Freie Universität Berlin

Institut für Englische Philologie

<u>Thema der Magisterarbeit</u>

Language Revitalization Efforts in

North Native American Languages

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Berlin, den 23.09.2005

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List of Abbreviations

AILDI	The American Indian Language Development Institute
ASB	Advisory School Board
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BRACS	Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme
CLEP	Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
IAD	Institute of Aboriginal Development
ICA	Indigenous Communications Association
LKSD	Lower Kuskokwim School District
NNTV-5	Navajo Nation Television Channel 5
NPR	National Public Radio
PAW TV	Pintubi Anmatjerre Warlpiri Television
PBS	Public Broadcasting Service
PSA	Public Service Announcements
RLS	Reversing Language Shift
RNAL	Raidió na Life
RNAG	Raidió na Gaeltachta
RTÉ	Raidió Teilifís Éireann
TG4	Teilifís Na Gaeilge
TKR	Te Kohanga Reo
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WMA	Warlpiri Media Association

1. Introduction

In a recently new survey of North American Indian languages (Dalby 2002: 252), Marianne Mithun explicitly states what is lost as each language ceases to be used. "Speakers of these languages and their descendants are deeply aware of what it can mean to lose a language." Moreover, she argues that people regret that their language and culture are being lost. Meanwhile, parents do not show their children the benefits of preserving endangered languages. Mithun carries on her reflections on the loss of languages claiming that when a language disappears,

> the most intimate aspects of culture can disappear as well: fundamental ways of organizing experience into concepts, of relating ideas to each other, of interacting with other people. The more conscious genres of verbal art are usually lost as well: traditional ritual, oratory, myth, legends, and even humor. Speakers commonly remark that when they speak a different language, they say different things and even think different thoughts. (1999: 2)

1.1. Interest and Plan

According to Krauss (1998:103), there are said to be about 6,000 languages in the world. The great majority of languages are minority peoples' languages, rather than major languages such as English. In many areas of the world, minority peoples' languages are disappearing quickly. In addition, many languages have already become extinct. Tsunoda (2005:1) mentions that much attention has been paid to the fate of disappearing languages. Meanwhile, considerable endeavors are being mounted to document as well as to maintain endangered languages. At length, Reyhner (1999) asserts that symposiums on teaching indigenous languages have been held annually since 1994 under the co-sponsorship of Northern Arizona University's Bilingual Multicultural Education Program in its Center for Excellence in Education. These symposiums have involved a wide range of topics, such as marketing the importance of Native languages, implementing immersion teaching programs, as well as developing indigenous language materials for children.

In addition, Joshua Fishman, the renowned sociolinguist and expert on endangered languages, affirms in speeches at the first two Stabilizing Indigenous Languages symposiums that the role schools can play in keeping indigenous languages alive is minimal. Other symposium participants have reflected Dr. Fishman's assertion that the intergenerational transmission of language in the home from parents to young children is crucial in keeping indigenous languages alive. Moreover, Crystal (2000: 167-169) shows that there are many relevant institutes and organizations, which have approached the endangerment phenomenon from diverse perspectives, such as CLEP, Ethnologue, The Endangered Language Fund, Inc, The Foundation for Endangered Languages, Institute for the Preservation of the Original Languages of the Americas, Network on Endangered Languages, Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, UNESCO (Study of Endangered Languages) and many others.

The fact that there is a multiplicity of pertinent issues and illuminating insights surrounding endangered languages has triggered my curiosity significantly to write this thesis on the revitalization efforts of North Native American Languages. Besides, I am interested in North Native American revitalization efforts because both phenomena of language endangerment and language revitalization are among the current issues that have been continuously debated. To write my thesis, however, I have selected both Navajo and Yup'ik[1] languages, because these endangered languages are spoken in different geographical regions of the United States. Further, however, the appropriation of various tools to rejuvenate these threatened languages can be considered important illustrations for renewal endeavors. It is for this reason that the study of their revitalizing attempts warrants a great deal of speculation and insight.

In the introductory part of my thesis, I will define some basic concepts and present some frameworks, which are relevant to understand endangered languages in general and the phenomenon of language maintenance in specific. Then, I will clarify the general situation of Native American languages today, as they are on the brink of extinction, and provide a clear insight into some revitalization efforts from different areas of the world. I would like to put the emphasis on two measures, namely the immersion method–a kind of school-based

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[1] There are different kinds of Yupik languages in Alaska, such as Central Yup'ik and Siberian Yupik. I am only interested in the former and not in the latter.

program–as well as the use of broadcasting media. Before embarking on an investigation of Navajo and Yup'ik cases, I will try to provide a systematic study of Māori and Mohawk immersion programs and then Irish and Warlpiri broadcasting media. Therefore, I will identify the major components of the different measures that play an important role in revitalizing the respective endangered languages and apply them to my chosen Native American languages. In fact, I will use these measures and not others, because the ones I am interested in seem to be promising attempts to preserve Navajo and Yup'ik languages. In my conclusion, I will try to assess the different programs and tools in terms of Giles and Fishman's theoretical models and provide a forward looking with regard to these methods.

1.2. Definitions of Some Basic Concepts

1.2.1. RLS: Reversing Language Shift

Over the last number of years, it has become clear both to linguists and non-linguists that a considerable proportion of the world's estimated 6000 languages are under threat. According to Foy (2002), some linguists have claimed that as many as 90% of the world's languages are in danger of extinction within the coming century. The process by which languages become imperilled and eventually extinct is referred to by linguists as *language shift*. Fishman (1990) points out that most of the linguistic interest in endangered languages over the past decades has been targeted at this phenomenon of language shift. Meanwhile, some little research has been conducted with regard to the reversal of this process. Foy (2002) continues to argue that threatened languages, necessitating RLS efforts to save them from decline, are languages that "*are not replacing themselves demographically*." In other words, these languages have fewer and fewer users, generation after generation. In fact, RLS is a promising attempt on the part of authorities that are identified by the users and supporters of threatened languages to engage in efforts, which are meant to reverse the process of attrition.[2] RLS also involves a general agreement among those who advocate it. Without such an agreement, RLS policy itself may become a subject of debate even among its own proponents.

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[2] Language attrition is defined as the loss of language skills within an individual over time.

1.2.2. What is an Endangered Language?

Endangered languages can be defined in multiple ways: the easiest one is that there are languages below some critical number of speakers. Smaller languages are in more danger, but several social, economic, political, or religious factors are decisive for the transmission of an original language from parents to children. Dorian (1980) indicates three symptoms of language death: fewer speakers, fewer domains of use, and structural simplification. Krauss (1992), in his comparison of language to endangered biological species, singles out three types of languages which are as follows:

*Moribund: languages which are no longer being learned as mother tongue by children.

 *Endangered: languages which, though still being learned by children, will, if the present conditions are the same, cease to be learned by children during the next century.

*Safe: languages with official state support and great numbers of speakers.

1.3. Models

In this section, I will try to present some models, which have been proposed by Giles and Fishman. They are interesting paradigms, because they can help visualize the phenomena surrounding language loss and maintenance.

1.3.1. Giles's Ethno-linguistic Vitality Theory

Giles et al. (1977) designed a construct called ethno-linguistic vitality to develop a framework for the role of socio-structural variables in inter-group relations, cross-cultural communication, second-language learning, mother tongue maintenance, and language shift and loss. They first introduced the taxonomy of structural variables affecting ethno-linguistic groups and then presented an integration of Tajfel's theory of inter-group relations and Giles's theory of speech accommodation. The vitality of an ethno-linguistic group is defined

as "that [which] makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in inter-group situations" (Giles et al. 1977: 308). According to Giles et al. (1977), if ethno-linguistic minorities have little or no group identity, they would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups.
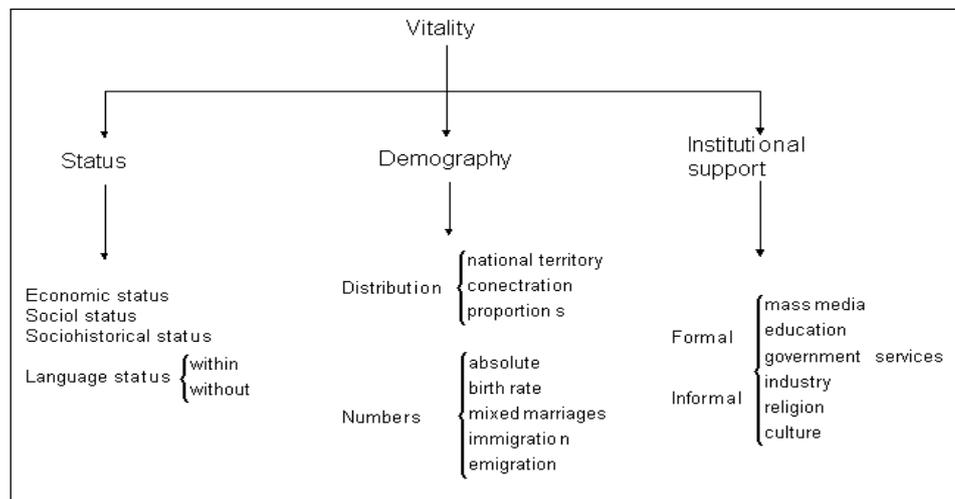
Diagram 1-1. A Taxonomy of the Structural Variables Affecting Ethnolinguistic Vitality[3]

As diagram 1-1 shows, the structural variables most likely to influence the vitality of ethno-linguistic groups are:

1. *Status* variables: economic status, social status, socio-historical status and language status.

2. *Demographic* variables: sheer numbers of group members and their distribution throughout the territory.

3. *Institutional support* variables: the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in various activities such as mass media, education, government services, industry, religion and culture.

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[3] Giles et al. (1977) is a comprehensive study of the phenomena affecting language loss.

1.3.2. Fishman's Model

Joshua A. Fishman (1991) has developed a set of guidelines for the reinforcement of an imperilled language named the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). At the same time, the scale serves to evaluate the «severity of intergenerational dislocation» which is the level to which the normal transmission of the language from generation to generation is interrupted. Generally speaking, it is used to assess the state of an endangered language. (The language at risk is called Xish as opposed to the threatening language Yish).

Stage 1	Xish is used in education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.
Stage 2	Xish is used in local/ regional mass media and governmental services.
Stage 3	Xish is used in the local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere both within the ethnolinguistic community (among other Xmen), as well as outside it (among Ymen).
Stage 4a	There are schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.
Stage 4b	There are public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
Stage 5	There are schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
Stage 6	Xish is transmitted as mother tongue in between the generations in a demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community.
Stage 7	Cultural interaction in Xish is primary involving the community-based older generation.
Stage 8	Reconstruction of Xish and adult acquisition of Xish are necessary.

Table 1-1. Joshua A. Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

As one can see in table 1-1, there are eight stages, which should be read from the bottom up. This means that for a language at stage eight, RSL efforts must start with reconstructing the language and teaching it to adults. In contrast, a language at stage one has a somehow safe position. To put it in simpler terms, it is not only passed on naturally to children in the home and the local communities, but also used in education, business, mass

media and public administration even on a national level. The most important stage of the devised framework is number six, because it is concerned with children's natural learning of the language from their parents and from the neighbourhood in which they live.

Bartens (2001) argues that if a language is below this stage, it is then seriously threatened. Therefore, an attempt to revive the language is doomed to failure if this stage is not reached. Even if some aspects of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale are subjected to controversy, the model has been applied to several minority languages around the world as a tool for analysis and as a program for efforts at reversing language shift. Yet, there is an overwhelmingly broad consensus which pays very careful attention to the most important element of language maintenance: the normal intergenerational mother tongue transmission.

2. Native American Languages

2.1. The General Situation of Native American Languages

During the period of first European contact, approximately 1,000 American Indian languages were spoken in North, Central, and South America.[4] Although the number of languages in daily use has increasingly diminished, because of the pressures on the Indians to adopt English, Spanish, and other European languages, there are over 700 different American Indian[5] languages which are spoken today. Many of the famous linguists of the early 20th century in the United States such as Franz Boas, Leonard Bloomfield, and Edward Sapir have studied some American Indian languages which are important in the literature of the linguistic school of American Structuralism.

Recently, however, interest in Native American Indian languages is increasing dramatically. Americanists, as those who study the languages are known, regularly hold meetings to talk about their findings. Current research on the Native languages of the Americas is published in several articles and periodicals, such as the *International Journal of American Linguistics*. McCarty (2003) firmly believes that the world's linguistic and cultural diversity is being assaulted by the forces of globalisation–cultural, economic and political forces that aim to standardise. She further claims that "*in the transnational flow of wealth, technology and information, the currency of 'world' languages is enormously inflated, while that of local languages is flattened and devalued.*"

Pattanayak (2000: 47) writes, "*By luring people to opt for globalisation without enabling them to communicate with the local and the proximate, globalisation is an agent of cultural destruction.*" These pressures clearly threaten minority linguistic, cultural, and educational rights. In fact, indigenous language loss is decisive, according to Warner (1999: 72). When a language stops being spoken, the world loses as a result a considerable repository of human knowledge. Nettle and Romaine (2000: 14) observe that "*every language is a living museum, a monument to every culture it has been a vehicle to. It is a loss to every one of us if a fraction of that diversity disappears when there is something that can have been done to*

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[4] Welker (2005) is an in-depth analysis of Native American Languages.

[5] American Indian Languages are referred to either as Amerindian or Native American Languages.

prevent it." McCarty (2003) further asserts that language loss and revitalisation are human rights issues. According to her, "*the loss of a language reflects the exercise of power by the dominant over the disenfranchised.*" This belief is clearly mirrored "*in the concomitant destruction of intimacy, family and community*" (Fishman 1991: 4).

Consequently, efforts to rejuvenate indigenous languages cannot be isolated from struggles for democracy, social justice, and self-determination, as May (2001) explicitly states. The causes of language shift in North Native American communities are as complex as the history of colonisation.[6] Genocide, land usurpation, forced relocation, and profound changes in Native economic, social, and cultural systems stemming from contact with Whites have all played a central role in language attrition. As a result, the challenge remains for indigenous communities to employ and build upon the benefits and successes of language maintenance programs of other indigenous groups to promote effective ways for their contributions to better world understanding. Reversing language shift, as Fishman (1991: 35) has noted, remains as the critical option for the re-establishment of "*local options, local control, local hope and local meaning to life.*"

2.2. Classification of Native American Languages

Scholars categorize languages into families on the basis of their origins. For instance, English, German, Russian, Hindi, and many other languages of Europe and Asia pertain to the Indo-European language family, because they all derive from a single language referred to as Proto-Indo-European.[7] Due to the fact that there is very little written documentation for many languages, the classification of Native American languages into families is confronted with some challenges. For this reason, experts infer much of the early known developments of these languages from modern data. The first classification was proposed in 1891 by American explorer John Wesley Powell. Because of apparent similarities among vocabularies, he suggested that the North American languages represented 58 separate families. During the same period, however, American anthropologist Daniel Brinton proposed 80 families for South America. These two categorizations of language families paved the way for further classifications.

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[6] These causes have been detailed in studies, such as Crawford (1995a; 1996; 2000), McCarty (1998; 2001; 2002), and Watahomigie and McCarty (1996).

[7] This detailed information is taken from Encarta ® Online Encyclopedia (2005).

In 1929, American linguist Edward Sapir proposed classifying these language families into 6 large groups in North America and 15 in Middle America. In 1987, American linguist Joseph Greenberg made some hypotheses about the indigenous languages of the Americas that they could be grouped into 3 different superfamilies: Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dené, and Amerind. The Amerind superfamily was said to include the majority of Native American languages and was divided into 11 branches. As linguists develop deeper insights into Native American languages, they can better distinguish between similarities in vocabulary and grammar which emanate from borrowings and similarities–the consequences of a common ancestral language. Today, the classification most linguists agree upon is about 55 independent language families in North America, 15 in Middle America, and about 115 in South America.

2.3. Navajo and Yup'ik Languages

2.3.1. Social History of the Navajo People

Map 2-1. The Navajo Reservation[8]

The ancestral territory the Navajo people occupied is now known as northern Arizona and New Mexico.[9] In addition, they occupied a smaller portion of southern Colorado and Utah. These different areas are represented on map 2-1. The heart of their original occupied area was located in the Colorado Plateau between the San Juan and Little Colorado Rivers. The Navajo, like other Athapascans in the area such as the Apache, came to the Southwest

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[8] The map is available in Bertola (1996).

[9] This information is provided by Tsinnie (2005)-a detailed account about Navajo history.

before 1400 A.D. The Pueblo Indians applied the name Navajo[10] to an area in the Southwest. The Spanish started calling the Navajo people by the name Apaches de Navajo to distinguish them from the Apache. In their own language, the Navajo are the Dineh[11] or Diné, meaning 'the people,' and their homeland is referred to as Dinetah–the fifth world of their mythology. Reflecting upon some of the major moments in the history of the Navajo people along with their tribulations, Tsinnie gives an illustration of this in his own terms:

> When the Dineh first came to the Southwest, they survived in the rugged, dry environment as nomadic bands of hunters and gatherers. Along with their kinsmen, the Apache, they launched many raids on the agricultural Pueblo Indians for food, property, women, and slaves. Throughout most of their history, the Navajo were feared by Indian, Spanish, Mexican, and American inhabitants of the Southwest. Although they continued their raiding activity, the Dineh, through contacts with the Pueblo Indians, gradually adopted new traits. From the other Indians, they learned farming, weaving, and sand painting...The Navajo acquired sheep and goats from the Spanish. But they did not use up their food supply for food, as the Apache did. Instead, they raised them to increase their herds, while they kept the milk, meat, and wool. Livestock, especially sheep herding, soon became essential to the Dineh economy. The Dineh first acquired horses about the same time they acquired sheep and goats. This was in the mid to late 1600's. Horses gave them greater mobility on their raids. (2005)

To comment on the arrival of the Spaniards to New Mexico in the 1500's and its aftermath, Tsinnie explains that the Spanish people offered the Diné a new way of life and they also brought their religious ideas to impose them on the Navajo culture. The only things the Navajos wanted from the Spanish were their sheep and their horses. Prior to the Long Walk, the Navajos were resisting the Spanish and their Indian allies for about three centuries. Their war with the United States lasted for about 20 years. In the end, they were starved into submission and thus imprisoned. During their imprisonment, conditions at the Bosque Redondo reservation were investigated by the U.S. government and were found to be very appalling. Finally, the Navajos were sent back to their homeland.

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[10] Navajo is pronounced (NAH-vuh-ho).

[11] The pronunciation of Dineh is Dee-nay.

2.3.2. The Navajo Language

The Navajo language belongs to the Athapascan language family–one of the most widespread indigenous language families in North America–that is spoken from beyond the Arctic Circle in Alaska and Canada to the southwestern United States. According to McCarty (2003), Navajo is considered one of the Western Apachean languages of the Southern Athapascan group. Northern Athapascan speakers are situated in Alaska and Canada. Another group consists of the Pacific Athapascans who live mostly in northern California as well as Oregon. Southern Athapascan speakers are located mostly in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah.

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Navajo is spoken in every state, as well as Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. It is identified as one among the most frequently spoken languages other than English in the United States. Approximately 178,014 people have indicated that they speak Navajo. In the United States, there are more speakers of Navajo than there are speakers of Scandinavian languages, Thai, or Hungarian. The greatest concentration of Navajo speakers is in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. There are significant numbers of Navajos in urban and metropolitan areas throughout the country, who also use the language in their private and social meetings. Giving factual information about the Navajo language speakers, AnCita Benally and Denis Viri have pointed out that the people

> who converse in Navajo include monolingual speakers who are mostly of the great grandparent generation. Members of the next age group, now the grandparent generation, are mostly bilingual. Almost all have gone through the boarding school experience. Their children make up the current parent generation. Many of these young parents are latent language users; they understand the language but do not speak it. Some do not speak or understand Navajo at all. However, a significant number are fluent and proficient in the Navajo language. The next age group is comprised of mostly very young children growing up as monolingual English speakers. A young child who is fluent in Navajo can occasionally be found. There are few of these children today, however. (2005)

2.3.3. The Yup'ik Language

2.3.3.1. The Eskimo and Aleut Languages

Jacobson (1984a: 12) mentions that some Eskimo languages are very different. This means that one Eskimo language which is spoken by some people is not understandable to another group of people who speak another Eskimo language. In fact, these are not various versions of Eskimo, but rather separate Eskimo languages which only relate to the Aleut language. Both Eskimo and Aleut form the Eskimo-Aleut language family. Although many endeavors have been made to link Eskimo-Aleut to Siberian language families and even to Indo-European, such theories are still subject to a high level of speculation.

