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Entangled Resurgence: Investigating 'Reconciliation' and the Politics of Language Revitalization in the Oneida Nation of the Thames

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Graduate Program in Anthropology
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree in Master of Arts
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Abstract

The conclusion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2015 has initiated numerous conversations about Canada's renewed relationship with Indigenous peoples, and elicited questions about what it means to 'reconcile'. I use ethnographic methods to examine these issues in the context of language revitalization, at the nexus of government policy, university-community partnerships, and the experiences of individual language learners within the Oneida Nation of the Thames. This thesis re-evaluates the relationship between Indigenous language revitalization and the political process of reconciliation through the framework of Indigenous resurgence, an emerging theory and practice that seeks to regenerate Indigenous communities through self-recognition. By examining three different on-going language projects through a resurgence lens, this thesis argues that a politics of resurgence offers a necessary meta-framework for a new relationship between the Settler state and Indigenous peoples, by providing a common basis for Settler and Indigenous people together to work on resurgent projects.

Keywords

Reconciliation, Indigenous Resurgence, Decolonization, Language Revitalization, Public Policy, Canada

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents Kelley and Glenn McGregor. Your unwavering and unconditional support and love for me takes many forms, and I needed all of them throughout this process. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Figures.....	v
Chapter 1.....	1
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 About the Oneida Nation of the Thames.....	3
1.2 Methods.....	5
1.3 A Note on Terminology.....	10
1.4 Thesis Outline.....	11
1.5 Positionality.....	13
Chapter 2.....	16
2 Reconciliation and Resurgence.....	16
2.1 Reconciliation According to the TRC.....	16
2.2 The Issues of TRC Reconciliation.....	19
2.3 Indigenous Resurgence.....	22
2.4 The Politics of Language Work.....	27
2.5 Re-Imagining Canada: The Significance of Language Policy.....	30
Chapter 3.....	38
3 University-Community Collaboration.....	38
3.1 Oneida Language and Grammar Course.....	39
3.1.1 The Root Method.....	40

3.1.2	A Typical Class	41
3.2	Language Revitalization in Practice	42
3.2.1	The Students.....	43
3.2.2	A Typical Day.....	44
3.2.3	Student Projects	46
3.3	Resurgence in Post-Secondary Institutions.....	47
3.3.1	The Benefits of Being Associated with a University	47
3.3.2	Oneida Language and Grammar Course.....	49
3.3.3	Language Revitalization in Practice	54
3.4	Conclusion	60
Chapter 4	62
4	Community-based Language Projects— <i>Twatati</i>	62
4.1	The Committee.....	62
4.2	The Program.....	65
4.3	The Challenges.....	70
4.4	Twatati as an Act of Resurgence	77
Chapter 5	79
5	A Political Renegotiation: Beyond Reconciliation	79
References	87
Appendix I: Traditional Homelands of Haudenosaunee Confederacy		91
Appendix II: Iroquoian Language Family Tree		92
Appendix III: LDCSB Interest Survey		93
Appendix IV: Ethics Approval		95
Curriculum Vitae		96

List of Figures

Figure 1.....	81
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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

Hannah – With all this language work that you’re doing, how does that play into the idea of reconciliation? What do you think about reconciliation?

Dawn¹ – For whose benefit? Is it for the non-native people to feel good about themselves, like oh we’re doing something to help the Indians again? Because that’s usually how I take it from what they’re trying to do. And still though it’s still an interference, it’s like “we want to reconcile with you” and it’s like “*sigh* they’re out of time now that they want to reconcile. We’ve been trying to friggin reconcile and you know put up with you for 500 years, right?” So it’s like, whose benefit? And reconciliation it’s like, uh, I don’t know and I would probably ask, I’d need more, it’s a word to me. And I guess different interpretations right. And so I’d have to know what it is you want. What do you mean? What is reconciliation to you? [asking the researcher]. What is for your benefit? For mine? And what is my benefit out of reconciliation? So I’d need you to clarify what you mean?

With the conclusion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 2015, Canada has begun a national project of reconciliation to “establish and maintain a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in [Canada]” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015b:6). According to the TRC, the process of reconciliation would “fundamentally chang[e] the very foundations of Canada’s relationship with Aboriginal peoples,” and must support Aboriginal peoples as “they heal from the destructive legacies of colonization” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015b:6-7). The TRC frames reconciliation as something that needs to occur between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and produced 94 Calls to Action that, when implemented, are intended to support Indigenous communities in this healing process. The relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state has thus far been characterized by policies of forced assimilation and attempts at dissolving the treaties that do exist (e.g., 1969 White Paper) because, in the eyes of the Crown, those treaties give Indigenous peoples certain rights to land. Thus, there is precedent for being critical of

¹ Real names have been used where permission was given. Otherwise, the interview date has been used in lieu of a name.

state projects that address the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the state, and this project of reconciliation has been met with skepticism on a variety of levels. When I began this research project, I wanted to discover what reconciliation meant to Indigenous people, and the role that the revitalization of Indigenous languages plays in this national project of reconciliation. If I could articulate an idea of what reconciliation means to Indigenous people, then Canada, as a nation, could be certain that it was on the right path to repair this fractured relationship. If “reconciliation” was being done in a way that made sense to communities, then it was a solution and workable framework. I decided to open this thesis with an excerpt from one of my interviews; the moment when the assumptions that held up my initial research questions all came crashing down.

Dawn Antone is a graphic designer who was working at the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre in the Oneida Nation of the Thames while I was doing my fieldwork. Her question of who is supposed to benefit from ‘reconciliation’ really gave me cause to stop and think, because my immediate thought was that of course reconciliation must be for Indigenous peoples. If it is not for Indigenous peoples, then what was the point? Was it not about supporting Indigenous communities as they rebuilt and healed from the fractures caused by the residential school system? If that isn’t what reconciliation does, then what does it do? She explained that there are multiple interpretations of ‘reconciliation’, and that to answer my question she would need to know what reconciliation was to me and what benefit she would get out of it. I answered as honestly as I could and told her I thought that it should be about building new relationships that acknowledge a history of colonialism and attempted genocide, and moves forward in a new way that works for everyone.

Dawn also points out that Indigenous people have been attempting to reconcile with the existence and presence of Settler people and governments since contact. She continued with a story about a wampum workshop she attended the previous weekend. The part that stuck with her was what is *not* written in the founding story of the United States and Canada—how the new settlers were reliant and needed Indigenous people and their knowledge to survive on the land. To have these relationships, she said, settlers would have needed to know Indigenous languages and government systems. Thus, they would

have been recognized as legitimate. She defined reconciliation as learning how to interact again:

It's going back to that first contact and how those that came here, the settlers, and how we had to look after you to survive and live on the lands. So giving us that freedom again, but making that space and recognizing that this is what [native people] did for us. And making something in return. [...] the reconciliation should be from us and not something [where] you're coming in and wanting me to [...] explain reconciliation.

For Dawn, “reconciliation” extends beyond the scope of the residential school system and is about the very nature of how Settler and Indigenous people relate to, and interact with, each other. We joked later about how she enjoys putting people in the hot seat, and was also okay with being there herself. But the way in which she criticized the question I was asking, and the mentality that was behind it, really gave me cause to think deeply about what it is I wanted to know, what I was asking from this research, and who it was for.

1.1 About the Oneida Nation of the Thames

To answer my questions about reconciliation and language revitalization, I conducted an ethnographic investigation of three different language sites within the Oneida Nation of the Thames—a First Nations community with 5546 registered band members, and 2029 living on reserve (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada). It is located about 20 minutes southwest of London, Ontario. The Oneida are part of what is known as the Iroquois or Haudenosaunee Confederacy and, traditionally, was comprised of five nations: the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga, and the Seneca. The term Iroquois was used by early French settlers, but the people themselves prefer Haudenosaunee which translates to ‘People of the Longhouse’. In 1722, the Tuscarora sought refuge among the Haudenosaunee and were brought into the alliance by the Onondaga—thus five nations became six. The Nations are typically listed from east to west, which corresponds to the geographic area of their traditional homelands which were located in New York State (Appendix I). The location of their traditional homelands is culturally significant, and community members state that this geographic layout closely resembles a Longhouse—the traditional Haudenosaunee homestead—with the Mohawk guarding the eastern door and the Seneca guarding the western door. In addition, the

militancy associated with the Mohawk through their resistance movements and the relative strength of their language is attributed to the fact that the Mohawk would have been the first of the five nations to come into contact with European settlers when they landed along the eastern shore of the United States. The Iroquoian language family is vast and is separated into northern and southern categories (Appendix II). Cherokee is the only southern Iroquoian language. In the northern Iroquoian languages, there are Tuscarora and Nottoway (sometimes referred to as the Coast languages) and the Lake languages, which are divided into the Huronian—Lorette-Huron, Wyandot, Neutral, and Erie—and the Inner Iroquoian—Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca (Michelson 1988). Mohawk and Oneida are ‘sister languages’, and have strong grammatical similarities.

The land that the Oneida Nation of the Thames is located on was given in the 1701 Nanfan Treaty, which established that the land was traditional Beaver Hunting Ground and was signed by representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy and John Nanfan—the colonial governor of New York. During the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), the Oneidas went against the majority of the Confederacy and fought against the British, under the agreement that their win would guarantee their rights to their ancestral homelands. This agreement was recorded in 1784 in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and again in 1789 in the Treaty of Fort Harmar (Oneida Nation of the Thames). However, the state of New York would force tribal land cessions through 26 different treaties and reduce their traditional territory from approximately six million acres to a few hundred (Oneida Nation of the Thames). This culminated in the 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek which forced the removal of all Iroquois from New York State. The Oneidas sold off their remaining land in 1839, and a group of approximately 700 Oneidas relocated near Green Bay, Wisconsin while another 200 purchased the land that is now known as the Oneida Nation of the Thames (Oneida Nation of the Thames). Because of this purchase, many people in the community emphasize the fact that it is not a ‘reserve’ proper and instead refer to it as a Settlement; however, the land in general was ceded and set aside for use by Indigenous groups through the 1701 Nanfan treaty. Thus, the Canadian government treats the Oneida Nation of the Thames as they would any other reserve and they are still governed federally by the Indian Act as a result.

Consistent reports about the number of speakers on the territory and worldwide is difficult to find. Golla et al. (2007) reported approximately 200 fluent Oneida speakers in Ontario and 12 in their sister territory in Wisconsin; however, Ethnologue reports approximately 180 Oneida speakers in Ontario and 192 worldwide based on 2011 census data. Ethnologue indicates that their data primarily came from the Six Nations Grand River reserve near Brantford, Ontario, but Oneida Nation of the Thames community members do not report any Oneida speakers at Six Nations and there are no formal reports of Oneida speakers from the Six Nations reserve. In addition, community estimates about the number of speakers left are more conservative. Informal community reports, based on knowing speakers personally, indicate that there are currently between 40 and 60 fluent Oneida speakers left, all of whom are bilingual in English. The exact number varies, and unfortunately the number is rapidly decreasing because all the speakers are in the grandparent generation. The people with whom I worked most closely estimate that there has not been a new Oneida speaker in over 30 years, and the first language speakers in the community are all in their 60s or above. The remaining Oneida speakers overwhelmingly reside at the Oneida Nation of the Thames, with few to no speakers in either of Oneida's sister territories in New York and Wisconsin.

1.2 Methods

I have been engaged in research in the Oneida Nation of the Thames community since February 2015, when I was introduced to a group of community members looking to start an adult Oneida immersion program called *Twatati*. I discuss my involvement with this community language project in more detail in Chapter 4, but this connection significantly influenced the direction of my project as I decided to focus on the revitalization and language-learning efforts that were happening with the Oneida language at the Oneida Nation of the Thames.

Initially, I had intended to focus on comparing community-based language programs in two different communities, but conflicts within the other possible language program made it an unsuitable field site for research. In addition to this unsuitable field site, I had just been informed that the Anthropology Department was going to offer a field course about language revitalization for the first time, and that their partner community was the

Oneida Nation of the Thames. I was also aware that the First Nations Studies program offered an Oneida Language and Grammar course during the summer, and decided to shift my focus entirely to the language work being done at the Oneida Nation of the Thames. In total, I have three different ‘field sites’ that are all related to various language learning and revitalization efforts in the Oneida Nation of the Thames: two university courses hosted by the University of Western Ontario—the Oneida Language and Grammar course and the Language Revitalization in Practice course—and Twatati, an Oneida immersion program for adults.

I have relied exclusively on ethnographic methods, which is a broad term that encompasses numerous ways of collecting qualitative data including interviews, participant observation, and document analysis (Kawulich 2005). Participant observation is a hallmark of anthropological investigation, and Bernard (2004) understands it to be a process of establishing rapport within a community so that the researcher can immerse themselves in the data, and then remove themselves so that we may be able to write about it. Bernard (2004) includes natural conversations, formal and informal interviews, questionnaires, and checklists to be part of this methodology. This research uses data from fourteen semi-structured interviews conducted with people involved in any one of the three field sites, complemented by data collected during participant observation in these contexts.

I participated in the Oneida Language and Grammar course and Language Revitalization in Practice field course as a student but also took field notes about class activities and topics. In casual conversations with classmates, we spoke about typical student things such as course work, the projects we were working on, and how we were enjoying the class. Both course instructors were aware that I was in the class as a participant but also as a researcher, and I made an announcement in each class about the work that I was doing.

The Oneida Language and Grammar course was a five-week Oneida language class offered by the First Nation Studies program in July/August 2016. The course instructor was Kanatawakhon—a Mohawk linguist who has been teaching the class for the past five

years. Each member of the class was given a Letter of Information detailing my interests and the purpose of my research. I let them know that if they were interested in being interviewed about the class and talking about it further that they could send an email or just ask before, during, or after class. The classes were not recorded, but I participated in the class alongside the other students by taking notes, working on in-class assignments, and participating in group conversations.

The Language Revitalization in Practice field course was offered by the Department of Anthropology and taught by Dr. Tania Granadillo, a linguistic anthropologist whose career has focused on language revitalization. This was a three-week summer course that involved one week of in-class learning where students were taught about endangered languages in Canada, the current state of the Oneida language specifically, and two weeks in the Oneida Nation of the Thames carrying out various language revitalization activities. The point of this class was to give students experience about how language revitalization can happen, and how students can utilize their skills to assist communities with these efforts. As with the Oneida grammar course, students were told of my involvement in the class as a researcher and given a Letter of Information.

Twatati is a community-oriented program that seeks to provide a language learning opportunity to community members. Thus, I was not a student in the class, but have been a member of the organizing committee since February 2015. My personal involvement with this program both pre-dates and will extend past the scope of this thesis, which makes it difficult to write about a single snapshot of a community program. My interpretations of this program and how it runs are, inevitably, a sum of my experiences over the past two years, but for the purposes of this research I have chosen to focus on the origins of the program and as well as some of the difficulties, challenges, and lessons that have come up in the first year of the class to provide a sense of how community programs get started and how difficulties are navigated. As a committee member, I have primarily assisted with grant writing and making funding proposals, but have also provided input on program structure and delivery as requested. Twatati has been financially supported by the Aboriginal Languages Initiative (ALI), which is a federal program that gives money to Indigenous organizations for language preservation and revitalization activities.

I was the primary grant writer for both the 2016-2017 and 2017-2018 program years, and I continue to attend meetings and take the meeting minutes.

As mentioned previously, this project draws on participant observation from three different field sites and an additional fourteen semi-structured interviews with individuals who were involved in any one of these sites in their respective capacities as a student, fluent speaker, or instructor. Of course, these roles and capacities overlapped with one another on a case-by-case basis; because of the multivalent nature of language work, and the group of Oneida community members involved, and many of my participants related to language work through multiple lenses. For example, while some community members were interviewed as participants in the Language Revitalization and Practice course, some had also taken the Oneida Nation and Grammar class and/or were involved with Twatati. All participants who were interviewed were involved, one way or another, with the university classes. Although some members of Twatati were interviewed, none were interviewed as members of Twatati specifically. Based on my long-term involvement as a committee member, simply asking which things the group was comfortable with me including in my research made more sense than conducting more formal interviews. Thus, the information about Twatati is based on informal conversation and field notes taken during meetings and observation of the class itself.

I entered each one-on-one interview with a list of questions for participants. Broadly, these questions included biographical information, information about their involvement with the course, and their perspectives on reconciliation. I conducted seven formal interviews with people involved with the Language Revitalization in Practice class: four class members (three were non-community members), one camper, one of the fluent speakers, and one staff member at the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre. I conducted six formal interviews with people involved with the Oneida Language and Grammar course: five students and the instructor. Since my participants occupied a wide variety of positions within the community and outside of it, question lists were altered depending on these factors. In addition, participants were encouraged to deviate from the list and discuss whatever they felt was relevant and important in that context.

Interviews and field notes were transcribed, coded, and analyzed using a combination of NVivo and Microsoft Word. Depending on the context, some non-verbal cues such as body language, gestures, and tone of voice are also included in the transcriptions to better convey participant's thoughts about certain topics; however, these interviews were not coded to be used as part of a full discourse analysis. Thus, only non-verbal cues such as gestures and tone of voice were included when they affected the content. These gestures were recorded on paper during the interview, and incorporated into the final transcriptions. Transcriptions were analyzed using a grounded theory approach (Glasser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990), which emphasizes determining analytic categories or themes by reading through transcriptions and grouping all data together. In some ways, these categories reflect the questions I asked to my participants; however, all data related to those topics was group together regardless of when it came up in the conversation.

Although I engage in more depth with the core themes as the thesis continues, there were seven main analytic categories that emerged. First, participants discussed their motivations for choosing to participate in these courses, whether it was part of a degree program, a unique opportunity to do fieldwork, or one of the few options participants had to access the Oneida language. Second, participants frequently made comparisons between English and Oneida as languages, but also elaborated on how these comparisons directly reflected cultural differences. Third, the Oneida and Mohawk participants made strong ideological confluences between language and culture, and often stated that 'language is culture'. Fourth, participants also cited the multi-generational impact of residential schools, and how it influenced their decisions to participate in language learning and revitalization. Fifth, participants also discussed the 'root method' and how they felt it was the most effective way to learn the language. Sixth, participants also talked favourably about collaboration on language projects, though Oneida participants also emphasized that it was important to have a clear understanding of who controlled the items and knowledge produced within these collaborative endeavours.

Finally, one of the most interesting themes that emerged, and one that has shaped this thesis, is how participants felt about the concept of reconciliation and the process by

which it was carried out. Many participants were largely skeptical of the effectiveness of reconciliation, and, in many cases, were also unfamiliar with the entire TRC and what it has produced. In interviews, seven participants responded neutrally or neutral-positive when asked what they thought about reconciliation and the TRC. Some of these participants had ideas of what reconciliation might look like, such as bringing it into the elementary school system to educate youth about Canada's true history, but all these ideas were also met with concerns about a lack of follow through. Six participants were overtly negative about reconciliation, calling the process a 'farce' and felt that it would not actually lead to any of the changes it purported to make. None of the participants felt overtly positively about this process or the concept. In addition, there were repeated emphases from Oneida participants that reconciliation was for non-native people, and not for them; however, non-native participants simultaneously emphasized their discomfort with stating the importance of reconciliation and what it looked like because, in their opinion, it was not for them to decide. This stalemate of action where both parties who are purported to be involved in this process, specifically 'Aboriginal' and 'non-Aboriginal' people, are disinterested in using reconciliation as a way forward was interesting because participants also felt favourably towards collaborating on language projects.

1.3 A Note on Terminology

Atalay (2006) uses the terms 'Western' and 'Indigenous' to refer to two "very broad, general groups of people and communities, each of which in itself encompasses a great deal of complexity and diversity of views" (303). Atalay uses these broad terms to present her argument in general terms, and not to imply that these are two homogenous groups with singular and rigid worldviews. Following this, I use the terms 'Settler' and 'Indigenous' to reference those same two communities. I choose to use the term Settler to remind the reader, and myself, of the ongoing existence of settler colonialism and to also discursively locate Settlers as a current and active category or process—we are part of that system even if we were not part of its construction. I will also use the terms 'Aboriginal' and 'non-Aboriginal' as they appear in certain government documents, such as the TRC, and when those are the terms used by other cited references.

