child, from hearing her parents talking and intuiting the subject matters.

Since our first lessons had identified basic questions and responses, we were able to introduce an element of immersion into later classes by responding in Chehalis when possible.[287] Katherine always opened our interactions by asking me questions in Chehalis. Remaining mindful of the fact that by the time I began lessons with Katherine, she had lost her last remaining language speakers and had lapsed primarily into English use, this, complicated by her aging mind, created moments of confusion and frustration.

However, Katherine's use of and preference for immersion style classes reflects the means suggested by most of the indigenous linguistic models from my research. Although we attempted to use immersion methods in class, the complexity of the language combined with the beginner's grasp by most students discouraged this approach initially and proved difficult even years later. The combination of sounds in Chehalis, which are not replicated in English, and the difficulty in pronunciation, was a significant challenge for our immersion practices. Fortunately, later classes could be conducted with Chehalis instructions and questions although this applied to only a small part of the class time, with the remainder instructed in English. Katherine grew frustrated with the very slow progress of our students, since she felt her physical frailty would negatively influence her ability to continue with the classes at some point. Although she acknowledged the great difficulty inherent in Chehalis, she definitely suffered from the lack of fluency around her. I know her spirit wilted when the classes were

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[286] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z1XNywG3Jjw
[287] See page 133

put on a short hiatus after my involvement with the program ended and another tribal teacher came aboard. Fortunately this break was short and classes resumed quickly.

### 4.5 *A New Teacher, New Beginnings*

Katherine's relationship with the new Chehalis tribal teacher replacing me in the classroom in early 2008 was, at times, characterized by frustration. She believed that the new instructor should develop his own lesson plans and not rely on the lessons we had created together. When I asked her to consider utilizing our examples which we had invested so much effort into developing, she was adamant that a new teacher use new lessons. Since the new educator had attended classes while I was still the co-instructor, he remained familiar with many of the language concepts I had developed with Katherine previously. Fortunately for the Tribe, he had a strong interest and ability to incorporate online media for language lessons in an effort to modernize our approach and increase the participation of our tribal youth.

The new instructor generated many online lessons and games for players to practice Chehalis language elements. He also assisted with the rollout of an online, digital keyboard that allowed the IPA to be incorporated for students who were learning to use the dictionary on a computer, including uploading some dictionary elements to an online format for distance learners. When taking into consideration the use of computers for digital language learning of Chehalis, the primary concern for spelling becomes paramount. For instance, as noted,[288] the Chehalis dictionary uses IPA as the system of writing, which is vastly different from the American writing system. We continue to see very significant student adverseness to learning and using the IPA which results in problems incorporating the Chehalis sounds into English spelling as well as decreasing interest in classes once IPA is introduced. As well, the IPA element hinders independent tribal member use of the Chehalis dictionary unless certain

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[288] See page 11

lessons are incorporated first. Not explored in the development of this model for Chehalis language curriculum is the issue of IPA and American alphabet use which must be explored more fully in the future by others. The development of a new writing system will need to be examined prior to further digital development work.

The relationship between the new educator and Katherine during private language lessons also reflects frustrations with the tribal government's lack of support for the language program overall. Although there were voices of encouragement from leadership, their absences from all classes was clearly noted by the tribal community.

Our instructor has since become the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for our Tribe resulting in another hiatus of language classes and development. While this new intermission between language class endeavours is disappointing due to the further delay of continued efforts to restore our language, I choose to see it as an opportunity for this research to be utilized in developing a Chehalis language model on which to base future classes.

Although Katherine was quite rigid about language prescriptivism, her absolute belief that no changes to Chehalis pronunciation occur, is, as stated previously, reflected by other, mostly non-indigenous linguists who seek to preserve languages "as is" with no changes in pronunciation. Our greatest challenge with no remaining fluent speakers is that prescriptivism will simply not work for us any longer. The complexity of the language ensures the changeability of pronunciations, which, in Chehalis, indicates different states of being or knowing.

One of the obstacles we must overcome for the continuation of Chehalis language development will be expanding immersion style activities forward without the aid of Katherine Barr or any other fully fluent speaker. According to various indigenous language development theories, the possibility for creating an immersion situation without a fluent language speaker may exist, as evidenced by Miami language efforts covered in Chapter Two,

but the depth of any possible language recovery must be examined and acknowledged as well.[289] Programs that do not have fluent speaker guidance face complications related to correct pronunciation and in maintaining accuracy in the language.[290] The development of our writing system and decisions to either continue forward with the IPA structure or consideration of a phonetic system must eventually be examined and a decision should be made. The tribal community clearly wants to move away from IPA and utilize phonetic practices exclusively which are used successfully in language revitalization by Maori, but as I have outlined earlier,[291] this change poses significant challenges as well since there are many sounds not replicated in English and English spelling guidelines do not accurately reflect the Chehalis articulation of words.

Another obstacle faced for every language class we held was the small number of class attendees. I examined the issue of how we might improve class participation in Chapter Two. Tribal language programs and the problem of commitment was raised in many of the language models I examined. Even the Navajo tribe, for example, with hundreds of thousands of members still struggles with significantly dwindling numbers of native speakers. No program that I reviewed in the indigenous American context had an answer. For most small American Indian tribal groups, the number of regular language class attendees seldom exceeds 20 people, which is considered a high level of participation by language program staff.[292] That is where the models from Maori and Hawaiian examined in Chapter Three might provide some answers.

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[289] Hinton, 2002, Stiles, 1997
[290] Fishman, 2001
[291] See page 74
[292] See page 113

## 4.6 Our Support Structure for Language

Important to understanding how the Chehalis Language Program previously operated is knowledge of the Tribal Governmental leadership structure. Chehalis is governed by a leadership board known as the Business Committee. This is comprised of five elected officials: the Chairman, Vice Chair, Secretary, Treasurer, and Fifth Council positions. Each position is elected for two years, with no staggered terms, meaning an entirely new Business Committee could be elected every two years with no holdovers between different terms or positions. The Business Committee makes all major decisions for the Tribe and represents the interests of the tribal membership. An Annual Meeting occurs yearly to bring issues forward to the membership, approve any new membership applications and discuss results of tribal decisions. The Annual Meeting is also a time when members may be elected to various Sub-committees of the Tribe which include the Heritage Committee and other bodies. The Sub-committees are advisory only and represent a forum for tribal members to remain apprised of tribal initiatives and concerns.

All past Chehalis language staff and students have encouraged every tribal member to attend Chehalis language classes, leaning heavily on their friends and family members especially. Despite these efforts, the overall attendance seldom exceeded approximately fifteen people per class and more regularly numbered about eight. The Tribe as a community supports the Language Program and classes to some degree, and this is reflected in the support by certain Sub-committees of the Tribe[293] because it is always included on community surveys and mentioned at the Annual Meetings. Unfortunately, the community message seems to emphasize the importance of *someone* attending these classes and learning our language. This sentiment is shared by the Chehalis tribal membership as a whole, and implies and identifies *someone* as *other* tribal members. For example, the majority of

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[293] See page 154

Chehalis tribal members agree that our language is significant and should be revitalized, although it's the common belief that *someone* is not necessarily themselves.