The relationship between Aleut and the Eskimo languages is roughly as close as that between, for example, English and Russian (both in the Indo-European family). Alaska has the highest number of Eskimos who no longer speak their ancestral languages, because many non-Natives have moved into Alaska than into other Eskimo areas and because American authorities have been less tolerant toward Eskimo languages. Furthermore, Alaska has a large diversity of Eskimo languages and dialects of all these areas. Overwhelmingly, however, the temptation to adopt and use English in this location as a common language has been highly felt. Undoubtedly, it should be noted that the linguistic diversity of Alaska has taken place, because Alaska is the locus of the development of Eskimo culture that has been spreading in the eastward direction over the past thousand years.
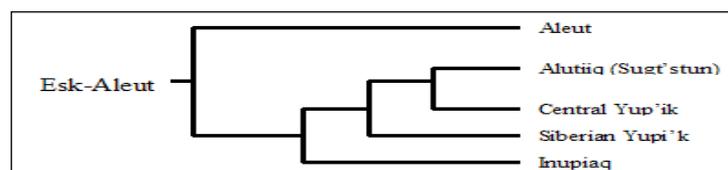
Figure 2-1. Eskimo-Aleut Language Tree[12]

Within the Eskimo branch of the Eskimo-Aleut family, there is a division between Yupik and Inuit or Inupiaq–something which figure 2-1 attempts to capture. The difference between Yupik and Inupiaq is roughly identical to that between French and Spanish. The Yupik-Inupiaq split occurred about ten centuries ago. Now, their demarcation is at Norton

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[12] This figure is taken from Damas (1984).

Sound, with Inupiaq being spoken on the Seward Peninsula, the Kobuk River Valley, the Alaskan North Slope, and across northern Canada and in Greenland.

2.3.3.2. The Yupik Languages

Highlighting the distinctions between the different kinds of Yupik and locating their areas, Jacobson explicitly says that within Yupik,

> there are five distinct languages, which differ enough from one another that speakers of one cannot understand speakers of another, although they may catch the general drift of what they are hearing. The five Yupik languages are Sirenik, spoken only by a few people in Siberia; Naukan, spoken only in Siberia (Central); Siberian or St. Lawrence Island Yupik, spoken by the majority of Eskimos in Siberia and by the people of Gambell and Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska; Central (Alaskan) Yup'ik,[13] spoken on the mainland (and offshore islands such as Nunivak) in Alaska from Norton Sound through the Yukon, Kuskokwim, and Bristol Bay down to the Alaska Peninsula; and Alutiiq (or Sugpiaq) spoken from the Alaska Peninsula eastward to Prince William Sound. (1994: 13)

Jacobson gives some statistics about the speakers of Yupik languages in Alaska. He reveals that the majority of 1,000 Siberian Yupiks speak the language; about 18,000 Central Yup'iks, of whom some 13,000 speak the language; and about 3,000 Alutiiqs, of whom some 1,000 speak the language.[14] In some villages, there are many people, who usually converse in Yupik and speak English, but as a second language. In other villages, however, only the older generation speaks Yupik and approximately all children speak English. Other villages show that there are some children who speak some Yupik from time to time. Map 2-2 below uses half-filled and empty circles to reveal which villages apply to each of these cases. Even where children or their parents do not speak Yupik, the Native language still has a pervasive impact on the children. Nonetheless, it should be pointed out that the ancestral language often affects

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[13] The spelling of "Yup'ik" with the apostrophe refers only to the Central Alaskan Yup'ik language. The apostrophe represents lengthening of the "p" sound-something which does not occur in Siberian Yupik.

[14] The mentioned figures and the percentages derivable from them are not totally informative.

the English of Yupik Eskimos by giving rise to English being influenced by the Yupik language as the local means of communication (Jacobson 1984a: 13).
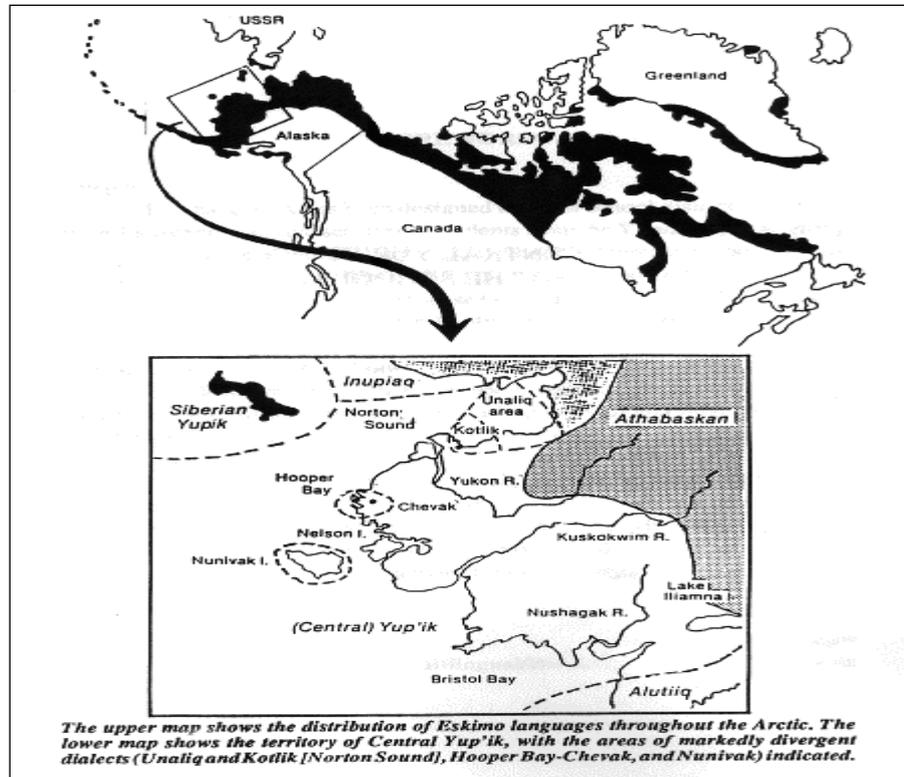
Map 3-2. Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska[15]

2.3.4. A Brief Note on Yup'ik Culture

Jacobson talks about the impact of multiple factors that have affected Yup'ik culture. The following quotation expresses his standpoint:

> I would like to emphasize that Yup'ik culture as it exists today is a product of
> many influences. It is erroneous to regard today's Yup'ik culture as explicable
> solely in terms of the culture that existed here before Europeans arrived, just as
> one cannot explain today's general American culture solely in the light of pre-
> revolutionary colonial culture. In fact, Yup'ik culture has been more drastically
> influenced by outsiders during the past century than has general American

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[15] The map of Native peoples and languages of Alaska is also available in (Jacobson 1984a).

culture. Missionaries successfully persuaded Yup'iks to give up their own religion in favor of Christianity by claiming that the latter was a universally appropriate religion. They had at least as much, if not more, effect on Yup'ik culture as did the school authorities (for whom they set the stage) who sometimes successfully and sometimes unsuccessfully urged Natives to give up their own languages in favor of English, claiming the latter was a universally appropriate language for Americans. (1984:36)

For almost a century now, schoolteachers and their families have been affecting Yup'ik culture. This immense impact was not only on formal education but also on the lessons Yup'ik people learned from their interaction with these families. Jacobson further states that many Yup'ik inhabitants have lived in cities in Alaska and returned with elements of general American culture. Magazines and broadcasting media have also exerted a strong impact on Yup'ik culture. These foreign influences extend to levels other than those of material culture such as dress, food, housing, hunting, and fishing technology. Moreover, people's opinions about the natural environment, their families and their communities have all changed as a result of the interaction of the original Yup'ik culture with other cultures (Jacobson 1984: 36).

2.4. Native American Languages between Survival and Decline

In this section, however, I will attempt to graphically portray the tension that revolves around Native American languages as they oscillate between survival and suppression.

2.4.1. Survival

Dick Littlebear (1990) expresses his skepticism with regard to the survival of Native American languages. For this reason, he reveals some of the reasons that characterize the increasing difficulty confronting many Native American communities. He elaborates on the fact that these groups are caught in a phase of cultural transition that has become complicated by pivotal factors such as exploding populations, erosion of language and culture, high technology, alcohol, drugs and a wide range of other related factors.

Further, Littlebear claims that to get educated in the White man's way has not always been an easy task, particularly for Native Americans. Indeed, the lack of positive acknowledgment of Native American cultures and languages are considered among the central reasons for the decline of their education. Native American students have the highest dropout rates, which are becoming a Native American academic tradition–a tradition with no cultural basis. The causes behind this dropout are multiple. In Alaska, for instance, about sixty percent of urban Alaskan Natives drop out of high school, partly because of the stress of changing social and cultural factors (Native 1989). One of the elements of this "*stress of changing social and cultural factors*" is the cultural transition mentioned above. As a remedy to the current situation, Littlebear suggests that the combination of effective practices and language survival can play a role in reducing the dropout rates of Native language minority students, increase their proficiency level, and aid in the acquisition of English.

Willig (1985) in her research on bilingual education found that students who took part in bilingual programs got higher English language test scores in reading, language skills, mathematics and total achievement. Evidently, educational methods incorporating the cultural and linguistic knowledge of students are the most effective methods for preparing students to compete in the mainstream of society. Littlebear (1990) believes that schools have limited opportunities to do what the family and the tribe can do. In addition, he suggests schools can only reinforce the language and cultural learning that goes on at home. Ultimately though, Littlebear highlights the fact that bilingual education appears to be an option or an emphasis in the teacher education programs. Nonetheless, for many students in the United States, this will partially reinforce the fact that there are other cultures still contributing to the development of minority language children.

2.4.2. Suppression

Reyhner (2001) states that legal efforts to assimilate minority languages and cultures are not really new, especially with regard to Native American languages. Quite often in the 1880s, the U.S. government required all instruction for Indians to be in English. Traditional Indian ceremonies, such as the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians, were prohibited. Students entering government boarding and day schools were re-clothed and renamed. Locked rooms were used as '*jails*,' and corporal punishment was meant to enforce school rules that included a ban on tribal languages. In his autobiography, Indian Agent, long-time teacher and school

administrator, and Indian agent Albert Kneale mentioned that Indian students in Indian schools "*were taught to despise every custom of their forefathers, including religion, language, songs, dress, ideas, methods of living*."

Schooling was enforced using tribal police, who were controlled by Indian agents and the U.S. Calvary. Reyhner points out that adults who resisted sending their children to schools that belittled their tribal cultures were punished. Nevertheless, Navajo and other tribal languages were pressed into service by the U.S. military during WWII to encode and decode military transmissions. In the South Pacific, specially trained Navajo 'Code Talkers' used the Navajo language that the Japanese were never able to detect.

2.4.3. The Civil Rights Movement

Reyhner (2001) believes that the Civil Rights Movement has led to an atmosphere calling for more culturally adequate schooling. In 1968, the U.S. Congress passed the Bilingual Education Act under unanimous consent provisions. Although it was aimed at Hispanics, American Indian tribes saw that they could benefit from the provisions of the legislation. In 1975, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, providing for more Indian control of Indian education. The results of past repressive government policies targeted at American Indian languages were recognized by Congress in 1990 with the passage of the Native American Languages Act. Although the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 led to some teaching of non-English languages in schools, Blackfeet language activist Darrell Kipp (2000) points out that

> [B]ilingual programs are designed to teach English, not your tribal language. We aren't against English, but we want to add our language and give it equal status....Bilingual education typically teaches the language fifteen minutes a day. (2000)

From his point of view, fifteen minutes–or even 50 minutes–a day is not a sufficient span of time to develop language fluency. In addition to what has been said, Kipp and other indigenous language activists are advocating immersion teaching techniques that devote more classroom time to tribal languages. U.S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley, in a speech

on March 15, 2000, supported dual-language immersion schools which allocate about half the school day to language learning.

With that amount of time spent in language learning, academic content is incorporated into lessons so that students do not fall behind in mathematics, science, social studies, and other school subjects. Nevertheless, it is should be pointed out that increased efforts to teach indigenous languages are also being made outside of school. The Tribal College Movement, for instance, has played a role of paramount importance in the revitalization of American Indian languages and cultures. The number of tribal colleges in the United States has increased from one in 1969 to over 30 today. Lionel Bordeaux, president of Sinte Gleska College, called cultural preservation '*the foundation of the tribal colleges*.'

2.4.4. The English-Only Initiative of 1998

This self-explanatory diagram 2-1 displays the major arguments and concerns of both proponents and opponents relating to the English-only controversy.

PRO	CON
Makes communication between government officials more efficient	Threatens basic sovereign rights of self-government in Native Villages
Reduces the printing of documents in numerous languages	Violates the right to free expression and free speech
Encourages immigrants to speak a common language	Impedes the rights of Alaskans to have access to their government
Native languages are specifically protected by federal law.	Hinders Alaskans' ability to petition their government
	Violates the right to equal protection under the law and prohibits Alaskans from communication with Government workers in any language other than English.

Diagram 2-1. The English-Only Debate

On November 3, 1998, the State of Alaska passed an English-only initiative, stating that English is the only language to be "*used by all public agencies in all government functions and actions*." Before the introduced initiative became effective, a lawsuit was filed in the Superior Court of Alaska placing an injunction on the proposal (Alaska Native

Knowledge Network 2001). On March 26, 2002, Judge Fred Torrisi of Dillingham ruled that the English-Only Initiative is against the so-called free speech rights mentioned in the Alaska constitution. Torrisi stated[16]: "*In those situations in which it can't be said that the use of another language actually interferes with a public employee's job, it becomes difficult to justify official English on the basis of efficiency*."

2.4.5. Language Freedom

Proponents of English as the official language, as Reyhner (2001) articulates, see its dominance under threat and consider it not only the 'glue' that unifies the country, but also a key to the problems of poverty that many ethnic minorities in the United States are confronted with. In a letter to the editor in the December 27, 1999 issue of *USA Today*, it is claimed that, *"[T]he one thing that binds the USA as a nation and makes possible the blending of so many varied cultural and ethnic mixes is that we have a common language*." A similar letter appeared in the November 21, 2000 issue of *The Arizona Republic*. Its author mentions, "*We must all be able to communicate in one language, the only glue uniting this great country*."

It is widely believed that the 'glue' holding the United States together is not the English language, but rather the set of ideas and principles found in the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and other relevant documents of the American experience. Moreover, group as well as individual rights to linguistic heritage should also be included in these official documents. Reyhner further adds that government suppression of minority languages and cultures violates the liberty of American Indian and other minority language citizens. This means that excessive conformity is still being put on many ethnic minorities in the United States through English-only schooling. In the words of attorney Lani Guinier (1994), minorities in the United States are being subjected to democracy's '*tyranny of the majority*.'

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[16] This information is taken from American Civil Liberties Union (2002).

3. Revitalization Approaches

3.1. Benefits of Revitalization

In this part, however, I will try to list and shed light on some of the benefits of maintaining endangered languages.

3.1.1. Diversity

Crystal (2000: 32-33) points out that this idea of diversity is a further development of the ecological frame of reference. The arguments which support the need for biological diversity can also be applicable to language. Indeed, most people would agree upon the fact that ecological diversity is an excellent thing, and that its preservation should be enhanced. Likewise, the preservation of linguistic diversity is also crucial because language lies at the heart of the human potential. Accordingly, when language transmission breaks down through language death, then there is a serious loss of inherited knowledge.

3.1.2. Identity

Identity is an entity which is at the core of language and everyone cares about the concept of identity. To talk of endangered languages in terms of identity, for instance, monolingual speakers of thriving languages focus on the role of dialect within their community. Indeed, those who are concerned about this issue often group themselves into dialect societies by compiling lists of old words and preserving old stories. Therefore, one is driven to say that the concept of identity is what makes the members of a community recognizably the same. Furthermore, it is an aggregate of features, which may relate to physical appearance, local customs (such as dress), rituals, beliefs, as well as personal behaviours. However, language is the most interesting form of behaviour and it is available even when one cannot see other people (shouting at a distance) or see anything at all (talking in the dark). Thus, language is taken as the primary symbol or register of identity (Crystal 2000: 36-40).

3.1.3. Repositories of History

A language embodies the history of its speakers. "*Language is the archives of history,*" says the American essayist and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (1844). It does this by expressing the past events and happenings through the grammar and lexicon of its variety of texts. Many people give considerable importance to these linguistic scraps of personal documentation which they have gathered from their ancestors–for instance, a grandparent's diary or the name written on the back of a photograph–provide ample evidence for their own pedigree. According to Crystal (2000: 41), this clearly indicates the level to which people are really dependent on written language to understand their origins. The fact that people wish to know about their ancestry is something universal. Yet, this requires a language to achieve this need. And, once a language becomes extinct, the links with their past disappear.

3.1.4. Human Knowledge

Identity and history are combined together to ensure that each language reflects a unique interpretation or vision of human existence. This fact highlights another reason for caring when languages die. Linguists care about endangered languages, because there are many interesting things to be learnt from them. For example, the view that languages other than the Native language provide people with a means of personal growth has been a pervading theme in literature at various levels of intellectual depth. Indeed, humanity draws many benefits from each reflection of itself in a language, as this quotation spells out: "*The world is a mosaic of visions.*[17] *With each language that disappears, a piece of that mosaic is lost*." (Crystal 2000: 44-45).

3.1.5. Interesting Aspects of Languages

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[17] Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, reported in Geary (1997).

From the point of view of Crystal (2000: 54-55), each language displays a combination of sounds, grammar, and vocabulary to form a system of communication which stands for a unique encapsulation of a world view. The more languages are studied, the more comprehensive the picture of the human options will be. Languages which are '*off the beaten track*' are especially important in so far as their isolation means that they may have developed some specific features not available in other languages. Language death is therefore the central threat to the achievement of this goal. Because with the death of each language, another source of valuable information disappears.

3.2. Approaches to Language Revitalization

Around the world, there are many language revitalization programs, which can be classified under many different rubrics. Most of them fall, Hinton (2001: 7) suggests, into one of five categories: (1) school-based programs; (2) children's programs outside the school; (3) adult language programs; (4) documentation and materials development; and (5) home-based programs.

3.2.1. School-Based Programs

Many school programs in the United States are now involved in the teaching of local endangered languages as a subject (like a foreign language), bilingual education, and full-scale immersion programs.

3.2.1.1. Endangered Language as a Subject

Among the most common forms of language teaching in the schools is teaching it as a subject for a limited amount of time each day. Basically, teaching the language as a subject has contributed a lot in many communities to remove or undermine the shame that generations of people have experienced about their indigenous language. It has also made young people eager to learn their language and develop more intensive programs for revitalization. A good example of an endangered language-as-subject program can be found in Humboldt County, California, where the public school system has a policy of teaching the

local Native American languages in schools with a vast Native population. The Humboldt County program has helped a generation of children develop a sense of pride of their linguistic heritage and develop some conversational abilities.

3.2.1.2. Bilingual Education

Many Native American language programs have started under Title VII bilingual education funds and some of these programs have been in existence since the late 1970s. In fact, the communities served best by bilingual education programs are those where the language is still spoken by children. Unlike teaching language as a subject, a portion of instruction is actually done in the minority language in bilingual education. Hinton (2001: 7-8) points out that the programs aiming at total bilingualism are well developed when the other language is also a world language such as French or Spanish languages. Concerning these languages, there is an abundance of teaching materials for all school subjects and teachers fluent in the language. Like other programs, bilingual education for endangered languages has the drawback that the language is not strongly supported by the family and community.