When and where these terms are used throughout this thesis is a conscious decision because ‘Aboriginal’ is a term used by the Canadian state to refer to three distinct Indigenous groups that exist in Canada: First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. Within these groups there is significant diversity, but these three broad categories are subsumed within the term ‘Aboriginal’. Aboriginal is a legal and social identity is constructed by the state that Alfred (2005) characterizes as Onkwehonwe² being “told that by emulating white people, they can gain acceptance and possibly even fulfillment within mainstream society” (23). Thus, the terms “Aboriginal” and “non-Aboriginal” are only used as appropriate based on source material as I want to avoid referencing Indigenous people within the terms used by the Canadian state. Finally, throughout this thesis I tend to use the term ‘Haudenosaunee’ as opposed to ‘Iroquois’. My participants did not express an explicit preference for one or the other, but within interviews and informal conversation the term Haudenosaunee is used much more often.

1.4 Thesis Outline

Frequently in the ethnographic investigations of language revitalization efforts in Indigenous communities, the description has a narrow focus of the work being done and the specific ways in which communities accomplish or work toward their language goals. However, these same authors also acknowledge that language work is primary a political endeavour and that revitalization is the result of successful political re-negotiation within a community. Although Meek (2011) briefly discusses the socio-political history of the Athabaskan area in which she does her research, she focuses on the reasons for language loss as opposed to language revitalization. Given the current Canadian political climate and the discourse of reconciliation, it is a significant time to understand what language work and language revitalization means as a political endeavour, both within and outside of Indigenous communities.

² Alfred’s preferred term that he uses in *Wasáse* to refer to Indigenous peoples. It roughly translates to “Original peoples.”

In Chapter 2, I build my theoretical perspective on how ‘reconciliation’—as articulated by the TRC—does not work given that Canada is a settler state. I rely on the politics of Indigenous resurgence, which is an emerging theory and practice that encourages Indigenous peoples to focus on the regeneration of their communities regardless of the colonial climate. Following Simpson (2011), I argue that reconciliation must be grounded in resurgence to be a workable framework. In addition, I also conceptualize language revitalization as a political endeavour that is the result of successful political negotiation both within Indigenous communities and the Colonial outside. By doing so, it provides a space for collaborative work to be done where both Settler and Indigenous people can engage with anti-colonial work through language revitalization activities. I also discuss the way in which language policy has historically been used in Canada to define who does and does not count as Canadian to demonstrate how language, especially in Canada, is a significant site to renegotiate this relationship.

In Chapter 3, I discuss two different course-based language sites at the Oneida Nation of the Thames. By doing so, I demonstrate how Settler participation in, and involvement with, Indigenous community language projects can extend beyond the suggestions in the TRC and can serve as spaces to begin decolonizing mindsets while working to advance community language goals. In Chapter 4, I outline my involvement with *Twatati*, a community-based adult Oneida language program as a member of the organizing committee. Outlining the process by which community language programs are funded, implemented, and run sheds light on how existing structures of support can work against community language projects, and the types of changes that are needed to shift the linguistic landscape to better support Indigenous languages. In Chapter 5, I build on the argument I put forth in Chapter 2 and advocate for the development of a resurgent politics for Settler peoples as well, and maintain that resurgence should be the guiding meta-framework that restructures the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Settler state.

The point of characterizing language work as political is to emphasize the important role that language can play in what the Canadian federal government has called ‘reconciliation’. The literature on community-based language work (e.g., House 2005,

Nevins 2013, Jacob 2013) typically focuses on the processes and ways in which community language activists take up the mantle of teaching the language and implementing it into school boards, but very little work has been done to specifically integrate the settler colonial context of Canada with the value of Indigenous language revitalization. By discussing the concept of reconciliation and offering resurgence as a more appropriate framework that acknowledges the structure of settler colonialism, I am advocating that we discuss what it means to revitalize Indigenous languages within the reality of settler colonialism. I envision this thesis as a coming together of anthropological investigation of language revitalization with an Indigenous approach to living a resurgent, anti-colonial life. By doing so, I hope that Settler decolonization through language work—at both micro and macro levels—is being led by resurgent perspectives because, as I will argue, it is a resurgent politics that needs to guide the new relationship between Settler and Indigenous peoples.

1.5 Positionality

Finally, it is important to acknowledge the space that I occupy in this conversation about reconciliation, language revitalization, and Indigenous resurgence politics. I am a white Settler woman of various and unclear European descent, and prior to this research I had very little involvement and contact with Indigenous communities. As a Master's student, most of what I learned before entering the field was from the classes and instructors I had during my undergraduate education at the University of Western Ontario. My background training in Anthropology and First Nations Studies had led me to the realization that many things I had thought and felt about Canada were incorrect. Previously, I had subscribed to the idea that all the people who lived in this country experienced its benefits and bounty in the same way that I did, but I became increasingly aware that the benefits I experience are a result of the incredible privilege that I have as a white woman in Euro-Canadian society.

The recognition of this privilege makes my stake in the issue of decolonization and reconciliation at an academic level incredibly complicated. Through systems of privilege that are difficult to see and articulate when you are immersed in them, I had the support and resources to end up in a graduate program. I also had access to Oneida and Mohawk

teachers who were willing to take on the burden of educating me. I understand my position in this conversation to be as a non-Indigenous woman hoping to reach out to people who are like me, but who might not have had the privilege of working with an Indigenous community and the opportunity to begin to understand the cultural differences (and interacting dynamics of oppression and subjugation) between Indigenous societies and Euro-Canadian society. I hope to take my experiences and discuss issues of colonization, revitalization, and dealing with a settler colonial position in a way that makes sense to other non-Indigenous Canadians who want to take on the issues of our violent settler colonial reality. Fundamentally, I would not say that this thesis is *for* the Oneida Nation of the Thames or any other Indigenous community. Based on my position as a white Euro-Canadian woman, I have no say what is needed in any Indigenous community—I can only occupy a space of allyship (however complicated that terminology is) and constantly re-evaluate my own stance and position as I have more conversations with Onkwehonwe people and learn how to better understand my privilege, my responsibilities, and my power to act. This thesis is part of a broader intellectual project to create a framework for understanding how Settler and Indigenous people can reconcile the past, while acknowledging the fact that colonization is ongoing and that we are not a post-colonial country; the structures of settler colonialism have not shifted since Europeans first came to North America.

I focus on reconciliation because the way in which the TRC characterizes the re-building of this new relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people does not account for the reality of settler colonialism. This idea will be explored more in Chapter 2, but reconciliation cannot occur between Indigenous peoples and Settlers—it is on the Settler population to reconcile within themselves ideas about their position as colonizers and the privilege it has brought them. The idea of reconciliation, if we are to be serious about it, is about Settler peoples—like myself—learning and respecting Indigenous ways of knowing and understanding, while also recognizing the validity of those perspectives. It should be about allowing Indigenous communities to create non-colonial political structures and engage in resurgence within their own communities and for their own peoples. However, just as Indigenous peoples have been systematically marginalized and assimilated through settler colonial governments, these changes cannot occur in a

vacuum. The structures of settler colonialism are still in place, and Settler people need to both acknowledge and engage with this reality.

My greatest fear is that I am making reconciliation all about Settlers when attention needs to shift towards Indigenous peoples; however, I think it is time that Settlers engage with the idea of decolonization not in terms of how Indigenous peoples are going to decolonize, but how we are going to decolonize our mindsets and the power structures that systematically advantage us over others. It is also not my job or place to dictate the needs of Indigenous communities through the federal government framework of reconciliation. Indigenous people and communities know what they want and need, and have worked for these goals in various capacities in their own communities long before the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples in 1996, the Language Task Force in 2005, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2015. So that begs the question of who benefits from, and identifies with, these massive federal and provincial attempts to create a more aware and inclusive society—who are they really for, and who should they be for? Indigenous people and communities have rightfully rejected, and continue to reject, the patronizing Euro-Canadian government “solutions” for the systematic inequality and discrimination they received at the hands of the very same government. Thus, I am hoping to make a small contribution by talking about the tools that non-Indigenous people can use to dismantle their own colonial mindsets, and that can, eventually, be used to dismantle the existing structures of power.

Chapter 2

2 Reconciliation and Resurgence

In this chapter, I discuss the idea of ‘reconciliation’ as it is conceptualized within the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP) in 1996 and, more recently, in the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). I also discuss the critiques of reconciliation offered by Indigenous resurgence politics, which argues that Indigenous people and communities should not wait for state support and approval to pursue acts of cultural revitalization. I also discuss the authors and texts behind Indigenous resurgence politics and draw out three core themes of resurgence. Following Leanne Simpson (2011), I contend that for reconciliation to be a useful concept, it needs to be grounded in the three tenets of Indigenous resurgence: that resurgence involves refocusing from the colonial outside to the Indigenous inside, that resurgence occurs at the level of the self, and that resurgence must happen within a traditional framework. Grounding reconciliation within resurgence can make it a useful concept that brings people together in anti-colonial relationships which can help decolonize individual mindsets and, eventually, work towards decolonizing structures of power.

2.1 Reconciliation According to the TRC

The seeds for the framework of reconciliation as the new basis for the relationship between the Canadian government and Indigenous peoples were planted in 1996 in the Report of the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples (Coulthard 2014:23; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2007b:6). This seed bloomed in the 2007 Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). The IRSSA was a class action lawsuit between the Canadian government and over 86,000 Indigenous people who were forced into the residential school system. There are five components to the IRSSA: the Common Experience Payment (CEP) fund, the Independent Assessment Process (IAP), the Healing fund, the Commemoration fund, and the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) fund (Indian Residential Schools Settlement 2007b). The TRC was launched on June 1, 2008, with the purpose of providing a comprehensive response

to the effects of the residential school system so that people could begin to “work towards a stronger and healthier future” (Indian Residential Schools Settlement 2007a).

In June 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada released its final report and 94 Calls to Action. These Calls to Action are divided into two parts: Legacy and Reconciliation, and address topics such as child welfare, education, justice, health, and language and culture. With the release of this final report and the Calls to Action, the Canadian state has embarked on a national project that seeks to:

[...come] to terms with events of the past in a manner that overcomes conflict and establishes a respectful and healthy relationship among people, going forward. To the Commission, reconciliation is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015b:6)

The TRC explicitly positions reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples based on the idea that this framework depicts a process of healing that makes sense to both Indigenous and Settler people. The Calls to Action attempt to provide a series of stepping stones and actions that the justice, education, and post-secondary systems can take to reconcile with Indigenous populations by including them in their structures and bylaws.

The Calls to Action provide specific ways in which institutions—such as the education, justice, and healthcare systems—can “redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation [...]” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015a:1). Essentially, this creates a situation in which the Calls to Action can simply be implemented through policy and by doing so, the State can claim that reconciliation has happened between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. A language initiative introduced by the London District Catholic School Board (LDCSB) is a good example of how this way of thinking about reconciliation has created “lip service” that does not create any tangible change in the lives of Indigenous peoples.

In January 2017, the LDCSB sent out an interest survey to all students to determine if there was enough interest in native languages to warrant the development of a native language-learning program (Appendix III). These classes would be free and offered to

children from Junior Kindergarten through Grade 8, and take place on Saturday mornings for 2.5 hours per week from September to June or for 2.5 hours per day Monday to Friday for the month of July. This program is run through the LDSCB's International Languages Program in order to provide students with an opportunity to "learn and/or maintain a language other than English or French and to develop an appreciation for diversity and intercultural understanding" (Appendix III). Parents filled out their child's school, grade, preferred schedule for class, and which native language their child was interested in. The options were: Cayuga, Cree, Mohawk, Ojibwe, Delaware, Ojib-cree, and Oneida. If students already had knowledge of any of these languages, they were asked to indicate their level of fluency.

This method of incorporating indigenous content into mainstream school curriculum is consistent with the TRC's Calls to Action, which focuses on teaching native languages in schools (10-iv) for the preservation and revitalization of indigenous languages (16; Truth and Reconciliation Commission(a)). The introduction of native languages into mainstream education is a complicated ideological choice that impacts the perception of the language, who it is used by, and what it is used for. Meek (2011) argues that institutionalizing linguistic authority (i.e., defining who can speak the language) might result in some community members becoming alienated from the language. Meek also cautions that institutions like schools create ideas about who is allowed to speak and where the languages are spoken. Nevins (2013) concludes that learning Apache in schools came to be associated with learning grammar/systems, while learning the language at home came to represent intergenerational listening and respect. Thus, there are different cultural aspects of language that are either emphasized or neglected depending on the context in which the language is learned. House (2005) describes how the "Navajo-ization" of the curriculum gave parents confidence in the school system, and resulted in linguistic insecurity in the household because schools were deemed "Navajo enough" to teach both language and culture to their children. Thus, linguistic authority moved from the home to the schools, and this Western institution became the only site in which Western values were challenged. The LDSCB program mentioned earlier also contributes to giving linguistic authority to non-Indigenous institutions by effectively removing the language and language resources from communities. Because of the effects

of institutionalizing language, there is a need to ensure that the language learning and revitalization are positioned as part of a broader community-wide revitalization of language, culture, and traditional practice.

2.2 The Issues of TRC Reconciliation

Over the past thirty years, truth and reconciliation commissions have emerged as a way for governments to apologize for past atrocities and human rights violations. Truth commissions are a significant part of transitional justice—a term coined by American academics in the 1990s to describe the ways in which new governments coming to power deal with the human rights violations of their predecessors (Hayner 2011). Hayner (2011) understands truth commissions to be:

(1) [...] focused on past, rather than ongoing, events; (2) investigat[ing] a pattern of events that took place over a period of time; (3) engag[ing] directly and broadly with the affected population, gathering information on their experiences; (4) [as] a temporary body, with the aim of concluding with a final report; and (5) is officially authorized or empowered by the state under review (11-2).

The most significant part of her widely cited definition to the discussion of truth and reconciliation in Canada is the fact that truth commissions explicitly deal with the past, as opposed to current and ongoing events. This definition is important in terms of transitional justice because truth commissions are typically established by new, democratic governments replacing old authoritarian governments. Hayner (2011) does not deal extensively with the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, though it makes an appearance among 16 others as an illustrative case study. As demonstrated earlier, the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission explicitly places ‘reconciliation’ as something that needs to occur between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In addition, the TRC is explicitly about the residential school system, and seeks to make amends and reparations for the previous rights violations that occurred within these schools. In this sense, Canada’s TRC fits Hayner’s definition for a truth commission. What complicates it, however, is the fact that the Canadian circumstance does not fit in with the transitional justice model from which the concept of truth commissions comes—there has been no change in regime, and the same state that implemented those policies and committed those violations is the one implementing the

TRC. The government party in power has changed, but the structure of settler colonialism that allowed for the residential school policy in the first place has remained unchanged. In what follows, I consolidate the work that Coulthard (2014), Simpson (2011), and Alfred (2005) have done on tracing the discourse of reconciliation within Canada and summarize why this reconciliatory model does not work in the settler colonial context of Canada.

It is first important to reiterate where the discourse and model of reconciliation first appears in Canadian politics. Coulthard (2014) traces the decade of increased First Nations militancy that culminated in the 1990 Oka Crisis. The Oka Crisis was a standoff between the Canadian army and Mohawk activists from Kanesatake who were protesting the development of a golf course on their land. In response to this, the Canadian government initiated a Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to address the fractured relationship between the state and Indigenous people. The government responded to the recommendations in the RCAP in 1998 with *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*. *Gathering Strength* begins with a Statement of Reconciliation in which the Government of Canada recognizes the “mistakes and injustices of the past” in order to “set a new course in its policies for Aboriginal peoples” (Coulthard 2014:121). In doing so, the government is explicitly putting colonialism in the past which, Coulthard explains, is how previous Prime Minister Stephen Harper made an apology for the residential school system and then stated that Canada “has no history of colonialism” the next year at the G20 Summit in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Ljunggren 2009). This statement was similarly echoed by current Prime Minister Justin Trudeau regarding Canada’s ability to offer support for UN peacekeeping missions: “without some of the baggage that so many other Western countries have — either colonial pasts or perceptions of American imperialism” (Fontaine 2016). In the state’s conceptualization of reconciliation, it is a framework that firmly locates Canada’s colonial legacy and wrongdoing in the past. However, as Coulthard (2014), Simpson (2011), and Alfred (2005) all point out, this does not account for the fact that Canada is a settler colonial model, and therefore a reconciliatory framework that works for governments that are removed, pushed out, or replaced does not work for a model in which the same state that created the policy for residential schools is the one that creates the reconciliation.

Coulthard (2014) articulates this as having the language of transitional justice applied to a non-transitional circumstance. As evidenced in Hayner's (2011) definition, truth and reconciliation commissions are explicitly set up to discover and reveal past injustices, but in Canada there is no formal marking from "an authoritarian past to a democratic present" (Coulthard 2014:22). In these cases, Coulthard argues, the state must "ideologically fabricate" this transition and locate the "abuses of settler colonization firmly in the past, [...] while leaving the present structure of colonial rule largely unscathed" (2014:22). Simpson (2011:22) points out: "If reconciliation is focused only on residential schools rather than the broader set of relationships that generated policies, legislation and practices aimed at assimilation and political genocide, then there is a risk that reconciliation will "level the playing field in the eyes of Canadians [...] the historical "wrong" has now been "righted" and further transformation is not needed, since the historic situation has been remedied."

Alfred (2005) argues that the principle of restitution should replace reconciliation on the basis that reconciliation is "[...] fatally flawed because it depends on the false notion of a moral equivalency between Onkwehonwe¹ and Settlers, and on a basic acceptance of colonial institutions and relationships" (151). He continues by saying that restitution, which broadly involves "demanding the return of what was stolen [and] accepting reparations (either land, material, or monetary recompense) for what cannot be returned" (2005:154), is, in fact, a precondition for true reconciliation to take place. The return of stolen land and the payment of reparations for what cannot be returned puts Indigenous peoples and Settlers on equal moral ground.

Indigenous resurgence politics critiques the way in which the TRC positions reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada. By promoting reconciliation without restitution, or without acknowledging the dubious circumstances in which Canada exists, you are "permanently enshrin[ing] colonial injustices" and forcing aboriginal peoples to be reconciled with imperialism (Alfred 2005:152). The way in

¹ The Mohawk word for Indigenous people which most closely translates to Original peoples.

which ‘reconciliation’ is understood within the context of Canadian federal policies like the RCAP and the TRC does not address the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples and promotes the idea that the harms of the settler state are located in the past. Thus, reconciliation is the process by which we can move forward and heal from those past harms in this context. However, “settler colonialism is a structure, not an event” (Wolf in Coulthard 2014:125). Settler colonialism is the way in which the Canadian state and its policies are built—not something that happened and is now over. The residential school system was one part of settler colonialism—albeit one that had a devastating effect on Indigenous languages, communities, and health—but it is not settler colonialism itself. Without disrupting the imperial structure through a process like restitution, the broader structure of settler colonialism that generated policies like the residential school policy go unchecked, and the structures that produce and reproduce colonialism go unchanged. Indeed, these structures are presumed to be legitimate and natural—undeserving of scrutiny and question. Grounding reconciliation in resurgence provides a platform on which broader structures of settler colonialism can be challenged, and for anti-colonial relationships and mindsets to be formed. If reconciliation is left the way it has been conceptualized by the TRC—between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people—we are positioning “Indigenous subjects [as] the primary object of repair, not the colonial relationship” (Coulthard 2014:127). If we want to be serious about ‘reconciliation’, it is important that we move away from the way it is understood within the TRC and ground it in Indigenous resurgence.