While discussing the attendance concerns with the Heritage Committee,[294] we collaborated to determine how to improve the low attendance. The dilemma of the vital need for Chehalis language classes combined with the unarticulated sentiment that *someone* should be attending and learning was extremely difficult. In fact, a review of my detailed participant sign-in sheets for language classes revealed, as noted previously, the complete lack of attendance by any members of leadership and the Business Committee and only sporadic Heritage Committee member attendance!

It is my belief that this disregard for attending the language classes sent a clear message to the Chehalis community about the importance or lack thereof, of our language. The classes we held were comprised of a small core group of approximately 5 - 15 people consisting of tribal members and their families. Many of these attendees were young tribal members, still attending middle school and high school. Other members who regularly attended included people from my immediate family. We also had a few people who attended irregularly as well. I think one of the deterrents for continued class attendance was the intricacy of the Chehalis language. It is extremely difficult to learn the many sounds not found in English. The use of IPA as well created additional challenges for those who wanted to learn to speak Chehalis but were not interested in learning how to use IPA. Anyone who only attended a few classes was not likely to come away with the means to introduce themselves or maintain a conversation beyond a very simple greeting. However, learning more than the basic rudimentary greeting and response would take more commitment and practice.

The Heritage Committee decided to implement incentives for increased class attendance, which incorporated "Chehalis Language Scholar" logo clothing and accessories.

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[294] A sub-Committee of the Business Committee, the Tribe's governing body

These items were dependent upon attending a number of classes and demonstrating understanding of basic vocabulary in order for students to receive an item. We included shirts, sweatshirts, key chains, and stickers. While many people appeared to like and covet these items, the number of classes required to receive clothing, for example a minimum of six weeks of classes, was deemed too much. Therefore, although participation levels increased for a short time, this elevated attendance did not remain for long.

**4.7** *Conclusion*

There are some important sign posts for language learning raised in this chapter that needs to be considered in Chapter Five and the strategy for a Chehalis language revival model. Those important points are drawn from Katherine's personal commitment to language preservation and her preference for immersion style classes, both of which are prominent in the Maori and Hawaiian models I explored in Chapter Three. Therefore, incorporating the teaching and learning of language into an indigenous framework rather than Western classroom fashion must also be considered, as this factor was revealed to be a contributive factor in my Chapter Three analysis for increasing student fluency. Finally, the integration of traditional Chehalis tenets which emphasize relationships between individuals must become a dominant feature.

The main points drawn from Chapter Four, together with the evidence from chapters Two and Three are incorporated more fully in Chapter Five. All of these components are framed within a Chehalis representation named *Tu`paʔ* as follows:

(a) The importance of immersion,

(b) The use of intergenerational learning,

(c) Valuing and use of Chehalis language in the home,

(d) Tribal community functions begin with a welcome and introduction in Chehalis,

(e) Chehalis language learners open their comments with a Chehalis introduction,

(f) Recognition that English rules do not apply to Chehalis,

(g) Blending Chehalis within the English language whenever possible, and finally

(h) The imperative of personal commitment.

## *Chapter Five: A Strategy For Chehalis Language Revival Model*

**5.0** *Introduction*

The initial focus of this thesis investigated nuances associated with speaking a second language but evolved beyond initial questions relating to prescriptivism, class attendance issues for non-compulsory language classes, and seeking to engage language learners from every age group.[295] From my own growth and development in learning about language revitalization, this research also developed to consider those aspects that have contributed to the success of indigenous language models.[296] In Chapter Four, I was able to reflect on the learnings from the previous chapters to evaluate those characteristics successful in our current Chehalis language programs, including those features that were not.

What eventuated from the isolation of those aspects,[297] are the necessary elements to inform a new strategy for a Chehalis Language revitalization Program. This chapter developed from points raised earlier but also from my own personal experience as an indigenous language learner.

This chapter draws together the warp and weft of previous chapters, those elements for consideration and inclusion in a new Chehalis language model for future use at the Chehalis Tribe. The result is the development of a model in the latter part of this chapter, referred to as the *Tu`paʔ* model (see section 5.2), one that informs the practice of language revitalization for Chehalis.

*Tu`paʔ* is a spider that signifies the industrious nature of my proposed language model. The spider represents the practice of language learning (epitomized by the eight legs), practices that are integral to the Chehalis language model development as the Chehalis basket is to my methodology. This is my philosophy to language learning. Just like the basket (that

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[295] Outlined in Chapters One and Two
[296] See Chapter Three
[297] See Chapters Two through Four

holds the knowledge, history and experiences of Chehalis), the Chehalis language revitalization model (*Tu`pa?*) must also include those facets, building on my previous work already undertaken (to enrich the community designs intrinsic to our language) and developing to include others.

What I have learned from the discussion of previous chapters is that such models cannot operate as practices alone. Practices must be embedded within an environment of change and thinking that will enable the model to operate successfully. I refer to those changes in thinking as prerequisites that will potentially enable language development to occur. These precepts are discussed here in this chapter as they developed because the lessons and learning of those previous helped to inform the practice that followed: they are arranged herein much as a basketry pattern forms from images deep within the weaver herself. To move them into another or different order would be a sacrifice of my vision and would no longer appropriately represent what I have learned and how that knowledge has built upon my previous experiences with the Chehalis language.

## 5.1    Prerequisites Informed by Methodology

In prefacing these prerequisites, I take the position that my Chehalis basket methodology which is the philosophy of how Chehalis are supported by the structures of language, culture, knowledge and history, and outline the components necessary as a means to develop language strategies as revealed by this research.

When weaving a basket, artists envision particular patterns or stories to elevate the status of the basket. However, even plain baskets without overt designs are defined by the selection of materials and the imagination of the weaver. It is significant that a basket's strength depends on both the quality of materials and skill. Weak baskets fail during crucial moments resulting in significant losses. This signifies the importance of weavers' skills and

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material selection because the indigenous Chehalis relied on strong, solid choices in substance choice and workers' talents in order to survive.

The basket methodology in my research depends on material choice and dexterity, shaped by both historical accounts of the language, culture, knowledge and history of the Tribe as well as the incorporation of contemporary skills. The principles and observations of our tribal story serve as the vertical warps defining the walls of the basket. The weft is likewise comprised of the tribal community. The weft formed at Chehalis reveals how the Tribe maintains the language, culture, knowledge and history of the Tribe, preserving it for future members. We contribute our stories to strengthen our tribal knowledge and disclose how this shaped our society. The partnerships between our families and with other tribes and governments resulted in the cultural traditions we still retain today.

These elements are drawn together at the base of the basket and support the methodological structure in acknowledgment that these elements cannot meaningfully exist alone. In terms of historical knowledge, we constrict the warps in a protective embrace of our tribal history, seeking to reduce inaccuracies in the historic accounts of our experience.

Since the weft represents my tribal community and continues to build upon itself, increasing the community understanding of the elements of history, language understanding and ethnicity, i.e., the intersection of warp and weft, ensures our tribal members understand past accounts of tribal history and using this information, are able to identify the processes which led to our current condition. We attempt to learn from our past in order to prevent more harm from colonizing practices. It is known and accepted that the language element in our methodological basket is fragile, so the intersection with culture similarly creates an area of weakness. Into the future, this fragility will expose stresses resulting in a damaged tribal basket. This potential for devastation emphasizes the imperative need for reimagining and rebuilding our language to strengthen our Chehalis basket.