3.2.1.3. Immersion Schools and Classrooms

The full-immersion program is a model that is being frequently used in the United States, where all instruction is carried out in the endangered language. According to Hinton (2001: 8-9), several programs worldwide have immersion pre-schools that teach children to communicate in the endangered language. In the immersion schools, children often tend to use the target language with each other outside the classroom as well as inside it. Concerning some programs, it has been possible to develop an immersion schooling system all the way through high school and even into college. Hawaiian and Māori are two pertinent examples of languages that have developed a whole generation of new speakers through this type of program. Even though the immersion classroom is not enough on its own to turn around language death, it is vital that the families should also play a very active role. As I will attempt to demonstrate in the next sections, successful immersion programs usually have a family component in which parents are asked to learn the language in night classes, to volunteer in the immersion classes, and to reinforce at home the lessons the students learn at school.

3.2.1.4. Language and Culture

There is a close relationship between language and culture. As I have mentioned in 3.1, one major reason many people want to learn their ancestral language is that they want to regain access to cultural and traditional practices. However, one does not automatically gain the culture by learning the language. If the classroom is meant to mirror the mainstream culture, the language will then be taught in such a manner that children learn how to talk about classroom objects and activities. For example, in several indigenous cultures, the art and genres of traditional story-telling are an essential part of traditional culture. Yet, classroom teaching can rarely provide children with adequate help to learn these oral arts.

3.2.2. Children's Programs outside the School

Many communities develop programs outside the school either to supplement school programs or to be utterly independent from the schools. One popular kind of revitalization program offered outside the school is summer programs for children. These take the form of summer language schools or language camps and help children develop skills in the target language. Since they take place while children are on summer break from school, they can be highly intensive. A great deal of language can be learned in two-or three-month summer program. The summer program for the Cochiti language would be an example for children's programs outside the school.

3.2.3. Adult Language Programs

One common kind of program is evening classes for adults or families which are usually held once a week. Hinton (2001: 9-10) indicates that although they rarely involve immersion, they can be taught in that pattern. An interesting example of an adult language program is the California Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program run by an intertribal organization– the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival. In this program, the last elderly speakers of California Indian languages are joined by some relatives and they are taught immersion-style techniques of language teaching. What is stressed is that the team should do activities together such as cooking, gathering, housework, taking a walk or a drive, and

communicate in the language during these activities. In this way, language learning takes place in the context of real communication.

3.2.4. Documentation and Materials Development

Many anthropologists, who worked with the last speakers of dying languages in the United States, made a strong effort to record the vocabulary and grammar of endangered languages as well as the traditional tales. The recordings made by these speakers are a rich source of material that can be useful to language revitalization programs. Furthermore, there are many archives that have millions of pages of linguistic materials. Some examples can be found at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C, the American Philosophical Library in Philadelphia, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Programs to develop accessibility of archival materials to Native communities are now available such as the '*Breath of Life, Silent No More*' California Indian Language Restoration Workshop at Berkeley, where Californian Indians are invited to participate in a program to show them how to find materials on their indigenous languages.

Today, materials on endangered languages have become common on the internet. Some languages have more documentation than others and no language has ever been documented in its entirety. Hinton (2001: 10-12) believes that the development of books and audiotapes that teach the language and the growth of learning aids, such as videotapes and CD-ROMs, is also an important part of language teaching that can be considered a great gift to the community's prosperity. As with language teaching, the development of teaching materials generally demands some prior training on the part of the person developing them. Besides, the need for technological expertise in making videos and CD-ROMs, linguistic training or consultation with a linguist or language-teaching specialist may be necessary in order to produce a good reference grammar, dictionary, or book of language lessons.

3.2.5. Family-Based Programs at Home

When a revitalization program leads to the emergence of a large percentage of families using their ancestral language as their home language so that children are learning it as their first language, then this language is no longer considered an imperilled one. Indeed, Hebrew

is the only language in the world with a revitalization program advanced enough to have achieved that level. To start using an endangered language as the first language of home is considered a big effort, because it may mean that one's children will be less proficient in the national language. The major role of the endangered language within the nation can play a large role in the decision of parents whether to commit themselves to using the language exclusively at home.

3.2.5.1. Raising Bilingual Children

Many parents might wish to raise a fully bilingual child rather than raising the child to be dominant in the endangered language. Hinton (2001: 12) highlights the fact that recent research shows that bilingual children may have some cognitive advantages over monolingual children. As a result, bilingualism may be beneficial to a child's development.[18] Although there are thousands of bilingual people in the world, raising a child to become bilingual does not seem to be an easy task to carry out. Most people who grow up bilingual either perform in such a manner, because of their exposure to good language teaching in the schools (as in many countries of Europe), or because they are simply brought up in a situation, where one language is used in the home and another in some major language learning situation (such as in the schools or the street).

3.2.5.2. One Parent One Language

A common technique of trying to raise bilingual children is for one parent always to speak it to the children in one language and the other parent always to speak in the other. Dopke (1992) documented some families in Australia and found out that few of them were successful. The children always learned English, but many of them stopped speaking the other language and became '*passive speakers*.' The families that were successful in raising bilingual children had three things in common: the minority-language parent spent as much time with the child as did the majority-language parent; the parent using the minority

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[18] The linguist Brian Bielenberg mentioned a list of the early work on the benefits of bilingualism in Hamers and Blanc 2000. Many findings discuss how bilinguals are able to analyze language as an abstract system earlier than monolinguals. For studies which attempt to demonstrate a stronger link between bilingualism and cognitive abilities, one must turn to the work of psychologists like Ellen Bialystok (1991).

language refused to accept a response from the child in English; and there was some reinforcement from outside the home such as relatives or friends. If a community is active in language revitalization, then this technique of one parent-one language might be a successful approach (Hinton 2001: 13).

4. The Immersion Method

Along with Hinton (2001), Tsunoda (2005) states that the immersion tool is an environment in which learners will only hear and speak the language. Such a situation may be arranged, for instance, in a preschool, a school, a one-week residential course, a one week-end camp, or a one-day trip. Tsunoda further specifies that this method is possible for weakening languages, very difficult for moribund ones, and impossible for extinct ones. In this section, I will try to talk about the Māori immersion program in New Zealand and Mohawk immersion program in Canada and identify the factors contributing to the maintenance of their endangered languages. Apart from the fact that these rejuvenation language programs belong to different areas of the world, I have chosen these interesting cases because they have been replicated by many North Native American languages and they have disclosed many important components as far as the revitalizing processes are concerned, as will be carefully shown throughout my investigation in the coming paragraphs.

4.1. The Maori Immersion Program

4.1.1. The Māori Language

New Zealand Māori is closely related to languages such as Cook Islands[19] Māori, Tahitian and Hawaiian. It forms with them a language grouping known as Eastern Polynesian, as figure 4.1 shows. Yet, it is distantly related to other languages of Polynesia such as Samoan and Tongan. According to Kāretu and Waite (1989), what speaks for this language grouping is partly the whole body of shared vocabulary items, allowing for regular sound correspondences–the product of historically sound changes (e.g., Māori ng corresponds to Hawaiian n or l, and wh to h) . In fact, Māori is spoken almost exclusively in New Zealand by more than 100,000 people. In the 1996 census,[20] some estimates have indicated 160,000, while other estimates have reported as low as 50,000. Māori is viewed as a community

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[19] The Cook Islands used to be part of New Zealand, but they have been independent since 1965. Yet, they are still closely associated with New Zealand.

[20] The mentioned census is taken from Wikipedia (2005).

language in several settlements in the Northland and East Cape areas. The only other country with a significant portion of Māori speakers are the Cook Islands (Wikipedia 2005).
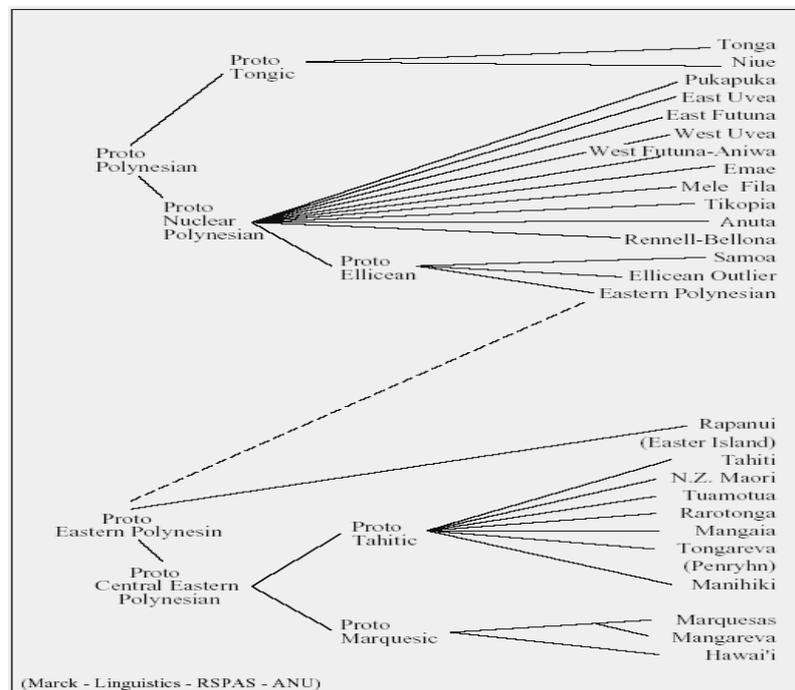
Figure 4-1. The Polynesian group Including the Maori Language[21]

4.1.2. Background Information

According to Holmes (1992), the Māori people of New Zealand comprise 15 percent of the New Zealand population–a population which amounts to approximately four million people. During their first contact with Europeans, 75 percent of the Native population passed away because of disease. The history of the Māori people is quite reminiscent of the history of the Native American tribes which is characterized by land usurpation without treaties, slaughter, and bad treatment. The Māori tribes trace their ancestry back to Polynesian migrants about 800 AD or a little bit earlier followed by other migratory waves–the last major influx at about 1300 AD.

In the early 1960s, the Play Centre preschool movement that encouraged Māori mothers to use English with their children along with the presence of television in Māori homes activated the decline of Māori language. By 1980, four Māori model bilingual programs, based in primary schools as a kind of '*headstart program*,' had been constructed. Yet, they

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[21] This map is taken from Marck (1999).

were not suitable for use, because they only attracted advantaged children. Middle class parents began sending their children there to draw benefits from these programs. In 1981, the Department of Māori Affairs brought together Māori leaders who designed a grassroots or whanau movement intended to revitalize the imperilled Māori language in language nests, according to Spolsky (1990).

4.1.3. The Program

Holmes describes some of the features of the te kohanga reo program, pointing out that in the nests,

> children from birth to eight years of age would be exposed to the Maori language in a homelike atmosphere. Part of this early childhood education system would be called the te kohanga reo, a preschool where Maori children would be immersed in the native language. At this point, the cultural knowledge development across the curriculum did not exist, just the spoken language. (1992)

By 1991, 700 kohanga had been formed and 10,000 children had been enrolled in them. Holmes (1991) points out that only about a dozen of primary bilingual school programs (kura kaupapa) existed into which to put all those children. As of 1994, twenty-nine kura kaupapa Māori schools had been constructed, according to Māori Initiatives (1997). Thus, one can conclude that the te kohanga reo has played a central role in facilitating the children's entry into school by developing practical and social skills and Māori sense of pride (Cazden, Snow, and Heise-Paigorkia 1990). In fact, about half the te kohanga reo are situated on Māori land in tribal buildings. The other half are operating in government school buildings or community facilities.

From the start of the te kohanga reo, however, government involvement has been highly supportive. It was a government initiative through the Department of Māori Affairs that established the Te Kohanga Reo (TKR) in 1982. Additionally, the movement received reinforcement from the Department of Labor for whanau (community helpers or volunteers) training. In 1989, a reorganized Department of Māori Affairs became the Ministry of Māori Affairs with authority to make policy for the tribal programs. The new Ministry gave control to the tribal entities. In 1990, funding for all early childhood education programs, Cazden et al (1990) add, was equalized and based on the number of children enrolled in each session.

In 1986, claims were brought before the Department of Justice tribunals in so far as to establish more equality for Māori children in public schools. According to Waitangi Tribunal (1997), these tribunals talked about the success of the TKR, but they also acknowledged the government's failure to maintain the language and culture as stated in the Treaty of Waitangi. The Education Department is aware of the inequalities to solve the situation, but seems powerless to take further actions. Spolsky (1990) mentions that it was not until 1989 that Māori began to be used as the language of instruction in public schools, after much pressure by parents. The present status of the Māori program, however, is expressed in this quotation:

> The community and staff support of the program are the main reason the current status of the TKR programs is positive and growing. The kohanga depend on considerable volunteer power, with the benefit of cultural certification of the kaiakos (teachers and aides), coupled with formal approved training now in place and involving 600 trainees. TKR's located on tribal lands exist with donations from the community and parents who can ill afford the expense. (Cazden et al., 1990)

It is believed that the cultural and language enrichment are among the positive elements that have resulted from this program to the people. This idea will be further scrutinized in 4.3.1 (the assessment part of this immersion program). Besides, the program has been considered an interesting success story by the State Services Commission (Māori Initiatives 1997). In contrast to its initial status–being without outside reinforcement, it now has increased support from both public and private sectors.

4.2. The Mohawk Immersion Program

4.2.1. The Mohawk Language

Kanatiiosh (2001) portrays the language of the Haudenosaunee as pictorial. In other words, the terms used form an image in the mind of the listener and speaker. The language of the Haudenosaunee is important to maintain in its traditional form, because it is an important part of one's identity. In section 3.1.2, I have referred to the concept of identity, for it is a vital benefit of the revitalization efforts. Furthermore, each of the Six Nations, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora has a different language, although there are some similarities that allow the people to understand each other. Iroquoian is the term that

is applied by linguists to refer to the language of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora.

Map 4-1. Locations of the Mohawk[22]

Figure 4-2. Mohawk Communities [23]

An important thing to bear in mind when looking at the languages of the Haudenosaunee people is that because the language is pictorial, one can not translate it very appropriately into English. For instance, the Mohawk word for cow is *tio-hons-kwa-ron*

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[22] This map is available in Kanatiiosh (2001).

[23] This figure is also found in Kanatiiosh (2001).

which literally despicts the activity of an animal that is always chewing. In other words, *tio-hons-kwa-ron* does not mean cow, but it rather refers to the action of the cow for it is always chewing its cud. Map 4-1 and figure 4-2 above describe the current locations of the Mohawk speakers and their different communities. But throughout my study, I will only refer to the Mohawk community of Kahnawàke in Quebec.

4.2.2. Backgound Information

Since the last hundred years, the Mohawk community of Kahnawàke[24] has gradually witnessed a decline in the use of the traditional language. In the 19th century, Kahnawàke was a bilingual community of Native Mohawk speakers who used French to communicate with outsiders. Kennikaronia:a (1990) points out that during this century, job opportunities in the United States and English use in other Mohawk communities in Ontario and New York State have led to a slow encroachment of English into the community. Kahnawàke, which is not an isolated community, is only about twenty-minute drive from the centre of Montreal. The survival of the Mohawk people inside such a big metropolitan area stems from the big role the language has played and continues to play in the community. The Longhouse[25] continues to conduct council meetings, ceremonies, and social meetings in Mohawk. Nonetheless, by the 1950s, English had grown to play such a large role both in the community and in job opportunities, especially in construction. This fact pushed many Kahnawàke parents to only raise their children in the English language.

The early 1970s saw an attempt to expose elementary school children in the community to the Mohawk language through fifteen minutes a day of Mohawk teaching. It was soon clear that this was not sufficient to turn these English-speaking Mohawk children into Mohawk speakers. The fact that the Quebec government enacted Bill 101 in 1978–the French Language Charter limiting education and services in languages other than French–has been considered a catalyst for more important initiatives. Later, the Kanien'kéhàka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Center–the cultural institution of Kahnawàke–was set up to help ensure that coming Mohawk generations would continue to survive with their language and cultural practices. This Cultural Center changed the name of the community from '*Caughnawaga*' to its present Mohawk name. It also established a Library and Document Centre which involves

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[24] This account is taken from Hoover (1992).

[25] The Longhouse is the traditional seat of the Iroquois Confederacy.

more than 3,000 books and documents on Mohawk and Iroquois topics–a huge archive with more than 3,000 photos, and CKRK, the Mohawk radio station.

4.2.3. The Program

Among the most interesting initiatives that the Kanien'kéhàka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Center carried out in 1979, one can refer to the foundation of an English-language high school–the Mohawk Survival School–to ensure that education remained under control by the community. Some parents began to look for effective ways to enhance the use of Mohawk language use in the elementary schools. In response, the Kanien'kéhàka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Center launched a pilot project to use only Mohawk with English-speaking nursery school children. Accounting for this developed Mohawk immersion program, Hoover points out that this program

> was modelled on the French immersion programs underway elsewhere in Quebec. The Kahnawake Mohawk immersion program was the first Aboriginal language immersion program in Canada, and has since become a model for other Aboriginal communities. It has proved so successful that today more than half of the community´s students study entirely in Mohawk from nursery school to grade 3, then 60% in Mohawk and 40% in English from grades 4 to 6. The others attend the English-language elementary school in the community, where they receive a half-hour a day instruction in Mohwak. Children at both schools learn French as a third language. (1992)

Initially, the Mohawk immersion program was chosen by few parents. Then, concerns about the effects of Mohawk immersion on English language skills have been indeed supported by several studies[26] revealing that the English skills of Mohawk immersion students have not been harmed. Yet, according to Jacobs (1998), the Mohawk skills were not satisfactory and the children acquired some comprehension with little fluency. These findings parallel those of studies of English speaking children in French immersion programs. The Mohawk immersion program is now oversubscribed, and only the lack of trained teachers is an obstacle to children who wish to attend Mohawk immersion.

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[26] These studies include Genesee and Lambert (1986); and Holobow, Genesee and Lambert (1987).

According to recent research, Hoover (1992) points out that one effect of the Mohawk immersion program is the production of a lost generation of people now in their 20s, 30s and early 40s, who were not given the opportunity to learn to speak Mohawk. In Kahnawàke, however, it is very frequent to hear people speaking to their grandchildren in Mohawk, then switching to English to converse with their own children. In the summer of 1990, several events occurred and deeply affected many Kahnawàke residents' opinions about speaking the Mohawk language. The Mohawk community of Kanesatake, near Oka, Québec, was the locus of a heavy confrontation between members of the community and the Sureté du Québec.[27]

This striking event contributed to the emergence of civil disobedience by members of the Kahnawàke community that led the government to lay seige to both Kanesatake and Kahnawàke. In addition, the standoff, which lasted most of the summer, has solidified the sense of community in Kahnawàke and strengthened the feeling of solidarity with other Mohawk communities. It has also increased the amount of Mohawk spoken in Kahnawàke. This sense of community, together with the success of the Mohawk immersion program, has heightened the awareness of the importance of the Mohawk language in the community of Kahnawàke (Hoover 1992).

Jacobs sheds light on the distinction between the two different kinds of schools in the Mohawk community of Kahnawàke:

> There are two schools in our community. One is an English-speaking school, and one is the Mohawk immersion school. Parents choose which of the two schools to send their children to. Approximately 50 percent opt for the Mohawk immersion and 50 percent for the English school. We see a significant difference between children in the immersion program and those not enrolled in it with regard to the way they live their lives and relate to their families... In addition, there is a powerful difference between using Mohawk and using English in teaching our children. (1998)

4.3. Assessment

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[27] The Sureté du Québec is the Québec provincial police.

From what has been mentioned about the Māori and Mohawk immersion programs, one can say that there are some different factors leading to the restoration of their declining languages. These important factors will be listed and further explained in the coming paragraphs and this evaluation part will be closed with some concluding remarks.