2.3 Indigenous Resurgence

Indigenous resurgence is a theory and practice that has emerged over the last decade as a call to action, of sorts, for Indigenous peoples to move away from a politics of recognition, where rights and Indigeneity are determined based on their relationship to the state, and towards a politics of resurgence that focuses on Indigenous communities and people regenerating traditional cultural practices and ties in order to “resist the effects of the contemporary colonial assault” (Alfred and Corntassel 2005:599). The foundations of Indigenous resurgence were laid in 2005 by Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred, while Jeff Corntassel (2012), Leanne Simpson (2011), and Glen Coulthard (2014)

have all contributed to the articulation of this politics in subsequent publications. Alfred's seminal book, *Wasáse*, has been characterized as a 'warrior manifesto' that encourages Indigenous peoples to reject the forms of negotiation offered by the state, and move inwards to their own communities and bring back traditional practices as a way to resist contemporary colonialism. Each of these scholars has contributed to the intellectual formulation of resurgence in a different way; however, they are careful to not articulate an exact formula or linear pathway to 'resurgence' because what specifically constitutes resurgence will look different within each community and Indigenous nation. Their work provides broad directions and mantras that individuals should adopt in order to reject the colonial order and move inwards towards community regeneration. Based on their work, I have identified three important tenets of Indigenous resurgence in which reconciliation can be grounded so that it becomes an anti-colonial framework as opposed to one that reproduces the colonial order.

The first tenet is a direction to *refocus from colonial outside to Indigenous inside*. Leanne Simpson writes: "[...] at the core of [Alfred's] work, he challenges us to reclaim the Indigenous contexts (knowledge, interpretations, values, ethics, processes) for our political cultures. In doing so, he refocuses our work from trying to transform the colonial outside into a flourishing of the Indigenous inside" (2011:17). Simpson (2011) actively situates her book as the "beginning of an exploration" of resurgence based in Nishnaabeg² political and legal traditions; it should not be taken as a reflection of all Nishnaabeg people, nor are these conclusions static. She summarizes her thoughts so that other community members may take and leave parts of her personal process as they will, and bring what they choose back to their own communities and discussions.

Coulthard (2014) articulates a resurgent politics that "is less oriented around attaining legal and political recognition by the state, and more about Indigenous peoples *empowering themselves* through cultural practices of individual and collective self-fashioning" (Coulthard 2014:18, emphasis mine). The politics of recognition—as

² Another term for the Anishnaabe people.

opposed to resurgence—encourages an understanding of Indigeneity on the state’s terms without critical reflection on how this encourages the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples. Coulthard’s rejection of the politics of recognition is grounded in Franz Fanon’s work *Black Skin White Masks*: “when delegated exchanges of recognition occur in real world contexts of domination the terms of accommodation usually end up being determined by and in the interests of the hegemonic partner in the relationship” (Coulthard 2014:17). Thus, the politics of recognition cannot undermine the domination of Indigenous peoples by the Canadian state because what will end up being recognized is not Indigeneity as it is determined and understood by Indigenous peoples, but as ‘Indians’ or ‘Aboriginals’—reflecting the current ways in which the Canadian state deals with the Indigenous population. By stating that Indigenous peoples should empower themselves through community and cultural engagement, Coulthard encourages communities to define Indigeneity for themselves without state input.

Indigenous resurgence encourages Indigenous activists and community members to focus on the regeneration of indigeneity, rather than attempting to transform the colonial outside. This resurgence and regeneration is a completely Indigenous project that can only be undertaken by Indigenous peoples and communities. Since Indigenous resurgence encourages the regeneration of indigeneity, I argue that this leaves space for Settler people to engage with the ‘colonial outside’ and work towards decolonizing structures of power. Thus, a resurgence of the Indigenous inside can exist simultaneously and symbiotically with a Settler decolonization of the colonial outside. Decolonizing structures of power does not happen as a one step process. Settler colonialism and the displacement of Indigenous peoples has been occurring for over five hundred years on Turtle Island³—thus the process of decolonizing or removing the colonial influence does not change with a simple action. It occurs through changing relationships between individuals and having these mindsets frame new policies and interactions going forward.

³ A widely used term in many Indigenous communities for the land that is also known as North America.

This leads to the second tenet of Indigenous resurgence—that it *occurs at the level of the self*. Alfred and Corntassel (2005) write: “decolonization and regeneration are not at root collective and institutional processes. They are shifts in thinking and action that *emanate from recommitments and reorientations at the level of the self* that, over time and through proper organization, manifest as broad social and political movements to challenge state agendas and authorities” (611, emphasis mine). Since these reorientations occur at the level of the self, Indigenous communities can “re-establish the processes by which [they] live and who [they] are within the current context [they] find [themselves]” (Simpson 2011:17) even amid an unfriendly colonial climate. If the beginnings of resurgence are located between individuals, then reconciliation and anti-colonial relationships can also form within, and because of, things like the TRC, even though ‘reconciliation’ within that framework simply works to maintain the colonial order. Coulthard (2014) concludes his book by presenting five theses of resurgence based on a critical reflection of the Idle No More movement. His theses cover topics such as the characterization of Indigenous acts of resistance as incredibly militant (Thesis I), the rejection of the capitalism and the hetero-patriarchy (Theses 2 and 4), and how the displacement of Indigenous peoples through gentrification is based on *terra nullius*—the same concept used to justify the European settlement of Turtle Island (Thesis 3). The fifth and final thesis is the most pertinent to this discussion: Beyond the Nation-State. This thesis is the most significant and relevant for my use of the concepts of resurgence and reconciliation because Coulthard addresses the idea that engaging with the state on its terms simply legitimizes the dominance of the state and reproduces “the forms of racist, sexist, economic, and political configurations that we initially sought [...] to challenge” (2014:179). I contend that engagements with the settler state must be met with critical reflection and skepticism, but it can be done in a way that will support the eventual decolonization of structures of power. Indigenous resurgence must begin through individual reorientations of thought and practice. The third tenet of resurgence works to provide different models that can be used to structure these reorientations within traditional Indigenous thought and practice.

The third and final tenet of resurgence is the importance of *working within a traditional framework*. As previously mentioned, Simpson (2011) offers an initial exploration of what resurgence would look like within traditional Nishnaabeg thought and legal

tradition. Thus, she attempts to define for herself what resurgence looks like, and shares her thoughts so that other Indigenous people and communities can take what works for them and bring it back to their communities. Corntassel (2012) has contributed significantly by suggesting different models that Indigenous communities and people can use to think about the “nature of everyday resurgence practices” (89). Alfred and Corntassel (2005) and Corntassel (2012) advocate for using the Fourth World model introduced by Manuel and Posluns (1974), which states that Europeans and Indigenous peoples have never co-existed because Settler groups have consistently attempted to dominate and exploit Indigenous peoples. They imagine a new “Fourth World” in which European biases and domination are re-evaluated and Indigenous and Settler people can co-exist.

The second model they reference is the Peoplehood Matrix introduced by Holm, Pearson, and Chavis (2003). The peoplehood model was originated by Robert K. Thomas in the 1980s as a method of conceptualizing and talking about group identity without using the conventional norms of grouping people as members of “classes, polities, cultural units, races, or religious groups” (Holm et al. 2003:11). It is based in Edward Spicer’s work that sought to define “enduring peoples”: groups that had languages, religions, and territories that colonizers sought to destroy, or in the case of territories, claim for themselves (Holm et al. 2003:11). To these three factors, Holm added the notion of “sacred history” to further define what constituted peoplehood. Thus, a peoplehood consists of four inter-related factors: Language, Sacred History, Place Territory, and Ceremonial Cycle (see Peoplehood Matrix in Holm et al. 2003:13). Each of these factors “intertwines, interacts, and interpenetrates” (Holm et al. 2003:13) with the others, meaning that a disruption of one indicates a threat to the other aspects of peoplehood (Corntassel 2012). By extension, resurgence or regeneration in one of these aspects strengthens the others and becomes part of an everyday act of being Indigenous and reconnecting the factors of peoplehood that are being fractured by settler colonialism. The peoplehood model is also a useful tool for thinking about what this traditional framework entails, and where work needs to be done to recreate “the cultural and political flourishing of the past” (Simpson 2011:51). For any ‘reconciliatory’ effort to be useful, it needs to include these tenets of resurgence and also engage in what Alfred (2005) describes as a “deep decolonization”—actions that

deconstruct the roots of the colonial structure in order to reimagine the surface. There are many people engaging in deep decolonization throughout Indigenous communities—these are the people building organizations based on their community values and principles, and those fighting for land, hunting, and fishing rights. Arguably, another group of people engaging in deep decolonization are the language teachers, organizers, and activists.

2.4 The Politics of Language Work

In the ethnographic literature that documents the perseverance of minority languages and revitalization efforts, the general conclusion is that minority languages survive under specific social, political, and historical conditions. Nevins (2013) states that successful revitalization programs are, first and foremost, a result of political negotiation within a community. This re-frames the issue of revitalization from the vague process of ‘saving a language’ to promoting the structures that support language and give it symbolic capital. This more accurately addresses both the causes of language loss as well as the conditions that keep a language in use despite the pressures to switch from a minority language to the dominant one. In addition, framing programs in this way allows for the inclusion of Indigenous agency and supports the health and well-being narratives that are frequently present in these efforts (e.g., Whalen et al. 2016).

Urla (2012) emphasizes that “language revitalization will never be simply a technical problem divorced from politics; it is deeply shaped by the larger political culture, and its techniques are very powerful” (224). Language revitalization can never occur outside the historical and contemporary socio-political landscape. In Canada, language revitalization cannot be divorced from settler colonialism and the policies that forced Indigenous children into residential schools and away from their communities and languages. While Coulthard (2014) cautions against always putting Indigenous peoples within a ‘victims of colonization’ narrative, it is also impossible to divorce the very need for language programs from the structure of settler colonialism that exists in Canada. However, keeping the tenets of resurgence at the core of any reconciliatory effort allows us to acknowledge the fact that Settler people also need to be part of this process by working to decolonize their own mindsets and dismantle the settler colonial structure of which they

are a part. By doing so, we take the existing political culture into account without characterizing Indigenous peoples as victims of colonization who cannot act and do things outside the colonial structure. I argue that this can be understood as being *anti-colonial* as opposed to *decolonial*.

The term ‘decolonization’ has become significant in the discourse surrounding Indigenous rights in Canada. It was coined in the 1930s by Moritz Julius Bonn who defined it as “the movements of subject peoples who wished to put an end to colonial rule” (Rothermund 2006:1). We intuitively associate decolonization with the removal of an imperial country from the borders of another, and then giving colonies political independence. Many contemporary definitions understand decolonization solely in those terms, and do not account for the settler-state colonialism in which the foreign group moves into the region and seeks to control the land. However, Indigenous peoples in Canada are not “colonies”; they are nations of people with whom European settlers made treaties and traded before nation-state borders were imposed.

The key difference between settler-state colonialism and other colonialism is that *land* is the key resource in the former, while the latter needs natural resources (e.g. cotton, oil) and human labour. In settler states like Canada, Indigenous peoples occupy the same land and space as the settler population. Under the narrow and contemporary definition of decolonization, Indigenous peoples do not have the same ability to claim a particular area of land as a true colony. Settler state colonialism is a lasting structure that relies on land to continually legitimize its claim over Indigenous peoples and natural resources. Although Bonn’s original understanding of decolonization includes settler and non-settler colonies alike, the contemporary, public understanding of colonization tends to conveniently exclude settler colonization. This is another aspect of the rhetoric that allows for Canada’s history of colonialism—and the harms it has done—to be discursively located in the past. This framing of colonization as a single event that has been completed is also encoded into the word *decolonization*. The prefix *de-* indicating “opposite, reduce, or remove”—plays into the narrative that colonization has happened, and thereby ignores the settler colonial structure. Settler colonialism, however, is ongoing and the systems, thought, and policies that allowed for residential schools remain in

place. Given this, I contend that the term “anti-colonial”—an adjective/preposition that means ‘opposed to or against’—more accurately describes the nature of revitalization projects because they are taking a stand against and opposing the continuing colonization of Indigenous peoples. This small shift in terminology more accurately reflects the current socio-political landscape and allows for those who are involved with language revitalization in settler colonial contexts to more truthfully engage in the political negotiation that is language work.

Explicitly engaging in language work as a political act also demonstrates the importance of constructing language loss as a general social problem. In Canada especially, discussing language revitalization a political act that is significant to the national project of reconciliation may help to garner support from the general public and political leaders. If language loss is a social problem, then language revitalization should be a social project. This can allow for changes to be made in the socio-political context that may have contributed language loss in the first place. While the residential school system had a specific mandate to eradicate Indigenous languages, Canadian society in general is not favourable to linguistic diversity. Canada’s official policy of French-English bilingualism and its national unity project of multiculturalism shape the socio-political landscape and continue contribute to language death, even though they are not as overtly detrimental as previous policies of forced assimilation. They relegate the maintenance of non-Official languages to the private sphere—eliminating the prospect of making these issues public political issues. Since Canadian society is currently not favourable to multilingualism, this has a serious detrimental effect on the possibility of Indigenous communities maintaining and promoting their languages considering the significant human and financial resources needed to support these programs.⁴ This means that it is important to make languages part of the political ‘reconciliation’ project between Indigenous and Settler peoples.

⁴ Explored more in chapter 3.

Meek (2011) concludes that we need to understand the challenges of language revitalization as a function of the contemporary sociolinguistic landscape and need to work to expand the linguistic marketplaces of these languages. As will be discussed in the next section, the impacts of federal language policy in Canada means that this linguistic marketplace will remain unchanged and simply continue to inhibit language revitalization efforts. Without federal policy changes that serve to open the linguistic marketplace to include Indigenous languages, language revitalization projects will continue to be an uphill battle that encounter both political and ideological blocks.

2.5 Re-Imagining Canada: The Significance of Language Policy

Policy considerations are important because they personalize abstract documents that are the product of ideas and certain ways of understanding and organizing the world. While the layman tends to understand policies as an abstract official document, this “dehumanizes, decontextualizes, and dehistoricizes official state policies, and is in fact part of the ideological apparatus by which they are normalized” (McCarty 2011:xii). McCarty (2011) characterizes policy as a “situated sociocultural process—the complex of practices, ideologies, attitudes, and formal and informal mechanisms” that can influence individual language choices in a pervasive way. Policy also shapes and is shaped by the ideas that people have about language, and what it means to speak a particular language or be part of a particular linguistic community (xii). Thus, to make sense of the individual language choices that people make as well as broader trends, we must pay attention to formal language policy while also inferring it from “people’s language practices, ideologies, and beliefs” (McCarty 2011:2). Through the examination of three key pieces of legislation—the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963 – 1971), the Official Languages Act (1969), and the Multiculturalism Act (1988)— it becomes clear that language and language policy has historically been integral to the creation of an official Canadian identity. Based on this analysis, I argue that insofar as language policy has been used to define what it means to be Canadian, and who “counts” as Canadian, including Indigenous language policy does more than simply provide protection and

funding for these endangered languages: it creates a new public Canadian identity, even in the absence of ‘Official Language’ status.

The 1950s and 1960s marked a significant period of transition in the public understanding of Canada and Canadian identity. Prior to this time, there was a significant “public privileging” of Christianity in Canada and ethnicity and religion were tightly linked in the minds of Canadians (Miedema 2005:15). The post-war period, however, marked a significant pushback to the notion that French Canadians were Roman Catholic, and that English Canadians were Protestants. Miedema (2005) notes a number of factors that contributed to a decline in the privileged position of mainline churches, including a significant period of Canadian economic affluence, the growth of the welfare state, and the trend toward internationalism and globalization. In order to accommodate the growing demand for an end to “racial and religious discrimination in public life,” federal politicians and state officials visibly rewrote the public image of Canada through different Acts and policies (Miedema 2005:xvii). One of the earliest and most significant pieces of legislation involved in this re-writing was the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB)—established by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in 1963.

The goal of the RCBB was to:

report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:xxi).

The federal government specifically requested recommendations that would ensure the bilingual and “basically bicultural character of the federal administration” (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:174). Within the terms of reference for the RCBB, they explain that their use of the term ‘race’ is an older one that references a national group as opposed to a biological one. Thus, the ‘two founding races’ refers to the “undisputed role played by Canadians of French and British origin in 1867, and long before Confederation” (xxii). Consequently, the Commission used the terminology of

language and culture to disguise the fact that this discourse covertly constructs Canada as a nation composed of two distinct ‘racial’ groups—English and French—indexed through the publicly acceptable languages within Canada. This completely disregards the fact that Indigenous peoples occupied this land before settlement, and the fact that the Royal Proclamation of 1763 recognized inherent Aboriginal right to land during European settlement, and stipulates that this title “can only be extinguished by treaty with the Crown” (Hanson 2009). The RCBB further alienated Indigenous peoples from public Canadian identity by constructing a public idea of Canada and what it is to be Canadian that did not acknowledge the existence of Indigenous peoples or their rights and title to this land.

The decline in public privilege for Christian churches, coupled with the Royal Commission, “defined relations between French and English in Canada as a question of equality of linguistic treatment” and removed the racial connotation of citizenship; thereby grounding “citizenship in a universalistic, human rights premise” (Igartua 2006:205, 222). The RCBB understood ‘two founding races’ to refer to two linguistic communities, thus uncoupling language from descent. The RCBB eventually resulted in the Official Languages Act of 1969—making English and French Canada’s official languages. In the same year that Canadian public identity came to be defined according to linguistic grouping, the infamous White Paper of 1969—proposed by then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and then Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien—called for the complete integration of indigenous people into the wider Canadian society by abolishing Indian status (Cameron 2004:xxi). This legislation led to a significant amount of backlash from Indigenous groups because it would have removed their collective rights to the land. Although it was never passed, the White Paper attempted to further the national unity project started through the RCBB and the Official Languages Act. The latter two documents ignored the fact that Indigenous people existed in Canada and had rights to the land, while the White Paper attempted to erase their legal status as peoples.

Although this national unity project was successful from a linguistic standpoint, there was significant public pushback against the notion of a ‘bicultural’ Canada. Many ‘new’ immigrant communities (especially Ukrainian, Italians, and Poles) fought against the

notion of a bicultural Canada as it excluded them from this new public national identity. This was eventually addressed through a policy of multiculturalism. In 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau officially declared that Canada would operate under a policy of multiculturalism—creating a multi-lingual and multicultural society within a two-nation state (Cameron 2004:xvii). The RCBB and the Official Languages Act (which were enacted prior to the policy of multiculturalism) cemented the idea that to be Canadian was to speak English and/or French, and the paradox of multiculturalism within a bilingual and binational framework did not go unnoticed by the Quebec government and Indigenous leaders. The official Multiculturalism Act was drafted by 1985 and enacted in 1988. The government allocated \$20.5 million to the Act's implementation and focused the funding into four areas: citizenship and community participation, institutional change, heritage enhancement, and heritage language education.

Although the policy of multiculturalism is considered to be heavily beneficial and inclusive of everyone, without consideration for religion, race, or ethnicity, there is a strong argument to be made that this policy actually undercuts the political power and claims of many groups. The policy of multiculturalism was developed “to placate White ethnic minorities” (i.e., the aforementioned Ukrainian, Italians, and Poles) who fought back against the ‘two founding races’ narrative present in the RCBB (Vickers and Isaac 2012:108-9). However, Indigenous groups and the Québécois reacted negatively to this federal policy because they believed that it allowed the federal government to avoid responding to their grievances by “conflating them with those of immigrant ethnic groups” (Vickers and Isaac 2012:109). Dealing with Indigenous and Québécois issues through this type of policy is inappropriate considering that Quebec is one of Canada's charter groups, not to mention that Indigenous groups, as the original peoples of this land, *should* be included in this charter relationship. Peter (in Kallen 1988) argues that the policy of multiculturalism served to legitimate and entrench the “power of the ruling Anglo elite” when it was threatened by “Quebec's claim to political power” as well as the increasing numerical, economic, and cultural strength of immigrant ethnic minorities (Kallen 1988:81-2). He argues that this policy “[bought] the compliance” of immigrant minorities, by providing some support for cultural activities, while bilingualism appeased

Quebec by promoting French, and helped the Anglo-government contain Quebec's political power (Kallen 1988:81).