There are several prerequisites that directly inform language revitalization. They are:

(a) tradition,

(b) identity,

(c) tribal history,

(d) incorporation of indigenous methodology,

(e) the role of the family,

(f) the removal of the colonial perspective, and

(g) the role of education.

The necessity of the prerequisites I have laid out above is that they prepare the environment for learning. These facets must be incorporated in order to evolve the Chehalis language into the daily life of the community. The implication of these characteristics dwells in the magnitude of their incorporation to begin the process for Chehalis model development which is necessary for the continued survival of the Chehalis culture and heritage.

*(a) Tradition*

*Tradition* is an integral aspect of the indigenous experience and provides the lens through which tribal people may interpret the actions of the past, but also imbues the meaning behind the cultural and spiritual activities we undertake as indigenous peoples. Our use of Chehalis language as a traditional aspect of our culture has been customary for the Chehalis since time immemorial. The Chehalis language was once vibrant and widely known among area tribes in the Pacific Northwest region of Washington state. As stated earlier, it forms the basis and many of the words of the Chinook Jargon which developed as a means of communication between different tribal groups and non-indigenous settlers. According to our

elders and ancestral histories, the Chehalis language retains the cultural and archival knowledge carried forward by our forebears. We rely on our traditions to demonstrate the appropriate ways to behave and to interpret the actions of those around us. Use of *traditional* codes of Chehalis language[298] are necessary for the formal, ceremonial, religious, and cultural activities of our people to be maintained.

### (b) Identity

The *identity* of the Chehalis people and language are situated within the unique experience of our tribal environment. We are very different from the other Pacific Northwest tribes who are our neighbors. Our legacy as a canoe-faring people was integral to our survival in this region. The experience of being Chehalis is the defining factor for most of our tribal members and as such impacts how we treat our environment, the elements which characterize us, including our reliance on the salmon which sustains us, and how we carry ourselves in the world today. It is our Chehalis identity that reacts so emotionally to the destruction of our language. Therefore, our Chehalis identity is a key factor in our language rehabilitation because it is what defines us as The People.

### (c) Tribal History

*Tribal history* provides an account of how our people have survived the colonization we experienced as a result of contact with non-Indians. We see the impacts of foreign government on our opportunities, education, even the size and breadth of our land base. The techniques employed by our tribal leaders to govern our resources are a further example of colonization and denial of the indigenous way. Therefore, although Westernized practices initially impacted our language teaching models back in 2002, we now have begun to

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[298] See page 20

recognize its inapplicability to our language learning and are rediscovering more appropriate methods to retain our language. The tribal history of Chehalis is deeply connected to the *common*, everyday language codes[299] which accompany our tribal experience. The regulation behind the *common* codes, while not matching the formality of the *traditional* codes which embody protocol and ritualistic language, is used to illustrate the rites and cultural information held outside the confines of ceremony. Changes in pronunciation of familial relationship words in Chehalis even denote familial relationships in terms of whether the connecting relative is living or dead. Therefore, Chehalis allows our people to identify interrelationships between families and tribes and across distances.

### (*d*)  *Incorporation of Indigenous Methodology*

In terms of *indigenous methods* which are closely related to the decolonization process identified earlier, the use and privileging of indigenous techniques is critical for successful model development. As stated previously, Westernized classroom methods have not proven successful for fluency and are regarded as poor practice for indigenous language learning.[300] Indigenous communities have traditionally used immersion and intergenerational learning methods to contribute to the indigenous language community.

As a result of reflection and research, one overwhelming element from the research indicates the necessity of incorporating language immersion into model development. This can occur in many ways and does not necessarily rely on the presence of a language master or fluent first language speaker to succeed. As both Maori and Hawaiian models specify, it is the use of the target language for all communications which is the key to success- using the language as often as possible. For example, the Hawaiian and Maori language efforts use the

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[299] See page 22
[300] Crystal, (2010).

target language to explain activities, give directions and respond to questions. Although new language learners may not initially distinguish the specifics being shared, gestures and context will indicate clues to the subject.[301]

### (e) Role of the Family

The *role of the family* remains prominent in tribal life and so constitutes one of the necessary principles of my proposed Chehalis language model. Introductions traditionally include a recounting of ancestors as far back as one can go. This recital allows others to place you in family, in tribe, and in location, similar to other indigenous groups like Maori with their *pepeha*. For native communities, the definition of family also includes in-laws and outlaws, in addition to kindred who are more distantly related. The prominence of family in individuals' lives is more deeply rooted than in non-indigenous society. This is because prior to the placement of indigenous peoples onto reservations, our tribal bands and family groups lived a nomadic insular lifestyle with strong interdependencies necessary for survival.[302] After first contact, settlers in America forced many native families onto reservations which resulted in poor circumstances exacerbated by crowded conditions with few opportunities for employment. This residency resulted in the need to rely on others more fully than might otherwise have been necessary. Food and other resources such as heating and medicine was scarce and people would not have survived without a reliance on their neighbors.

The Chehalis language classes from 2002 to 2008 relied very heavily on family participation. This created additional support structures for language use outside of class, but also generated individual language nests within student's families.[303] Most of my immediate family attended language class regularly, resulting in common discussion and practice outside

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[301] See page 135
[302] See DuPuis, forthcoming
[303] Ormsby-Teki, et al. 2011

of class. In fact, my oldest niece frequently attended from earliest infancy through age four and this is evidenced by her continued understanding of Chehalis instructions and dialogue.

## (*f*) *Removal of the Colonial Perspective*

The importance of the colonization process on the Chehalis (and other Native American tribes) cannot be underestimated in terms of contributing to language loss. For example, European colonists utilized very specific tactics when interacting with indigenous populations, which elevated the colonizers as authorities in all phases of society: framing the indigenous populations as savages; the direct establishment of educational and employment paradigms (which served to devalue and undermine indigenous methodologies and values further); with a resultant instillation of broad acceptance of these indigenous ways being viewed as *less than* and submissive to Westernized perspectives. Once these beliefs and associated practices became embedded within society, the indigenous inhabitants accepted the paternalistic colonial presence which steered aboriginal peoples into poor, subservient employment prospects and reduced educational opportunities. Additionally, the colonial point of view framed natives as less intelligent, lazy, and unworthy of respect.

The infiltration of these perspectives are so intertwined into modern society that the difficulty lies in the identification of these mindsets in everyday life and then challenging the colonial mindset that they are. The acceptance in general society is such that these perspectives are commonly present in television and digital experiences, jokes, racial stereotyping, and also when indigenous peoples believe that their language is not worth speaking and so resist learning it. The challenging of and removal of these colonial perspective from the indigenous psyche is a principle obligation that needs to be addressed in a Chehalis language revitalization model.