4.3.1. Language and Culture

Both programs have shown that they display a very close partnership of language and culture. The Māori program has developed a curriculum that associates indigenous language with cultural instruction. Language is learned as a by-product of the cultural heritage. Stiles (1997) argues that through the use of literacy, this previously oral language has been transformed into language that can be used for academic instruction and teaching in schools. The program has become an arena where the children can get away from English and expose themselves to their tribal indigenous language. In addition, the program has paid careful attention to integrate student literature in cultural contexts to link language, culture, reading, and writing.

Jacobs (1998) claims that due to the Mohawk immersion program the children learn many of the positive aspects of Mohawk culture beyond the sounds and phrases of the Mohawk language. She further states that the emphasis is placed on traditional spirituality and respect for teachers and elders and that the children can identify with Mohawk role models. As the children have finished all that is required academically, they have developed as a result the feeling of pride of knowing their own indigenous language, the feeling of security of learning about their unique heritage, and the confidence of possessing a strong identity. Because of their persistent struggle, it has taken them twenty five years to arrive at where they are now.

4.3.2. Community Support and Involvement

Another common component in the success of the immersion programs is that of community support and involvement. The literature on both programs has expressed several times how necessary the support of tribal members is to program success. The cultural connection cannot indeed be made to the language without having those who possess a vast

cultural knowledge. Quite often, this is the role elders play who are fluent and still "inextricably associated, intimately tied" to the culture, as Fishman (1987: 12) points out. Indeed, community is also important to ensure the transmission of societal foundations and principles to future generations. Stephen Harris (1994) speaks about domains of culture, the Western domain and the Native domain, "*Hopefully students will see themselves as aboriginal people with bicultural skills–having a strengthening and primary Aboriginal identity, but competent and confident in two social worlds*" (Harris 1994: 143-144). This community involvement requires local control of the school system. Stiles affirms that the Māori immersion program is made possible by measures of local control–a control that stands at the core of curriculum formulations.

Nevertheless, recent research on the use of Mohawk language in Kahnawàke has shown that the immersion program has had a positive effect on the use of Mohawk in the community. Hoover (1992) explains that through the control of its school system, which enabled the community to introduce a Mohawk immersion program for elementary school children, this effort has proved highly successful by three measures: (1) a rise in the ability to speak Mohawk; (2) an increase in the mixing of Mohawk with English, and (3) an increase in the private speaking of Mohawk among the youngest people surveyed.

4.3.3. Parental Involvement

Parental involvement is another common element of both immersion programs. The most important component for these programs is the support of parents at home. The language learned at school must be reinforced at home in order for true bilingualism to take place in the respective indigenous languages. In this respect, Schmidt (1990: 56) puts it, "*Everyday use of language in a wide range of contexts provides language with its life blood through a self-generating process–the more people hear and use the language, the more fluent and confident in language use they become.*" It should be mentioned, however, that parental involvement in these programs has extended to language classes, in-service training, classroom participation, development of resources, and certification as teachers (Stiles 1997). These programs have attained their measure of success because parents have persisted and have not given up their goal. In New Zealand, Māori parents have presented a claim against the Department of Education to redress the government's lack of support (Waitangi Tribunal 1997).

In the case of the Mohawk immersion program, its success has largely depended on the support and participation of parents, grandparents, extended family, community leaders, and the whole community. Jacobs (1998) argues that parents who enroll their children in the school, Karonhianónhnha Ionterihwaienstáhkhwa, are required to sign an agreement to participate in the program and the activities of the school. They commit themselves to reinforce the language at home by speaking with the children, to call their children by their Kanien'kéha name, to enroll in Kanien'kéha evening language courses, and to make sure their children attend school every school day to learn the Kanien'kéha that is taught.

4.3.4. Concluding remarks

It can be said that because these programs have remained in existence, they have made a difference in the communities they serve. A definite '*revaluing of education at all levels*' has occurred in each community (Watahomigie 1995: 192). More children are succeeding further within the educational system as a result of their exposure to bilingual education. The New Zealand Department of Education is seeking to support the Te Kohanga movement by developing bilingual schools within the public school system (Māori Initiatives 1997). The benefit of these programs within the community also extends to the pride developed and identity regained by the children who attend the immersion classes. As demonstrated in the previous sections, loss of language carries with it a loss of culture and a loss of identity.

Jacobs (1998) believes that children enrolled in these programs have gained a better sense of who they are and have regained at least a sense of their heritage. Loss of identity for teenagers can lead to gang activity, alcohol and drug abuse, and a high dropout rate. The rejuvenation of an endangered language is another positive outcome for the community (Stiles 1997). The fact that several research articles on each program are available and more research is still going on encourages thoughts that these programs are a success. While the Te Kohanga Reo program has been replicated in the Punana Leo in Hawai'i, the Mohawk immersion program has become a model for other Aboriginal communities in North America.

Stiles (1997) argues that the study of these programs has shown that indigenous language groups cannot use programs imposed from the outside culture. Therefore, the indigenous people must rely on themselves to look for effective ways in order to meet their needs. At the same time, the majority society can help provide funding, linguistic expertise, and teacher training. In the opinion of Harris (1994: 151-152), the culture and the language

carve out a territory and "*within this territory the first culture far from remaining static–expands, innovates, evolves, and re-enacts the old, the inherited, the source of roots, claims, and identity.*"

Further, however, Stiles (1997) claims that indigenous programs have established a great deal of research data on the benefits of bilingual education. The majority society cannot impose programs on the indigenous culture. Yet, successful components from indigenous revitalizing programs can be transferred to the majority system for use in bilingual education of other minority groups. On the basis of the studied literature on the Māori and Mohawk immersion programs along with the interesting findings they have highlighted leading to the maintenance of their respective languages, I am going to write my thesis on the revitalizing efforts in the United States, focussing on Navajo and Yup'ik and transfer some of the results of the studied examples to these Native American languages.

4.4. Navajo Immersion

In this section, I will attempt to give a brief insight into the Window Rock Unified School District. Then, I will provide a historical insight into the development of Navajo education at Fort Defiance, pointing to the recent immersion program in the same area.

4.4.1. Introduction to the Window Rock Unified School District

The Window Rock Unified School District is one of the famous Navajo Nation school districts.[28] On the basis of its vision statements, a team of more than 400 employees is providing a quality education to students in the Window Rock area, including the Navajo communities of Fort Defiance, St. Michaels, Oak Springs, Sawmill and Red Lak**e.** The Window Rock Unified School District consists of seven schools within a 65 mile radius. Chapman (2005) states that the Window Rock/Fort Defiance area is in the southeast corner of the Navajo Reservation, extending into portions of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. Six miles north of Window Rock, at the junction of Navajo Routes 12 and 110, is Fort Defiance.

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[28] This piece of information is taken from Window Rock Unified School District (2005).

According to US Census Bureau (2003), the population of Window Rock/ Fort Defiance was estimated at 7243.

4.4.2. Development of Navajo Education in Fort Defiance

At the start of of the Navajo immersion program, Fort Defiance Elementary School was a large K-5 elementary school with around 900 pupils–one of two elementary schools (and one small satellite school) in the Window Rock Unified School District along the Arizona-New Mexico line in northeastern Arizona.[29] The school draws children from four Navajo chapter-communities: Fort Defiance itself, the Sawmill chapter, and parts of the Red Lake chapter and the St.Michaels chapter. Before the turn of the century, Fort Defiance was the area of a boarding school built on Navajo land by the Bureau of Indian affairs. When the Navajo area was made into five agencies, Fort Defiance became the seat of one of those five agencies.

An '*accomodation school*,' which was built at Fort Defiance in the late 1930s or early 1940s, was a public school for the non-Navajo students in the community supported by the state and the county. Indeed, these were just the beginnings of the public school system at Fort Defiance and the Reservation. Arviso and Holm explain that 1950s saw major shifts in national Indian policy:

> To oversimplify: the 'Indian problem' was seen to be that the Indian kept himself aloof from his white brothers. The 'solution' was to throw the Indian into the arms of those brothers. Thus, public shooling became the educational policy, 'relocation' the economic development policy, and 'termination' the long-range legal political policy. (2001)

The Navajo reservation was divided into school districts the same way Africa was divided in the 19th century. In Arizona, the division resulted not only in the extension of reservation peripheral city districts into parts of the reservation, but also in the formation of new on-reservation districts: Window Rock, Ganado, Keams Canyon, Tuba City, Kayenta,

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[29] Arviso and Holm (2001) is a comprehensive study of the Navajo Immersion Program at Fort Defiance, Arizona.

and Chinle.[30] The public school system mapped all the reservation as did the Bureau school system. The ruling principle was that if students could attend a public school as a day student, they should also attend a Bureau school. Therefore, the day-and-boarding Bureau school system became an all-boarding school system. By 1986, the school at Fort Defiance was a 900-plus-pupil elementary school (with a small school at Sawmill). The Fort Defiance school and the 600-plus-pupil school at Window Rock fed into the Tse Ho Tso Middle School and then into the Window Rock High School. Fort Defiance had by that period of time become an emerging reservation town.

4.4.3. Fort Defiance Immersion Program

Holm and Holm (1995: 148) claim that when the Fort Defiance immersion program began in 1986, less than a tenth of the school's five-year-old children were competent Navajo speakers. Only a third was viewed to have passive knowledge of Navajo (Arviso and Holm 2001: 204). At the same time, a relative proportion of the English monolinguals were considered limited in English proficiency (Holm and Holm 1995:148). This means that students possessed conversational English proficiency, but they were less proficient in other de-contextualised uses of the English language (Arviso and Holm 2001: 205). In this context, neither language maintenance nor bilingual programs were appropriate to make use of. According to the cofounders of the immersion program, "*something more like the Māori immersion programs might be the only type of program with some chance of success*" (Arviso and Holm 2001: 205).

Initially, the curriculum was kept simple: developmental Navajo, reading and writing first in Navajo, then English, and maths in both languages, with other subjects included as content for speaking or writing (Holm and Holm 1995: 149-150). The program placed an increasing emphasis not only on language and critical thinking, but also on process writing and co-operative learning. In the lower grades, all communication occurred in Navajo. By the second and third grades, however, the program included a half-day in Navajo and a half-day in English. Fourth graders received at least one hour each day of Navajo instruction. In addition, program leaders insisted that an adult caretaker or relative "*spend some time talking with the child in Navajo each evening after school*" (Arviso and Holm 2001: 210).

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[30] Some of these districts have since subdivided to make additional on-reservation districts.

Student Performance	Assessment	NI Students ME Students
Local evaluations of English	Same as ME students	Same as NI students
Local assessment of Navajo	Better than ME students and worse than their own kindergarten performance.	Worse than NI students
Local assessments of English Writing	Better than ME students	Worse than NI students
Standardised tests of Mathematics	Substantially better than ME	Worse than NI students
Standardised tests of English reading	Slightly behind but catching up with ME students	Slightly ahead of NI students

Table 4-1. Comparison of Fort Defiance Navajo Immersion (NI) and Monolingual English (ME)[31]

Table 4-1 attempts to summarize findings from the first seven years of the program. By the fourth grade, Navajo immersion students performed as well on local tests of English as non-immersion students at the school. Immersion students performed better on local assessments of English writing and were slightly ahead on standardised tests of mathematics (Holm and Holm 1995: 150). On standardised tests of English reading, students were slightly behind. In short, immersion students were acquiring Navajo as a heritage language '*without cost*,' as research on bilingual education indicates. In addition, these students were performing as well as or better than the non-immersion students by the fifth grade (Arviso and Holm 2001: 211-212).

Another finding from the Fort Defiance study that should be mentioned is that by the fourth grade, not only did Navajo immersion students perform comparable to their non-immersion peers on assessments of Navajo, but non-immersion students actually performed lower on these assessments than they had in kindergarten. At this level, Fishman (1991) argues that there is much debate about what schools can and cannot do to reverse language shift–something I have already pointed out in the introductory part. Slate (1993) claims that the Fort Defiance data demonstrate the considerable effect of the maintenance of the heritage language as well as the students' acquisition of English and mathematics. According to him, if Navajo–the most central indigenous language in the United States–is a working model for indigenous language revitalisation, the Fort Defiance program can therefore be taken as a framework for school-based possibilities in reversing language shift. The data from Fort

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[31] The source is from Arviso and Holm (2001: 211-212).

Defiance clearly show that school-based efforts must be joined by family-and community-based initiatives. These data also suggest the ways in which such efforts can be accompanied by schools and their personnel.

4.5. Yup'ik Immersion

In this section, however, I will try to give a brief overview of the Lower Kuskokwim School District. Then, I will provide a historical insight into the development of Yup'ik education in Bethel, followed by a careful investigation of the Yup'ik immersion program in Bethel, as I have done with the Navajo immersion.

4.5.1. Introduction to the Lower Kuskokwim School District

The Lower Kuskokwim School District is situated in the lower drainage of the Kuskokwim River in western Alaska. The district serves a region of the state that is about 44,000 square miles. The district headquarters are located in Bethel–one of the largest towns in Alaska. Bethel is about 400 air miles due west of Anchorage and is about 350 miles south of the Arctic Circle. The Lower Kuskokwim School District has 27 schools, five in Bethel and the rest distributed in 21 villages. Of the approximately 3600 students in the school district, 91 percent are Alaska Native. The population of Bethel is about 60% Alaska Native and the population of each of the 21 villages in the region is greater than 90% Alaska Native (Delena Norris-Tull 2001).

4.5.2. Development of Yup'ik Education in Bethel

In the beginning of the 1970's, Kilbuck Elementary School in Bethel had a '*bilingual kindergarten*' for parents who wished their children to be enrolled in Yup'ik programs.[32] These programs arose because of parent interest and the request about making the afternoon class taught in Yup'ik. In the mid-1980s, a growing concern among Bethel parents led to the

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[32] This detailed account is taken from Ayaprun Yupik Immersion School (2005).

establishment of a community committee appointed by the Bethel Advisory School Board, requesting that Bethel schools to improve their Yup'ik language programs and increase the number of hours per week for instruction. In 1990, a Bilingual Education Task Force was made to evaluate how the Yup'ik was being used and requested the ASB that a total immersion Yup'ik language program should be started in Bethel.

In 1992, a group of Kuskokwim Campus instructors and parents discussed issues pertaining to the way Eskimo languages are used in the schools of Alaska and other countries in the world. They talked about how local languages and cultures are being supported in some of these schools, while in others the effect of schooling was not having a deep impact on local language and culture. Following much discussion, this group of Bethel community members requested again the ASB to launch an immersion education program. After many parental requests, members of the Bethel ASB passed a resolution to establish a Yup'ik immersion program in Bethel in 1995. Between 1994 and 1995, parents and LKSD Bilingual Department were designing the first Yup'ik language immersion program. In the Spring of 1999, Yup'ik Immersion Steering Committee applied for Charter School Status from the Alaska Board of Education whose main focus was to provide for an autonomous Yup'ik program.

According to Ayaprun Yup'ik School, the recent developments of the immersion program are summarized as follows:

> In 2001-2002, the first full K-6 program had an enrolment of 198 students. The school has been noticed by other school districts state wide. Educators and distinguished visitors from various organizations and US Department of Education continue to visit our school. Our immersion school has worked collaboratively with four other districts (Yupiit, Lower Yukon, Nome, and Kotzebue). They visited Bethel to observe and make plans for their own indigenous language immersion programs. We've also get visits from the media from both Bethel and Anchorage. (2005)

4.5.3. The Yup'ik Two-Way Immersion Program

In May of 1998, Delena Norris-Tull participated in the Lower Kuskokwim School District (LKSD) Bilingual Curriculum Summer Institute. Many aspects of the LKSD bilingual programs have led to the establishment of a specific curriculum in Alaska. Now, the LKSD programs concentrate on how to make students achieve fluency in both English and the local

endangered language. The Yup'ik programs have started to concentrate on best ways to restore a declining indigenous language and culture (Norris-Tull 2001). The Yup'ik immersion program is one of the offered programs that goes beyond teaching the language and now includes many aspects of local traditional culture. The following quotation is a detailed description of it:

> The Yup'ik Immersion Program is based on the same elementary school curriculum offered in all of the district's schools, including language arts, math, science, social studies, physical education, art, and music. K-2 (phases 1-6) is mainly taught in Yup'ik with oral English Language Development delivered by minutes specified below. Yup'ik is taught 75% of the time in 3rd(phase 5-7), and 50% of the time in grades 4-6 (phases 6-22), so that as students learn the regular subjects they also learn Yup'ik. English Reading and Language Arts will be taught in 3rd grade (up to phase 7), and starting in grade 4 (phase 6 on up) English Language Arts, Reading, Health, and Math will be taught in English. All other subject matter will be taught in Yup'ik. (Ayaprun Elitnaurvik School 2005)

Level 1- 15-20 minutes

Level 2- 30 minutes

Level 3- 60 minutes

Level 4- 25% of the day in English

Level 5-7- 50% of the day in English

Table 4-2. Length of English Language Instruction

Delena Norris-Tull (2001) points out that the Yup'ik Two-Way Immersion program is available in communities, where almost half of the students speak Yup'ik and about half speak basically English. In these areas, Yup'ik is the first language of most adults, but the large majority of parents speak English to their children. In two villages using the two-way immersion programs, the language of instruction is about 90% in Yup'ik in kindergarten, with oral instruction in English intensely used through grade three. Each of the primary grades has English as a Second Language component. Furthermore, Norris-Tull explains the motive behind this immersion program:

> Various degrees of two-way immersion are currently used in three other village schools in the primary grades. This program is becoming prevalent in communities that are concerned that they have already lost much of the Native language. These communities have expressed a desire to provide training in the Native language to all their young people. And in an effort to raise truly bilingual children, some parents have begun to speak mainly in Yup'ik to their young children. (2001)

Generally speaking, it should be noted that the Yup'ik language programs place an increasing stress on community input and support, particularly that of the village elders–the acknowledged sources of the knowledge transmitted from one generation to the next. According to Alaska Natives, survival of their unique language means the survival of their unique cultural heritage. Moreover, the survival of their cultural traditions stands for their survival–something which is dependent on the knowledge and skills that Alaska Natives have gathered over thousands of years of living in the wilderness of Alaska (Norris-Tull 2001).

4.6. Evaluation

In this part, I will try to show the achievements and success of the Navajo and Yup'ik immersion programs and their endeavors to reverse language shift. These immersion language programs involve immersion of students in the endangered languages and the active involvement of parents. As I have shown with the success of Māori and Mohawk immersion programs due to the role played by the interrelatedness of language and culture, parental involvement, as well as community support in preserving their endangered languages. The following paragraphs are going to show the extent to which these three components are vital for the rejuvenation of the Native American Languages.

4.6.1. Language and Culture

Indeed, the indigenous cultural and linguistic dimensions have been maintained in the face of homogenising forces, as McCarty (2003) points out, because of heightened consciousness-raising in the immersion program and the highly bold efforts by the Navajo

parents at Fort Defiance, who have been determined to 'buck the tide' of linguistic and cultural repression, as this quotations shows:

> Although the immersion program never constituted more than one-sixth *of* the total enrolment... there were almost always more people at the potluck meetings of the immersion program than there were at the school wide parent-teacher meetings. We began to realize ... that we had reached a number *of* those parents who had been 'bucking the tide' in trying to give their children some appreciation *of* what it meant to be Navajo in the late 20th century. (Arviso and Holm 2001: 211)

Besides, there is a strong ground for belief that these attempts of community-based resistance are not individual cases. During the summer period of 1988, however, Native American educators from different regions of the United States met to draft a resolution that would become the 1990/1992 Native American Languages Act–the unique federal legislation that declares to promote indigenous languages. This legislative measure, though weakly funded, has led to some of the strong efforts in indigenous language revival as well as solidified a national network of indigenous language activists.[33] The fact that parents have been bucking the tide and developing an awareness of what they are doing has made them all determined to teach their children many lessons about the Navajo language. Arviso feels that parents saw in the program an opportunity to 'parallel' two cultures (Arviso and Holm 2001).