An important byproduct of multiculturalism is the public narrative of Canada as a 'cultural mosaic'—which refers to an ideology of cultural pluralism. The “myth” or public narrative of Canada as a 'cultural mosaic' has resulted in negative consequences because it is understood as an ideology of pluralism rather than multiculturalism. Pluralism and multiculturalism are two distinct ideologies and ways of dealing with difference, and it is important to distinguish between the two. As has been established, the RCBB was designed to construct a Canadian nation defined by belonging to two linguistic communities: English and French. Indigenous peoples and languages were omitted entirely, and a policy of multiculturalism was enacted to deal with the rising political power of Quebec and the demands of a growing number of ethnic minorities. Through the Multiculturalism Act, the government funded language programs that were not dedicated to learning English or French, but this political ideal “is rooted in the assumption that all ethnic collectivities are both able and willing to maintain their ethnocultural distinctiveness” (Kallen 1988:76). Thus, either English or French is accepted in the public sphere, but “it is solely in the private sphere of life that the multicultural policy affords minority-ethnic Canadians any kind of social legitimation with respect to collective (ethnocultural/group) rights” (Kallen 1988:83).

This model is in line with the ideal of the official policy of multiculturalism, as many private identities are accepted, but multiculturalism and pluralism are two different ideological models of dealing with difference. Pluralism promotes an outward engagement with diversity, as opposed to the acceptance or tolerance of diversity that is seen in multiculturalism (Eck 2006). If pluralism is the energetic engagement with diversity, then multiculturalism is the acceptance of diversity without engaging in it. Multicultural policy and the myth of a cultural mosaic preserve existing power structures and create a “vertical mosaic,” which is rooted in “long-term racial/ethnic discrimination and denial of human rights” that preserves the power in the hands of the British “charter group” (Porter 1965 in Kallen 1988) Those from the French charter group enjoy slightly fewer systematic privileges, but this system renders Indigenous peoples 'third class

citizens' whose aboriginal and treaty rights are ignored under multicultural policy and misunderstood through the myth of the pluralistic mosaic.

Although the federal policies concerning language are focused on English-French bilingualism, there has been legislation introduced in both the Northwest Territories and Nunavut that deals with both Settler and Indigenous languages. The Government of the Northwest Territories 1988 *Official Languages Act* was the first piece of legislation that offered official recognition of Indigenous languages as well as Settler languages, and included Chipewyan, Cree, English, French, Gwich'in, Inuinnaqtun, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, North Slavey, South Slavey and Tłı̄chô. This Act provides each of these languages with equal status, as well as rights and privileges in public institutions. Nunavut adopted its own *Official Languages Act*, modelled after NWT's Act, in 1999; giving Cree, Chipewyan, Dogrib, Gwich'in, Inuktitut, North Slavey and South Slavey, French and English equal status and rights. However, Nunavut is also a pioneering force in language policy because in 2008 it adopted the *Inuit Language Protection Act*—the only Act in Canada that aims to protect and revitalize an Indigenous language (Timpson 2009). According to the Office of the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut, this legislation is designed to enhance the presence of Inuktitut within Government offices and municipalities, and fully implement an Inuit Language curriculum by 2019. This type of legislation is novel within Canada because it extends beyond recognition and encourages the use of Inuktitut in public spaces and as the medium for education. Timpson (2009) claims that because of this, Nunavut's legislation can "encourage a re-evaluation of the settler-oriented model [towards French and English] that has dominated Canada for so long" (160). One of the major concerns with giving Indigenous languages Official Language status, and affording them equal privileges to French and English, is the cost and sheer manageability of offering government documents in sixty different languages. In addition, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut are markedly different linguistic environments where significant proportions of the population are bilingual, and the anglo- and francophone presence is not as strong (Timpson 2009). However, I would argue that Nunavut's language policies provide potential solutions and models for the development of language policy that focuses on the protection and revitalization of

specific Indigenous languages based on geographic location, either on a provincial or federal level.

Based on the way in which language policy has been used to construct the public image of Canada that we are familiar with today—that of an inclusive cultural mosaic that is supporting and accepting of everyone—we can consider this a significant site in which to recreate the official narrative about the origin story of Canada to include Indigenous peoples while also protecting, revitalizing, and promoting their languages. Policy considerations are important because policy is not simply an abstract set of documents; rather, it is the product of ideas and ways of understanding the world that shape social relations. These social relations further reinforce the ideas laid out in these policies and they become ubiquitous—to the point where the social relationships and structures produced by these ideals are perceived as natural and normal, and not something created by people. The historical significance of language policy in constructing a bilingual public Canadian identity makes it a good site for the re-imagining of a Canada that acknowledges our colonial history and the existence and rights of Indigenous peoples.

As mentioned earlier, simply implementing the Calls to Action related to language does not change the linguistic marketplace for Indigenous languages, create anti-colonial relationships, or work to dismantle systems of settler colonial power that create the conditions for language loss. Language work and revitalization can be both resurgent and political, and ‘reconciliation’ without this type of restitution does not decolonize systems of power, but simply reinforces the colonial order. In the next two chapters, I outline fieldwork conducted at three different language sites within the Oneida Nation of the Thames community. By doing so, I demonstrate how language work can be resurgent while simultaneously engaging with the colonial outside. This type of ethnographic research into language classes and revitalization efforts can and should inform policy decisions and the way in which federal policy concerning Indigenous languages sets the stage for a re-imagining of Canada. Given the impending introduction of legislation addressing the “revitalization, recovery, protection, maintenance, and promotion” of Indigenous languages in Canada—to be co-developed by Canadian Heritage, Assembly of First Nations, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, and the Métis Nation—it is important to address

the role that language work plays in the formation of anti-colonial relationships and acknowledge some of the very real barriers that will need to be addressed within this new legislation (Canadian Heritage).

Chapter 3

3 University-Community Collaboration

The TRC's Calls to Action related to language have a specific focus on institutionalizing Indigenous languages within mainstream school systems. As discussed in Section 2.1, institutionalizing languages is a significant ideological choice with consequences such as giving linguistic and cultural authority to teachers and the school system, alienating speakers, and creating ideas about who speaks the language and what it is used for (e.g., House 2005, Meek 2011, Nevins 2013). The implications of these choices are important to keep in mind, but this does not mean that the education system needs to be completely absent from language work. Canadian universities rarely make direct contributions to Indigenous language revitalization projects; typically, they act as 'silent partners' to the individual linguists, anthropologists, and linguistic anthropologists who work with communities on language projects in various capacities. With universities being called upon to break this silence and become directly involved with Indigenous languages in the form of native language classes, it's important to be mindful of the consequences of institutionalizing languages and examine different ways in which language work can be done within a university, or within the elementary and secondary systems.

In this chapter, I discuss fieldwork conducted in two courses offered by the University of Western Ontario in collaboration with members of the Oneida Nation of the Thames. One was an Oneida language and grammar class hosted by the First Nations Studies program, and the other was field course about language revitalization offered by the Anthropology department. In the first half of this chapter, I discuss the structure of each course, what a typical day looked like, the type of work students did, and the students in each class. The second half of this chapter outlines students' thoughts about the courses and how they understood their experiences in these classes. I contend that these courses constitute partnerships between the University of Western Ontario and the Oneida Nation of the Thames and are both resurgent and political. These two course-based partnerships provide an example of how institutions can provide much needed language support in a

community, while also providing a space for decolonizing mindsets provided that the focus is on keeping the language in the community.

3.1 Oneida Language and Grammar Course

This course offers a comprehensive introduction to the mechanics and structure of the Oneida language with the “Root Method” as the basis for language acquisition (more on this in 3.1.1). The course’s instructor and creator is Kanatawakhon—a fluent Mohawk speaker and linguist who has been teaching at the University of Western Ontario for over twenty years. He has taught this six week course every summer since 2011 with consistently high enrollment numbers. The first year this course was offered it was taught at the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre on Oneida territory and had over 50 people enrolled in the course. The first few years this course was offered, it took place at various locations on Oneida territory; however, the N’AMERIND Friendship Centre in downtown London, Ontario hosted the class the summer I took it. The Friendship Centre is a not-for-profit dedicated to promoting the physical, mental, and cultural wellness of Native people, and urban Native People in particular (Mission Statement). The class ran Monday through Thursday from 9:00am – 2:30pm. I attended the first four weeks of this class full time until the Language Revitalization in Practice course began, and I started to split my time between both courses.

Through talking with my classmates, I learned that I was one of the few people taking the Oneida Summer Language Course for the first time. This course had been offered for the past five summers, and some of the students that were in the class during my fieldwork had participated in the class each year it had been offered. This course is alternately offered as Oneida I and Oneida II with the intention that Oneida II would only consist of students who had taken Oneida I. Because the course is only offered once per year, there are always new students in the class who haven’t taken Oneida I. As a result, the material tends to be the same each year so that the new students aren’t left behind.

There were twenty people in the class, not including me, and there was a significant gender disparity within the student body: seventeen of the students were female and three were male. There was a significant age range as well—some students were in their early

20s, while others were in their 50s and 60s. The class largely serves Oneida people, and most are from the Oneida Nation of the Thames or the Six Nations reserve near Brantford, Ontario. I was the only non-Indigenous student in the class. Other participants included a Mohawk woman who was married to an Oneida man, and had worked in language revitalization in the Oneida community for many years. There was also one student from Oneida New York who was staying on the Oneida Territory with a community member. Because this is an Oneida language program for Oneida community members, students do not need to be enrolled in a degree program to take the class. They can simply pay the registration fee to attend. Some students were taking the class as part of a degree program, but most were not.

There was a materials fee of \$135.00, which included the cost of Kanatawakhon's Oneida Language and Grammar book and a USB with PowerPoint presentations of different grammatical lessons with sound incorporated so students could hear the language. Many of the students in the class already had a copy of the book from taking the course in previous years, and the price was adjusted for those students so that they only had to pay for the USB. One thing that he emphasized about the cost of the different language materials was not that they were "paying for the language," because, he said, the language belongs to everyone. Students were only covering the cost of the printing and the USB.

3.1.1 The Root Method

The Root Method refers to a specific way of teaching Mohawk and Oneida that was first conceptualized by Kanatawakhon. Kanatawakhon credits his former student Brian Maracle with coining the term. Brian Maracle now runs an intensive Mohawk immersion program on the Six Nations of the Grand River reserve. Although this method was developed specifically for the Mohawk language, Kanatawakhon was asked by the community members of the Oneida Nation of the Thames to apply this method to Oneida and teach the summer language course. Mohawk and Oneida are sister languages, and share incredibly similar grammatical structures and about 85% of their vocabulary (Michelson 1988). Although Kanatawakhon worked with a fluent Oneida speaker to develop his own language abilities to be able to teach the class, a fluent speaker also

attends the Oneida Language and Grammar class to provide native speaker knowledge about correct grammar.

Mohawk and Oneida are polysynthetic languages which means they are much more morphologically complex and changes in meaning are added to a verb stem via affixes (Michelson 1988). Prior to the development of the Root Method, Mohawk and Oneida were typically taught through the “whole word method,” where students would be given an entire phrase that appeared as a word. For example, students would be given the word *aukhniúke*’ and were told that it means “I would have bought it,” without being taught the specific grammatical components that make up that word. However, the root method explicitly teaches the grammatical components of that phrase. Thus, students are taught that the verb root *hninú* needs the pronominal prefix *-uk* to describe the relationship between speaker and object; and the modal discontinuous affix *a- -ke*’ to mark verb tense (Michelson 1988; Kanatawakhon 2012:113). In Kanatawakhon’s Oneida Language and Grammar text, the word and gloss would appear with colour coding—*aukhninúke*’ – I would have bought it (Kanatawakhon 2012:113)—so that students are constantly aware of the different parts of speech that make up a word in Oneida. In this example, the part highlighted in blue indicates the pronominal *-uk-* or ‘I’; green indicates the verb and the tense/aspect/mood *a- -ke*’ or ‘would have’; and, the part left in black is the verb root *hninú* meaning ‘to buy’

3.1.2 A Typical Class

The structure of this class was typical of any classroom-based language class. Our mornings were typically spent being introduced to a new grammatical feature, while afternoons were left for completing activities related to this new grammar. Each day built upon the previous day’s concepts, and students were also expected to do work at home to ensure that they fully understood, and could use, what had been introduced during class that day. Some of the things that we were taught included: the pronunciation of Oneida sounds; some pronominal prefixes; some stative verbs and their past, future, and conditional tenses; the question marker; the negative marker; how to use yes and no; and, some basic vocabulary needed to put rudimentary sentences together.

The goal of this class was to give students the tools they need to decode the Oneida language. The assumption being that once they have mastered these tools they will continue learning the language on their own using these tools. Thus, students are given significant grammatical properties, taught the rules that govern them, and can, in theory, apply these rules to parts of the language they do not yet know or have not been taught.

Within each statement made in Oneida, there needs to be a pronominal prefix attached to the verb root that encode the relationship between the people or objects that are being discussed. There are three different categories of pronominals: someone to something, something to someone, and someone to someone. Thus, to have communicative fluency, learners need to start noting who and what is involved in any particular interaction. Due to its focus as a tool giving class, most of the activities, as well as the evaluations, use reading and writing and there is very little emphasis on speaking in class. The classes are also conducted in English, and content is delivered in a typical lecture style where students take notes on what the instructor says and writes on the whiteboard. Class activities occur intermittently, where the instructor writes down sentences in English that incorporate the most recent grammar lesson, and the students work on the Oneida translations. Some students will then write their answers on the board to be checked by Kanatawakhon, who will make any necessary corrections while the other students correct their own answers.

3.2 Language Revitalization in Practice

The origins of this course begin in 2014 when the undergraduate linguistics association at the University of Western Ontario hosted a viewing of the movie *We Still Live Here – Âs Nutayuneân*, which tells the story of the revitalization of the Wampanoag language—the first time that a language with no native speaker has been revitalized in the United States (Makepeace 2011). Mary Joy Elijah, the director of the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre (OLCC), attended this event and, after the movie, talked about how significant this story was to her given the fact that she had dedicated her life and her Ph.D. to the revitalization of the Oneida language. After the event, she continued the discussion with Dr. Tania Granadillo, from the anthropology department, and Dr. David Heap, from the linguistics department. From here, Tania worked with Mary Joy on the creation of a

summer field course where university students would spend time at the Cultural Centre and participate in some of the language work going on there.

This course was offered as a three-week summer course that ran from July 25 – August 12, 2016. The students spent the first week in class on Western’s campus and the last two weeks engaging in language work at the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre (OLCC). It was supported as a placement-based Community Engaged Learning (CEL) course at Western—a program run through the Student Success Centre. The goal of the CEL program is to “integrate service to the community and course curriculum” by having students complete a project or placement as determined by the community partner (Curricular Community Engaged Learning). Through the RBC Community Engaged Learning Project Grant, Tania secured funds to compensate the students who picked up and drove class members from London, Ontario to the Oneida Nation of the Thames territory.

The first week was more of a traditional class structure. Students were introduced to the state of the world’s languages, the difficulties in classifying the health of a language, and some basic information about the Oneida language and community. Some in-class assignments included: updating the Oneida language Wikipedia page with more specific information; reviewing and discussing the benefits, limitations, and successes of other language revitalization efforts; and, preparing project proposal presentations for the projects they intended to complete while working at the Cultural Centre. The last two weeks of the course were less traditional and involved actual engagement in language work and projects at the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre. The class co-occurred with a language camp run by the OLCC which was geared towards youth aged 12 to 29 and sought to expose students to different aspects of culture and engagement with the language.

3.2.1 The Students

Because this was a field course, students who wanted to participate were required to submit an application to the instructor detailing their educational background, the language(s) with which they were familiar, their cross-cultural experiences, previous

experiences in field schools, and a 300-word statement of interest. All interested students were then invited to an interview. Michael Iannozzi, a graduate student in the Linguistics program, and myself were doing a reading course about language revitalization while the field course was being advertised. Since we were both planning on being present during the field school—Michael as a student with extensive experience with documentation and preservation, and myself as a researcher—we were invited to participate in reviewing student applications and the interview process. The purpose of the applications and the interviews was two-fold: to get a sense of the student's skills and experience that would be useful for community language work, such as experience digitizing materials, conducting interviews, and operating video and audio equipment; and, to ensure that students were dedicated to the requirements of the course. Michael and I attended most of the interviews, but did not participate much in the actual interview. Typically, the three of us would have a conversation about the types of skills the students brought and discussed how each student's unique skills would be best utilized. After the interviews were conducted, a total of eleven people enrolled in the class.

Seven of the students were non-Indigenous and were in various stages of their academic careers. Most of these students were in their third or fourth year of Bachelor programs and were enrolled in either Anthropology or Linguistics. There were also two mature students—one of whom had a background in Healthcare and was now pursuing a degree in Anthropology, and another who had experience in Journalism and was pursuing a degree in Philosophy and Linguistic Anthropology. Four of the students were Indigenous with ties to the Oneida Nation of the Thames and previous involvement in language efforts in the community. The husband of one of the Oneida students participated in the class as an auditor. He is a fluent Oneida speaker and taught an Oneida language and culture class at the University of Toronto for many years. All the enrolled students were female, plus Tania and myself made for a total of thirteen women involved in the class. Michael and the auditor were the only men in the group.

3.2.2 A Typical Day

The language camp ran the last two weeks of the course from August 2, 2016 – August 12, 2016, and approximately ten youth were enrolled in the camp. Most were school-

aged, but one camper, Kathleen Doxtator, had graduated from Brock's concurrent education program and was attending the camp with her younger cousins. The first morning of the camp we received news that Mary Joy, the director of the Language and Cultural Centre and Tania's main point of contact and collaborator, had a health complication and was likely not going to be able to attend any of the camp. Her absence made the first part of the day incredibly unsteady, as both the class and the OLCC staff were looking to her for direction in terms of how the camp would run and what work the university students would be doing during their time there. The camp opened with a traditional tobacco burning ceremony and prayer in Oneida led by one of the fluent speakers working at the camp. Then, everyone introduced themselves to each other and talked about why they were there, whether that was in a language supporting role or as a member of the university course.

In the mornings, a small group of campers, students, and fluent speakers would work together on making the soup that everyone would eat for lunch that day. The fluent speakers would assist the campers with cooking while also introducing the Oneida words for what they were doing, such as naming the ingredients (e.g., celery, potato, chicken), and what actions they were doing (e.g., cutting, chopping, stirring). While this was happening, other campers would play Oneida language games or work on other activities such as Guess Who? or Go Fish. All these activities were assisted by Janice Ninham, who was the "Language Activator" for the duration of the camp. She is not a fluent speaker but has taken the Oneida language and grammar course many times and takes as many language opportunities as possible. Her role was to encourage the children to speak the language, and notice opportunities where the campers could speak and encourage them to do so as often as possible.

Each day after food preparation was done, all the campers would participate in a culturally relevant activity. The first three days were art sessions with Moses Lunham—an Anishinabek artist from the Ojibwa/Chippewa Nation in Kettle and Stony Point near Ipperwash, Ontario. He would read a story in English such as the Oneida Creation story, and a fluent speaker would repeat what he said in Oneida. Then, the campers would create an art piece inspired by this story. Other cultural activities included a visit to the

fire station, learning the No Face Doll story (a cautionary tale that values being humble) and making cornhusk dolls, learning about traditional Oneida homelands in New York, and making a family tree.