This is also evidenced in the common childhood refrains of "I don't know" or "I can't do it". Our children have heard and internalized these stereotypes as their truth. We are told our native languages are either too difficult or too simple rather than complex, our indigenous intonations are funny or vulgar sounding and our traditional stories, which may include elements of sexuality, are dirty. Few tribal members know many traditional stories and the sexual component in some resulted in these knowledge carriers electing to have these dirty stories die with them, rather than pass them on because their content is considered too sexually explicit. This pervasive shame, emphasized by the derision and mockery experienced in non-indigenous society, encourages us to avoid our natural and personal accountability to uphold our traditions and languages. Instead of transmitting our knowledge, we view it as burdensome, and requiring of too much energy or effort.

Thus, one tenet for language model building requires an in-depth examination and removal of the colonial elements present in our lives. This will not be an easy undertaking or something that must only occur once: as part of that decolonization process, one must continue to re-examine and readjust responses to this influence. This is an ongoing phenomenon for all indigenous people that will never cease. Examinations of potential language models must seek to embrace indigenous methodologies which prioritize intergenerational learning, privilege immersion activities and align with tribal values and culture.[304]

## (g) *The Role of Education*

Additionally, an examination of the *role of education*, both Westernized and tribal, and its impact on our children is necessary for the recovery of our language. Although we

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[304] Hale, 2001, Hinton 2002, McCarty 2013

have attempted to instill the Chehalis language into our Head Start curriculum[305] at the Tribe, we have faced the barriers of time availability, non-participation from Chehalis language students and a lack of programmatic support, outside of the Head Start Program, for this work. Since we know from the Maori and Hawaiian models that young children are particularly vivacious language learners, this must become a key element for revitalization activities. Although the Head Start staff is predominantly non-Chehalis and the Chehalis government currently restricts language activities to tribal members, I see this as an opportunity for incorporating language elements into existing curriculum. Head Start offers promise for future Chehalis language enthusiasts to develop and rectify a solution, but this will depend on a Chehalis Tribal Language Program to move forward. At the time of this thesis research, there is no current Chehalis Language Program at all. No revenues have been set aside for establishment of or staffing for such an endeavor. It's been proposed that a future language program may eventually be developed, in which case I will present my research and offer assistance in the formulation.

The first four prerequisites of *tradition*, *identity, tribal history*, and the incorporation of *indigenous methodology* form the necessary base upon which my model is established. In order to flourish and rebuild our Chehalis language we must also consider those facets which can keep us moving forward. Additional prerequisites include the *role of family, decolonization*, and the *role of education.* The significance of these attributes resides in the importance and dominance of them for the continued survival of the Chehalis culture, heritage and language.

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[305] This curriculum is based on national guidelines established by the US government since the Head Start program is federally funded. The Chehalis Tribe does not have its own tribal schools.

## 5.2　Recommendation: *Tu`paʔ* Model for Language Revitalization

As noted in the introduction to this chapter and as a result of the evidence presented from the literature and our own language experience outlined in Chapter Four, I am recommending an indigenous model for language revitalization incorporating eight indispensable principles for operation based on the *Tu`paʔ*,[306] As also noted in the introduction section, *Tu`paʔ* is guided by the philosophy outlined in section 5.0 and is driven by the methodology of the Chehalis basket.

**Figure 3: *Tu`paʔ* Model for Chehalis Language Revitalization**
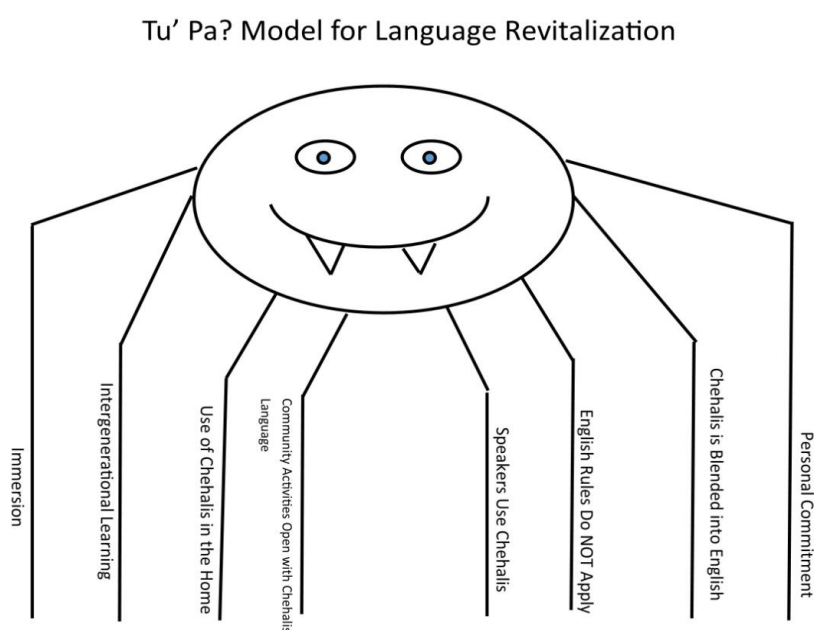


*A drawing of language revitalization for Chehalis, (Source and artist, Mark White, 2017.)*

The principles referred to in the following section are developed from both the prerequisites for successful language programs discussed earlier in this chapter and evidence from Chapters Three and Four are outlined as follows**.**

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[306] *Spider* in Chehalis

**First**, development of immersion techniques appropriate for language communities lacking a fluent speaker or Language Master from which to learn, the principle of immersion.

**Second**, the use of intergenerational learning is emphasized and encouraged, the principle of intergenerational learning.

**Third**, and similarly, the valuing and use of Chehalis language in the home is promoted, with the ultimate goal of working toward an exclusive use of Chehalis in the home and among the family, the principle of Chehalis language use in the home.

**Fourth**, all tribal community functions should begin with a brief welcome and introduction in the Chehalis language by Chehalis tribal and community speakers, the principle of community activities opening with Chehalis language.

**Fifth**, when speaking to tribal audiences, language learners should open their comments with a Chehalis introduction to familiarize those tribal members who may not have participated in the language lessons yet. This purpose serves twofold to both encourage the speaker to practice Chehalis and to bring Chehalis language forward to a place of privilege in the tribal community, the principle of speakers using Chehalis.

**Sixth**, recognize that English rules do not nor ever will apply to Chehalis language, the principle of English rules not applying to Chehalis.

**Seventh**, the use of any Chehalis words or vocabulary should be inserted into conversation whenever one is able, essentially blending Chehalis within the English language to remind speakers and listeners to value the words we are keeping alive through regular use, the principle of blending Chehalis into English.

**Eighth** and finally, the element of personal commitment is entirely crucial to the model, the principle of personal commitment.

**(a)** *Principle of Immersion*

Immersion education, which the research revealed to be primary to revitalization efforts, includes conducting all communication in the Chehalis language, identifying how we can incorporate these elements into our interactions and relying on the community to honor these activities. First, and most importantly in this language model, is that initial classes must primarily focus on the correct pronunciation of the Chehalis sounds. Whether working individually or in a class, the ability to incorporate Chehalis language resources cannot be understated. The primacy of accurate use of *common*, everyday language codes becomes a means of communication which indicates the nature of the circumstances.