With regard to the Yup'ik program, however, since the beginning of the immersion program, many changes have taken place to better achieve the goal of "*promoting an understanding between two cultures*," Yup'ik and English.[34] The Yup'ik language and culture have been further strengthened and protected in the region as a result of this immersion program. The success of the immersion program has convinced more and more local schools to adopt and make use of this program of instruction (Agatha John-Shields 1998). Indeed, through the use of the language in the classroom, the Yup'ik culture is being revived through networking between the teachers, parents, students, and the community. As a result, there is a heightened sense of belonging and feeling of family through mutual understanding. Through this concept of networking, the Native students as well as the non-Native students draw a lot

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[33] For illustrations, one may refer to Hinton and Hale(2001) and McCarty et al.(1999)

[34] This goal is mentioned in the program mission statement in the Parent Handbook of the Ayaprun Yupik School.

of benefits from learning about the Yup'ik language and culture. The immersion program is also helping preserve the language and culture for the coming students. Samuel Shields (interview 1998) suggests that the community has to network to raise the children as if they were all their parents.

4.6.2. Parental Involvement

Arviso and Holm (2001) explains that the language was successful because of the dedicated staff that included teachers, the principal, and the program director. In addition, the commitment and willingness of the parents to let their children participate was highly important. Some of the parents were already monolingual English speakers themselves. Other parents expressed their concern about the decline of the Navajo language among young people and Navajo youths. At the end of Holm's tenure at the school, parents remained committed to the program by trying to persuade the superintendent to keep the language immersion program in place. The new administrators only wanted to concentrate on steering students toward English proficiency. Yet, parents were persuaded that Navajo language instruction was vital to the academic success of their children. Moreover, parents realized that it was possible for their children "*to be both Navajo and educated*" (Arviso and Holm 2001: 211). In 2000–2001, the program was in its 14th year of operation.[35]

As far as Yup'ik parents are concerned, their involvement in the immersion program has grown significantly. Parents who began formulating questions about the program now raise questions about how they can contribute to ameliorate the program. In addition, their presence is important in the Advisory School Board (ASB) and parent meetings. Bruce Perry, a parent, mentions (interview 1998) that he is proud to see his child learning about a unique indigenous culture and language–a language that their grandparents speak and a culture that they still experience. As the students are learning to speak and understand the Yup'ik language and culture, they are developing an awareness of the importance of speaking consistently in Yup'ik. In an interview, Agatha Panigkaq John-Shields expresses her view:

> What I am noticing, as a parent and a teacher, is the effort involved in teaching
> and reviving our language. I struggle to keep my language alive by not switching

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[35] AnCita Benally and Denis Viri (2005) is a paper that addresses the differences between the changes and adaptation of Navajo as a living language and those that are indicative of language loss.

back and forth between Yup'ik and English. If parents and children work together, we can all be successful in acquiring the Yup'ik language. (1988)

* An Update on the Navajo Immersion Program in December 1999

The district constructed a new primary school many years ago.[36] What was the K-5 Fort Defiance Elementary School is now divided between the grade K-2 Tse Ho Tso[37] Primary Learning Center and the grade 3-5 Tse Ho Tso Intermediate Learning Center. Taking into account the abilities of the Navajo Immersion teachers at Fort Defiance, the Diné teacher training education program–a funded teacher training program in the Navajo language at Diné College–has been placing some of its student teachers with effective teachers in the Navajo immersion program at Fort Defiance.

4.6.3. District Support

The program has had strong support from the district office–particularly from the Navajo superintendent. At Fort Defiance, superintendent Deborah Jackson-Dennison has pointed out in a message entitled 'Embracing Change for Student Learning' that the district

> is committed to ensuring that each student has the opportunity to receive an exemplary education…More importantly, it is my belief that our students deserve the best possible education that includes sound academic standards coupled with Diné language, history, culture, and values. Our education model, 'Embracing Change for Student Learning', with its six core principles guides our efforts. Under it, the Window Rock Unified School District is focused on exemplary curriculum, instruction and assessment, exemplary staff performance, exemplary student performance, strong parental and community relations. We are fortunate that the educators in our school district are deeply committed to the learning of each child. We believe that it is the responsibility of each student, parent, and educator to optimize student learning. Our school district is committed to working with our parent and community members to improve student achievement at all levels. (2005)

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[36] This material is taken from Holm's observations from recent years (Hinton and Hale 2001).

[37] The district spells this as three words. While naming schools in Navajo was a forward-looking practice when the district adopted the name, it is unfortunate that the district has not since corrected the spelling to Tse'hootsoo or Tse'hootsooi'.

Likewise, one should point to the fact that the philosophy and goals of the LKDS as mentioned in the *Parent Handbook* are that the board

> is committed to providing a program of instruction which offers each child an opportunity to develop to the maximum of his/her individual capabilities. The Board believes that all students can succeed regardless of their race, background or ability. School staff shall embody this philosophy in all district programs and activities…..The School Board is committed to excellence and self-evaluation and believes that the public schools exist to meet the needs of students, parents/guardians and other community members. It is, therefore, important that citizens may express their expectations of the schools. The Board encourages students, parents, teachers, and other community members to participate in educational planning for the district. (2003)

Indeed, according to LKSD Department of Academic Programs and Support (2005), many local communities in the area require their students to include Yup'ik Language and Culture in their curriculum. These programs not only address the State of Alaska Cultural Standards, but also address the state and district content standards in social studies, science, world languages and the arts. The programs of the district clearly reflect its support for the continuing development of academic English, while using and strengthening the Yup'ik language. In addition, the district's curriculum department makes bilingual programs that reflect a Yup'ik emphasis and trains school staff in effective bilingual methodologies and practices. Denise Jarrett (1998) mentions that the district has also been prolific in its development of Yup'ik language materials to support the curriculum. Furthermore, Gay (2003) has pointed out that Lower Kuskokwim School District Superintendent Bill Ferguson said: "*Most kids don't hear Yup'ik at home. Until that changes, Yup'ik culture will be a dying culture. It has to come from the home. School systems can help sustain it. But we can't keep it alive without their help.*"

4.6.4. Benefits

As the program at Fort Defiance shows, when Navajo-language competence is allowed to develop in children, their skills in English and in their academic pursuits in general have increased significantly (Arviso and Holm 2001). In addition, their social skills and their cultural knowledge have developed. It appears that educators and parents need to take that

'leap of faith' and believe that the Navajo language can work for their children. These children can learn just as effectively not only in Navajo, but also in both languages. The Navajo language, however, remains vital and necessary to the Navajo way of life. Where the Navajo language is included as a significant part of the daily curriculum, students have achieved higher levels of success and have scored higher on achievement tests. The fact that students know their language leads them to perform better in school. Children, who learn their language and social and political history, have a greater sense of self-esteem. They also tend to be more outgoing and display positive social skills. Yet, the Navajo language is said to be at crossroads. It has reached an extent where it can be revived to the level that it can be further strengthened in daily use, or it can continue to decline (Benally and Viri 2005).

Nevertheless, what has developed from the Yup'ik immersion program is that there has always been a greater sense of belonging and of family. Not only does the program help enhance the local language and culture, students and teachers remain basically the same from one year to the next, reinforcing the sense of being one family. Not only the people involved in the program benefit, but also the people who become knowledgeable about the program derive benefits from it. In addition, there is a better understanding about the culture, more self-esteem, and bonding between everyone. Teachers have also noticed several changes in the community. Indeed, there is more interest in learning about the culture, racism has lessened between the different cultures, and there is less frustration among the people who are involved in the school. As the program has gained acceptance by the community, the students have been invited to perform and to air language use on the radio. This activity exposes the community to the diverse Yup'ik language and culture the students are acquiring. Thus, Yup'ik has become more appreciated within the community (John-Shields 1998).

5. Broadcasting

Marshall McLuhan asserts in his book *The Global Village* (1989) that technology (including the telephone, radio and television) has become an extension not only of our senses, but also of our minds. We are now linked together across the globe and can communicate at a rapid pace with someone on the other side of the world. In *Understanding Media* (1964), his famous quote that "*the medium is the message*" is relevant to the discussion of media language broadcasting. He says: "*any medium has the power of imposing its own assumption on the unwary.*" Before demonstrating how broadcasting can have an impact on Native American languages, I will first attempt to study some literature about Irish and Warlpiri broadcasting methods.

In fact, I have selected these cases of European and Australian media, because they are interesting instances for the specific dimensions reflected in their cultures. Ireland is a mostly English-speaking country that is proud of its heritage language. In Ireland, as in many bilingual societies throughout the world, the heritage language (in my case Irish) remains a symbol of national identity (Hindley 1990). The Warlpiri people, however, are the most studied indigenous people in Central Australia. Researchers have been visiting the area and examining 'Warlpiri' culture since the 1930s. There has been a long history of studying this culture, writing up theses in anthropology and taking them away to be archived in western universities.[38]

5.1. Irish Radios

Radio has been used for nearly 30 years as a tool for the preservation and development of the Irish language. The two famous Irish-language stations in Ireland are Gaeltacht-based Raidió na Gaeltachta and Dublin-based Raidió na Life. Raidió na Gaeltachta attempts to conserve linguistic practice, but Raidió na Life promotes innovative use of language. The Irish case provides a model for endangered languages in the world and explains the positive role the media can have in minority-language development.[39]

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[38] See Warlpiri Media Association (2005).

[39] Cotter (2001) is a detailed scrutiny of media broadcasting in the Irish language.

5.1.1. The Irish Language in Ireland

The Irish language has been witnessing a decline since before the famine of the 1840s. Estimates report that there are between 10,000-25,000 fluent speakers in Irish today. Those who live in the rural Gaeltachts are bilingual speakers. The Gaeltachts, which are the strongholds of the language, have been the focus of preservationists. The Modern Preservation Movement of the last century, initiated in 1894 by the Conradh na Gaeilge or Gaelic league, has concerned itself with the Irish-speaking rural areas, which are also the recipients of government funding for language development, including *Deontas* (grant) monies.

During the 18th century and 19th centuries, however, a period of bilingualism resulted in a decrease in the use of the Irish language. In this respect, Ihde (1994: 33) argues that negative attitudes toward Irish were prevailing among its uneducated Native speakers as well as among both well-to-do Irish and English speakers. The language was viewed as defective with people forgetting (Judgements Dorian 1981 reports for Scots Gaelic during the same period). Nonetheless, revival efforts that started a century ago have maintained this decline in many ways (cf. Kiberd 1996), but other problems that affect preservation efforts have also been found.
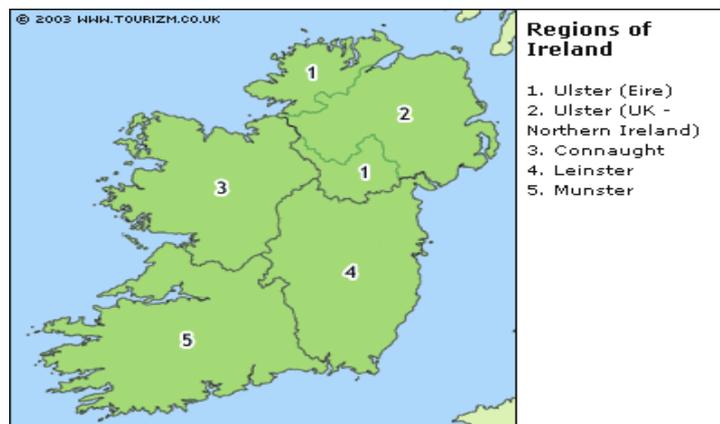
Map 5-1. Regions of Ireland[40]

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[40] This is taken from Tourizm Maps(2003), which represents the island of Ireland that is divided into four historic regions: Ulster, Connaught, Leinster and Munster. Each region contains multiple counties. The counties of Donegal, Monaghan and Cavan in Ulster belong to the Republic of Ireland. The remainder of Ulster belongs to the UK and is known as Northern Ireland.

None of the three main dialect regions–Ulster in the North, Connacht in the West, and Munster in the South represented on map 5-1–is considered the standard. For that reason, a compromise standard that includes elements from all the dialects, known as *An Caighdeán*, was instituted for education and government functions in the 1950s. Focussing on the extent to which the language has come to be considered in the late 20th century, Pádraig Ó Duibhir, the manager of broadcasting services for Raidió na Gaeltachta says that Irish was a rural language in the 1950s. The Irish language expanded to the cities in the 1960s and 1970s with internal migration, leading to the development of the language with regard to commerce, trade, and technology (Ó Duibhir, 1994 interview). The establishment of the Irish Department at University College Galway, the formation of Údarás na Gaeltachta (the government's Gaeltacht Authority), and the growing participation of Irish bilingual speakers in social and economic development has given the language a special position– something the language did not have three or four decades ago, as Ó Duibhir points out.

5.1.2. Irish Language Broadcast Media

Broadcast media in Ireland are considered to be limited in comparison to the English-language programs which include the BBC and other few cable stations. According to typical schedules published RTÉ guide, the Irish national stations offer few minutes of *nuacht*-news in Irish daily on their networks and a series of programs on current events weekly in addition to some special programs.[41] The advent of Teilifís na Gaeilge (now known as TG4) in 1996 has somehow changed the nature of the Irish-language offerings. Recently, Raidió na Life has been added to the Irish media landscape–a Dublin-based community radio station that has been on the air since fall 1993. Before RnaL was set up, the only broadcast medium available to Irish speakers was Raidió na Gaeltachta. The policies of both radio stations with regard to the Irish language are quite different. On the one hand, there is dialect integrity in the case of RnaG. On the other hand, there is linguistic innovation in the case of RnaL.

5.1.2.1. Raidió na Gaeltachta

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[41] See Mac Póilin and Andrews's BBC and the Irish Language (1993) for a discussion on the BBC limited committment to the Irish language in Northern Ireland.

Raidió na Gaeltachta began in the early 1970s, after significant protests by language activists in the Western Connemara Gaeltacht. These activists started an authorized 'pirate' Irish language station in Connemara–the most populous area of the Gaeltachts. The government responded by establishing an Irish radio station in 1972 known as the Raidió na Gaeltachta. Kiberd describes the events leading to the establishment of RnaG:

> In 1969, inspired by the Civil rights movement for black emancipation in the United States, a group of activists in the Connemara Gaeltacht launched their own campaign to revitalize the Irish-speaking areas....the demand was for industrial development in the region, for proper schools and villages, for an autonomous local authority, and for a broadcasting service in the native language... the Cearta Sibhialta (Civil Rights) movement was in most respects remarkably successful... (1996: 567-68)

According to Pádraig Ó Duibhir, manager of broadcasting services at Raidió na Gaeltachta, RnaG was a highly striking service in the early seventies, as it is the only station in the world to broadcast to ethnic minorities. Throughout Europe, there are now some 30-40 radio stations broadcasting in minority languages and contributing to the preservation of the so-called '*lesser-used*' languages (cf. Helen Ó Murchú, 1999 personal communication).

Figure 5-1. RnaG Promotional Sticker[42]

From the start, RnaG was meant to be an Irish-language media service for people in the Gaeltachts. According to Pádraig Ó Duibhir (1994 interview), the frequently used expression at RnaG offices to describe the fact whereby the media of the separate Gaeltachts is put side by side, is known as '*scheduled regionalism*.' The station, which broadcasts for about 12 hours daily, involves regular news broadcasts from the three dialect areas, national and international news, sports, traditional music, varied interviews, current affairs

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[42] This sticker is available at RTÉ (2004).

programming and community notices. The station has become a model for quality radio broadcast practice in the Irish language, because of its mix of news and current affairs programming.

According to surveys, listenership is highest among middle-aged and older speakers in areas far from cities. In addition, the World Wide Web is expanding the use of the language through the new web sites in Irish. In fact, the station's objective is to provide radio service and to "support revival of the language." The two dimensions of the language reflected by the station are conservation through its library of tape recordings of interviews; and development of the language through the expansion of the vocabulary to accomodate contemporary topics and concerns. What is interesting to mention is that speakers report a higher incidence of mutual intelligibility across dialects–a result of RnaG's 30-year tenure on the airwaves (Ó Duibhir, personal communication).

Because of the intense solidarity of speakers with the local dialects, it is likely that the radio's impact has made speakers conscious of the similarities between different dialects. Early on, RnaG discovered that speakers would tune in for broadcasts in another dialect aired (cf. Ó Duibhir 1994)–something that is observed in Gaeltacht households. For this reason, the station continues to employ the dialect broadcasts. Apart from the fact that speakers have strong affiliations with their dialects, it is essential to keep in mind that the *Gaeilge na daoine*[43] is considered one language–a part of the linguistic heritage of the country. This standpoint as well as the position of Scottish Gaelic in the Irish mind are vividly illustrated in the general introduction to Ó Siadhail's *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation:*

> It is hoped that by giving an overall picture of the system, this wide description
> will illustrate the variation between the dialects against the unified background
> of the language. In the end, despite all the variation, and given the fact that
> Scottish Gaelic must be regarded on sociological grounds as a separate language,
> one is inevitably left with the sense that Irish is a single language. (1989:11)

A linguistic survey[44] of the 6000 inhabitants in the south-western Dingle penunsula shows that 79% of the respondents said they listened to Raidió na Gaeltachta on a daily basis (compared with 33% in the only town in the region and 59% in the eastern end of the peninsula). RnaG itself reports high listenership-39%-within the Gaeltachts. Its surveys

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[43] It is the Irish of the people-the local dialects.
[44] This survey is cited in Ó Riagáin (1992).

indicate that "*listenership is strongest in the over 35 age groups, in households, where Irish is the main home language, in ... [the west,] and among the farming community*" (Raidió na Gaeltachta Audience Research Department 1989, 2). One linguistic implication of these listener characteristics has been to pave the way for the development of Raidió na Life.

5.1.2.2. Raidió na Life: Gaeltacht of the Air

Figure 5-2 . RnaL Promotional Sticker[45]

Raidió na Life station supplements RnaG and orients its programming to young Irish speakers who do not have the benefit of a Gaeltacht to promote the linguistic solidarity RnaG aims at. RnaL broadcasts out of Dublin from late afternoon to late evening daily. Unlike RnaG, RnaL's community license signal reaches only 18 miles into the Dublin area. Its programming includes news, traffic and weather during commuting hours, current affairs, business and tax advice, music and arts programs, community notices, and a constantly new entertainment listing of the Dublin events. Since its start in September 1993, RnaL has been much discussed and listened to. A listenership survey conducted in 1994 reported 14,000 listeners in the 15-to-early-30s age group in the Dublin area. This figure includes the Gaeltacht of Ó Ráth Cairn north of Dublin and areas to the west, where there are no mountains to interrupt the signal (Seosamh Ó Murchú, personal communication, 1995).

In fact, the station is viewed as an opportunity for language practice and its utilization on the air of speakers with varying kinds of fluency has two interesting results. First, the station members do not consider assumptions about preservation practice in Ireland. And second, they can be seen as introducing new strategies to the body of language development. Carefully considered by its original organizers, the station aim at providing a language service to Irish speakers living in Dublin and enhancing the status of the language via the media by showing its audience that the language can also be adjusted to modern life.

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[45] Rnal sticker is available at Diarmaid Mac Mathúna (2002).

Articulating that two languages are spoken on RnaL–Irish and music–the station manages to change existing linguistic power relations. This fact makes a strong statement by giving music the status of a second language without denying the role of English in the bilingual Irish culture.[46] While developing the station's language goals, its organizers have emphasized language production over laying down rules with regard to speaking the language. Since Gaeltacht speakers already have identification with their own speech community, RnaL could be seen as constructing a speech community over the airwaves in Dublin by associating the urban arena with its goals of language planning.

What lies at the heart of the philosophy of RnaL and its language-use practices is a thorough focus on the *growth* of the language, rather than the traditional emphasis on *preservation* that retains the characteristic features of a language. Several of the people associated with RnaL emphasized that their own stance on language work is related to language growth and not to language preservation. This means that mistakes and lack of fluency–which are of considerable interest to linguists considering language loss process–are often tolerated in an effort to produce language outside the confines of the classroom and in a workplace environment. To further clarify the station position as a language in a workplace domain, RnaL puts journalism and its principles in the foreground. What results is that language preservation issues–a preferred topic among activist users of the language–are discussed only if they are sufficiently interesting to be reported as news, according to formal RnaL station manager Rónan Ó Dubhtaigh (1995).