Mary Joy's absence meant that the class needed to rely significantly on the OLCC staff that were present to establish the specific projects that the university students could take on during the language camp. Although students had spent time doing project proposals during their first week of class, many of these projects were changed or abandoned for others depending on what the OLCC staff said were needed. The students primarily split their time between participating in some of the camp activities, their own projects, simply listening and talking to the people involved with the camp, and assisting the summer student who was filming and audio recording as many camp activities as possible. The OLCC wanted to use the footage to make a documentary about the camp could be shown to other community members. Filming the camp was also a way to document interactions between fluent speakers and campers, and to record fluent speakers telling stories. This aspect of documentation is incredibly important to many language advocates in the community because there are so few speakers left, and nearly all of them live in this community.

3.2.3 Student Projects

During the first week of class, part of the class assignments involved researching other language revitalization activities and programs and presenting the strengths and weaknesses of that approach to the rest of the class. This allowed students to start thinking concretely about the types of projects they had the ability and capacity to do. Once the class got into the field, projects were determined based on what the staff at the OLCC wanted done. The projects included: a set of culturally relevant flashcards, a comprehensive unit about "The Body" with Oneida translations, organizing digital and physical resources, digitizing the children's books that were already at the Centre, creating two interactive e-books, and finding missing content from the language lessons on the OLCC website. All course products were given to the OLCC and teachers that requested sets of flashcards. The students also wrote how-to manuals detailing the tasks that they did and how they were done. These were also left at the OLCC so that other

community members or staff members could replicate these projects easily. The students also did a final presentation to all members of the camp and OLCC staff about their individual projects. During these presentations, the staff members commented about the ways in which those projects contributed overall to the work being done at the OLCC, and frequently made reference to how these contributions alleviated some of their workload.

3.3 Resurgence in Post-Secondary Institutions

In the last part of this chapter, I discuss the student's comments about their experiences in both the Oneida Language and Grammar course and the Language Revitalization in Practice course and argue that both have resurgent elements, while simultaneously working to create anti-colonial relationships. To reiterate, the three tenets of Indigenous resurgence are: that resurgence involves refocusing from the colonial outside to the Indigenous inside, that resurgence occurs at the level of the self, and that resurgence must happen within a traditional framework. The common success of both courses is that they keep the language in the community as opposed to bringing the language into the university. This is accomplished through participants in the class, the way in which work was done, who was given authority to work on projects, and where the language materials stayed after the course was completed. The Oneida Language and Grammar course also provides a connection to culture through language that would not otherwise exist for many Oneida community members, while the Language Revitalization in Practice class provides a space where anti-colonial relationships form and Settler decolonization can occur. Although neither of these courses will directly result in the creation of Oneida speakers—the ultimate goal of language revitalization—discussing the student experiences in these courses reveals important insights about the benefits and disadvantages of universities becoming more explicitly engaged in language work.

3.3.1 The Benefits of Being Associated with a University

There are some very practical benefits associated with universities becoming more directly involved with community language work through the creation of courses. For students enrolled in degree programs, it is an opportunity to earn a course credit that takes

them outside the classroom and enables them to do much needed work in a community setting. For non-Indigenous students, this might also be the first opportunity they have had to interact with Indigenous community members doing language work, and the first time they would have realized the language struggles in these communities and how difficult it is to do language work. Within this research especially, the Indigenous people who are taking these courses have typically been involved in language work in the Oneida community before, but students stated that the Oneida Language and Grammar class was the only way they could easily access the language. The nature of courses created in response to community language needs and based in language revitalization also means that there are opportunities and spaces for community members who are not enrolled in a degree program to apply for funding to take these classes.

One of the most significant barriers for community members wanting to take language classes is that most are not university students enrolled in degree programs, meaning that they are often working to support their families and/or raise children. Given these family commitments, it can be difficult for people to take time off to enroll in a full-time immersion program, if one is even available in their community. However, there are many organizations that support enrolled band members when they want to attend university or take accredited university courses. For the Oneida Nation of the Thames, the major one is the Southern First Nations Secretariat (SFNS), which focuses on making post-secondary education more financially accessible for students primarily to increase employability and assist students in the pursuit of their careers (Apply – Southern First Nations Secretariat). There are also federal programs like the Post-Secondary Student Support Program, run by Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada that allows for community members to take leaves from work to take language classes. There must be a vested interest in creating courses that allow for students to access these lines of support while simultaneously engaging in resurgent language work in their communities, either by learning the language or supporting others in this endeavour.

This is not to say that university classes are *the* way to revitalize Indigenous languages. The consequences of institutionalization and the fact that many communities are not as close to a university as Oneida means that this is not a solution for all languages and all

communities; it is simply one that helps to support Oneida revitalization for members of the Oneida Nation of the Thames. In addition to the fact that university courses will not be viable options for all languages and communities, this also isn't the end of the political negotiation for Oneida revitalization. There also needs to be an increased amount of support within the community itself to re-create the conditions in which the language flourished. The Oneida community is, and has been, working towards revitalization for many years, but there is also an opportunity and a political imperative for the involvement of Settler people and institutions who are part of the social, political, and historical reasons that caused Indigenous language loss in the first place.

3.3.2 Oneida Language and Grammar Course

I was validated by what I learned in the language class. Everything I had already thought about the world was confirmed as I was learning the language because it holds another way of doing things. Things that I had already thought and done before that class. – Participant, August 11, 2016

Based on participant observation and interviews conducted with students, I demonstrate that this course—even though it is offered through a post-secondary institution—reflects the tenets of resurgence. This is not to say that students take language classes because they are “resurgent;” rather, Indigenous resurgence provides an effective and comprehensive model that helps us understand what is going on when people make the decision to take language courses and dedicate themselves to learning their language. I emphasize the importance of viewing the language work that is already occurring through a resurgent lens because it illuminates spaces where resurgence is already happening, and can thus provide footholds to ground the development of future language policy that further supports resurgent work in communities. The data lends itself to dealing with each of the tenets of resurgence in a slightly different order than I have originally presented them, so I will begin with a discussion about how becoming a language learner is a significant *individual reorientation*, then discuss the issue of whether the root method constitutes a *traditional framework* or not, and conclude with student comments that show their focus on the *Indigenous inside*.

Individual Re-Orientation

This Oneida Language and Grammar course is one of the few opportunities that Oneida community members have to learn their language in any formal and easily accessible setting. Since it is offered during the summer, students can typically take the time off work to take the class, and support themselves and their families through subsidies offered by organizations like the SFNS while they do so. The decision for a parent to participate in a language course is often a decision that the entire family makes together. Marie Schuyler-Dreaver, for example, has paternal ties to the community but has lived in the Detroit area for most of her life. In order to take the class, she and her children stay with relatives in Oneida for the duration of the course. The community daycare also makes an exception for her youngest daughter by allowing her into their program for the month of July because they support Marie in her language endeavours. Leith Mahkewa is Oneida, but she grew up in Kahnawake which is Mohawk territory on the shore of the St. Lawrence River in Québec. She married a Mohawk man who is a fluent Mohawk speaker, and even though she could not speak Mohawk they decided to raise their children speaking Mohawk in a no-English household. During this time she took a Mohawk immersion course, but there were times when she was excluded from the conversations within her own family because of language abilities. Thus, those who are dedicated to language learning make significant individual choices for themselves and their families to pursue the language as many language opportunities as possible.

There is also a strong personal responsibility narrative that many students have when discussing language classes and why they take the time to do language classes.

And I think it's hard work not cuz you have to remember all your stuff and different things like that, [but] only you can [learn the language]. And how much you try and how much you motivate yourself to do things really depends on you. And if you don't do it, you're never gonna learn. – Leith Mahkewa

So it was like I could go on and be like these old ladies, these old Indian women crying the blues about losing their language, or I could do something for myself and maybe have a snowball effect. [...] So I started taking the language classes. It's like, I could sit around and cry about it too, lost language, or I could do something about it. – Dawn Antone

I am taking the class because it's important for me to learn the language. [...] We may not have any speakers in 10 years that are fluent mother-tongue speakers

[...]. It's a big leap to go, but if I can just be a contributor to that to say "at least I tried," instead of saying "well I have the time, but I went travelling or I just decided to stay home." I don't feel that's a benefit to my family or the community. So it's been really important for me to just be a part of the language program. It's a promise I made to myself, and later before my grandfather passed away it was a promise I made to him. – Marie Schuyler-Dreaver

The students in this class view learning the language and dedicating the time that it takes to do it as a significant imperative that each of them as individuals needs to take on not only for themselves, but for their families and communities as well.

I find that I'm making all these plans and having all these desires to do stuff with the language that are going to take a while to get there. But what I want to do, what I find interesting re-learning it myself and I have five children at home, and they've never lived on the territory so they don't have the opportunity of taking Oneida language courses in their schools. – Brittany Elm

Some students, like Kathleen Doxtator, also discuss how language learning has allowed them to reconnect to their Oneida culture; ties that had been fractured or interrupted by moving off reserve and having parents and grandparents with stressed ties to the community.

I think the biggest barrier for me was my grandparents moved off reserve and they didn't have to go to residential schools or stuff so they could work. They didn't know they had a disconnect with both their language and their culture. And when my mom went to school [she] had to learn French because they weren't able to learn their language. So, as I was young and coming home and trying to be like "oh this is what I learned [in Oneida] today," it wasn't well received. My mom likes to say different from me but this is how I remember it. Part of it is they don't want to feel silly saying it and they don't want to be wrong. [...] It's a work in progress and I think that's a big thing when you're trying to learn something new.
– Kathleen Doxtator

This language class has provided many students with the ability and opportunity to begin to make these re-orientations and have something to re-orient themselves towards. This language class was also significant in the formation of a community-based adult immersion program called Twatati which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4. Thus, these individual re-orientations and commitments to the Oneida language have already begun to manifest in the development of an additional language program in the community.

Traditional Framework

The question of whether this Oneida language and grammar course occurs within a traditional framework is complicated because, despite the fact that the instructor and all the students are Haudenosaunee, this course is hosted by a non-Indigenous institution. A rigid view of resurgence would emphasize the importance of not involving the colonial outside, but, as I have discussed, much of the Oneida language work has been influenced by the existence of this course and has provided a platform for community members to begin to pursue more language opportunities. Although this course is offered through a university, it is also markedly different from the typical university course. For the first few years it was hosted on Oneida territory, and was then hosted by N’Amerind Friendship Centre—a native organization—when it moved off the territory. I maintain that this reinforces the fact that this language and grammar course is primarily for Indigenous participants, especially for the Oneida Nation of the Thames community. Given this, it makes it different from the program offered by the LDCSB discussed in Chapter 2 in that making the language accessible for community members has remained a priority.

There has also been some controversy with the root method approach because many of the fluent Oneida speakers who have participated in language teaching in the past, as well as language activists from other Haudenosaunee groups, question the validity of using the root method, as Kanatawakhon explained:

Because the people who had been teaching the language were fluent speakers and they didn’t know the grammar of the language, bringing along something new like this root method, that requires some knowledge of the grammar and grammatical structure, they were very unsupportive. Even though it was showing degrees of success. Other Iroquoian languages, the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, they want nothing to do with this root method because it’s Linguistics. They think of it as forcing their language into an English pattern. And the unfortunate thing is it’s doing the opposite.

Thus, there is a degree of contention within the Oneida community and between other Haudenosaunee nations as to whether this is suitable approach for their communities, given the fact that it is based on a non-Indigenous approach to language learning. Among

the younger generations of Oneida and Mohawk speakers who I talked to during my fieldwork, however, there is a strong belief in this grammar-based approach and many view it as the way forward to learning their language.

Arguably, the root method approach does not occur within a traditional framework as articulated in Simpson (2011), where she actively works to understand what resurgence looks like within traditional Nishnaabeg political and legal traditions. However, language work, no matter how it is done, fits within Holm, Pearson, and Chavis (2003)'s Peoplehood Matrix simply because people are learning their language. Given the blurry lines between a traditional context and a colonial context in this case, there is no clear-cut conclusion to be made as to whether this course is truly occurring within a traditional context. Given the fact that the proponents of Indigenous resurgence also emphasize the importance of each Indigenous nation understanding what resurgence means and looks like to them, perhaps there is more room for engaging with the colonial outside than initially appears.

Focus on the Indigenous Inside

Crucially, what this course offers to the Oneida students who take it is a distinct cultural connection that is difficult to find elsewhere, including in other Oneida language classes where the tie between language and culture is not emphasized like it is in Kanatawakhon's course. On a basic level, the ideological tie created between the language and culture comes out in the oft-repeated statement that "language is culture," but the students also consider the language to be an expression of sovereignty and tied to a distinctly pre-contact Oneida worldview, which is reflected in the grammar itself. The connections made between language and sovereignty focus on the fact that speaking a different language is an indicator of difference, while also demonstrating dedication to distinction and validating sovereignty claims.

In order to be considered a people you need to have language you need to have land base you need to have rules that govern your group. If you don't have that one thing, what makes you different than anybody else? – Leith Mahkewa

[...] you know we talk about things about being sovereign and we say that we want it, and we're demanding it now but we're not actually putting any effort into

keeping that culture like what makes us distinct from the rest of Canadian society.
– Brittany Elm

For many language learners, the Oneida language connects them back to a distinctly Oneida worldview and perspective that is not truly intelligible in English.

And I'm glad that those courses opened my eyes to that because I would have never thought of it. I would have been just translating. And that was very helpful especially with Kanatawakhon and the way he breaks the word down. He's giving us a picture of that worldview. It might be only a snapshot but he's breaking it down for us so that we can get a glimpse of that worldview because it is so different [from English]. – Ursula Doxtator

In school, they never talked about the grammar aspect or how much Oneida is different from English. [I]t's very much relational and an example that really stuck with me was that when you're talking in English [you say] "I am sick" you're just saying that, but in Oneida you say, "the sickness has come upon me." You're giving power to these things [that] connect to your spirituality and sense of identity in that respect, whereas I feel like in English is so stonewalled and so patriarchal that it's like (gestures). [I]t helps you figure out those uniqueness of Oneida language and how important it is to keep our language alive and growing.
– Kathleen Doxtator

This focus on Indigenous sovereignty and the connection to a worldview that is distinctly Oneida strongly reflects a regeneration of Indigeneity and a reclamation of not only language, but also a reclamation of an ontology that offers Oneida people answers about their distinct cultural identity.

3.3.3 Language Revitalization in Practice

The most important aspect of this course is that it provides a space for creating anti-colonial relationships and a way to start to decolonize individual mindsets. In this course, a small group of students went to the community and engaged in language work that is normally carried out by two or three staff members at the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre. Their ability to undertake many different projects is limited because of time constraints. There were both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in this class and each group had different appreciations for, and understandings of, the type of work that they carried out and what it meant.

The non-Indigenous students in the class viewed their experience working in the community very positively. Students were primarily motivated to sign up for the course because of the chance to do fieldwork:

The chance to do fieldwork, to tell you the truth. I am a very hands-on person so I'm okay I've learned all this stuff so how do we apply it? And it gives a chance, I think in a safer environment, to experience what it's like to do fieldwork in anthropology, to experience not only the surprises and the pleasures but the potential pitfalls that can happen too. – Stephanie Barlow

Chance to do fieldwork. Fieldwork in general is a very rare opportunity. I would have done anything to do fieldwork. – Michael Iannozzi

The field course nature of it. Not being in a classroom and being onsite in a community. And being with the community members and collaborating with them. – Rae Vanille

I think that it gets you out of the classroom and in to something more practical and it's fun. You get to see what your field has to offer you if you continue in your field. – Chantal Lloyd

Students also emphasized the fact that they enjoyed providing a helpful service to the community:

Wanting to get exposure to the local First Nations community and, without being cliché, wanting to help. – Rae Vanille

The fact that it was directly, we were directly interacting with the community and they were specifically doing what they needed on a day-to-day basis. – Michael Iannozzi

Like, I think it gives students an opportunity to really get involved in the community they're in and test their skills. I think it would be really great to just be able to help people. Oh, you need help? I've gone to university, I've learned some stuff, I'll help you. [...] So glad that courses exist like that where you can just get together and help people out even if they don't think they're being directly affected at that moment. – Chantal Lloyd

This course also became a way for non-Indigenous students to learn about a local First Nations community and discover for themselves how difficult community language work can be. One of the things that the Indigenous staff and students in the class emphasized was the importance of this class taking place entirely within the community. The OLCC staff members and Oneida course members felt that it was important that the class was

carrying out their projects in the community and using the resources that were already available at the OLCC. In addition, the OLCC partners felt it was important that projects were determined based on the interest and needs of the staff members, and that the students had not come in with a list of tasks they would complete and then leave again. Taking direction from the community was understood as the way to do the work respectfully. The OLCC staff also emphasized the fact that students were willing to do many tedious and time consuming tasks, specifically cleaning out the resource closet and organizing old language materials so that they can be used again. With thirteen more people working in the Language and Cultural Centre, space became a hot commodity; however, students found a place to do the work they needed to do. It wasn't uncommon to find three or four people sitting on the floor of the copy room cutting out laminated flashcards and organizing them into sets. A cassette digitizing station was set up on storage tubs in the office, and one student completed an e-book on her laptop in a lawn chair outside.

The importance of being in the community was emphasized by Ursula Doxtator who has been involved in learning her language and revitalization efforts for many years:

[...] it was nice to work together. It's nice to see when people get it. It's one thing you can hear snippets of the history on the tv or the news or they'll talk about truth and reconciliation but you just get snippets. You don't get the real meat and potatoes of the history and what it means. And I think sometimes too if you don't think about those things, in anything you can hear about it or read about it and you move on. But to actually think about these things and what they meant to our people and what land means to our people and what water means.

Being in the community and doing language work allowed outsiders to realize just how difficult the work is given limited people and funding, but also how important it is to the Oneida community members there who make language work part of their everyday life—either by learning the language or empowering other learners. It also provides a way for outsiders to understand how the history of colonization and residential operates in a contemporary indigenous community. It became clear during the interview process that the non-Indigenous students who were interested in taking the class overwhelmingly had little to no previous experience working with First Nations communities. In addition, many of the students also only had rudimentary knowledge of how settler colonialism

makes this work necessary in the first place. For example, one student questioned why there were so many churches in the community and whether there were many Indigenous Jews or Muslims. In some ways, this question feels slightly ridiculous, but the fact that it was asked at all says more than it doesn't. One student explicitly mentioned her interest in the course stemmed from the fact that she had no experience except what was given to her in the news:

Just to know more about the native people that are close to our community. Because that's something we don't really talk about. We see it in the news the struggles that they have within their communities, but it's like in Alberta, in British Columbia. It's not very close to us. And you don't realize how many Oneida people there are just wandering around London, Ontario. That like are living a life that's completely different to ours. They have language struggles that we don't have and that most people don't understand. – Chantal Lloyd

Many of the students recognized that there was a knowledge gap, and this played into an anxiety that some of the students felt about how they would be received in the community.

I was wondering how appreciative would they be of us coming in and doing work and would our presence be a trigger to for some people who were part of the residential schools? I was very concerned about that but fortunately that didn't seem to be the case. – Stephanie Barlow

No, I had some projects that I thought would be interesting, but I sort of, I didn't know how much community interaction there would be, or if, or what the building would be like or what the community would be like even. – Michael Iannozzi

I didn't want us to feel like we were overstepping our boundaries, and that was an issue that faded as we continued. And I think people felt more comfortable as the weeks went on. And that we were able to get along in a friendly environment, and they weren't shy about asking/telling us where they wanted help. I liked how casual it was, like how we had some exposure to the culture with the opening ceremony and getting to hear the stories. I am glad we could participate in those things even though we were there to work. – Rae Vanille

The anxiety about who could or should be let in to the community and given access to the language is also something that was brought up by Ursula Doxtator:

And I got to see what other skills people can bring to the table. That was the other thing too, I seen like trying to protect our language and not let anybody in, but at

the same time it made me realize that other people can be helpful and you can let them in.