The parameters of *common* codes exemplifies the customs and cultural information which occur in everyday life, excluding use in ceremony. This can be further enhanced with use of the audio materials recorded by Dr. Kinkade.[307] Utilizing solo practice techniques can be especially appropriate when driving. Users of these materials will also develop their ear in terms of hearing the Chehalis vocabulary outside of class. As well, this practice regularizes the Chehalis terms that may at first sound quite peculiar to the English accustomed ear.

Once students and classes have acquired familiarity with the tones of Chehalis, then a focus on certain phrases can be included. This allows for memorization through conversational technique in a meaningful fashion which duplicates the ways in which children learn to speak. That is to say that questions may be asked and rearticulated in different ways that allow the learner to hear the various ways a topic can be introduced into conversation. This manner is utilized by both Maori and Hawaiian language learners in addition to children across the globe and was also a technique emphasized in my one-on-one lessons with Katherine.

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[307] His recorded CDs following every lesson that was created while he was a member of the Chehalis language faculty. He speaks a word in Chehalis, followed by a pause to allow for the listener to enunciate the word. He then repeats the word again followed by a pause. This technique gives the listener three opportunities to hear the word and also allows for two attempts to say each word.

Bear in mind that as mentioned earlier Maori taught their language to very young children in *kohanga reo*, or language nests. The Hawaiian method was the opposite in which their children learned Hawaiian in school and taught it to their parents and families at home. Both methods rely on natural conversation and learning to instruct the language elements rather than Westernized classroom repetition and response in rote formation. Therefore, learning the initial building blocks of simple questions, comments, and responses will generate an environment reducing the use of English in correspondence with the lessons being learned.

In terms of appropriate immersion techniques, the use of Chehalis must occur as much as possible. Without a fluent speaker guiding the immersion process, language learners bear the brunt of ensuring that Chehalis is prioritized and valued over the English language. Therefore, Hinton's suggestion that the use of Total Physical Response (TPR) techniques which incorporate physical actions as a means to indicate the topic of discussion should be included in this situation as well.[308] Both Maori and Hawaiian models emphasize the importance of a natural, indigenous environment too. This means ensuring a classroom situation allows learners comfortable places to relax, a supportive and gentle atmosphere where there is a sense of safety and providing refreshments as per the indigenous custom of American Indian tribal environments.

As well, ensuring that any elders present are comfortable allows young children to witness the importance of providing for our elders first. An inclusive seating arrangement, such as is used in many indigenous situations should be emphasized. Whether it is a square, circle or semi-circle, the equal status of all learners and participants is honored by this seating arrangement.

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[308] Hinton, 2002

I am reminded by Kahananui and Anthony that when launching language immersion activities, language learners must firmly set themselves inside the world of the language they are learning. This requires one to check their English at the door and learn to think in Chehalis. Students are cautioned "*to listen and speak, second to read, and third to write…listening and speaking are total experiences. Reading and writing are partial experiences because they do not give the learner complete control of the second language. Without the listening and speaking skills the learner will have an incomplete grasp of the language, and progress will be limited.*"[309] One of the main rules guiding immersion style learning is the removal and abstinence of the English language once the lessons begin. As noted earlier, Maori have used immersion settings such as staying together for up to a week and banning use of English, which works really well. Chehalis language must be privileged in a sacred space that acknowledges the work about to be carried out. These ideas reflect common traditional indigenous learning elements rather than Westernized ideas of teaching and are especially appropriate for Chehalis language learning.

What is significant from this research are that best practices conditions exist as evidenced by other successful indigenous language models examined in this research, such as Maori and Hawaiian, from which both a model and a strategy for language development can be extrapolated. Essentially, the research literature is highlighting how successful indigenous language efforts develop from environments containing both engaged speakers and listeners with enough confidence to practice their language, regardless of the simplistic nature of their initial attempts. Therefore according to Ormsby-Teki, et al., it becomes of paramount importance to ensure that this type of learning environment exists.

Engaged listening supplements opportunities to recognize the spoken language, and prepare for articulating a response. Suggested solutions for facilitating such a learning

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[309] Let's Speak Hawaiian Kahananui and Anthony, P. xi and xii

atmosphere embrace, "*having access to a mentor, having a key motivating driver or active person in the language encouraging others, supportive environment, positive parent/child and grandchild/grandparent relationships, create fun learning games, incorporate language into daily activities.*"[310]

As Ngaha noted about the Maori Language Commission, Maori language participants focus their te reo revitalization efforts at community and iwi levels. This theoretically gave ownership of and responsibility for the revitalization project back to local Maori.[311] This is a key explanation for Maori linguistic success, that revitalization of indigenous language and culture should be driven by the people, for the people. This is in recognition that for language to endure, only the traditional speakers can take these actions and make these decisions. Therefore the teaching and learning of Chehalis, while not reliant on the American education system for support, cannot, in the future take this position either.

**(b)       *Principle of Intergenerational Learning***

The Chehalis language model relies on the element of intergenerational learning as one of the key principles for establishing a supportive learning community. In the Chehalis tribal population, there exist both Elder and Youth Centers as retreats meant for developing positive environments for these age groups. Importantly, there also exists a Community Center and a Tribal Hall, both of which ensure a space reserved for tribal members of any age to interact and conduct community activities for everyone. Either of these public spaces would be ideal as a neutral gathering ground to ensure that all ages feel welcomed and supported in learning the Chehalis language.

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[310] Ormsby-Teki, T., Timutimu, N., Palmer, H., Ellis, R., & Johnston, P., 2011

[311] Ngaha, A., 2014. Te reo Maori and Maori identity: what's in a maunga? In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 76.

As stated previously, both Hawaiian and Maori language models began by highlighting their children's language learning. This is not to downplay the importance of other ages of learners, but acknowledges that indigenous communities exist in support of their children and future generations. Opportunities for the elders and the youth to learn language together optimizes traditional indigenous community building techniques. Unlike the Westernized society of first contact settlers, indigenous communities have always embraced the prospect of comforting the sick and dying, of distracting them with the joys of childhood and celebration of the intermingling of the ages together. Chehalis is no different. In recognition that the stages of life represent the ongoing journey of our people, we encourage and seek out ways to bring our youth together with their elders as a means of helping them see the interconnectedness within our tribal community. Therefore, an intergenerational background, preferably inclusive of family groups of various ages and relations would be ideal.[312]

**(c)**  *Principle of Value & Use of Chehalis Language in the Home*

This *Tu`pa*ʔ model also relies on the imperative of ensuring the Chehalis language is used within the home and among members of the family. The more a language is used, the more valued it becomes. As in the case of the Hawaiian *Punana Leo*, the children's learning of Hawaiian at school was reflected when they brought this learning home and shared it with their family members. In terms of the Maori development of *kohanga reo* and Maori language immersion centers for preschool students, the children learned their language in their preschools which incorporated four principal tenets. The first is the use of Maori language as the exclusive language, both conversationally and educationally, in the preschool environment. The second principle recognized in this model is that of whanau decision

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[312] Ormsby-Teki, et al., 2011

making, management, and responsibility, wherein the whanau made decisions about each Center's operation per Cherrington. The third precept, related to accountability, identifies the importance of principles and values of Maori *tino rangatiratanga*, reflected in daily practices at *Te Kohanga Reo*. For instance, all conversation and instruction is in Maori language and tribal values are revealed through ceremony, each day begins and ends in *karakia.*[313] The final rule ensures the health and well-being of the children in Kohanga Reo.[314] Maori teachings identify children as natural carriers of Maori *tikanga,*[315] responsible for these beliefs and understandings being carried into the future. Since the Chehalis Tribe does not support the use of Chehalis language learning outside of the Tribe, this tenet can be modified to mean the home. Kohanga reo is also a holistic learning method involving the *whanau*, the community and the school, in a culturally sensitive and supportive language immersion process.[316] For my people this translates to the family, the community and the individual valuing and using of Chehalis in the home as frequently as possible. This may be supported by signs identifying Chehalis words for universal household items, parts of the body, and activities which commonly occur in the home. Including children in the family creates a shared learning experience when writing the notes and signs together, providing an opportunity to discuss the importance of using and reveling in the Chehalis language. Since children are naturally inquisitive, this instills appropriate cultural values and information as well.