5.2. Warlpiri Media

5.2.1. The Warlpiri Language

Warlpiri is the main language group in the Ngarrkic family. Laughren et al, (1996) point out that the Warlpiri language covers an extensive area to the north-west of Alice Springs, as shown in map 5-2.[47] The main Warlpiri speaking communities are to be found in Yuendumu (Yurntumu), Lajamanu, Nyirrpi and Willowra (Wirliyajarrayi), with speakers also in Tennant Creek, Katherine, Alekarenge, Ti Tree and Alice Springs.

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[46] This statement implies claims about the echoes of the traditional past making an impact on present genre forms. This conceptualisation is elucidated in an 8 January essay in the New York Times Book Review, "Why I choose to Write in Irish, the Corpse that Sits Up and Talks Back" by the poet Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill.

[47] This map of Australia is taken from Evans (1995).
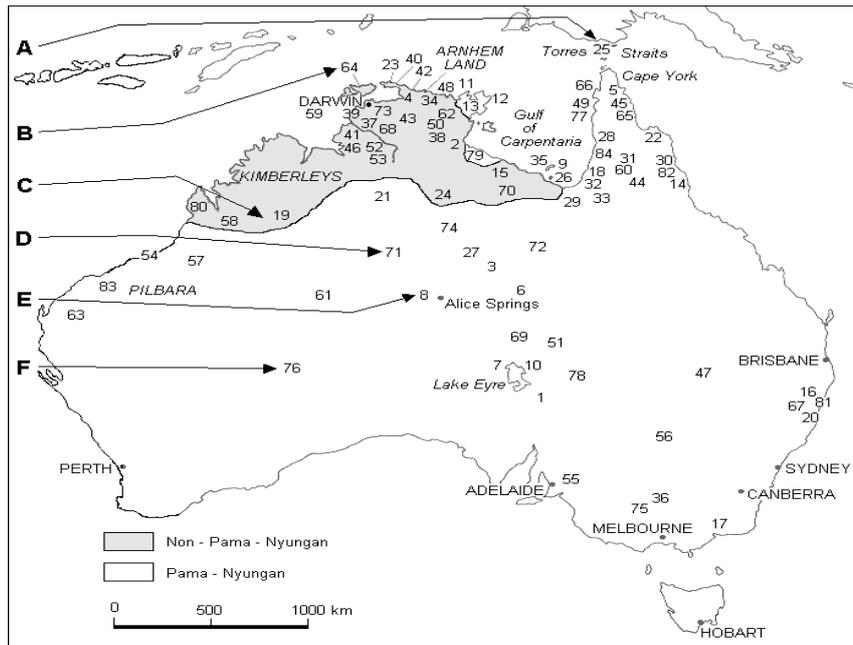
Map 5-2. Aboriginal Languages of Australian

A [25] Kala lagaw Ya (3000-4000 speakers)

B [64] Tiwi (1500)

C [19] Walmajarri (1000)

D [71] Warlpiri (3000)

E [8] Arrernte (1500)

F [76] Pitjantjara and Ngaanyatjarra; both
dialects of Western Desert (3500)

Figure 5-3. Languages with the largest numbers of speakers

As indicated in figure 5-3 above,[48] there are around 3000 speakers of Warlpiri. For these speakers, Warlpiri is their first language. Yet, there are many speakers of Warlpiri as a second or third language as well. Within the Warlpiri language group, there are a number of mutually intelligible dialects with differences evident in pronunciation and vocabulary.

5.2.2. Traditional Aboriginal Communication

A scrutiny of some traditional communication patterns would be useful to understand why Aboriginal broadcasting has been valued by the Warlpiri. In fact, communication has always been a vital part of traditional Aboriginal culture. While Aboriginal culture was pre-literate, it had its own cognitive style that relied heavily on symbols. However, the Warlpiri used a complex system of symbols in sand writing and body painting considered by Munn (1973) to be a precursor of writing. With no written records, all the knowledge that the Warlpiri needed for usual activities, food sources, kinship relations and technology had to be remembered and then orally passed onto the next generation. At the time of European invasion, there were about 200 language groups throughout Australia that were not isolated from each other as young men would travel on ceremonial visits, taking message sticks, symbolically denoting the reason for their visit (Reynolds 1981: 10-11). There is evidence of the exchange of material goods, such as stone axes across Australia (Flood 1983: 237) as well as the exchange of intellectual property, such as ceremonies following traditional routes.

It should be noted, however, that European colonisation had a major effect on Warlpiri communication. After the Coniston massacre by Europeans and police in 1928 as revenge for the murder of a dingo trapper, Warlpiri elders no longer had any contact with Europeans and retreated to traditional lands. Warlpiri communications and their traditional routes were profoundly affected by the government forced settlement at Yuendemu that occurred in 1946 (Meggitt 1962: 29). The traditional patterns of moving off in bands to hunt and gather to return to a large group for ceremonies several times a year were interrupted. Fences also prevented movement and communication between groups (Reynolds 1981: 129-30), although there still appeared to be some free movement between the Yuendemu settlement and Warlpiri camps at the Mt Doreen, Mt Allan and Coniston cattle stations (Munn 1973: 7).

5.2.3. Impact of Television on Indigenous Culture[49]

Since the early 1980s, there has been much controversy around the world about the central impact of television (and other media technologies) on indigenous culture. In his article 'Ideas from the Bush,' Dr Michael Meadows refers to satellite television in 1985 as 'cultural nerve gas.' In 1992, he investigated community attitudes about television on two Torres Strait islands and found that on Murray Island people considered it a threat to language

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[49] See E-brief Indigenous Broadcasting issued on 27 November 2003 which provides an overview of the issues and developments in indigenous broadcasting in Australia and overseas.

and culture while on Boigu,[50] it was viewed as a way to learn more about the world (Craik, James-Bailey and Moran, 1995). In 2000, Steven Mizrach mentioned in '*Natives on the Electronic Frontier*' that while some see television as a homogenising force, others see indigenous groups as being able to use television for cultural and linguistic revitalisation. Dr Michael Meadows has mentioned that the degree to which indigenous people have been able to use modern media technologies for their cultural purposes is indeed a complex matter, as this quotation shows:

> The potential of the Indigenous media sector today can be accurately described as unrecognised and unrealised, largely as a result of *ad hoc* policy making. Unlike both New Zealand and Canada, the existence and importance of Indigenous cultures and languages remains unacknowledged in the Australian *Broadcasting Services Act 1992*. While it is clear that the Federal Government will have a continuing role in supporting Indigenous media infrastructure and program production and distribution, few government agencies are aware of the existence of the sector, let alone its potential for getting their messages across to Indigenous audiences. The Indigenous media sector is probably the only medium by which information can be effectively transmitted across these cultural boundaries. As with existing national and multicultural broadcasting services, government involvement should be interpreted as an investment in the cultural future of Australia, which must include the cultural and linguistic future of Indigenous Australians. (2000)

5.2.4. The Warlpiri Television[51]

Aboriginal broadcasting did not suddenly take place at Yuendemu in the early 1980s, but it was rather a continuation of the Warlpiri interest in modern media. Indeed, the Warlpiri had been the subjects of films and photographs after visits by anthropologists such as Baldwin Spencer in the early 1900s. By the 1970s, anthropologists had felt uncomfortable to record the 'dying days' of traditional cultures. During the same period, a new kind of ethnographic film makers wished to work with indigenous people, according to Ginsburg (1993: 357). Describing the Aboriginal television, Eric Michaels (1986: 103-05) argues that the local communities had made their own television and radio service by making use of video and

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[50] During that time, Murray Island and Boigu had respectively around 1000 and 3000 people.

[51] The local indigenous television channel (PAW) at Yuendumu. PAW stands for Pintubi, Anmatjerre, Warlpiri.

audio equipment to produce programs that were then distributed throughout the local communities.

The first videos from Yuendumu covered a wide range of topics such as sporting events which were always common. Some of the early Warlpiri Media Association videos were produced as a visual form of newsletter, with school children showing their paintings and community service announcements read out in local languages (Warlpiri Media Association 1985b). To show the early Warlpiri interest in the media, one can refer to this description by the Warlpiri Media Association:

> The early videos were also intended to set the historic record straight. One of the first videos produced by Francis Jupurrula Kelly describes the Coniston Massacre in the 1920s of Warlpiri by the police after the murder of local dingo trapper. A male descendent of the Warlpiri victims with his young sons describe the massacre from the Warlpiri viewpoint in language walking through the landscape and pointing out what had happened. The style is reminiscent of the traditional sand stories of the Warlpiri as the commentator appears out of the landscape and eventually disappears back into it. (1985c)

It should be noted, however, that Warlpiri Media Association has a history of local television made without outside help. Local indigenous video workers gather news stories and local events for broadcast. The films produced by BRACS workers in the Warlpiri Media Network are viewed not only on PAW TV, but also throughout Australia on ICTV.[52] In fact, PAW TV is a local indigenous TV channel that operates the whole day in Yuendumu and broadcasts programs throughout the PAW Network of communities, ICTV programming and photography slideshows with locally made music. The following paragraph is an illustration of some of the programs which are produced by the Warlpiri Media Association.

> Warlpiri Media number of educational series. The ATOM award winning Manyu Wana is a nine part children's series broadcast on SBS television. Manyu Wana teaches children language, numbers and stories in their first language - Warlpiri. Following the success of Manyu Wana, WMA produced a similar 3-part series, 'Arrkantele', in the Kaytetye language with the assistance of the Institute of Aboriginal Development (IAD) and Tangentyere Council. The latest educational series for children produced by Warlpiri Media has been 'Mangarri Panu', an 8 part

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[52] Indigenous Community Television: Imparja's second channel.

series promoting healthy eating. This was made with the assistance of the Education Department. In addition to local broadcasting, WMA has jointly produced a large variety of programming for national broadcast including Night Patrol, Marluku Wirlinyi, Jardiwarnpa and the ground breaking Bush Mechanics.[53] (Warlpiri Media Association 2005)

5.2.5. Videoconferencing

As a technological device and a promising medium for language revitalization appropriated by the Warlpiri community, videoconferencing assumes a major function in the process of reversing language decline, as I will attempt to show in these paragraphs. Indeed, for many isolated Aborigine communities in the Australian remote areas, this form of technology has become the central tool for personal and business communications.[54] Unlike the telephone or radio, this tool conveys the system of hand gestures that Aborigines make use of while speaking. The interesting feature that makes this tool specific and different from other media such as broadcast television is its interactive dimension. Videoconferencing plays thus an important role in facilitating the consultations employed by Aborigine leaders in reaching ceremonial and community decisions.

Since 1993, Warlpiri Aborigines in the Tanami region of Australia's Northern Territory have launched a sophisticated rural videoconferencing network. The Tanami Network, as it is often referred to, connects four Warlpiri areas with each other and with videoconferencing sites in the cities of Sydney, Darwin, and Alice Springs. Links to these urban places provide the Warlpiri, Hodges suggests, with audio and video access to government service providers, other Australian Aborigines, and indigenous groups on other continents. In the early years of the Tanami system functioning, community members logged some 1,200 hours in personal or ceremonial videoconferences and made contacts with different government agencies, providing services such as adult and secondary education, teacher training, remote health care, and social security and legal assistance.

Moreover, each of the network's seven sites has a videoconferencing system designed by PictureTel of Danvers in the state of Massachusetts. PictureTel spokesperson Kevin Flanagan argues that the PictureTel system can connect up to 16 participants in a single

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[53] This off-beat series follows the exploits of the Bush Mechanics-a group of engaging Aboriginal characters, as they travel through central Australia, as well as a blend of documentary and drama with anecdotes of life in the bush.

[54] Mark Hodges (1996) is a clear insight into videoconferencing in Australia.

videoconference through a series of electronic bridges. Peter Toyne–an adviser to the network and a rural telecommunications specialist–adds that "*The Tanami Network project has shown that videoconferencing greatly improves the frequency and quality of family and community contacts for aboriginal people*." Most importantly, frequent communication among large family and friends is in Australian Aborigine communities, where social unity has been under threat by factors relating to not only geographic isolation, but also the impact of Australian dominant culture.

It is emphasized that the great majority of videoconferences carried out over the network have been personal or ceremonial in nature. Families from different communities carry out regular reunions by gathering in front of the television monitor at their videoconferencing sites. Warlpiri artists and craftsmen are also marketing their arts and crafts through the network. For example, artists in the community of Yuendumu recently used videoconferencing to discuss their work with an audience in London's Festival Hall. Commenting on the use of the medium of videoconferencing and its foci, Hodges says that

> the most intriguing use of the system is a continuing series of videoconferences among the Warlpiri aborigines and indigenous groups on other continents, including the Scandinavian Saami, Alaskan Inupiat, Canadian Inuit, and the Little Red Cree nation in Alberta, Canada. These videoconferences have so far focused primarily on land rights and language preservation--two issues of deep concern among indigenous peoples worldwide. But one recent session allowed an exchange of native dances with members of the Little Red Cree nation. Spurred on by the success of this dance exchange, the Warlpiri hope to collaborate this year with other groups in a global videoconference festival of traditional and contemporary music. (1996)

5.2.6. Warlpiri Radio

The launch of the radio network in October 2001 was an historic event for Aboriginal people living in the north-west region of Central Australia. From the point of view of Hinkson (2004), PAW is the first radio network linking so many Aboriginal towns–eleven counted at last statistics,[55] two spread across an area reported to be 480,000 sq kms–to operate

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[55] These are Yuendumu, Ali Curang, Nturiya, Pmara Jutunta, Laramba, Willowra, Yuelamu, (Mt Allan), Nyirripi, Papunya, Mt Liebig, and Kintore.

independently of a major regional centre and regional broadcasting association. PAW Radio can be viewed as the latest in a long line of initiatives by people associated with the Warlpiri Media Association of Yuendumu, marking the organisation's growth from local to regional broadcasting body. The Pintubi, Anmatjerre, Warlpiri (PAW) Radio Network–based at Warlpiri Media in Yuendumu–has been a huge success in the area and provides a way of connecting people, families and communities across large distances. The radio network continues to expand by offering the local community culturally appropriate radio broadcast to listen to. It is not only a radio network to feel a part of, but also a means for communicating with and keeping in touch with friends and family (NIRS 2005).

In the course of PAW's establishment, however, WMA has become a thriving centre of social activity, particularly for young people. Since the start of its programs, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of hours of local radio broadcasting in the region. In the case of Yuendumu, radio broadcasting was infrequent throughout much of the 1990s. Since the launch of PAW, radio workers from at least two locations have regularly broadcast six to eight hours a day, five days a week.[56] Prior to PAW being established, radio workers at Yuendumu had a maximum potential audience of 1,000. The establishment of the network has increased this potential listening base by at least six, spreading in the growing social world where the Warlpiri people would join other people who listen to the network and whom they consider a 'family.' Networked radio is being utilised by young Warlpiri people to help sustain and reinforce social relationships across distance (Hinkson 2004).

5.3. Assessment

In this section, I will try to sum up some of the achievements of the different forms of media appropriations by the Irish and Warlpiri communities.

5.3.1. Irish Case

Cotter (2001) mentions that the goals of RnaG are to link together the Gaeltacht community through language, to enhance the contemporary status of Irish, and to alleviate a historically linguistic insecurity. Yet, the objectives of RnaL are to achieve an internal

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[56] At time of writing Yuendumu, Kintore and Nyirripi are the most regular sites from which broadcasts occur.

linguistic change, to give people an outlet for the language they learned in school, and to provide a service to urban Irish speakers. And with RnaG, RnaL shows people that the language can be matched to modern life and that one can talk about several different issues through the linguistic medium of Irish.

5.3.1.1. Unity of Speech Community

RnaG appears to have been successful in fulfilling its intentions to establish inter-Gaeltacht connections. With its broadcasts from the three regions, it unites the dialect areas not only through the common language, but also through the temporal and discourse structures of the medium. Unity among the Gaeltachts is also achieved through the content of the local broadcasts by reinforcing knowledge of community patterns and practices. Raidio' na Gaeltachta mirrors existing language policies in industry and education. Thus, it serves a vital function in the greater bilingual context. News broadcasts are modelled on the BBC which are characterized by Anglo-American broadcast discourse structure and intonation patterns.

For two decades, RnaG has been paving the way for RnaL to play a major role with regard to repairing linguistic insecurity in the Irish community. In the world of the RnaL studio, the community of speakers has managed to deal with linguistic insecurity and make the use of Irish an achievement with high status. In RnaL's approach, the needs of both audience and radio workers are considered an arena that does respond to the development of an Irish-speaking speech community. The disjunction of place between community and audience actually works in favor of RnaL station. For speakers lacking access to the traditional rural strongholds of the language, RnaL makes its unique place.

5.3.1.2. Relevance

One of the factors that has represented an obstacle to the re-emergence of Irish is that it has been "*deprived of contemporary status,*" according to the Gaeltacht authority's Padraig O'haolain (personal communication). In fact, this standpoint is shared by both RnaG and RnaL staff. The fact that the language can maintain its own position in the contemporary marketplace of ideas and report on issues, such as Ireland's economic connections to the European Community, is seen as a sign of its success in contemporary society. Promoting the

Irish language's contemporary status is at the heart of both stations' clear linguistic targets, but their deployed strategies are quite different. RnaL goes a step further by including more aspects of the urban life.

5.3.1.3. Conclusion

Despite the differences existing between the two radio stations in terms of approach to language maintenance, their roles are to be regarded as complimentary. RnaG adopts the forms of English language discourse to empower media in the Irish language. Yet, the radio has a policy of preserving Irish as it is spoken in the Gaeltachts–the traditional repositories of the language. RnaL innovates with a form that challenges the assumptions of the language's position in Irish life as well as the structural form of the language itself to respond to the needs of urban speakers by constructing a Gaeltacht of the air. Both radios facilitate competence in Irish among interlocutors in their respective speech communities and reflect the linguistic profiles of their target audiences (Cotter 2001).

5.3.2. Australian Case

5.3.2.1. Role of Media Technology

What is implicit in media technologies is the fact that they are empowering strategies enabling community broadcasters to appropriate media for their own culturally specific use (Meadows 1995). In Australia, Aborigines have adopted interactive and local television as a cultural resource to help in strengthening their language and culture. The Warlpiri have also adopted the new forms of technology, as they are keen to maintain a powerful form of communication to promote and preserve their culture. With regard to radio, this medium is interesting in so far as it maintains contact between communities and those who are away. In addition, radio is a technologically simpler medium than video production for people to learn skills and it can also provide more regular employment than video making which tends to be more sporadic (Ashby 1999). While videos are not made as much as in the early days, they are still produced and can deliver potential messages such as the health education videos on scabies. Since the early days of broadcasting, the Warlpiri and the Pitjantjatjara have made little differentiation between the types of media, changing from one to the other as far the need is concerned. Moreover, radio is a reliable source of information and use of language,

whereas video production is more important to record ceremonies or sporting events. Therefore, one can say that radio remains popular on a day-to-day basis, because it preserves language. At Yuendemu, most houses as well as nearly all cars are equipped with a radio (Kantor 1999).

5.3.2.2. Culture Preservation

Older people have made use of new technology, because it preserves culture by telling traditional stories and using language. Old recordings/films have been used to revive ceremonies, for instance, Warlpiri fire ceremony (Michaels 1987b: 57). Elders are actively asking for cultural material to be recorded (Deger 1999). Buchtmann (1999) tells the story at Umuwa where two women elders brought in a group of children to the video editing suite. These children excitedly watched a recently produced video on local ceremonies which featured the children learning the dances and songs. BRACS has also played a vital role to preserve Warlpiri culture, especially language. It should be admitted that the early concern over satellite broadcasting implied that Aboriginal culture was not strong enough to confront the dominant European culture (O'Gallagher 1999). This view relates to the colonial paternalistic belief, implying that Aborigines were easily influenced and unable to make their own decisions. This statement has some parallels with the debate over who should control children's viewing. Yet, Warlpiri culture has proved itself strong not only to resist the onslaught of European culture, but also to adapt itself to use the new media to strengthen its own culture.