Practical and experiential learning opportunities about First Nations people and communities are incredibly limited even for those students who are interested in Linguistics and Anthropology, and some language activists within the community have degrees of hesitation about which outsiders should be granted access to this piece of cultural heritage. Ursula said that most of her hesitation comes from investing her time and language knowledge in others and receiving very little in return for this investment. However, this course allows students to interact with community members and produce useful materials even though most have very little experience doing language work with an Indigenous community.

The students also noted that anyone could participate in these types of courses, because they just had to show up and complete the tasks suggested by OLCC staff members, with the instructor providing suggestions for things that students would be able to do given the compressed time frame and available skills and resources. Many students stated that they drew on skills they had learned elsewhere, relying on their anthropological and linguistics training to guide intercultural interaction. Michael and Steph, for example, both have extensive tech backgrounds and completed tasks like digitizing cassettes and creating an online digital organization system. Other tasks, like creating flashcards, don't really require any specific technical skills but are incredibly time intensive—especially when creating multiple sets for different people in the community. This point is important because it demonstrates that this type of collaboration can extend beyond disciplines like anthropology that has, to an extent, already incorporated community collaboration to other disciplines like business, engineering, and psychology that are typically limited to engagement within the university setting.

For the Indigenous students in this class, it served as a means of getting formal accreditation for the language work that they have already been doing prior to the class and, as mentioned previously, there are organizations that help to support Indigenous people in post-secondary institutions. Three of the students had taken Kanatawakhon's Oneida Language and Grammar course multiple times, and one of the auditors was a

fluent speaker of the language and had been teaching the language in Toronto for twenty years. This course also provided a new look at what “revitalization” entails, and allowed students an opportunity to learn about other language reclamation efforts and strategies.

I thought that was a really good course, not only because it was a revitalization course and that’s what I’m all about, but because I got to see what [other revitalization efforts are] going on out there and I never would have looked at that — I was in my own little bubble. – Ursula Doxtator

There is no model for what it means and looks like to ‘decolonize’, but bringing Indigenous community members and Settler people together to do language work allows for new perspectives and understanding to develop where previously, they might not have. Many of the students expressed interest in continuing the work they started in that course and said that they would be happy to go back and dedicate a few hours of their time each week to volunteering in the Language Centre. This course provides a means and way of bringing people together to work on language projects and help long-term language goals by creating materials that can be used throughout the community. Ultimately, this does not create Oneida speakers, but it helps with material and resource creation and increases the non-Indigenous students’ awareness of the effects of the residential school system and colonization on Indigenous peoples. Collaborative endeavours can take many different forms, as demonstrated by these two course examples and they can work to foster meaningful change and relationships with Indigenous communities and bring in non-Indigenous peoples to do some of the heavy lifting.

Granadillo and McGregor (2017) highlight some important lessons and principles that can be extracted from these field sites. The first is to co-opt the system. For both courses, space was made from within the university system to meet the needs of the various language stakeholders in novel ways—either by bring in non-community members to do some of the work or by extending the reach of the university into the community. By working from within the system, it also allowed for students to take advantage of funding opportunities and dedicate time that may not have been available otherwise. The second is the importance of symbiotic relationships. For both courses, relationships formed from within the university, but nothing went ahead until local partners took up these offers on

their own terms. These kinds of partnerships allow for mutually beneficial relationships to develop where there is increased language access and materials for the community, and opportunities for Western to offer other students interesting and novel opportunities. The third is the importance of flexibility. When beginning these relationships, there must be room for variation and deviations from an initial plan, and the instructor also needs to relinquish some control of the class to community partners. Flexibility is important in all stages: planning, implementation and follow up, as the needs of all stakeholders need to be taken into account.¹

3.4 Conclusion

Each of these courses fills a language need for the Oneida Nation of the Thames—either by providing access to the language or assisting with material development and organization—but they should not necessarily be understood as models that can be reproduced for any language in any context. These two courses represent two different ways that universities can be more active partners in language revitalization and language projects, but those partnerships and collaborations can take a variety of forms, and should be conceptualized and designed with community members based on language needs and goals. There will be as many ways to do language work and revitalization as there are Indigenous nations, and this is something that needs to be kept in mind as relationships are formed and projects are developed. The TRC is incredibly limited in what it is actually asking of post-secondary institutions when it comes to taking on the burden of language work. Simply creating degree programs is not the solution to the problem of language loss caused by assimilative policies, colonialism, and the residential school system. However, as these two courses demonstrate, there are other ways in which universities can more creatively leverage their resources to support community language

¹ My thinking on this has been deeply influenced by Tania Granadillo, who presented on “Enhancing University-Community Partnerships on Language Revitalization Projects” at the First International Conference of Minoritized and Indigenous Languages in Barcelona, Spain in April 2017 (co-authored by Hannah McGregor). I am grateful to the conference organizers for allowing me to participate in this conference, and to Tania Granadillo and my fellow panelists for all their insights on the nature and importance of collaborative language work.

goals while providing students with unique opportunities to learn, develop, and support Indigenous communities in their reclamation efforts.

Chapter 4

4 Community-based Language Projects—*Twatati*

In the previous chapter, I discussed the experiences of learners in an institutional setting demonstrating that institutional involvement and partnerships on language projects can extend beyond the suggestions outlined by the TRC. In this chapter, I present a different part of the process of language work, and investigate the organization and implementation of a community-based Oneida immersion program for adults. I reflect on my involvement with *Twatati*—meaning *we will speak* in the Oneida language—as part of the organizing committee working at the interface between the government and language learners as a language planning organization. In Section 2.4, above, I discuss how language work is primarily a political project; and that by understanding it as such, we can reframe the issue of language revitalization from the vague notion of “saving a language” to the more concrete project of promoting and creating structures that support Indigenous languages, giving them more symbolic capital, and expanding their linguistic marketplaces (Meek 2011). By examining the process by which this community program was created, funded, and run, this chapter sheds light on the need to improve the way in which communities can access government funding for language projects and provide more policy-based support for Indigenous languages

4.1 The Committee

Twatati is a language program created in December 2014 by a small group of community members from the Oneida Nation of the Thames. I was first introduced to the Twatati committee by a professor in the First Nations Studies program in February 2015. At the time, I was a fourth-year undergraduate student planning to begin an M.A. in Anthropology at the University of Western Ontario in September 2015. The driving force behind this community organization is Luke Nicholas, a member of the Oneida Nation of the Thames who also works as a lobbyist on behalf of his band council and other native organizations. There were about eight other people at the first meeting I attended, including Dr. Rick Fehr, the First Nations Studies professor who brought me onboard,

Kanatawakhon, Carolyn Doxtator, Ursula Doxtator, Luke's father Pat, and a mother and daughter from the community as well. Membership in the Committee has been fluid throughout the two years of my involvement, and people will come on board and leave again depending on schedules and changing life circumstances. Currently, the main Committee members are Luke Nicholas, Carolyn Doxtator, Charlene DeLeary, Ursula Doxtator, Ben Elijah, Tania Granadillo, and me.

As suggested by the name of their program, the primary goal of this group is to create Oneida speakers, as community estimates place the remaining number of fluent speakers between 40 to 60, and all are within the grandparent generation (60s through 80s). Since there are very few speakers remaining outside of Canada—supported by census data from Ethnologue and informal community knowledge—the members of Twatati view their involvement with language revitalization as imperative, because they have access to fluent speakers that their sister communities do not have (Ethnologue). There have been no new first language speakers in the community in the past 30 years, even though there has been ongoing language work in the community. Twatati is a grassroots movement that operates outside of the band council and is not affiliated with the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre due to internal conflicts.

At the Committee level, decisions are made based on consensus, and the program does not move forward until all people in attendance agree. There are three clans within the Oneida nation—bear, wolf, and turtle—and there are frequent discussions to ensure each clan is represented at the Committee level and is reflective of this traditional community structure. Once the class began, one of the students also served as a student representative and acted as a liaison between the Committee and the class. The class members are also considered to be an important part of the decision-making process, and there were frequent check-ins with students so that the Committee could adjust the program based on their feedback and experiences in the class. In addition, class members were also invited to a program planning meeting for the 2017-2018 year so that all those involved with Twatati—whether they were Committee members or students—were on the same page moving forward and agreed with the proposed plan.

One of the biggest difficulties in operating outside the council structure is that Twatati does not have access to steady or reliable funding. There is a strong desire to run the Committee on a volunteer basis, where no honoraria are given for participation, but there is also a recognition of the need for a steady stream of income. Reliable income would give Twatati the ability to find a home-office and buy supplies for the development of language resources. Currently, the only way to fund the program is through one-time grants that require new applications whenever the Committee wants to extend existing projects, or work on creating new ones. Due to these limitations, the Committee has had frequent conversations about how feasible it is to incorporate so that they can set up a bank account and receive donations to support the project. There have also been numerous discussions about fundraising possibilities and how to increase financial stability to better support students who want to take the program, as funding bodies like the Aboriginal Languages Initiative, the National Indian Brotherhood, and the Haudenosaunee Development Grant do not typically provide funding for students.

Most of the people involved with Twatati have taken the Oneida Language and Grammar course discussed in the previous chapter, with some participants enrolled in multiple sessions. Luke and some other avid language learners also participated in a year-long version of the course offered during the 2015-2016 school year. This course was intended to be a teacher-training course and those who completed it hoped to achieve enough language fluency to become language teachers in the Twatati program, and the community in general. Thus, the Twatati group also strongly believes in the root method system (section 3.1.1) and that a grammar-based approach is the best way to learn the language. However, as discussed in chapter 3, the emphasis on reading and writing in the course as well as self-study means that oral competency and fluency does not drastically improve in the classroom setting. To fulfill our goal of bringing the root method into an immersion environment, a few members of the Twatati committee met with Brian Maracle in July 2016, who runs a Mohawk-immersion program based on the root method called Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa. This program is widely regarded as one of the most successful Indigenous language learning programs. Brian Maracle, who began working on the program and pedagogy over twenty years ago, discussed the specific ways in which he introduces spoken language into the classroom. He gave Twatati a copy of the

curriculum plan for the first year of the program, which essentially provides a framework for when each part of the grammar is introduced. We left the meeting with a copy of the curriculum in Mohawk, with the hopes that we would be able to translate it and use it for the Twatati program which was slated to begin in September 2016..

4.2 The Program

Although the Indigenous Languages Act is on the legislative table for 2018, there is currently no legislative requirement to support Indigenous languages. Presently, support for Indigenous languages is a program commitment run by the Department of Canadian Heritage's Aboriginal Languages Initiative (ALI) program (Galley 2016). It has an annual budget of \$5 million to fund Indigenous organizations—both incorporated and unincorporated—that seek to create “programs and services related to language revitalization” (Galley 2016). To fund the first year of the Twatati program (2016-2017), we applied to the Aboriginal Languages Initiative (ALI) run by the department of Canadian Heritage. Due to its unincorporated status, Twatati partnered with N'Amerind Friendship Centre for the purposes of applying to ALI. Essentially, this meant that N'Amerind was the primary applying organization and Twatati was a subsidiary program within that organization.

During the 2016-2017 funding year, the maximum amount available through ALI was \$100,000. We submitted a proposal for the full amount to cover the cost of instructors, curriculum development, materials (for teaching and student-developed resources), and a space to hold the class. For this first year, we were awarded \$85,120. In this original project proposal, the program was conceptualized as a seven-month immersion program where students would be in class Monday through Friday from 9:00am until 3:00pm; however, due to the significant preparations the Committee had to make before the start of the class, the opening of the program was delayed for a month and the program ran for six months instead. In addition to the ALI funding, the Twatati Committee also applied to the Oneida Band Council to help fund student subsidies, which are an ineligible expenditure in the ALI guidelines, and money to pay for fluent speakers to be in the classroom and provide native speaker knowledge to the instructor.

The program officially began in October 2016 with twelve students and ran until March 2017. The students were chosen to participate in the program based on interest and previous experience with the language. Although the Committee formally asked students to have participated in the Oneida Language and Grammar course before, some community members were specifically asked if they were interested in participating in the program based on their previous experience with the language. The Committee reached out to the most experienced language learners; the idea being that by taking the most advanced language learners, the class would be able to move well beyond the content covered in the Oneida Language and Grammar course and work on improving oral competency and fluency. Even though all the students eventually selected for the program had experience with Oneida, and many dedicated their free time to learning more, there was still a significant disparity in the language levels of the students. This was especially true of how comfortable students were speaking the language out loud in a semi-public setting.

Students were in class Monday to Friday from 9:00am until 3:00pm each day. The schedule would sometimes change depending on holidays, but students frequently opted to continue class throughout holidays and take as few days away from the language as possible. Due to space availability on the territory, the class did not take place in a school or a typical classroom context. It was held in the Oneida Cookhouse, which is run by the Clan Mothers and hosts community meals on special occasions. Since this is not a typical classroom setting, students did not have access to things we typically associate with contemporary classrooms, such as projectors and internet. The Committee purchased a white board for the instructor to use and students brought their own note-taking materials. Students were also provided with an Oneida-English dictionary, by Karin Michelson and Mercy Doxtator, and a copy of *Glimpses of Oneida Life* by Karin Michelson, Norma Kennedy, and Mercy Doxtator. The Oneida-English dictionary is a significant publication within the territory and is the most comprehensive dictionary available that the students could use to look up new words and check what they were learning in class. The *Glimpses of Oneida Life* book contains large sections of translated Oneida speech, both a gloss (direct word-by-word translation from Oneida into English) and a full English translation. By examining the differences between the two, students could become more

familiar with the differences between Oneida and English and better understand the mental shift they needed for understanding word order, for example.

The Committee also paid for three to five different fluent speakers to be present in the class throughout the course. Fluent speakers are important, as they provide native speaker knowledge to the instructors, who are typically not fluent in the language, and are also able to provide learners with aural access to the language. Although there are extensive written resources in Oneida, the program does not have access to recordings of people speaking the language. A limited number of these resources are in the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre, but because the program is not affiliated with the OLCC we were unable to access the resources housed there. Thus, having fluent speakers in the classroom is crucial to ensuring that students have access to correct and consistent linguistic input.

Class dynamic

Throughout the six-month program, the students developed a very strong bond with each other and became entrenched in their desire to become language speakers. There were weekly Friday potluck lunches, and students attended ceremonies and took field trips together. One of the most significant off-territory trips was a class visit to the Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa class at Six Nations to assist teachers and students with understanding a classroom setting that focuses on speaking the language. The students all valued and appreciated the time spent in the Mohawk program, and felt that it would assist them in creating a similar environment in their own class.

As mentioned above, students rarely took days away from class and chose to work over most holidays. The ALI funding had to be spent between July 2016 and March 2017, and thus March 31 was initially when our program was scheduled to end. However, the students opted to extend the program by an additional two months because they wanted to continue improve their language skills and were concerned that too much time away from the language would negatively affect their language retention. The Oneida Band Council helped to finance this extended program, and provided additional funds to support the students and instructors for the extra two months. Once the program officially ended for

the second time at the end of May, students continued meeting with each other in the evenings to continue their language acquisition.

Language and Culture

Although this was primarily a language class, the emphasis on the integration between language and culture was felt strongly by both the Oneida Committee members and the students. As such, students attended formal ceremonies occurring on the Territory as a group and these ceremonies were incorporated into the class schedule. Attendance at these ceremonies was part of the students' responsibilities as they were members of the language class. In addition, each class was opened and closed with a formal speech delivered entirely in Oneida. Oneida people describe three different types of Oneida language: formal language, which is present at ceremonies; a less formal language, which would be spoken outside the home; and everyday language, which would be used among friends and family. Because the Oneida Nation of the Thames has such a strong and active Longhouse community, the presence of formal Oneida is quite strong. Some community members who occupy leadership roles in the Longhouse or in the Clan Mother have memorized these speeches and recite them throughout the community even though they cannot use the language in everyday conversation. These individuals play a significant role within the community and are often called upon to formally open and close a variety of events in the Oneida language. Often, the Twatati language class was referred to as re-learning how to use everyday Oneida, because the presence of formal Oneida is strong throughout the community. This integration between language and ceremony is highly reminiscent of the interrelated nature of the four factors in the Peoplehood Matrix mentioned in section 2.3.

Healing Narrative

After one late-night work session for the 2017-2018 ALI grant, Luke asked me what my motivations were for being involved with Twatati and what I thought of the work they were doing. At the time, I was very uncertain of how to respond because my initial invitations was related to my own research. However, my involvement with Twatati predated the beginning of my program and will continue once it is completed. His query

made me consider why I felt an obligation to not restrict my involvement to the confines of my research. The answer I settled on was that I have always considered language revitalization to be a political act and that I view it as a way of circumventing the dominant structure, and as a way of reversing and pushing back against the effects of colonization and residential schools, especially in the Canadian context. He replied that my involvement with the reclamation of the Oneida language was more than just politics, that I was also on a spiritual journey with the language learners. Despite my continued involvement, I still feel very strongly that my motivations for participating in language revitalization are political as opposed to spiritual. The Oneida organizers and students and I have very different understandings of being part of the same language project but so far, that has not meant that we cannot continue to work towards our mutual goal of creating more Oneida speakers.

For example, during an end-of-class celebration for the Twatati students, they prepared presentations in the language and reflected on their eight months in the class. Many students were emotional and routinely emphasized that being in the class means more than reclaiming the language, it is also incredibly healing to be in an environment that is so indisputably Oneida on a daily basis. Students were incredibly emotional during these presentations, not only when they were discussing their experiences in their class and their relationship to the language, but also when they were speaking in the language—something the students had no ability to do prior the class.

For many Oneida people, the reason that they pursue language opportunities is directly related to experiences in the residential school system:

And my mother went to residential school so she couldn't speak it there either. I think my parents had a pretty tough time with it. That in turn turned into them not teaching, because I asked I said why don't you teach us the language? And they just said we don't want you to go through what we went through as children. So that was their answer and I took it. Accepted it. But that was my loss. I mean, and that's one of the reasons I took it [the language class] because it is a loss to me. – Participant, August 11, 2016

During an interview with a fluent Oneida speaker, who is now very involved with language efforts in the Oneida community, she told me that the main reason she did not

speak the language with her children was because of her experience in the main stream school system:

Hannah: Did you use it with your kids at all?

Participant: No. Because one of the reasons why is because, like I said, when I went to school I didn't know English, couldn't speak English. And at that time, we had a brand new school, though it burnt down years later. It had nice shiny hardwood floors and if you were caught speaking the language, that was I guess, you can say punishment. You wax the floor during lunch hour. You ate your lunch and went to work polishing the floor. Waxing the floor. So I did a lot of waxing because there was nothing else, knowing I couldn't speak English, so of course I was caught a lot of times speaking the language so that's what I did. And right there I decided when I had my family that I wouldn't teach them the language. You know because at that time there was a lot of people still speaking, so I didn't think it was that important. I used to think that well, they have to learn English because if they're going to get jobs outside, because my children are well-educated, and that was one of the reasons that I didn't teach my children the language, is because I was punished for speaking the language. I didn't go to residential school but I was still punished. I was never hit, you know. Like some of the stories that I heard. But it was still, I guess now, when I think about it, it was kind of humiliating. To be on your hands and knees waxing that floor. Just because you spoke the language. So that is the main reason why my children don't speak, so. – August 24, 2016

For all the Oneida language learners that I spoke with, learning the language is a highly emotional choice and while it can be, in some cases, related to multigenerational experiences from both the residential and mainstream school systems, the individual choices that people make are not based in the desire to make a political statement. In section 3.3.2, I argued that resurgence is an effective framework through which to understand learner motivations, and as such resurgence should also be the framework in which we base future policy decisions.