Finally, my *Tu`pa?* model also recognizes that in America, our work life often takes us outside the home for many hours of the day. Car rides and offices are appropriate places to display signage similar to those at home.[317] As well, the conversation this generates among

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[313] Translated as "prayer"
[314] Karetu, T. S., 2002. Maori: New Zealand Latin? In B. Burnaby & J. Reyhner (Eds.), *Indigenous languages, across the community*. Northern Arizona University. P. 28.
[315] Translated as "cultural knowledge"
[316] Cherrington, K., 1997. Building a child centred model: "An indigenous model must look to the future." In Ah Nee-Benham, M., & Cooper, J. (Eds.). 1997. *Indigenous educational models for contemporary practice in our mother's voice*. New York: Routledge. P. 34.
[317] Chehalis language CDs are available for use in cars and offices.

passengers or work colleagues allows the language learner to teach others about Chehalis and demonstrate the vocabulary being discussed. In cases of Chehalis tribal employees, this elevates the activity into one which shares Chehalis language with other tribal members who may not have been exposed to Chehalis language learning previously. It also produces and renews interest in language class attendance.

Particularly relevant in terms of the tribal work space, those working with Chehalis youth or elders can be especially effective. Other considerations may be memorizing the simplified Chehalis greeting for answering the phone or greeting others during your day. Leaving notes to oneself as a reminder to use Chehalis language in shared work spaces also elevates the community awareness of Chehalis. As with the Miami language revitalization,[318] inserting Chehalis into your interactions reminds everyone around you of the importance of Chehalis in your life.

Instituting Chehalis language into your home and daily life will not be easy at first, as with all new habits. Your personal dedication will be tested, but every day one uses Chehalis can be considered a victory for all tribal members. Katherine Barr envisioned a resurgence of Chehalis in our community but this cannot happen without some effort expended. We have only one lifetime in which to succeed. As Littlebear reminds us "*Since this is the first time and only time we are going to lose our languages, we have to devise new strategies accordingly.*"[319] Or, in this case to resurrect it. My Chehalis *Tu`pa?* model chooses to focus on the opportunities inherent in our particular situation, rather than acknowledging what might look like insurmountable odds. We need only review Maori and Hawaiian models to imagine the possibilities which await us. Seeing daily evidence of the language and utilizing even the smallest bit of Chehalis in daily life brings yours and others awareness of this

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[318] See page 79
[319] Reyhner et al., 1999, P. 1

valuable resource to the forefront. It becomes a matter of not saving our language, but of living it.

**(d)** *Principle of Community Activities Opening with Chehalis Language*

Another precept of my *Tu`paʔ* model requires that all Chehalis tribal activities and events open with a Chehalis greeting. There are abbreviated and simple greetings for use by those with no language experience, but my model encourages the use of personal introduction and the traditional recounting of one's lineage in Chehalis as well. Currently, there have been no regular introductions or community opening with our language outside of the occasional Salmon Ceremony which takes place annually.

The Salmon Ceremony for example, marks the first salmon caught each year by our Chehalis Tribal Fisheries. There is a private riverfront ceremony which occurs when the net reveals the first fish. Once this transpires, the river is opened for tribal fishermen to cast their fishing nets during the approved fishing timeline. After the first salmon is caught, the Tribe's Fish and Wildlife Department catches more fish to feed the community. The various tribal groups such as Elders, Youth, and the Heritage Committee all donate food, cooking, or activities for this day. We never know year to year what day the Ceremony will fall on because the fishing runs change seasonally and depend on weather and other factors to bring the fish up the rivers. Small gifts are handmade to honor the volunteers, Committee members and Fish and Wildlife employees to honor them for keeping this tradition alive. In the past, in my youth, this was a common annual activity. It disappeared for many years when the fish runs were small and negatively affected by various conditions. A tribal member named Ross Davis brought this tradition back to life and it has thrived ever since.

Other than the Annual Salmon Ceremony which has begun to incorporate elements of Chehalis language in more recent times, there is and has been a distinct lack of Chehalis language in other Chehalis tribal activities. During the years of 2003 through 2011 there was a significant increase in language student participation during the Salmon Ceremony, but this was not reflected elsewhere in the Tribe. This absence contributed to the downfall of the language and remains as one of the indicators that Chehalis was not successfully embedded within our community. A renewed attempt at incorporating even minor elements of the language into the life of the community will necessarily elevate its status and usage for all tribal members, but especially those who have never attended language class.

Events outside of the Annual Salmon Ceremony remain just as significant to our people. The Annual Chehalis Tribal Days which take place the same weekend as the Memorial Day Holiday in America are also very vital for our Tribe. The Chehalis Tribal Days celebration occurs over a three day weekend and highlights multiple baseball tournaments during which most regional tribes send a representative team or two to compete against the other tribes. This is time for the Indian community to gather and watch the baseball games, shop with local vendors and buy traditional foods such as salmon or shellfish in fundraising endeavours sponsored by the local churches and the Tribe. Although this provides the perfect arena in which to display our tribal pride in the Chehalis language, you will not hear a word of Chehalis over the loudspeaker. You might not hear a single person utter a Chehalis phrase either. Examples like this currently abound at Chehalis and indicate the health status of our language.