5.3.2.3. Conclusion

Up to this level, it can be clearly seen that the Warlpiri actively embraced the new communication technology for a number of reasons. Warlpiri media has done much to preserve culture, improve information flow, support health education campaigns, enhance employment opportunities and provide entertainment. It is also flexible enough to fit in with Warlpiri traditions. Additionally, there has also been a promising sign in the sense that it has continued to receive funding from a variety of sources over the years. While the Warlpiri no longer live their traditional lifestyle, they have maintained social structure, language and ceremony. Chiefly, their traditional culture and social patterns have been enhanced by the new technology which has helped restore traditional cultural practices and linguistic patterns.

Videoconferencing and radio have both contributed to the preservation and continuation of the use of language. Video production, however, has preserved many ceremonies that may have been under threat and partially forgotten. Furthermore, the use of modern media could have undermined the social cohesion of the Warlpiri society. Yet there is some strong evidence that elders ultimately still have control on the broadcasting programs through the Warlpiri Media Association, even though younger adults do the broadcasting operations (Buchtmann 1999).

The accomplishments of the different tools of media have led to the revitalization of Warlpiri and Irish languages. What speaks for this is the unification of speech community in the Irish case and the preservation of the cultural way of life in the Warlpiri case. These are clear indicators of the efficiency of the revitalizing strategies.

5.4. Navajo Broadcasting

5.4.1. Overview

Over the last 20 years, the number of media in indigenous languages in the United States has soared increasingly. Allan Bell (1983: 29) asserts that "broadcast media play a multiple role–active as well as passive–in language standardization...broadcast media reflect the language evaluations of the society at large". According to him, standardization is regarded as a major factor in language maintenance. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Navajo has no accepted standard. Navajo-language broadcasters and their respective audience are actively engaged in producing a standard through daily programs and subsequent feedback. Bell goes on to argue that "*broadcast speech is the most public of languages. Its hearers are the largest simultaneous audience of the spoken language*" (1983: 37).

Keith (1995: 9) points out that broadcasting in the Navajo language has been around for quite some time, although prior to 1972, it was reduced to small program blocks on border-town stations. In 1972, the first native-language station in the country, KTDB, went on the air in Navajo from Pine Hill, New Mexico, to serve the people of the Ramah Navajo Reservation. Recently, the Navajo-language media scene includes several public and private Navajo-language radio stations as well as some programming on local Christian Radio. With the establishment of KTNN Radio in 1986, Navajo-language programming reached the entire

Navajo Nation and speakers of all variations of Navajo. Apart from radio programming in the Navajo language, there is a television channel operating on the Navajo reservation which is referred to as Navajo Nation Television Channel 5 (NNTV-5).

In fact, I have looked at different possible sources about information about the Navajo television (NNTV-5). However, I have found very few pieces of information about it. The Navajo television is not well-documented as the Warlpiri television. So, I will use this limited information to write my thesis.

5.4.2. Navajo Television

Browne (1996: 59) claims that indigenous people around the world set up their own media "*to preserve and restore an Indigenous language, to improve the self-image of the minority, and to change the negative impressions of the minority that are held by members of the majority culture*." On the Navajo Reservation, there is only one television station–a non-commercial station (Channel 5) operated by the tribal government. The TV reception of households on the edge of the Reservation ranges from poor to medium from cities in Arizona and New Mexico (e.g., Flagstaff and Albuquerque). But the vast majority of households on the Navajo reservation cannot get decent reception of commercial TV broadcasts over the air.

Figure 5-4. NNTV-5 Promotional Sticker[57]

Manheim (2001) states that over 97% of adults on the reservation speak the Navajo language, of whom some have limited proficiency in English. The non-commercial television station, operated by the tribal government, carries some Navajo language programming. According to Peterson (1997), Navajo television station NNTV-5 produces around 4-5 hours of Navajo language programming per week, ranging from current events to live broadcasts of the Navajo Nation Tribal Council sessions. Apart from these local broadcasting programs,

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[57] This is available at Calnez (2005).

Navajo television is almost entirely in English. The development of first repeater stations and then of satellite television on the reservation made a significant change in accessibility.

Before that, access to English was by roads that were not often easy to travel. Yet, with the arrival of television, remote Navajo homes were linked to the city, according to Spolsky (2002: 188-189). While an important aspect of Navajo language broadcasting, NNTV-5 was received by only 4,300 cable subscribers in 1996–only a little fraction of an estimated population of 180,000. The staff of the television station is also overwhelmingly Navajo, but the off-reservation commercial TV and radio stations have neither Navajo employees nor do they broadcast any Navajo language programming. They rarely carry tribal or reservation news or other programming targeted to the cultural interests of American Indians (Manheim 2001).

5.4.3. Navajo Radio: KTNN AM 660

Fisher et al. mention that KTNN's mission[58] statement emphasizes the following points:

> This will be the first station that will be owned by, and for the benefit of, the Navajo Nation. The programming will emphasize the Navajo culture and life-style on the reservation and will largely be broadcast in the Navajo language. (1981)

It is to be noted that KTNN's 50,000 watt clear signal allows it to broadcast beyond Navajo Nation borders, especially at night, extending to cities as far away as Phoenix and Albuquerque. KTNN's broadcast range and position as '*The Voice of the Navajo Nation*,' which is owned by the Nation, confers upon KTNN what Pierre Bourdieu (1991) has referred to as the 'symbolic' power to affect not only linguistic change, but also the position of being attached to a high language standard, although such a '*standard*' thing does not exist. In terms of language maintenance, KTNN is considered the most important broadcaster of the Navajo language.

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[58] This account is provided by Peterson (1997).

Figure 5-5. KTNN Promotional Sticker[59]

5.4.3.1. Audience and Programming

It is claimed that KTNN has the power to reach most Navajo speakers. Yet, this fact does not necessarily mean that the Navajo people tune in and listen to its wide range of programs. In the context of language maintenance, it is important to have a diverse audience. Nevertheless, the audience is partially determined by programming–the need to listen to Navajo-language programs. Yet, KTNN's position as a commercial station requires that programming should be funded through advertising revenue. This means that what is highly vital for language maintenance is forgotten or not always taken into consideration.

Although KTNN is a commercial radio station, it serves the needs of the Navajo people with programs such as bilingual broadcasts of news, livestock reports, the President's report, and PSAs for ceremonies, chapter meetings, and community events. The music on its airwaves is oriented to the 21-60 age group, and the Navajo news and livestock reports are mainly interesting to older Navajos. However, KTNN's program does not fit the tastes of many younger Navajos who associate KTNN with '*Johns*.'[60] Some programs, such as sports broadcasts which may seem youth-oriented, are a plausible way in which the programming of KTNN finds new uses for the Navajo language. Navajo news broadcasts and feature stories keep the language relevant in the contemporary world. There is also an urban programming designed for the youth and broadcast in English. Commenting on the audience who listens to KTNN programs, Peterson says that what is leading

> to the lack of a wide youth audience during Navajo broadcasts is the fact that
> many younger listeners may not understand the more "traditional" Navajo used
> by some of KTNN's announcers, many of whom cater to an older, monolingual
> population: "In my mind there are elderly people listening to KTNN, a lot of

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[59] This is found at the Navajo Nation Radio KTNN (2005).

[60] A derogatory term for Navajo, especially older Navajos, who are perceived to be neither traditional nor assimilated, live in the "sticks," and speak English with a pronounced accent, i.e., "backwoods."

people who don't speak English listening to KTNN, so therefore they are primary in my mind when I translate from English into Navajo" (M.G.). They talk of listeners "in the remote areas"... Therefore, announcers try to speak accordingly. However, as announcer M.G., who is in his 40s, put it: "To continuously talk Navajo at a level where the elders are able to understand is sometimes difficult, and without using the slang...that's hard." (1997)

5.4.3.2. Language on the Airwaves

Former program director T.Y. states that "*one of the biggest challenges now facing KTNN is trying to define the kind of Navajo that should be spoken.*" What should be noted is that changes in the Navajo language as a result of broadcasting can lead to some wide implications in language maintenance. Furthermore, it is stressed that announcers must refine their speech for different audiences, whether using more slang or more 'traditional' terms. These factors have resulted in a constant dialogue between broadcasters and audience on matters relating to appropriate language on the airwaves.[61] However, even when appropriate language is used, problems are still apparent, as J.B clearly says: "*I find that no matter how descriptive you are in a story, there is always somebody who does not quite understand what you just said. They have their own interpretations.*"

The position of KTNN radio as a commercial radio station broadcasting, Peterson suggests, in an indigenous language also requires some relatively subtle changes in the way the Navajo language is being used in the radio programs. The type of Navajo used on the airwaves has been described as 'Broadcast Navajo' by former program director T.Y who says that "*Broadcast Navajo is different. Broadcast Navajo is a way of speaking Navajo at a level where it's brief and to the point, because of the Navajo language being so difficult.*" The Navajo language, which is indeed a very descriptive language, is not easily adaptable to fit in with the short span of 30-second commercials and several other requirements of entertainment radio, particularly since a large part of KTNN's Navajo-language programming is semantically explained from written copy in the English language.

Many of the DJs at KTNN radio station use code switching, even though there is a 'traditional' Navajo term available. An appropriate example one may refer to is that it is faster for an announcer to say '*Window Rock*' than *Tséghahoodzání*, when producing a 30-second

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[61] Some of the data I used to illustrate the kind of Navajo language broadcast on the airwaves was collected in 1996-97.

commercial. Moreover, it is possible that neither the announcer nor some members of the audience will identify the Navajo name for Window Rock or other locations. Code switching among KTNN DJs, Peterson adds, is quite frequently used with numbers, place names, addresses, and consumer goods, leading to the emergence of some complaints by some listeners. Broadcast Navajo is characterized by speaking at a quick pace and using a lot of fillers, such as *éíyá* and *áádóó* and incorrect, direct translations from English.

Some listener complaints about Broadcast Navajo can be striking as this utterance (Letter 1994) shows: "*Why is this morning guy still on the air? He can't even speak his own language!*" Such a complaint can be traced to factors such as Navajo and English fluency and domain knowledge. For Navajo, however, many complaints are simply caused by regional differences in the language. To clarify this idea a little bit further, Newscaster J.B. mentions the following examples:

> *Tódilchxóshí* is one example. When I talk about 'pop,' I say *tódilchxóshí*, which means 'the water that bubbles.' But in Gallup area, I notice that they say *tólikání*, 'the sweet water, the tasty water.' That's how they say it. And we say *damóo yázhí* for Saturday ['little Sunday'], and some people say *yiska*!¢ *damóo*, which means 'tomorrow is Sunday.' We just have different translations all the way across. One of our DJs, when he says land, he says *héya*. I say *kéya*. But he <u>means</u> *kÉyah*. But to me, that's the way he talks, that's his language.

From a language maintenance standpoint, many of the complaints have some specific degree of legitimacy. For instance, the frequent use of English for place names, numbers, and consumer goods will likely aid in the rapid decline of their Navajo equivalents. Nevertheless, issues relating to regional dialects may be overcome with a Broadcast Navajo standard.

5.5. Yup'ik Broadcasting

To meet the needs of their communities and audiences, many public television and radio stations devote a considerable portion of their resources to broadcast programs. In contrast to commercial stations which undertake local production to the extent they can sell it to advertisers, public stations make local programs to the extent they determine a community need. The activities undertaken by public radio and television licensees to serve diverse

audiences highlight the kinds of efforts pursued by public broadcasters to serve and enrich their own communities.[62]

5.5.1. Yup'ik Television and Radio

Keith (1995: 53) associates radio television station KYUK in Bethel with being a pioneer in Native American broadcasting that is considered one of the most interesting public broadcasting stations in the system today. Set up with a grant from the state of Alaska, KYUK radio started operating on the air in 1971 and was followed two years later by KYUK TV. The stations were meant to ensure a broadcast service in an area of south-western Alaska that could not develop into a commercial market, since Yup'ik Eskimos have a large population. KYUK broadcast studios are located in Bethel–the largest city in south-western Alaska. The service area, reaching from the Bering Sea to the lower Yukon River, includes fifty-two Yup'ik villages. Bethel is indeed the major locus, Keith adds, for many activities such as fishing, transportation, and shipping as well as headquarters for Native corporations, federal and state agencies, and health care facilities for the whole rural area. Located on the tree less tundra halfway between Anchorage, Alaska, and Siberia, Bethel is quite remote that one must fly to reach it. All other transportation is by other means such as boat, dog team, or snowmobile. Whatever the means of travel, KYUK is the basic communication service for a community where the nearest movie theatre TV station and sports arena are 400 miles away.

Figure 5-6. KYUK Promotional Sticker[63]

5.5.1.1. Audience and Programming

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[62] Public Broadcasting's Services to Minorities and Other Groups (1997).

[63] This figure is to be found at KYUK TV/AM (2004).

Estimates indicated that eighty-five percent of the audience that listens to KYUK programs is Yup'ik. In fact, bilingual service has always been a primary objective of the station whose service involves hundreds of hours of local programs, aiming directly at the information and entertainment needs of listeners and viewers. Many anthropologists believe the availability of KYUK programming on a daily basis to be the major reason why the Yup'ik language has prospered, while many other Native languages have not had the opportunity to follow suit. Although KYUK is a famous Corporation for Public Broadcasting station, contributing to National Public Radio as well as the Public Broadcasting Service, the large majority of programs on KYUK are local in origin and designed to meet the local needs of its audience. Keith (1995:54) argues that a unique feature of KYUK television station is that it is the only public television station in Alaska with a waiver from the federal communications commission that allows it to run programs from commercial networks as well as PBS. The following quotation gives an overview of some of the programs that are available at KYUK:

> One of the most popular viewing periods features the *McNeil-Lehrer News Hour* programmed back-to-back with David Letterman... Mornings on radio are filled with call-in bilingual talk shows, such as *Ask the Doctor*, *Yuk to Yuk*, and *Talk Line*. Another intricate part of the service in the bush of Alaska is KYUK's person-to-person message service called *The Tundra Drums*. Four Times each day personal messages are aired; in many cases, the *Drums* may be the only means of communicating with a trapper, a fisherman, or a village nurse. The show also serves as an entertaining gossip line with its own set of code words. KYUK-TV produces several local series, such as quiz show entitled *Ask an Alaskan*, a news magazine called *Delta Week in Review*, and a weekly horror movie series known as *Tundra Terror Theatre*. This brand of local TV, once common on small stations in the lower forty-eight during the 1950s, fits nicely well with KYUK's concept of community broadcasting.

5.5.1.2. Mission of the Station

KYUK is viewed as a huge depositary for the oral and visual history of bush Alaska, in addition to being a unique broadcast service. The historical films, documentaries and interviews in its collection are highly valued by institutions such as the Smithsonian and the Museum of the American Indian. Several KYUK documentaries give some clear insights to

the outside of the Native American cultures of the North. Since its start nearly twenty five years, KYUK has grown to meet the challenges of preserving a culture and way of life in a very remote environment. The Yup'ik small radio and television station has prepared the ground for the native electronic media that have since followed. KYUK's general manager, John A. Macdonald, clarifies the mission put forward by the KYUK station:

> We supply educational, informational, and entertainment programming to the residents of this area. A vital service is our weather broadcasts. This is a very harsh climate, but people live off the land and are outside all year long. KYUK radio and TV also produces on health issues, Native land and political issues, and programs for youth. This area has had 20th century communications for only a couple of decades, and the residents can use to explore the problems and issues that stem from the quickly changing lifestyles in this rural area. ...Communications funded by the state and federal government are vital as one way to try to keep these outlying areas in touch. It helps them respond and discuss their changing needs. What we provide is much more than 'enhancing' to the local population. It is vital and saves lives. The information flows two ways, and the people have learned to use it both ways. (Keith 1995: 55)

5.6. Evaluation

5.6.1. Vital Contributions

Keith (1995: 97-98) believes that native stations have indeed made significant contributions to life in the indigenous community. The supply of accurate information has been the frequently provided answer by those responding to the question relating to the most vital native broadcasting contribution to the indigenous community. Writer Jerry Kramer (*The Arizona Republic*) points out that radio

> is the dominant means of communication on a reservation where most families don't have telephones and many live in the sort of spectacularly lonely canyon butte and mesa country that has shaped the world's images of the Wild West. (1993)

Peter Zah, president of the Navajo Nation, views Native radio (letter to the author, 4 November 1993) as a highly vital medium of communication for his people. He says that:

"*On many reservations, these stations are the only communication companies that reach out to the Indian people. In the Navajo Nation, radio is the primary form of communication.*" Keith (1995: 99) thinks that life would be filled with hardships in Indian country without native media. From the National Congress of American Indians, Rose Robinson (1993) says that there "*is often an interest in local and national politics because the outcomes of the races affect tribes very directly–whether the candidate will be good or bad for the interests of the tribe. This is very important.*" As I have shown, native broadcasting certainly gives listeners an opportunity to be conscious of the happenings that affect their daily lives.

5.6.2. A Unifying Power

It seems that native stations have unified and brought the indigenous community together. In the opinion of Keith (1995: 103), they have lessened the fragmented nature that has shaped Indian country and this is easily demonstrable on large reservations such as that of the Navajo. E. B. Eiselein (Letter 1993) points out that radio "*can allow people in the outlying areas to 'tune-in.' In a place where physical access to the remote areas is difficult, native radio offers an opportunity to go beyond these barriers and unify the people.*" From the perspective of Nan Rubin, however, native stations provide a strong identity for the reservation. These stations

> are able to break down barriers which exist between the reservation and the off-reservation community. They are a strong vehicle for educating non-Indians about the history, culture, conditions and activities of reservation population. They are able to share cultural values, experiences, and events, making them accessible to listeners. By broadcasting in Native languages and focussing on local customs and practices, they reinforce the value of tribal cultures and the identity of Indian people. At the same time, by broadcasting positive images, they can counter many of the negative racist stereotypes held by non-Indians. The stations also broadcast news, information, and other programming relating directly to the needs and concerns of reservation populations...The reservation-based public radio stations are special in the public radio arena, because they represent a particularly unique and little understood segment of American ethnic culture.

Native stations are the concrete embodiment of a source of pride for their people, because they are clear illustrations of how Indians can directly benefit Indians. The radio station can be not only considered a visible accomplishment, but also a high source of pride. It

reflects the needs and the wishes of the Native American Indian people. Moreover, it can be regarded as a public expression of self-determination (Rubin 1987: 12-13).

5.6.3. A Preserver of the Native Way

Keith (1995: 105-107) explicitly states that indigenous broadcast stations are a vital element in the preservation of both Indian culture and language. Many people, whether Native and non-Native, believe this fact to be the most straightforward contribution of indigenous broadcasting. Today, Indian traditions are less endangered by cultural imperialism than they have been in the past. Yet, the chance of survival has been promoted with the growing number of native stations–most of which endeavor to preserve Indian culture and language in their program plans.

The assimilation of Indian ways by the mainstream is relatively reduced by the strong endeavors of both Native programmers and producers. NPR news reporter and former Native broadcast station employee Corey Flintoff (letter to the author, 20 September 1993) appreciates the role of Indian media as cultural guardians, saying that these "*stations play a vital role in personal identity and cultural preservation. This is what makes them unique. It is their defining contribution to the world.*" Flintoff's former employer, KYUK in Bethel, Alaska, has been welcomed for its contribution to the preservation of the Indigenous language in the area. John McDonald (letter to author) points out that the

> station has been cited several times [for] saving the Yup'ik language. By using the language daily, KYUK keeps the tongue alive and helps it spread. News done in Yup'ik helps keep the old words alive and helps introduce people to the more technical "new" words of the language. (1993)

Curley Biggs, president of the Ramah Navajo tribe, says (telephone interview by author, 30 November 1993) that native radio's broadcast of what is unique in Indian history makes it a very important service. "*It really benefits the community. Programs with the tongue and traditions reach large audiences. This is very good, especially for the elders, who use nothing but Navajo to communicate.*" Keith (1995:107) states that native language programming deals with present-day issues as well as traditional ones. The example he gives is that KTNN airs Phoenix Suns basket ball games in the Navajo language–a cousin to the

Athabascan and Apache languages. The live broadcasts are famous throughout the station's signal area, covering the entire western third of the country.