4.3 The Challenges

The Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa program has had incredible success in Six Nations and especially because of the grammatical similarity between Mohawk and Oneida, many Oneida language learners and advocates look to this program as the model to replicate for the Oneida language. The Twatati committee wanted to create a language program based on Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa, but there were some difficulties in its implementation.

Specifically, there were issues because the Committee did not have an Oneida version of the curriculum prior to the beginning of the program, and there are few people with the Oneida language skills to translate the curriculum. In addition, Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa is more than just a book of grammar—it is a specific method of introducing the grammar into the classroom through spoken language. Thus, instructors need to have strong oral language skills and a solid understanding of this pedagogy to effectively deliver this program in the classroom. In this section, I discuss these difficulties further and outline the steps that the Committee took to deal with these issues.

Over the course of the eight months of the program—the six funded by ALI plus the additional two months—there were two instructors for the course. The first instructor was selected because he was incredibly familiar with the material from the Oneida Language and Grammar course and had worked extensively with Kanatawakhon. Although he was not a fluent speaker, he made the most noticeable language advancements in the Oneida Language and Grammar class with Kanatawakhon, and had worked as a language teacher at one of the elementary schools on the territory. His approach was heavily based in reading and writing, and, naturally, given where most of his training was from, strongly mirrored Kanatawakhon's focus on giving students a tool to decode the language on their own. The relationship between the Oneida Language and Grammar course and Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa is important because from a language learning standpoint, Twatati strongly believes in the root method system developed by Kanatawakhon. The term was coined by Brian Maracle—the creator of the Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa program, and he built on it to create a program focused on spoken language acquisition.

The students and Twatati committee recognized that the first instructor had a very specific focus on literacy and learning the grammar through reading and writing, and complemented this approach by bringing on a second instructor. He is a fluent speaker, and has extensive experience teaching the language in the public school system in London, Ontario. His oral language competency meant that he was more easily able to bring in spoken language into the classroom, though his familiarity with the root method was not as extensive or detailed as the first instructor. Language work done within a community setting requires finding the most appropriate balance between language

resources, such as fluent speaking ability and people who can translate and teach, and financial resources to support those involved in the program.

It was also difficult to find people with the Oneida language skills to translate the material. The Committee received a copy of the Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa curriculum in July 2016, and although we had set aside money from ALI to pay people to translate the material, those who are interested and invested in doing language work typically do not have the language skills to do a lot of the necessary work. The discrepancy between language fluency and the pedagogical or formal language skills needed often inhibited the implementation of the program and required a lot of compromise. Fluent speakers are typically in their 60s, 70s, and 80s, and often find classroom teaching or extended translation work physically taxing. In addition, some of the fluent speakers are unable to read and write in Oneida, and this realization of the separation between speaking and literacy often arises for individuals in humorous ways. One elder and fluent speaker I spoke with has been involved in language work in the community since the early 1980s, and told a story about taking a job as the secretary for the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre:

I got interested in [the language] because of my late husband, so he said I should apply for that secretary position when it opened up. I really wasn't that interested in the language at that time. Because I always felt that it would be here forever! Because [in 1984-5] we had over 160 speakers. [...]. So that's how I got started [at the Cultural Centre]. Our first meeting, of course I couldn't record, I couldn't take the minutes because [although] I was fluent, I didn't know how to write. So I wrote everything in English. So when the meeting was over, my son-in-law who could read and write handed me the minutes and it was all in Oneida. Of course I couldn't read it. So anyway that was my beginning of my involvement in the language. And my first task was to learn how to read and write. So that's what I did. – Participant, August 24, 2016

Although she is now literate in the language, finding individuals with the oral language ability in addition to the reading and writing skills is difficult. During the first part of the course, students stuck to the Oneida Language and Grammar—taught by Kanatawakhon—material very closely because the instructor and the students were more familiar with that material.

Within the Oneida community, I witnessed a strong ideological association between reading and writing in a classroom and language acquisition, and this ideology continuously informs the creation of new language programs and projects. For example, when discussing the future of the program for 2017-2018, the Committee focused on finding instructors who can teach the language in an immersion classroom setting, while other language learning models like Master-Apprentice programs are not considered as possibilities. This ideology about language learning is partly informed by the other language learning settings that Oneida occurs in, specifically the Oneida Language and Grammar course, but the success of the Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa program has a strong influence on how the root method and an immersion class are viewed as the way to learning Oneida. At the language planning level, there have been many conversations about the role that reading and writing plays in the classroom. Although both students and committee members recognize that the program should be focused on learning to speak and not learning to read and write, there is hesitation to adopt a full ban on reading and writing in the classroom during the first few months of the program. The students feel strongly that they write down the things they learn in class to retain them and revisit their notes later, and generally think that literacy is an important part to learning in the classroom.

ALI Difficulties

Although ALI provides much needed financial support for Indigenous language programs, the way in which money and support is given is problematic. ALI funds an “ad hoc collection of projects” on a case-by-case basis, which does not solve the problem of language loss in the long-term because the constant cycle of applying for grants and being notified of funding limits program organizers’ ability to be flexible in response to changes and student feedback (Galley 2016). The grant funding structure is incompatible with the way in which language learning programs are created and with the structure of volunteers and leaders who are involved with these projects. In the Oneida community, there is no single person employed to develop a language program and plan. The projects being completed at the OLCC and the Twatati program are run on a volunteer basis, by people who are otherwise employed and who are pursuing language in their free time.

Even when sought by community organizers, it is difficult to access expert knowledge and language planning, which further compounds the difficulty of creating new language programming

To receive funding from ALI, community programs must submit a new project application and budget each year, complete a year-end report, and send a copy of any deliverables—like workbooks and other language materials—to Heritage Canada. This structure—especially the timeline for applications, the guidelines regarding when and how money can be spent, and the lead time for notifying applicants about their funding—is incredibly limiting to the development of long-term language projects and implementing long-term change. For the first year of the Twatati program, the application was due on December 5, 2015, and we were limited in how much money we could apply for—the cap for the 2016-2017 year was \$100,000 and the cap for the 2017-2018 year was \$150,000. We applied for the full \$100,000 to create a workbook for the students, pay teachers, and rent a space to run the class. In July of 2016, we were notified that we had received \$85,120. This entire amount needed to be spent between July 2016 and March 2017, and no money spent outside of this time frame would count as an eligible expenditure. Part of the application also involves submitting a budget designating how the funds will be spent and how the applicants decided on that amount. Once this budget is submitted, no new budget lines can be added—meaning that the program needs to be fully conceptualized nearly seven months prior to even receiving a notification of award.

Once we were awarded an \$85,000 grant, they wanted to know how we were going to cover the discrepancy between the initial amount budgeted and requested (which was the full \$100,000) and the amount that we were awarded. For a community project like Twatati, there are no other funding streams to access. The program is not associated with the Oneida Language and Cultural Centre, and there is no permanent budget line in the band council budget for community language projects. This means that ALI funding is not supplementary funding for long-term projects, but is the only way to access relatively significant amounts of money for language projects—we were going to do as much as we could with the money they gave us, but there were no other avenues for us to use to ‘make up’ any discrepancy between our funding and our budget request.

One of the major barriers is that ALI money cannot be used to financially support students who want to attend language programs. This becomes a significant limitation when communities are looking to create intensive immersion environments characterized by daily engagement with the language, in order to build cohort of speakers. Immersion programs provide time and space when the language can be used and valued, which helps to increase the language's symbolic capital. Since students cannot be financially supported through ALI money, it is impossible to run an immersion program from an ALI grant alone. In addition, Twatati is not an accredited language program, nor is it associated with a university. Thus, the Twatati students cannot make use of support programs run by the Southern First Nations Secretariat (SFNS), which many community members used to support themselves while taking the Oneida Language and Grammar course. This means that the financial burden of learning a language is taken on by individual families, which is especially difficult because the Oneida community also emphasizes that the adults who most urgently need to learn the language are parents with young children. Financially, these are also the people who have the least ability to take time off work as they have families to support. To ensure that people could participate in the program, the Twatati committee applied to the Oneida Band Council for monetary student gifts. The Band Council gave Twatati a student gift equivalent to the amount that they would receive from SFNS.

Non-immersion language programs that are less of a time commitment would be able to run with less funding, but in some cases these options are not necessarily in line with what communities perceive to be acceptable or suitable options for revitalization. For the Oneida, most of their language access comes from a university classroom setting, albeit one that does not necessarily occur within the physical building itself or as part of a degree program. In addition, Onkwawenna Kentyohkwa is their nearest successful model and it is a full time three-year adult immersion program. When discussing and organizing language programs, what is understood as something that will work to learn their language is based on previous language experience and informed by successful nearby models. To work beyond the restrictions of the ideologies of what is and is not part of revitalization, part of Settler decolonization and shifting the linguistic landscape necessarily needs to include explicit and easy access to the knowledge about different

types of programs. This is especially true when it comes to language planning and suggesting the types of programs that might work best based on community goals and language resources.

Currently, meta-knowledge about how language revitalization and language learning work is restricted to university contexts and people who have pursued post-secondary education. There have been cases where Indigenous people pursue university educations in linguistics and anthropology for the benefit of their language and community. For example, Kanatawakhon went to Western University to pursue a Master's degree in linguistics to better understand the grammar of Mohawk, and Jesse 'Little Doe' Baird, who is the main subject of the documentary *We Still Live Here – Âs Nutayuneân*, did a Master's degree in linguistics at the Massachusetts's Institute of Technology before spearheading efforts to revitalize the Wampanoag language within her community. In addition, some non-Indigenous researchers might also choose to build their projects around community goals and use their skills to contribute to community-led projects. However, this knowledge should not be limited to specific individuals who decide to pursue post-secondary education, and should be mobilized to include many different community members. Thus, there needs to be more institutional engagement with communities. For example, the University of Alberta has a summer school called the Canadian Indigenous Languages and Development Institute, which "supports individuals at the community level by providing basic training in linguistics, native languages, second language teaching, and other aspects of professional enhancement such as language-related research and policy-making" (CILLDI). Students earn university credits for the courses that they take, but they are not necessarily part of an overall degree program and the emphasis is on learning skills to promote language revitalization within communities.

These political and ideological blocks are largely a result of language revitalization occurring within a system that is not set up to address the socio-historical conditions that created language loss—and a need for language revitalization—in the first place. Addressing these conditions and shifting the linguistic marketplace to value and support Indigenous language revitalization on a nation-wide level, and not simply funding

individual projects, is where a necessary and mandatory political negotiation needs to occur. Language policy and planning needs to occur within communities, but these community changes also need to be reflected in federal language policy. Creating federal language policy that supports Indigenous language will not only shift the linguistic marketplace, but fits within the broader historical way in which language policy has been used in the creation of the origin story of Canada, as discussed in section 2.5.

4.4 Twatati as an Act of Resurgence

I want to conclude this chapter by discussing Twatati as an act of resurgence that is highly entangled with the colonial outside. Twatati has elements of all three tenets of Indigenous resurgence: a refocus from the Colonial outside to the Indigenous inside, a reorientation towards the Indigenous inside that occurs at the level of the self, and a traditional framework that guides this work. Part of the requirements for the ALI grant involve students submitting responses about their experiences in the class and how participation in the class impacted their perceptions of their Indigenous identity and culture in various capacities. Of the nine respondents (not all students filled out the reporting survey), all agreed that participation in the class helped them embrace their Indigenous culture, identity, and language, and most indicated that this made them want to share these things with the rest of their community. All respondents also strongly agreed that they had experienced intergenerational transfer of knowledge from Elders, and that they would share knowledge from the class with their family and friends. Overwhelmingly, respondents indicated that participation in this course had no impact on their identity as ‘Canadian’. They also agreed, on varying levels, that the project had a positive community impact and that they would participate in something similar in the future. There were also self-reported changes in language proficiency, and all students made noticeable improvements with people moving up from no proficiency to intermediate high proficiency. In addition to these increases in speaking ability, the language course had significant positive impacts on their Oneida language, culture, and identity and no impact on their Canadian identity. Based on these responses, there is significant evidence that participation in the Twatati program contributes to a regeneration of the Indigenous inside regardless of the Colonial outside.

For both the Oneida students and Committee members, participation in Twatati involves a significant individual re-orientation towards learning the language and working to provide a way for community members to learn the language. The students all made significant individual sacrifices and changes to participate in this intensive immersion program. Students took leaves from work to participate, and then opted to extend the program an additional two months even though the funding period had ended. There is also commitment from the participants to extend their language learning into other parts of their lives, and to support other community members in pursuing these projects. Many of the students express a desire to be teachers within the community, and continually want to focus on ways in which they can bring the language into their daily lives. In addition, the Committee operates on a volunteer basis and does that work purely based on a desire to revitalize the Oneida language.

The Committee operates within a traditional Oneida governance structure, and focuses on decision-making through consensus building and having representation from each of the three clans. In addition, it operates outside of the Band Council—a system which has been severely critiqued for being colonially imposed. Twatati can be understood as resurgent, but that does not mean that they have no interaction with the settler colonial structure—that reality is always there and is the context in which language revitalization is done in Canada. There was participation and support from non-Community members, specifically Tania and myself, and the program was funded by the federal government through the Department of Canadian Heritage. In addition, there is a strong emphasis on mimicking Western-style classrooms with a singular instructor and a group of students, and moving towards different teaching models has been difficult. However, Twatati represents a significant effort at promoting the language within the community, and is intertwined with a renewed emphasis on cultural activities and community healing. It is important to recognize the examples in which community resurgence is happening with participation from the Colonial outside because it affirms that supporting Indigenous resurgence is a Settler imperative if we are to decolonize Settler mindsets and settler colonial structures of power.

Chapter 5

5 A Political Renegotiation: Beyond Reconciliation

The structure of this thesis strongly reflects the evolution of my own thoughts on reconciliation, decolonization, and language revitalization. At the outset of this project, my goal was to develop an understanding of what reconciliation looks like to a group of Indigenous people so that those who were interested in reconciliation could ensure that Indigenous perspectives were guiding the work done within that framework. Upon hearing many Oneida people discuss their own disinterest and distrust of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the concept of reconciliation in general, I started to conclude that perhaps reconciliation was not a viable solution or framework to rebuild the relationship between the Settler state and Indigenous peoples.

As I argued in Chapter 2, reconciliation needs to be grounded in resurgence to be effective. In concluding this project, I want to extend this argument by stating that a politics of resurgence should be the guiding meta-framework that structures a new relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Settler state. Resurgence is a more effective framework than reconciliation because it acknowledges the reality of settler colonialism, allows Settler people to see themselves as a productive part of the rebuilding process, and it can also help mesh the goals of language learners with operable policy outcomes. In a sense, this project is a component of a larger intellectual project that works to develop a resurgent political theory for Settler peoples. This research suggests that resurgence is an effective framework that can take the needs of language learners and community language planners into account during the development of language policy. In what follows, I outline the specific ways in which resurgence is a more suitable as a meta-framework than reconciliation.

Acknowledges reality of settler colonialism

As discussed in section 2.2, Indigenous resurgence takes numerous issues with the idea of reconciliation. The most significant of these is the insight that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission comes from a transitional justice model that cannot account

for the fact that Canada is a settler state, and therefore colonization is ongoing. On the one hand, perhaps a truth and reconciliation commission was the most appropriate given the fact that it specifically apologizes for the abuses occurring within the residential school system. The residential school system is no longer in place, as the last school closed in 1996. However, Indigenous resurgence encourages Settler people to do better than limiting their apology to the wrongdoing associated with the residential school system. The structures that allowed for the removal of Indigenous children from their communities remain in place because the Indian Act—through which the 1920 residential school policy was enacted—still determines who is ‘Aboriginal’ through blood quantum and who has the collective rights associated with that legal status (Furi and Wherret 2003). The Indian Act has frequently been used to fracture Indigenous communities, by forcing women to give up their status if they marry a non-status man, and by removing children from their communities and placing them in residential schools (Furi and Wherret 2003). Without addressing the structures that allowed for the implementation of residential schools in the first place, the TRC and Calls to Action will constantly be working against structures that seek to absorb Indigenous peoples into the body politic and will not result in any tangible difference or change within Canada.

The need for language revitalization in Canada cannot be separated from the reality of settler colonialism that systematically targeted Indigenous peoples and languages. This is not to say that Indigenous peoples should be defined based on their relationship to the colonizer, but I make this argument to call attention to the fact that those systems remain in place. Thus, Settler people have a need and responsibility to become involved in decolonizing their own mindsets and structures of power. Even though we have a truth and reconciliation commission, it does not consider the ongoing harms caused by settler colonial structures. Indigenous resurgence acknowledges that there is a need for community regeneration and that this can be done by focusing on the Indigenous inside. This provides an opportunity to work to create change in the Colonial outside and spaces where the work done in Indigenous communities is no longer inhibited by political and ideological blocks, such as project-based funding and lack of access to meta-knowledge about language revitalization.

Settler people as a productive part of the rebuilding process

Since both Settler and Indigenous peoples have a stake in the revitalization of Indigenous languages, it is important to understand these issues within a framework that allows for participation from both groups of people. Although Indigenous resurgence can be done by Indigenous communities regardless of the colonial climate, resurgence can also be a framework that allows Settler people to see themselves as a productive part of the re-negotiation of this relationship. By focusing on the residential school system, the model of reconciliation frames settler colonialism as a past historical event; as a result, reconciliation does not encourage Settler people to understand colonization as an ongoing process, and does not call upon them to participate in reclamation efforts that seek to push back against colonization. It also enables Settler people to understand reconciliation itself as a formerly necessary project that has been fulfilled. Because residential schools are closed, and because contemporary Settler people were not personally involved in their operation, reconciliation allows Settler people to assume that the onus now lies with Indigenous communities to rebuild themselves. However, dismantling the power structures of Settler colonialism are just as much a Settler responsibility as an Indigenous one, though their roles in that project are different. Indigenous resurgence provides a way for Indigenous communities to work against the colonization process, but a general political language of resurgence allows for Settler people to be involved in these projects, within a relational framework dictated by the needs and desires of Indigenous communities.

Although this research project supports the conclusion that both Indigenous and Settler people can be involved in resurgent language work, this does not mean that resurgence is a fix-all solution for all aspects of cultural revitalization and the relationship between Indigenous and Settler peoples. Jacob (2013) discusses three instances of cultural revitalization that are occurring within the Yakama nation in Washington: learning a traditional dance, language revitalization, and learning traditional fish cleaning and preserving methods. She positions language as part of the overall project of revitalization, and reminds us that language is only one aspect of culture. The Peoplehood Matrix includes territory, land, and spirituality in addition to language, and there are a variety of

other cultural activities that people can also participate in. In some cases, it would be inappropriate for non-Indigenous people to participate in these activities. For example, Luke Nicholas told me that while people did not really mind or care too much about my involvement in Twatati, you would never see a ‘white’ person in Longhouse. In this case, language seems to something that can be shared with non-community members, and a site where collaborative work and engagement with the colonial outside can happen.

When I asked Leith Mahkewa, a student in the Oneida Language and Grammar course, about how she felt about collaboration between the university and Indigenous communities, she replied:

Well I mean I think that's a good idea [...] but I guess you're talking about how things will be, what the partnership entails. Like, who has ownership of those things? And making sure that it's not [cultural appropriation]. [Y]ou don't know what people are going to do with all of that because if we're saying language is part of culture, or just anything to do with community things, you don't want people doing that. That's where it becomes [skeptical noise] I don't want to give them more. Because a lot of times people are afraid. There's so much that's been taken that you don't want to give anymore because you don't know how—. In the past people have you know, just taken that stuff and ran with it. And so I think that's where the big concern is that, is that the same thing will happen and history will repeat itself. How after it's out of our hand it's in their hands, what are they going to do? Is everyone going to know about this stuff? It's a ceremonial thing, you can't— you know, it's different.

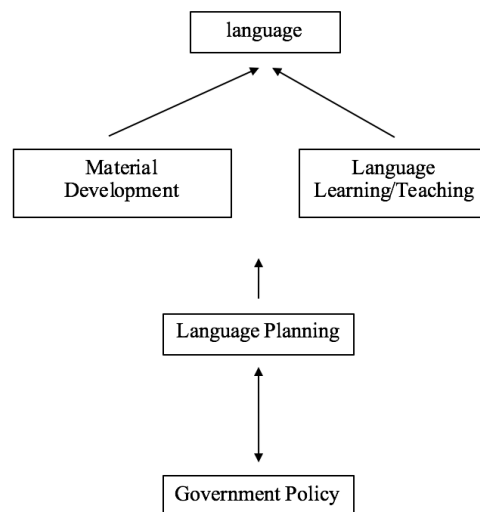
We talked further, and I asked if she felt that non-Indigenous people like me taking the language class was a form of cultural appropriation. She felt that it was not cultural appropriation and it might, in fact, be helpful if non-Indigenous people had more of a background in Indigenous languages because if they became teachers, for example, and had Oneida students, there would be a better understanding between the two. Dawn Antone, the graphic designer at the OLCC who had some very strong feelings about the idea of reconciliation, also supported the work that the Language Revitalization in Practice class did. She specifically mentioned some of the very time-consuming tasks like organizing the physical supplies, but also emphasized the fact that more Oneida people can and should be doing that type of work. Within the context of the Oneida Nation of the Thames, language seems to be a cultural product that can be shared and involve both Indigenous and Settler people. While this does mean that all Indigenous communities feel

this way, in some places it provides an area for collaboration and a space where Settler people can be a productive part of this political re-negotiation by doing some of the heavy lifting that community language revitalization entails.

Mesh goals of language learners with policy

In this research project, there are a variety of identifiable stakeholders within the language projects occurring throughout the Oneida Nation of the Thames (Figure 1). The Language Revitalization in Practice class represents both material development and, to an extent, language planning. The students themselves were most heavily involved with language materials through the creation of flash cards, e-books, and the organization of physical and digital resources. However, the organization of the course represents collaborative language planning between the OLCC and the course instructor. To a similar extent, students deciding on which projects they were going to carry out and how is indicative of a different kind of language planning and strategizing. In terms of language learning, I interacted with members of the Oneida Language and Grammar course as language learners, and witnessed the experiences of learners within the Twatati program. I also was very involved with Twatati in a language planning capacity through the development and implementation of an adult language learning program. I most directly interacted with government policy by applying for funding for Twatati through the ALI program.

Figure 1



As I have argued, language work does not occur in a vacuum, and this flow chart helps to visualize how all aspects of language work are interrelated and build on each other. Following McCarty (2011), I contend that language policy is a deliberate sociopolitical choice that reflects thoughts and feelings about language. For language revitalization efforts to be successful, it is crucial that language policy reflects the goals and motivations of language learners because the effect of the policies will be felt at all levels of language work. The ideological choices behind language policy will serve to either support or inhibit language projects. However, it can be difficult to translate the goals of language learners into something that is actionable through policy, because Indigenous language learners frequently understand their experience as emotional. Successful language revitalization is primarily the result of political renegotiation—a re-negotiation that needs to go beyond reconciliation and focus on Indigenous resurgence. Actual language learning is part of the process, but languages survive and thrive under certain socio-political conditions and for language efforts to be successful the linguistic marketplace needs to change. Within the examples presented in this project, we can see spaces for revitalization opening in the Oneida Nation of the Thames through different types of language access, like the Oneida Language and Grammar class and the Language Revitalization in Practice class, and by supporting learners in an immersion environment. As articulated by Alfred (2005), Simpson (2011), Corntassel (2012), and Coulthard (2014), Indigenous resurgence is a theory and practice for Indigenous people to undertake cultural revitalization activities within their own communities regardless of the Colonial outside. However, there are both Indigenous and Settler stakeholders and participants in language revitalization, and by extending the politics of resurgence to Settler people and using it as a framework to understand the political re-negotiation that is needed, it brings both groups of people together to take on the issue of language revitalization with community needs and goals driving the relationship.

Conclusion

To be serious about “reconciliation”, there needs to be an understanding that the residential school system was a by-product of the settler colonial structure that still exists in Canada. In Chapter 2, I discussed how reconciliation is conceptualized with the TRC

and the issues that the authors of Indigenous resurgence have with a reconciliatory model in a settler state. Crucially, they argue that truth and reconciliation commissions are the language of transitional justice applied to a non-transitive environment because the power structures of settler colonialism still exist. I also discussed what Indigenous resurgence is, and identified three tenets of resurgence: that resurgence involves a refocus from the Colonial outside to the Indigenous inside, that this re-orientation occurs at the level of the self, and that these changes occur within a traditional framework. I then demonstrated how language revitalization is primarily a political project, and that successful revitalization is the result of political renegotiation. By making it a political project, we move from the vague goal of ‘saving a language’ to more conceptualizing these projects as ways to change the linguistic landscape. This re-framing allows us to demand changes in the Colonial outside because by examining the historical ways in which Canadian identity has been defined through language policy, the development of Indigenous language policy is a significant platform on which this political renegotiation can occur.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine three different but interrelated language sites at the Oneida Nation of the Thames. Through the ethnographic investigation, I used the tenets of resurgence as an analytic for understanding language work that is already occurring while highlighting how these resurgent projects are entangled with the Colonial outside.

Although I initially argued that reconciliation needs to be grounded in resurgence to be effective, I extended this argument in Chapter 5 because resurgence provides a much more suitable framework for the political re-negotiation of the relationship between the Settler state and Indigenous peoples. Reconciliation locates the harms of settler colonialism in the past, which is detrimental because it does not provide any reason or justification for why Settler people need to be part of the conversation of decolonization. By shifting the focus to an Indigenous resurgent politic that also dictates the responsibilities of Settler people, community goals and needs can lead the negotiating process.

To address the reality of settler colonialism, I have argued that we need to move away from a framework of reconciliation and move towards articulating a resurgent politic that includes both the Indigenous inside and the Colonial outside. Language work cannot be

done outside its political context, and as such reconciliation and resurgence needs to acknowledge the socio-political context in which language shift occurs and make structural changes within policy, for example, to create and promote environments that support the preservation and revitalization of Indigenous languages. The introduction of language policy that focuses on the preservation and revitalization of Indigenous languages would also better support language projects than the current ALI model which funds community-based programs on a case-by-case basis and provides no support for long-term community language planning. Encouraging engagement with the colonial outside and advocating for policy that supports Indigenous languages, for example, should not be understood as arguing for the fact that Indigenous peoples *need* this type of recognition to engage in resurgent work in their communities; however, part of a national project of ‘reconciliation’ involves Settler people engaging with the realities of their settler-colonial position and working to dismantle it and make anti-colonial changes on a variety of levels. Language work and language policy are simply one of many platforms upon which this reconciliatory work can and needs to be done.

This research project specifically sheds light on how resurgence can be an effective framework for renegotiating the Indigenous-Settler colonial relationship through language, but language is only one aspect of cultural revitalization. The degree to which resurgence is an effective framework for re-negotiating the Indigenous-Settler colonial relationship through other areas of cultural revitalization, like traditional hunting practices or ceremony, warrants further investigation in a variety of other community contexts to reflect the significant diversity between Indigenous nations and the resurgent projects they may be undertaking.

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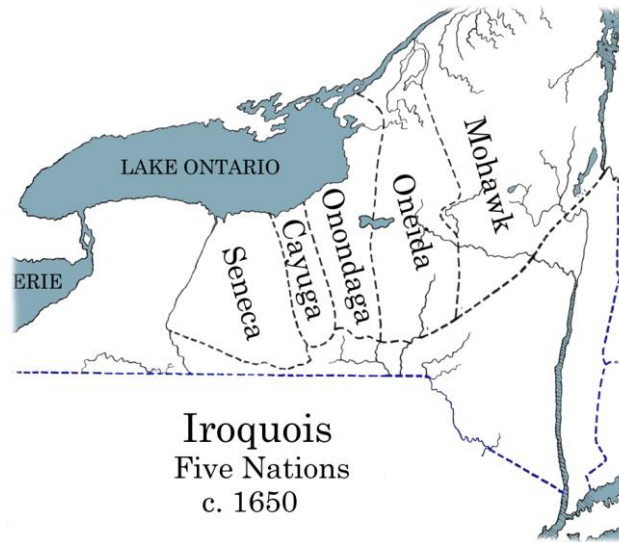
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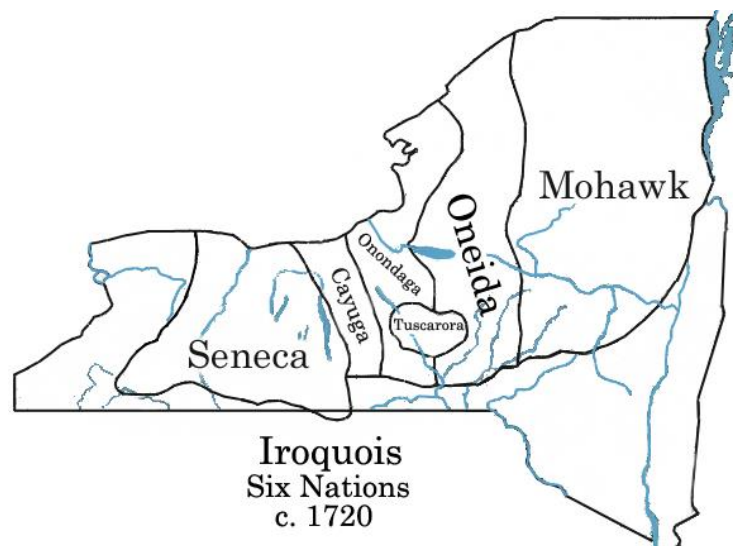
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Appendix I: Traditional Homelands of Haudenosaunee Confederacy

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https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iroquois_5_Nation_Map_c1650.png

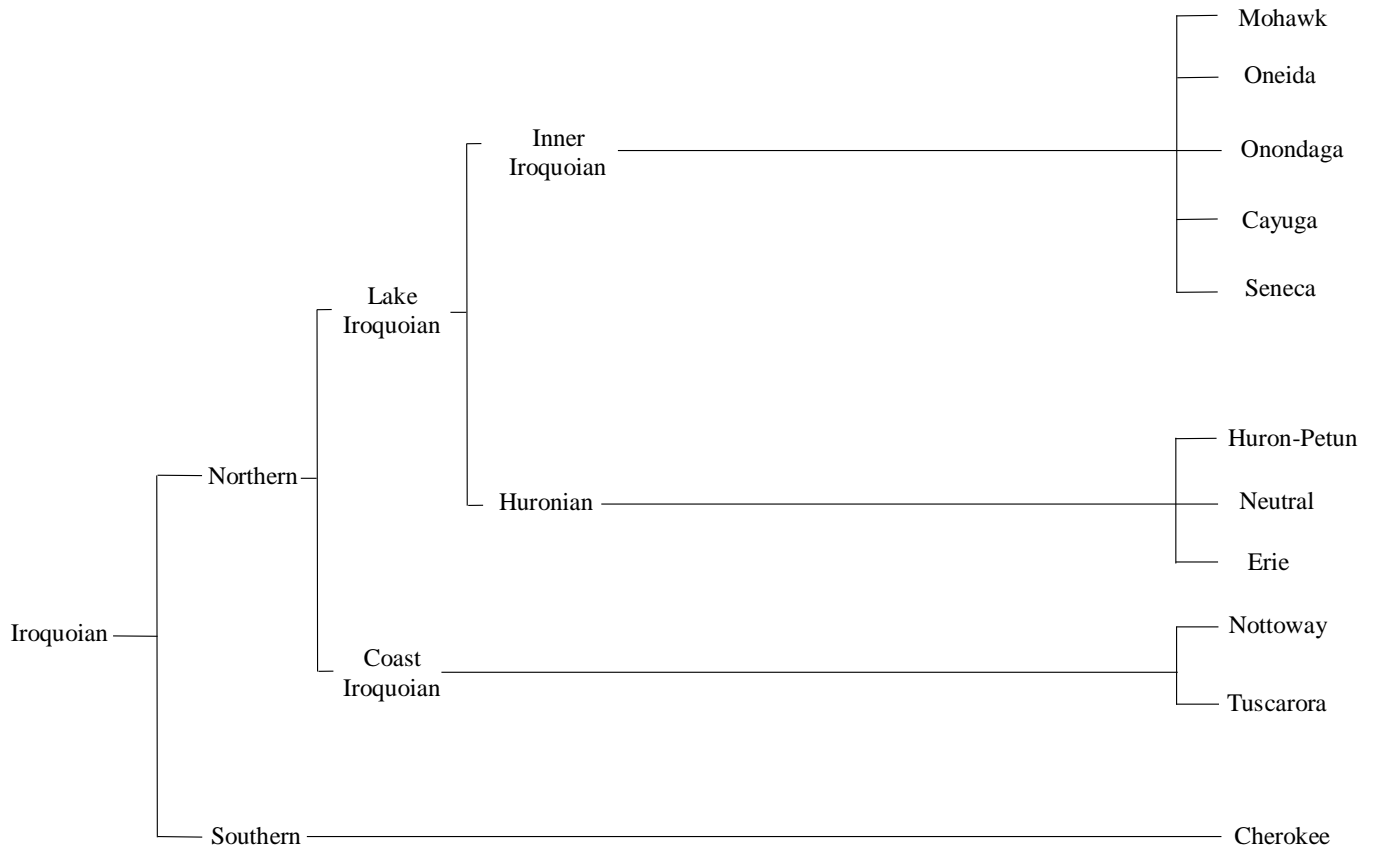


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Appendix II: Iroquoian Language Family Tree

Adapted from Michelson 1988, Chafe 1976, and Holmer 1952.



Appendix III: LDCSB Interest Survey

Side 1:



CATHOLIC EDUCATION CENTRE
5200 Wellington Road S. London, Ontario N6E 3X8 Canada
T 519-663-2088 F 519-663-9250

Dear Parents/Guardians,

The attached form is an interest survey to determine if there is a desire to provide Native Language classes in our community through the London District Catholic School Board International Languages for Elementary Students program.

The International Languages Program offers children an opportunity to learn and/or maintain a language other than English or French and to develop an appreciation for diversity and intercultural understanding.

These academic classes are available free of charge, regardless of heritage to elementary school-age children (Junior Kindergarten-Grade 8), who are residing in Ontario.

Most classes run Saturday morning for 2.5 hours per week from September to June. There is also a summer option for 2.5 hours per day Monday to Friday for the month of July.

If you are interested in learning more about this opportunity for your child please complete the bottom portion of the form on the other side of this letter and return to your school office no later than **February 17, 2017**.

If there is enough interest in pursuing Native Language classes within our International Languages program you will be contacted at a later date with more information.

Thank you,

Kathy Furlong
Superintendent of Education
London District Catholic School Board

Heather Pais
Sr. Administrator Indigenous Education
London District Catholic School Board

Inspired by Christ. Learning together. Serving together.

Side 2:



**ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NATIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAM
INTEREST SURVEY**

**PROGRAM WOULD BE RUN THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES PROGRAM FOR
ELEMENTARY STUDENTS**

International Languages Program offers children an opportunity to learn and/or maintain a language other than English or French and to develop an appreciation for diversity and intercultural understanding. These academic classes are available free of charge, regardless of heritage to elementary school-age children (Junior Kindergarten-Grade 8), who are residing in Ontario. Most classes run Saturday morning for 2.5 hours per week from September to June. There is also a summer option for 2.5 hours per day Monday to Friday for the month of July.

(Please tear off and return the bottom portion to your school office no later than February 17, 2017.)

**ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NATIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAM
INTEREST SURVEY**

School: _____ Student Grade: _____
 Student Name: _____ Parent/Guardian Name: _____

Preferred contact method: (please complete at least one) **Language Requested: (please circle)**

Phone #: _____
 Email: _____

- Cayuga
- Cree
- Mohawk
- Ojibwe
- Delaware
- Ojib-cree
- Oneida

Preferred Schedule for class: (please check)

September to June 2017-2018
 July 2017

Level of Native Language spoken (please circle):

1-no language spoken 2-little language spoken 3- frequent language spoken 4-fluent

Please note this is not a registration form. This is an interest survey to determine if we have enough students to run a Native Language Program at the elementary level. In the event that we do have enough students we will contact you with a registration form and more information.

Appendix IV: Ethics Approval



Research Ethics

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board NMREB Full Board Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Tania Granadillo
Department & Institution: Social Science\Anthropology, Western University

NMREB File Number: 108017
Study Title: University-First Nations Community Partnerships on Language Revitalization Projects

NMREB Initial Approval Date: July 08, 2016
NMREB Expiry Date: July 08, 2017

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Instruments	Interview Topics	2016/04/25
Other	Photographic Release Form	2016/04/25
Recruitment Items	Student Recruitment Script for FNS2112 - Received May 26, 2016	
Recruitment Items	Student Recruitment Script for ANTH3323B - Received May 26, 2016	
Western University Protocol	Received June 20, 2016	
Letter of Information & Consent	Student	2016/06/20
Letter of Information & Consent	Admin	2016/06/20

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

Curriculum Vitae

EDUCATION

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| Master of Arts (in progress), Anthropology, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario. | 2015 – present |
| Bachelor of Arts (distinction), Psychology and Linguistic Anthropology, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario. | 2011 – 2015 |

EMPLOYMENT

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| Teaching Assistant, The University of Western Ontario, Dept. of Anthropology | 2015 – 2017 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ANTH1027 Introduction to Linguistics - ANTH2245 Language and Culture - FNS2218 Contemporary First Nations Issues - ANTH1020 Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology | |

AWARDS

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| SSHRC Canada Graduate Scholarship – Master’s | 2016 |
| Ontario Graduate Scholarship (declined) | 2016 |
| Ontario Graduate Scholarship — Recruitment | 2015 |
| SSHRC Canada Graduate Scholarship – Master’s (declined) | 2015 |
| Western Graduate Research Scholarship | 2015 |
| The Caleb J. Hayhoe Jr. Award. Huron University College. | 2015 |
| Dean’s Honor Roll. Huron University College. | 2011 - 2015 |
| The Huron Scholarship. Huron University College. | 2011 - 2014 |
| The BMO Financial Group Scholarship. Huron University College. | 2013 |
| Hamish McDonald Memorial Prize for Psychology 1100E. Huron University College. | 2012 |

PRESENTATIONS AND CONFERENCES

- | | |
|---|------------|
| Co-presenter, <i>First International Conference on the Revitalization of Indigenous and Minoritized Languages</i> , Universitat de Barcelona. “Enhancing University-Community Partnerships on Language Revitalization Projects” | April 2017 |
|---|------------|

- Presenter, *Western Anthropology Graduate Student Conference*, University of Western Ontario. “Community-based Indigenous Language Revitalization and Public Policy in Canada” March 2016
- Presenter, *Western Interdisciplinary Student Symposium on Language Research*, University of Western Ontario. “Language Reintroduction: Reframing the Revitalization Process” March 2014
- Presenter, *Religion in the World*, Huron University College. “If the Scheduling Works: The Role of Religion and Sport” March 2013

SERVICE

- Co-Chair, Social Committee, Western Anthropology Graduate Student Society, The University of Western Ontario. 2016 - 2017
- Programming Committee, Western Anthropology Graduate Student Conference 2016
- Departmental Steward, Teaching Assistant and Postdoc Union, Western Anthropology Graduate Society, University of Western Ontario. 2015 - 2016
- Programming Committee, Western Anthropology Graduate Student Conference 2015
- Vice-President Finance, Student Linguistics Undergraduate Society, University of Western Ontario. 2014 - 2015
- Psychology Department Representative, Huron University College Students’ Council. 2013 - 2014
- University Affairs Coordinator, Huron University College Students’ Council. 2012 - 2013
- Orientation Leader, Huron University College. 2012 - 2013