**(e)** *Principle of Chehalis Speakers Using Chehalis Language*

One objective which underpins my *Tu`paʔ* model is the precept that all Chehalis

language learners have an obligation to our culture and heritage to open every public speaking event with words from the Chehalis language. Whether it be words of introduction, a recital of their lineage or simply a general greeting, it is absolutely imperative that the Chehalis language be the first official vocabulary spoken. If we lose our Chehalis language, it stands to reason that we face also losing our tribal culture. This in turn puts our very tribal sovereignty at risk. It is therefore exceedingly urgent that our language be revitalized. One of the guiding principles of revitalization includes marking important or official occasions with the Chehalis language as a means to honor our rich heritage and the ancestors who have passed before us. In recognizing the struggles of indigenous peoples globally, to retrieve, retain, and be able to speak their own languages, this research identifies public speaking and personal commitment as acknowledged best practices for language retention and revival. This is evidenced by their use in successful revitalization models with both Maori and Hawaiian language efforts. Introducing the Chehalis language into the family homes of Chehalis tribal members and their relations is one component, but the second piece, that of public speaking and therefore a public recognition of our language, walk together down the road to revitalization. This research proposes that individual attention to opportunities for sharing our language will be used to develop a language revitalization model appropriate for the Chehalis Tribe. As evidenced by Fishman, indigenous learning appears to be organized in the environment and in settings, which have been readily found within family, small group settings.[320] In particular, the passing of language through culturally appropriate avenues, which reinforces cultural knowledge, leads to a more permanent engagement within the heart and consciousness of indigenous communities. Fishman thereby acknowledges the priority which must be conferred to the language through the act of public use and demonstration. The heart and

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[320] Fishman, J. A. (Ed.). 2001

consciousness of the Chehalis tribal community can be clearly witnessed during tribal gatherings of all sizes. Hohepa's recognition of the difference between language structure and conversational language use reflects Maori beliefs governing language acquisition. Hohepa also references her interpretation that in efforts to reverse language loss, Fishman advocates a diglossic existence in which distinct forms of the language are used in different settings such as commonly or in ceremonial and protocol manners for cultural communities whose language retains little political power in the public and institutional levels of society such as Chehalis.[321] Fishman recommends that community language remain bounded in socio-cultural traditions, values, beliefs and practices. As stated earlier, "*If these traditions are still extensively practiced in modern life, in the sense that they occur regularly in day-to-day lives and across a range of contexts, then concentrating efforts in this way may be fruitful. Indeed, it has been argued te reo Maori was protected from total loss much in this manner*"[322]

Hohepa also emphasized how Maori language was being used in cultural contexts, such as *powhiri* and other traditional settings. Hohepa, quoting Baker as saying "*The goal of language regeneration is not to return simplistically to the traditional way but to ensure that traditions live on, in meaningful and contextualized ways, alongside language and culture...*"[323] The imperative that language must modernize and change to survive also means making changes in where it is used. It is a traditional indigenous value of the Pacific Northwest to use native languages as introductions to public speaking, yet somehow the Chehalis have lost this important traditional way. If we agree that the goal of language regeneration in not simply to return to the traditional ways but to find or imbue meanings into

[321] Hohepa, M., 2014. Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

[322] Hohepa, M. (2014). Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 103.

[323] Hohepa, M., 2014. Te reo Maori and schooling. In M. Kawharu (Ed.), *Maranga Mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press. P. 105.

these actions, then it stands to reason that a reclamation of this practice of publicly speaking our indigenous languages is a necessary observance of our culture and our sovereignty.

**(f)** *Principle of English Language Rules Not Applying to Chehalis*

The sixth canon of my *Tu`paʔ* model identifies the necessity for all current and future language learners to be mindful that the rules of English do NOT apply to the Chehalis language. Our language does not develop sentence structure in any similarity to English. The order of the Chehalis syntax could be said to more closely follow the structure of Spanish and other languages, although that is also not entirely accurate. Much like other indigenous dialects, a comparison with the Romance languages is just another nod to colonization by comparing the European speeches favourably against inherent differences in the so-called savage languages. According to both Dr. Kinkade and Katherine Barr, the emphasis and changing tones on components of the vocal sounds in the Chehalis language are what indicates a change has taken place. Whether it designates a diminutive form of a word, such as *puppy* versus *dog* or characterizes the time and spatial location of an experience, the changing tone and emphasis is the key to identification of these nuances. This changing pronunciation is a large part of the complexity of the Chehalis language and contributes greatly to the troubles with prescriptivism in Chehalis. After all, the different bands of Chehalis employed regional pronunciations, much like people everywhere and so a mispronunciation for the "Tenino" Chehalis might be correct when speaking with an "Oakville" Chehalis. Since both Katherine and Dr. Kinkade were interested in these differences, a large part of their conversations included detailing these regional differences and determining what might be considered correct and for whom.

Essentially, the correct pronunciation could only be identified by a fluent speaker who was speaking with another fluent speaker. Additionally, our total lack of any fluent speakers have effectively laid the prescriptivism issue to rest for the Chehalis language at this time.

**(g)** *Principle of Chehalis Language Blending with English*

Although this is a technique that is frowned upon by linguists, the principle of blending the Chehalis language into the English used in everyday life such as common, everyday use of language, was identified by the Chehalis tribal community as a significant way to breathe new life into our language. Using Chilisa's model for empowering indigenous communities to make the decisions which affect them, supports this decision in spite of Westernized linguistic disapproval. Ever since the Chehalis language classes began in mid 2002, the community used a blended form of English and Chehalis. Contrary to concerns that this may dilute the Chehalis, it actually increases the Chehalis vocabulary in learners on the reservation. Identifying terms for relatives remains particularly popular which is not surprising given the strong relations between the families of this tribal community. There are so many forms of interrelationship on the reservation and terms such as *Soots*[324] have been rapidly recognized simply from the context of the usage.

Transliteration illustrations, drawn from Maori include *wiki:* week:, *Mane:* Monday, *Turei*: Tuesday, etc. This is also exemplified in Chehalis by words such as *koopy*[325]. Transliteration serves many purposes when developing indigenous language for modern conveniences, although its roots in colonialism should also be considered.

As noted earlier, the *Hawaiian Renaissance*, resulting in Hawaiian being taught in schools once again, did generate a significant change from past practice: it was now being

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[324] *Cousin* in Chehalis, pronounced like 'suits'
[325] *Coffee* in Chehalis

taught as a foreign language.[326] Therefore, Hawaiian was no longer dominant nor the language in which other subjects were taught to the Hawaiian students. A well recognized phenomenon of foreign language classes in high schools not resulting in fluency can be partially attributed to the incorporation of the rules of the English language being thrust upon the target language. Fluency often depends on immersion methods which takes place in common environments when all communication occurs in the target language, such as occurs during foreign travel.

Similarly, Chehalis must be carefully guarded against the temptation of being treated as a foreign tongue as well. I know that our initial, and even later classes at Chehalis were certainly guilty of this flawed approach. In fact, it wasn't until I was completing this thesis that I fully recognized the effect this had on our students. I had not previously been aware of this mindset, yet I didn't see it until I recalled the experience and then it became clear. Therefore, this serves as a warning for future Chehalis and other indigenous language models and classes to be wary of this frame of mind, knowing the difficulty in identification of such actions.

**(h)    *Principle of Personal Commitment***

Finally, the last and most important principle for the *Tu`paʔ* model is *personal commitment*. By this, I mean that we cannot rely on other people to conduct the work of language revitalization. Too often people see language revival as the proposed work for others. At Chehalis, the tribal community identified the language as necessary for continued tribal existence but also commented that someone should do this, meaning not necessarily themselves. One outcome I identified from my engagements with Katherine Barr was the primacy of her personal commitment to keep her language. She prayed about her fear of language loss and then made the conscious decision to apply herself to the work, *regardless of*

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[326] Language planning and policy in Native America W.H. Wilson, personal communication, 19, July 2009." Page 128

*others*. She recognized her power to make a significant choice resulting in the current wealth of Chehalis language information. Without her efforts, we would not have held language classes nor learned the significant cultural information that she retained from her youth.