5.6.4. Outcome

From what has been said about Navajo and Yup'ik broadcasting media, one can develop a clear insight into the function they serve. Native broadcasting, Keith suggests, has indeed led to language preservation, societal cohesion and the establishment of a bridge between Native and non-Native people. Native media, whether television or radio, has also offered a wide variety of opportunities for Native people to develop their skills and articulate the messages of those who were voiceless at home and in the reservation border towns.

6. Conclusion

The studied literature on the immersion programs whether in Canada or New Zealand has yielded some interesting insights with regard to the success of the immersion method as a tool for turning around language decline. Major components of this method in both areas are singled out: the inextricability of language and culture, parent involvement as well as community support. These elements have played a central role in the maintenance of both Māori and Mohawk endangered languages. In addition, these components are valid for Navajo and Yup'ik immersion programs which have shown to be earnest attempts to revitalize Native American endangered languages.

In terms of the models I have displayed in the introductory part, I shall assess the achievements of the programs in terms of two different frameworks developed by Howard Giles and Joshua Fishman. Giles's concept of 'ethno-linguistic vitality' articulates the main socio-structural features defining a group's position relative to others in society vis-a-vis three principal components. Derived, in large part, from factors found indicative of language maintenance, these are: status (e.g., economic, historical), demography (e.g., numbers, birth rates), and institutional support (e.g., representation of the group and its language in the media and education). In his book *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations,* Giles says that what is of

> crucial importance for the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups is the use of the minority language in the state education system at primary, secondary, and higher levels. Indeed, the minority language medium schools and the number of speakers they produce are often scrutinized by linguistic minority group members who often feel that "une language qu'on n'enseigne pas est une language qu'on tue. (1977: 316)

Indeed, Navajo and Yup'ik languages are well-represented in the educational systems of both Fort Defiance and Bethel schools. These representations are embodied in the use of immersion as a type of school-based programs. In Giles's terms, these North Native American immersion programs fall under the section of institutional support variables within the whole paradigm. Moreover, these programs have demonstrated how they can contribute to the maintenance of both Navajo and Yup'ik languages and play an important role in facilitating the vitality of their ethno-linguistic groups respectively.

In Fishman's Scale, however, the immersion programs have provided precedence for programs that can help at reversing language shift in 4b School (Arviso and Holm, 1990). The immersion school programs whether at Fort Defiance or in Bethel are schools for Xish pupils but under Xish control. These programs can still further be classified, if I take the implications of the programs into consideration. As previously mentioned, both Navajo and Yup'ik immersion programs have shown the importance of family in promoting the endangered language. As a consequence, they are both classified at stage 6–a crucial area which reinforces the transmission of the native language between parents and children. At this level, Fishman claims to construct "the intergenerationally Xish-speaking community via providing and stressing the link to family life, residential concentration and neighbourhood institutions." He further mentions that at this stage revitalization efforts need to be concentrated in order to prevent further erosion of the endangered language (Fishman 2001: 30-31). "Parent commitment is very important to our program. If we have parents' full support and dedication, this program will ever flourish and greatly influence the success of our children," says Loddie Ayaprun Jones (1998) to increase the promotion of the Yup'ik immersion program.

Scrutiny of Irish and Warlpiri different forms of media appropriations have highlighted the fact that radio and television can contribute to the preservation of the Irish and Aboriginal threatened languages. Hence, the efficiency of these revitalizing measures. Moreover, the utilization of broadcasting media by Navajo and Yup'ik communities has led to some interesting results. As I have attempted to evaluate the programs by using immersion as a method to revitalize Native American languages, I will carry on the assessment by pointing to the achievements of the measure of broadcasting in maintaining the Navajo and Yup'ik languages.

In Giles's model, the measure of mass media is also part and parcel of the institutional support variables, pointing to the extent to which Navajo and Yup'ik language groups receive representation in this activity. Giles argues that high vitality groups are likely to maintain their language and distinctive cultural traits in multilingual settings (Giles and Viladot 1994). As previously pointed out, through the use of broadcasting, the Navajo and Yup'ik cultural way of life have indeed been preserved. Furthermore, it is interesting to notice that the appropriation of mass media has contributed to the stabilization of the status of these threatened languages. In this case, however, there is some cross-referencing of the mass media element from the institutional support variables with the language element from the status variables–something which also speaks for the maintenance of these languages.

Nevertheless, Joshua Fishman (1991) and other scholars have noted the impact of the mass media as a major factor in language choice in the contemporary world. In many Native American communities, videos, television, and popular music in the English language have replaced storytelling and other traditional media, contributing to language loss among many Native American people. In Fishman's model, the mass media component is classified at the first stage of his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which posits a stage-by-stage continuum of disruptions to a language's existence and continuity. The further the stage number from stage 1, the greater the disruption to the prospects for the language being passed on from one generation to the next. Fishman's Stage 1 invokes the role of media in language revival. It involves broadcasts in the Navajo and Yup'ik languages through radio and television. Indeed, Navajo and Yup'ik radio and TV stations have played a significant role in the maintenance of these threatened languages because of the programs they broadcast in their endangered languages respectively.

Although the mentioned programs have shown that they are effective methods for language revitalization to various degrees, they still have some weaknesses which should be taken into consideration. Two major aspects are singled out: enrolment and resources. In Fort Defiance, the district has rarely advertised the program and has depended over the years upon recommendations by the parents of students in the program. In 1998 and 1999, the school reduced the enrolment to a single group of about 20 kindergartners. Given the fact that it is difficult to enter the program after the first grade (because the children cannot read in Navajo), the school could therefore run out of students in the higher grades. Limiting the enrolment in the program has also kept some effective immersion teachers from active participation (Arviso and Holm 2001).

In Alaska, however, some parents have expressed their fear to give their children an opportunity to learn the indigenous language. According to the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative (2001), Yup'ik parents in Bethel were resistant to enrolling their children in the immersion program. They believe their children will have a hard time adjusting to a standard English classroom after Yup'ik immersion classes. They simply do not see the need and are eager to have their kids become like everybody else. Today, children can communicate with their grandparents in their first language. This proves that indigenous languages can be taught at home and school. It takes dedication, determination and persistence to make this happen. These students are regarded as the future leaders of their languages. However, there are challenges from opposing parents, school board and community members who feel that native education is not essential to their youth.

Like other schools in most of the 11 Navajo-majority Arizona, proponents of the program at Fort Defiance have struggled with limited monies in an era of tighter budgets and increased expectations in the English language. Many teachers and administrators do not realize not only that one can achieve excellent results through two-language education, but also the time and resources it will take to do so (Hinton and Hale 2001). In addition, McCarty and Watahomigie (1999) note that the community-controlled Navajo education projects at Fort Defiance along with AILDI have benefited from external funding. Crawford (1996) observes that dependence on external resources can contribute to program instability. The increased demand to construct suitable curricula and instructional materials for minority language education programs forces program coordinators to operate amid that tension (Malone 2003).

Agatha Panigkaq John-Shields (1998) explicitly states that competing for resources as well as being confronted with opposition from English language programs affects the acceptance of the immersion program by other teachers and administrators. She further adds that apart from the fact that there is a lack of knowledge about the program functioning, some have expressed their scepticism with respect to the value of the Yup'ik immersion program. Without the cooperation of others within the school district, it is not easy to work together. Teachers and parents observe that the following points play a role in weakening the program. John-Shields (1998) believes that the lack of materials for the core curriculum is going to put them disadvantaged when compared to the English language program. Immersion students never have enough translated books for their indigenous language program. Any book written in Yup'ik is considered a big achievement. Yet, a better evaluation of the needs of the students to exactly fit the teaching levels within the curriculum is still required.

In these paragraphs, I will provide a forward looking with regard to the Navajo and Yup'ik revival programs, if they are not discontinued. The *Coolangatta Statement* (1999) emphasizes the use and preservation of indigenous languages as a basic human right.[64] The basis of the statement is that the issues of language belong to indigenous peoples themselves and that they should consciously decide themselves about how to recover or preserve their languages in everyday use. Most importantly, they need to act on these decisions, as the forces mitigating them are powerful. According to the *Coolangatta Statement* (1999),

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[64] The *Coolangatta Statement* (1999) emphasizes the use and preservation of indigenous languages as a basic human right. However, there are many social, economic, and political forces that serve to either undermine or support that right.

"*Indigenous peoples have the right to be Indigenous. They cannot exist as images and reflections of a non-Indigenous society.*"

AnCita Benally and Denis Viri (2005) both claim that drastic decline appears to be looming for the Navajo language on some levels, but on other levels, the language seems to remain unaffected by decline. Ultimately, the future of the Navajo language lies with its speakers because the language as well as the stories are their own. They are for their protection and well being, and it is for the speakers themselves to accept or to reject. Much research has been done by both Navajo and non-Navajo linguists who not only see the decline in language usage, but they also see hope for the language's survival. Thus, one is driven to say that the Navajo language can survive if its speakers choose to keep it alive.

Nonetheless, with regard to the Yup'ik immersion program, the most important cultural aspect of the program is having elders who communicate and tell stories with the students. Loddie Jones (interview 1998) invites elders from the senior center to come to the schools to be around the students. Throughout the school year, students are invited to perform during special occasions and conferences in the community as part of the elders' entertainment. Elders from other villages are temporarily employed by Kilbuck School as cultural specialists to teach dancing and arts and crafts to all students in the school. In this way, more cultural aspects of the Yup'ik life are integrated into the curriculum from the elders who stand for valuable sources with regard to the Yup'ik culture. Not only do students feel a sense of pride, the elders also feel proud to see the preservation of their language and culture and their ability to use their own language with younger children. Martina John (interview 1998), an elder who has been a cultural specialist, says that she is always glad to use her native language as a tool to teach her grandchildren in the immersion program. The elders's ability to use their language with the children is a central avenue to guide the children's path for their future.

The cases discussed so far suggest that immersion programs can serve the roles of increasing the success of school students and revitalising endangered indigenous languages. Indigenous language revitalisation confronts not only a legacy of linguicide, genocide, and cultural displacement, but also increasing pressures for standardisation. McCarty (2003) points out that these pressures are reflected in imposed 'accountability' programs–reductionist reading frameworks, and English-only policies such as those recently passed in California and

Arizona.[65] These pervasive pressures occur at a time when the United States is witnessing a highly demographic shift resulting from the 'new immigration' waves–those who have immigrated to the United States since national origin quotas were abolished in 1965. Compared with earlier waves of immigration, which were mainly from European origin and White, recent immigrants chiefly come from Latin America, Southeast Asia and the Caribbean (Qin-Hilliard et al., 2001). That linguistic and cultural diversity is met, Gutierrez (2002) argues, with intolerance in the context of these demographic transformations and the forces of globalisation. In school districts across the country, working-class students, students of colour, and English language learners are being viewed as deficient for their low performance on English standardised tests. The pressures for standardisation are making an accentuated polarisation between those with and without access to resources such as that reflected in the current US policy of 'Leaving No Child Behind.'[66]

With respect to broadcasting, Navajo and Yup'ik appropriation of media have been effective to some certain extents in so far as they have promoted their cultures and their self-images. In fact, native stations are efficient for the revitalization and preservation of indigenous languages and for the presentation and documentation of oral history and storytelling. However, native radio and television stations face significant funding problems and control issues. Among the challenges confronting Native American stations is the lack of financing–a controversial issue in public broadcasting and particularly in the native sector.

Keith (1995: 114) emphasizes that money is viewed as the source of the problems that have been affecting the native stations. According to him, the appropriation of monetary resources to launch a station and keep it on the air is difficult because of the specifically unique conditions present in many parts of the native community. In addition, recruiting Native people to fill station slots is not an easy task for the large majority of native stations.

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[65] Euphemistically called 'English for the Children', both the California and the Arizona voter initiatives, financed by California millionaire Ron Utu, require public schools to replace multi-year bilingual education programs with one-year English immersion for English language learner. In both states, passage of the proposition was followed by the adoption of an English-only school accountability program (Gutierrez et al., 2002).

[66] Part of the rhetoric of the 2000 US Presidential campaign, 'Leaving No Child Behind' later became codified in the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act, calling for 'scientifically-based' (phonics) reading programs, heightened state surveillance over curricula and instruction, high-stakes testing, and public labelling and state disciplining of 'under-achieving schools.

Some people believe that leaving the reservation to find personal seems to be the only plausible remedy. In most cases, native stations are the training arena for the personnel who ultimately staff them, because there are few Native Americans with broadcast training experience. Native station managers find out that many of the recruited young people have been assimilated into mainstream culture–something which has left them ignorant of tribal culture. ICA's Joseph Orozco sheds light on the challenges facing Native American broadcasting:

> When one asks a Native radio station manager what major problem the medium faces, he or she often says financial instability. To those embroiled in day-to-day operations, technical training, the retention of quality staff, equipment purchasing, and staff shortages may also come to mind....The major problem facing Native radio is the same that faces Native newspapers-inherited oppression. Our own tribal governments, our own tribal people, are the major barriers to the free exercise of the First Amendment by Native media. (Keith 1995: 125)

The future for Native broadcasting seems at once both bright and uncertain. Many things are likely to play a role in native broadcasting's future. Technology is but one ingredient. Indeed, computers are playing an increasing role in native broadcasting and largely in the indigenous community. Computer technology is recording native languages, tribal history and providing accurate coverage of events and information. Just as the non-native media industry started with radio and then developed into TV, cable, telephone systems, satellite communications and fiber optics, many native people believe that a somehow identical future for native industry. In the Southwest, KTNN has planned to license another station to the Navajo Nation that would operate at 100,000 watts on the FM dial with the call letters KWRK. At this time, it has plans to broadcast rock and contemporary music to the Hopi and Navajo reservations. With its move, its AM sister station plans to air a schedule of programs in the Navajo language. Whatever the future is for broadcasting in America, it will involve indigenous people who are not only making an important contribution to their own cultures, but they are also enriching the appreciation of non-Indian America for those who live outside the mainstream (Keith 1995: 127-144).

The programs I have discussed here illustrate the ways in which indigenous communities have been able to protect their distinctive diversity in homogenising times. Rooted in principles of social justice, McCarty (2003) affirms that this vision holds the

promise of constructing a more linguistically and culturally rich society. Fishman, however, notes how the focus on individual rights in the modern western world reduces the importance of recognizing minority group rights. He writes, "*the denial of cultural rights to minorities is as disruptive of the moral fabric of mainstream society as is the denial of civil rights*." (1991: 70). Furthermore, Fishman defends the need

> to see efforts to preserve and restore minority languages as societal reform efforts than can lead to the appreciation of the beauty and distinctiveness of other cultures as well. He emphasizes that efforts to restore minority languages should be voluntary and 'facilitating and enabling' rather than compulsory and punitive. (1991:82)

Bilingualism should also be looked upon as life enriching and a bridge to other cultures. According to him, the need for sacrifice, self-help and self-regulation are considered decisive factors in successful efforts to maintain imperilled languages. He identifies the key to threatened language preservation in the intergenerational transmission of the language in the home, not in government policies. He writes, "*The road to societal death is paved by language activity that is not focused on intergenerational continuity*" (1991:91). Meanwhile, he cautions against relying heavily on native language media, schools, and government efforts. An indigenous language radio station or policy statement such as those found in the Native American Languages Act of 1990 can make for a friendlier environment for endangered languages, but they are no substitute for grassroots efforts focused on using indigenous language in homes and at community social occasions.

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8. Zusammenfassung

Das Thema meiner Magisterarbeit sind die Revitalisierungsprogramme der Ureinwohner Nordamerikas. Ich habe dieses Thema ausgewählt, weil es ein interessantes Thema ist, das heutzutage sehr oft diskutiert wird, besonders weil rund 6000 gefährdete Sprachen in der ganzen Welt existieren. Wenn eine Sprache stirbt, weil sie nicht mehr gesprochen wird, verliert die Menschheit damit nicht nur linguistisches Wissen sondern auch kulturelle Kenntnisse über bestimmte Minoritäten oder Menschen. Im ersten Teil meiner Arbeit habe ich versucht, wichtige Konzepte und Modelle zu definieren, die ich im Laufe meiner Arbeit benutzen werde. Daraufhin habe ich nicht nur die generelle und jetzige Lage der amerikanischen Ureinwohner-Sprachen beschrieben, sondern auch die Nutzen die man ziehen kann, wenn man sich mit der Revitalisierung der bedrohten Sprachen beschäftigt. Danach habe ich theoretische Perspektiven erwähnt, um die Revitalisierungsaktivitäten in der ganzen Welt zu erklären.

Die zwei wichtigen Maßnahmen, die ich ausgewählt habe und auf die ich mich konzentrieren werde, sind die Immersionsmethode und Rundfunkübertragung. Diese beiden Methoden sind sehr interessante Beispiele wegen der praktischen Auswirkungen, die sie reflektieren. In dem Teil, in dem ich Immersion als die erste Methode zur Revitalisierung verwendet habe, habe ich zwei Programme systematisch studiert. Das erste Programm heißt Te Kohanga Reo in Neuseeland und das zweite Mohawk Immersionsprogram in Kanada. Diese verschiedenen Anstrengungen haben nämlich gezeigt, wie diese Immersionsmethode dazu beitragen kann, diese bedrohten Sprachen neu zu beleben. Nachdem ich die Ergebnisse der beiden Programme angegeben habe, habe ich gezeigt wie ich meine These bestätigen kann, wenn ich mich auf die schon erwähnten Beispiele beziehe. Am Ende dieses Teils bin ich auf die Faktoren eingegangen, die zum Erfolg der Fort Defiance Immersion Programm and 'Two-Way' Yup'ik Immersion Programm in Bethel geführt haben.

Rundfunkübertragung ist die zweite Methode, die ich benutzt habe, wie schon erwähnt. In diesem Teil habe ich zuerst zwei Beispiele aus Irland und Australien genommen. Diese Beispiele sind 'Raidio na Gaeltachta' und 'Raidio na Life' von Irland, und PAW Fernseher, interaktiver Fernseher, und PAW Radio von Australien. Damit möchte ich zeigen, wie die Bereitstellung der Medien zur Revitalisierung der Irischen und Warlpirischen

gefährdeten Sprachen beigetragen hat. Nachdem ich diese Beispiele studiert habe, habe ich versucht, die erfolgreichen Ergebnisse anzuwenden, um zu sehen ob sie relevant sind zur Diskussion der Navajo und Yup'ik Rundfunkübertragungen. Von den verschiedenen Medien, die die Navajo Gesellschaft hat, habe ich mich nur auf den Fernsehsender (NNTV-5) und das Radio Programm KTNN) konzentriert. Im Gegensatz dazu verfügt Yup'ik Gesellschaft über ein Radio und einen Fernsehsender, die AM/FM KYUK genannt sind. Nachdem ich diese verschiedenen Programme studiert habe, habe ich erläutert die Ergebnisse, die Sie dazu geführt haben.

Zum Schluss wird gezeigt, dass die benutzten Methoden, ernste Erhaltungsversuche in Nordamerika sind. Sie haben nämlich eine sehr wichtige Rolle dabei gespielt, die Navajo und Yup'ik bedrohten Sprachen aufrecht zu erhalten. Ich habe auch versucht, die wichtigen Punkte zusammenzufassen, die ich in den vorherigen Teilen erläutert habe. Ich habe auch die zwei Revitalisierungsprogramme bewertet anhand von zwei Modellen, die von Giles und Fishman dargestellt worden sind. Außerdem habe ich gezeigt nicht nur welche Schwäche die Revitalisierung von Navajo und Yup'ik Sprachen haben, sondern auch wie diese Programme eventuell aussehen werden, wenn Sie nicht unterbrochen werden. Schließlich habe ich erwähnt, dass die Revitalisierung der bedrohten Sprachen ein Hauptbestandteil der nordamerikanischen kulturellen Maßnahmen, um Sichtbarkeit anzueignen, wie Joshua Fishman behauptet.