My Chehalis *Tu`paʔ* model requires considerable personal commitment for this change to occur. Without this necessary adaptation, our language will be gone within twenty years. Hinton observes that it is sometimes the role of the language apprentice to be responsible for guiding the process. Self-identification of appropriate tribal learning techniques is inherent to this method.[327] As a result of that position, I have taken this arrangement and have focused this research on the Chehalis tribal knowledge holders, language facilitators and experts of the Chehalis language. This thesis privileges the Chehalis indigenous understanding, tones and practices of our last speaker as well as the current and future members of the Chehalis Tribe. I am optimistic that we will learn more about our language and our cultural background by instilling these elements of language into our traditional community activities and events, thereby further developing a transformative and empowering understanding of our tribal history. By employing the methods outlined here in my *Tu`paʔ* model, our Tribe takes another step forward, carrying our language with us as a treasured gauge of our cultural identity.

## 5.3 *Chapter Five Conclusion & Recommendations*

Reflecting on the loss of Katherine Barr signals a significant game-changing element for Chehalis immersion activities. Thus this thesis identifies components recognized in successful indigenous language efforts, which must be included in my Chehalis language model in order for it to be triumphant too. Overall, I distinguish the importance of Katherine's choice to live true to her roots in terms of practicing cultural arts and speaking Chehalis as the primary key to keeping her language alive. Ultimately, the greatest lesson that Katherine

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[327] Hinton, 2002, P. 18

embodied was the inevitability of Personal Commitment. Personal commitment is also prominently reflected in Maori and Hawaiian language successes. We often see examples of personal commitment surrounding us in our everyday lives, it is what inspires big changes and small victories. We cannot rely on the mythical someone who should learn and pass on this information. We must *be* that someone ourselves. We apply ourselves to expanding the strength to be personally responsible for revitalizing our language and cultural knowledge. And that is perhaps the ultimate lesson shared by Katherine- the power of personal commitment and the changes it can bring to a community.

## Thesis Conclusion

In recognition of the tremendously negative impact of colonialism on indigenous language revitalization, this research emphasized the unconditional importance of establishing decolonization strategies from the outset for Chehalis and other indigenous language model development. The literature demonstrates repeatedly, the absolute devastation from colonialism for indigenous language experiences, as seen in the cases of Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand, Hawaiian, Sami in Northern Europe, Alaskan in the northern United States, and Chehalis in Washington State in the USA.

As noted throughout this research and thesis, it is imperative that any Chehalis language model must draw on *tradition*, as this imbues the meaning behind the cultural and spiritual activities we undertake. Our Chehalis language is a traditional aspect of our culture that forms the basis of the words of the Chinook Jargon.

We believe the Chehalis language retains the cultural and archival knowledge carried forward by our ancestors that must be preserved. Recognition and use of *traditional* codes embedded within Chehalis are necessary for the formal, ceremonial, religious, and cultural activities of our people.

We must pay attention to *Chehalis tribal history*, as this provides an account of our people's struggle to survive the negative impacts of colonization we experienced as a result of contact with non-Indians. We can easily distinguish the harmful impacts of non-indigenous foreign government policies and programs on our Chehalis land base, our lack of opportunities, and often dismal educational prospects. The techniques Chehalis have employed to govern our remaining resources exemplify the overwhelming consequence of colonization and continued denial of Chehalis traditional indigenous culture by outsiders.

The Chehalis tribal history is deeply rooted in the *common* language codes which accompany our tribal experience. The regulations supporting *common* codes, while not at the level of the formality of *traditional* codes, still illustrates the cultural knowledge employed outside the confines of ceremony. As previously acknowledged, changes in pronunciation of Chehalis can denote relationships in terms of whether the connecting relative is living or dead. Therefore, Chehalis language also provides a means for our people to identify interrelationships between families and tribes and across distances.

We must also acknowledge the importance of the *identity* of the Chehalis people and language which are situated within the unique knowledge of our tribal environment. The experience of being Chehalis is often the defining factor for our tribal members and is evidenced in how we treat our environment, characterizes our relationships within these atmospheres and how we see ourselves through the indigenous lens in America. Our Chehalis identity responds intrinsically to the vigor of our language. Therefore, the Chehalis identity is a key factor in our language revitalization efforts since it defines us as The People.

As drawn from Maori, Hawaiian, and other indigenous models and linguistic authorities, we know that young children are the best language learners therefore the incorporation of Chehalis youth becomes a key element for revitalization activities. Chehalis

youth serve as necessary resources for creating new Chehalis language learners and are integral for language model development.

This Chehalis *Tu`pa*ʔ model employs several prerequisites including continuous in-depth assessment and elimination of Western colonial elements. Examinations of potential language models was utilized throughout this thesis to embrace indigenous methodologies prioritizing intergenerational learning, privileging immersion activities and aligning with traditional tribal values and culture.

Recognition of the *role of the family*, as evidenced in Maori and Hawaiian models, in supporting and encouraging language to be spoken also comprises a necessary prerequisite for my model. Finally, the last and most important facet necessary for *Tu`pa*ʔ model success is *personal commitment*. By which, I mean to emphasize that we cannot rely on other people to conduct the work of language revitalization. We need to recognize that we all have a part to play.

*Meethlta **T'uK'**omayten **T'a** ow'n. Meethlta tits eelumishK'. Ini-mam u **Ooh** h$^w$ah-nen. **Ahts**-tee H$^w$a. NaXh tit punsTLatch oh yux$^w$-t'aqin. TaXh senay-mathl TLathl. Ini-mam u Ka**Xha**lum Stuk$^w$. Sunsyeth itten Shuh-mahloh$^{wh}$ we Chehalis. **Xhul**-umsh yumsh sxewq'ten xewq'men, its qway'ayilq.*

*They are not talking the Chehalis language anymore. They don't speak Indian. We by ourselves teach them the way. Remember. Here is the season for learning. Here's our future. We by ourselves are many voices. My people are Chehalis. We are getting ready to speak about language, the Chehalis language.*

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**Links**

Information about the Hawaiian language

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hawaiian_language

http://www.hawaiischoolreports.com/language.htm

Online Hawaiian lessons

http://ksdl.ksbe.edu/kulaiwi/

iSpeak Hawaiian podcast

http://alter-native-tongue.podomatic.com/

Salishan Languages Tree

https://www.google.com/search?q=upper+chehalis+language+diagram&rlz=1C1RUCY_enU

S700US700&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiw0v6txcjWAhUnjVQ

KHRn5B68Q7AkIQg&biw=1258&bih=557#imgrc=w2iTiGlfad1RYM:

Figure 1. Image borrowed from

https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/File:Confederated_Tribes_of_the_Chehalis_Reservatio
n-_map_of_traditional_Chehalis_Tribal_Territory.png

Figure 2. Image based on:

https://www.google.com/search?q=upper+chehalis+language+diagram&rlz=1C1RUCY_enU
S700US700&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiw0v6txcjWAhUnjVQ
KHRn5B68Q7AkIQg&biw=1258&bih=557#imgrc=w2iTiGlfad1RYM: