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LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION, REVITALIZATION AND IDEOLOGIES
IN THE SALISH-PEND D'OREILLE COMMUNITY

By

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Dissertation

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Language Socialization, Revitalization and Ideologies in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Community

Chairperson: Dr. Leora Bar-el

The goal of this thesis is to examine the language socialization practices and ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community in order to understand language and cultural change in this community. This cultural group has become predominately monolingual in the non-traditional language, English; yet as my research demonstrates, the traditional language, Salish, continues to convey important epistemological perspectives valued in traditional society. By analyzing instances of Salish language use and non-use, I define some of the social factors that influence language use, as well as how children are socialized to use the language in culturally significant ways. When Salish is used, it not only marks the power dynamics within the sociolinguistic landscape, it also indexes some key components of the traditional practices and values of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community that continue in the current society. Utilizing Ochs' (1990) Indexicality Principle, I propose that the Salish language indexes (i) traditional contexts, (ii) epistemological views, (iii) affect and (iv) power dynamics of the sociocultural landscape.

This study also examines language revitalization efforts in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. A variety of learning contexts, available for community members, were analyzed to determine what individuals are being socialized to and how socialization occurs these environments. My research demonstrates that the community's revitalization efforts indirectly socialize children and other language learners to use language primarily in formal, institutionalized settings. These settings provide learners with not only language instruction, but also cultural exposure through the Salish language, which is a key socializing environment for many individuals. I also suggest that language revitalization programs reflect the larger sociocultural practices and ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community.

Finally, this study utilizes Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic processes to analyze Salish-Pend d'Oreille language ideologies. Salish language ideologies play a significant role in language socialization practices and the continued use of the Salish language in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. I propose that along with socialization practices, these semiotic processes, frequently overlapping one another, often undermine the goals of current revitalization efforts and hinder the linguistic and cultural socialization of their disappearing language.

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Open Letter to the Community

The purpose of this letter is to provide the community with a summary of my research findings. For my dissertation, I had the opportunity to learn and study the Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. I initially enrolled in Salish language courses at Salish Kootenai College, which increased my oral language proficiency and my desire to work with this cultural group. I developed close relationships with many community members and my desire to aid in the local revitalization efforts grew. Experiencing first hand the struggles involved in reviving a traditional language, I delved into the academic literature to find a framework that could best accommodate my understanding of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, as well as other communities seeking to revitalize their languages. Further research is necessary, but the language socialization framework allowed me to navigate the dilemmas the community faces in educating children about traditional cultural practices and the Salish language. Language socialization is the process by which individuals learn to use language in culturally relevant ways and also learn the values of the culture through language. I am hopeful that this study can lend support to the community's courageous and determined language revitalization efforts. While this dissertation is available for anyone to read, it is written for an academic audience. I hope this letter will convey some of my findings in a more approachable manner to non-specialists.

This study is only one way to understand the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community language and cultural context. To arrive at the conclusions drawn in this study, I conducted research in the community from 2011-2013, with the approval of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee. The research involved interviewing and casually talking with individuals about their thoughts, practices and general background. I also attended cultural activities, camps, meetings, Salish language classes and various community events, as well as visited families in their homes. There

are three primary topics discussed in this dissertation:

- 1) How the Salish language relays information about the speaker or practice to others when it is spoken.
- 2) How individuals learn the values and practices of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, particularly through the various programs trying to reestablish the Salish language.
- 3) The various beliefs and attitudes individuals in the community have about the Salish language, which are often used to justify specific practices.

In regard to the first topic, my findings reveal that while conversational Salish language is limited, community members continue to convey important information about the individual or settings through the Salish language. Notable values and beliefs conveyed or signaled through Salish language terminology include respect for all things, particularly nature, the importance of family, and emotions. Additionally, the use or non-use of the Salish language is symbolic of the political and social relationships found throughout the community. For instance, individuals able to speak the Salish language are often highly valued, particularly during cultural practices, which can bring prestige to the individual. On the other hand, individuals in political or social positions have the ability to determine the language of choice, therefore conveying their stance on the language. Children continue to be taught and learn to draw upon the ways the Salish language conveys or signal information. These signals are important building blocks for children's development of cultural knowledge and research shows that the Salish language continues to be a key component in this learning process.

Salish-Pend d'Oreille community language revitalization efforts are also explored, as a way to understand how individuals learn about traditional cultural values and practices through the Salish language. Community revitalization efforts focus primarily on educational settings outside the home, for both children and adults, to overcome the issue of limited access. That is,

the majority of community members do not have the ability to learn directly from fluent or even semi-fluent speakers in home or community settings. There are numerous educational opportunities for individuals to learn the Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille traditional practices. These settings, however, often establish the habit of using Salish language mainly in the classroom. There are two main reasons that I believe create this habit. The Salish-Pend d'Oreille, and immersion schools around the world, face the similar issue of employing individuals who are both certified teachers and fluent or semi-fluent speakers. As many teachers in the classrooms are themselves learning the Salish language, it is easy to fall into the pattern of switching to English when not instructing students in a language lesson. Salish language use does not typically occur in the home or in the larger community. Therefore, after a child or adult leaves the Salish language classroom, there are not many opportunities to hear or converse with others in the Salish language. Many community members working toward language revitalization are aware of the importance of establishing language learning in homes; yet creating and maintaining language use outside the classroom setting has been a challenge.

Finally, the ways Salish-Pend d'Oreille community members view or think about the Salish language are examined. The language perceptions of the community heavily influence Salish language, cultural practices and revitalization efforts. There are many community beliefs, often conflicting, about the relevance and importance the Salish language has for everyday life and cultural identity. One common belief and practice discovered is the association of the Salish language with elders. While many fluent Salish speakers are elders, this perception can 1) overgeneralize all elders as fluent in the Salish language; 2) place the burden of passing the Salish language onto younger generations squarely on the shoulders of elders; and 3) create the practice of waiting to speak Salish until an elder initiates the dialogue in the language. Another

dominant perspective held by community members is that children and adolescents have no respect for nature, others or even themselves. This belief overlooks the responsibility and child rearing practices of adults. The most prominent view found is that the Salish language is representative of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. That is, by understanding the Salish language, an individual will also be more likely to understand cultural beliefs and values. Tying language and culture together can serve as a rallying point for language revitalization efforts, encouraging individuals to learn more about their culture through the Salish language. Such a perspective can also be alienating. With many community members incapable of speaking the language, there may be some resentment towards a language-culture connection and may even perpetuate feelings of inferiority. The beliefs of a community have significant impacts on the efforts of language revitalization and therefore should be taken into consideration when examining a groups efforts and developing new programs.

My hope is that this study can positively aid the community's language revitalization efforts. For instance, this study reveals that the Salish language has become associated with elders and classroom settings. Creating new spaces or opportunities in which the Salish language is spoken and favored could prove beneficial to making the Salish language more practical and relevant for children and adults. The more Salish is viewed as important in the daily lives of individuals, the more likely the language will be spoken throughout the community, particularly within the home setting. There are numerous struggles a community faces when trying to revive a traditional language and the Salish-Pend d'Oreille are no different. Despite the obstacles and difficulties the Salish-Pend d'Oreille are confronted by, some of which are outlined in this study, individuals continue to work tirelessly and valiantly towards the continued perpetuation of the traditional language.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Overview

Cultures are constantly changing to adapt to new environmental and social pressures, yet for some groups, the changes are not mediated by choice. Understanding the ways that groups around the world are dealing and reacting to these issues is a point of concern for anthropologists, both for its theoretical implications and due to a larger concern for human diversity. From an anthropological perspective, language is a symbolic system for communicating values and sociocultural norms and relationships; the study of language change provides insight into the ongoing struggles and power dynamics inherent in any context where two or more cultures interact. Research on language shift, the process of replacing one language for another (Fishman 1991; Gal 1979; Garrett 2012), can provide insight into sociocultural relations that may affect the transmission of traditional cultural knowledge and practices. Language revitalization is one means by which cultural groups are attempting to combat language shift, and in more serious cases, language loss. Recognizing the degree of language loss occurring worldwide, both academic and non-academic communities have begun efforts to re-establish linguistic and cultural practices. However, these efforts have been predominately ineffective (Grenoble & Whaley 2006; Manatowa-Bailey 2007; Nettle 2000). Language revitalization programs, funding, and efforts continue to increase, demonstrating the increased support and awareness of the importance of linguistic diversity. However, without greater theoretical and methodological understanding of language revitalization efforts and the larger sociocultural environment the efforts reflect

(Meek 2010), traditional languages and the cultural perspectives they embody will likely continue to disappear. Cultures are necessarily dynamic and must constantly adapt to new circumstances. In this process of cultural change, we also observe changes in the ways that caregivers socialize their children and how these children dynamically interact in this process.

Language is the focus of this study, as language embodies local sociocultural information and serves as tool for enacting and negotiating meaning in interaction (Ochs 1990). Thus, a study of language provides insight into how cultural groups are dealing with changing environments (Duranti 1997; Field & Kroskrity 2009; Ochs 1990). In particular, this study focuses on the sociolinguistic practices and ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. The Salish-Pend d'Oreille, located on the Flathead Indian Reservation in western Montana, are a minority population on their own reservation, with roughly 5,100 members of the 28,359 total population (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2013a; U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The Salish-Pend d'Oreille, a Columbia Plateau cultural group, is undergoing a process of language shift. It is classified as moribund (Grenoble & Whaley 2006) or as nearly extinct or 8b in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Ethnologue 2005). English has become the vernacular among the majority of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, yet many individuals have expressed a strong desire to maintain and revitalize the traditional language for younger generations. The Salish language, often referred to as Flathead Salish or Montana Salish by linguists, is part of the larger Salishan language family, in which every language faces a serious decline in fluent speakers (Czaykowska-Higgins & Kinkade 1998; Gordon 2005; Kroeber 1999; Lyovin 1997; Mithun 1997). Concerned

with the decline of fluent Salish languages speakers, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community began revitalization efforts in the 1970s (Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee 2005) and have recently furthered their efforts through several programs and individual undertakings. Despite ongoing efforts, English has become the primary language used by most caregivers and community members to communicate Salish language ideologies and practices to children. My research analyzes the circumstances and contexts in which the Salish language is still used to socialize novice learners to sociocultural concerns, beliefs, ideologies, practices, and identities of the community. Additionally, I analyze the ideological factors and socialization practices that contribute to the decline of Salish language use and cultural practices.

The primary goal of this study is to determine how Salish-Pend d'Oreille children and adolescents, in a changing language environment, become socioculturally knowledgeable and active members of their society through language. Prior to this research, few anthropological studies had examined the contemporary linguistic and cultural practices, ideologies and revitalization efforts among the Native American tribes in the Northwestern United States and Canada. This is, to my knowledge, the first detailed ethnographic description of how Salish-Pend d'Oreille children acquire language and sociocultural competency for participation in daily activities. Furthermore, this is the first comprehensive documentation of ideologies and power struggles that influence the socialization process in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. The most recent research that focuses specifically on the relationship between language and culture in this community was conducted over fifty years ago (Malan 1948). In the late forties, when Malan was examining language and social change, language emersion schools were still

in use and ideologies about white superiority were common. This is demonstrated in the use of the term “primitive” when referring to the Salish-Pend d’Oreille and “superior” when referring to non-Natives. DeLeane O’Neill (1996) conducted an ethnography during the late eighties and early nineties, but her focus was primarily on the psychology of depression of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille. Ngai (2004) conducted a study on language revitalization and public schools on the reservation, approaching the issue from an educational framework that included little cultural or linguistic analysis. Until now, an in depth ethnographic analysis of the ways in which Salish-Pend d’Oreille children are socialized to the sociocultural environment through language had been absent in the Columbia Plateau and Salish-Pend d’Oreille literature. One of the goals of this study is to fill that gap.

This research also contributes to the literature on both the Salish language and the Salish language family, as there is a dearth of research on this language family that approaches language from a cultural anthropology perspective. Understanding the heterogeneous ways that children are socialized to their sociocultural environment through language is valuable for community members and persons concerned with language and cultural revitalization efforts. An understanding of how youth are socialized to the Salish language and culture may also contribute to the language and cultural revitalization efforts of the community. Incorporating the findings of this study can assist programs to better meet the specific needs of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community, as revitalization success is necessarily dependent upon the cultural context (No’eau Warner 2001).

I approach the issue of language shift, ideologies and cultural change through a language socialization theoretical and methodological approach (see §1.2 below). Language socialization studies are necessarily anthropological in nature, as they seek to gain insight into the greater social structures and issues that shape and inform belief systems and practices. Examining the ways that children are socialized to the language and culture reveals these larger ideologies of the community, as well as highlights the various social structures and power dynamics within a particular community (Kulick & Schieffelin 2006). The study of power (Foucault 1982) in discourse can demonstrate the ways that individuals and groups within a community achieve and understand control through language and action in their everyday routines (Clancy 1997). According to Kulick and Schieffelin (2006), once the structures of power and ideology have been defined and understood, they can be “challenged, resisted, changed, or entrenched,” (362). As the field of anthropology is concerned with how sociocultural groups deal with modernity and language and cultural shift, it is useful to consider how the structures of power and ideology can be adapted to meet the growing concerns of language and cultural revitalization. To fully understand the changing ideologies of a particular culture group, one must consider and examine how children or novices are being socialized to become successful participants within the community.

This dissertation focuses on Salish-Pend d’Oreille language socialization practices and ideologies that both support or undermine language revitalization efforts of the group. Utilizing a language socialization framework, I analyze how children and other novices become socially competent and active members of the society through language. While the traditional Salish language no longer serves as the primary means of

communication for everyday interaction, the language continues to index important contextual information and speaker identities. The language also serves as a source for cultural resistance to the dominant population of the Flathead Indian Reservation.

Researching language shift and language revitalization through a language socialization framework allows for greater comprehension of the issues that a community faces in re-establishing and revaluing traditional language and cultural practices.

1.2 Theoretical & Methodological Framework

The language socialization paradigm approaches language as a tool for understanding sociocultural and linguistic change (Fishman 1991; Garrett 1999, 2006; Kulick 1992; Meek 2007, 2010) and ideologies (Field 2009; Irvine 1989; Riley 2012) within a given community. Language socialization examines how children or novices are able to acquire the necessary tools for accepted practice and behavior within a particular culture, particularly through interactional routines. According to Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), this concept is taken to mean both “socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language,” (163). Children not only learn how to speak their first language through interactions with caregivers and siblings, but they also learn the necessary sociocultural values of the language community. Language socialization assumes that everyday discourse and practice holds critical information about the social structures and values that help determine cultural relationships. By analyzing everyday routines of child-caregiver interaction, an understanding of the ways that individuals perceive their surrounding sociocultural values and tools needed for becoming an active member of the group can be achieved (Garret & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Kulick 1992;

Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). The study of interactional routines, frequently reoccurring and predictable situations such as family dinners, bedtime stories, gossiping or role-play and games, offers insight into the implicit structuring factors and beliefs of a given culture (Garrett 1999; Hymes 1962; Schieffelin & Ochs 1996; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo 1986). Additionally, analysis of these routines uncovers how novices are being socialized to sociocultural values and beliefs, and how novices also influence the ways that experts accomplish the socializing process. Language socialization studies demonstrate that the child serves as an active agent in the socializing process, as socialization is a product of interaction (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Makihara 2005; Meek 2007; Schieffelin 1990). Agency afforded to children is key, as youth are influenced by not only their caregivers, but also other children, teachers, and community members, which in turn leads the children to socialize their caregivers, establishing a more cyclical process.

Language socialization studies also consider the ways that members of a community are socialized to assume specific roles and codes, which impact language maintenance and linguistic change (Ochs 2002). As demonstrated by Makihara (2005), children are valuable signals for establishing the effectiveness and importance of language revitalization movements, as it is their agency and actions that determine the outcomes of these efforts and the future of community beliefs and practices. Along with understanding children's impacts on language shift, language socialization examines the ways that ideologies affect socialization practices.

Language and sociocultural ideologies play a large role in shaping how language is used and conceived of within the larger social structure. These ideologies about language and culture may in turn lead to the negotiation of identity for individuals and their

communities. Ideologies about the use of a particular language in differing contexts is also considered, as these ideologies determine the roles assumed by the speaker-hearer and language used in these contexts. Language ideologies (Silverstein 1979) are the “set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use,” (193). Language use in particular settings and interactions may differ from one individual to the next, depending on the individual’s ideological background and cultural and linguistic knowledge. Ideologies are also informed by power and the authoritative relationships underlying communicative interactions (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Reynolds 2008). Ideologies can also have effects on one’s identity, how it is formed and enacted. Language socialization studies that seek to explain ideological influences on language practices have increased, as they effectively demonstrate the role that language plays in displaying and negotiating identities (Bunte 2009; Makihara 2005; Meek 2007, 2010; Ochs 1993; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). For instance, in Bunte’s (2009) study of the Paiute, she demonstrates how the group’s language ideologies have largely affected the shaping of their cultural identity, such that the Paiute language has become synonymous with Paiute culture. Language socialization studies demonstrate the importance of considering ideology, power, and social structure in the analysis of language and culture.

A language socialization approach to understanding language in culture relies heavily on Bourdieu’s (1977b) practice theory, as it emphasizes the analysis of the everyday practice and the notions that inform our beliefs and ways of being in the world (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004). Practice theory is compatible with much of linguistic anthropological thinking, as the theory assumes that language is both a practice and a

process that allows for variation and interrelationships. Linguistics, on the other hand, analyzes language as a rule-based system independent of culture (Bourdieu 1977a; Bucholtz & Hall 2006; Hanks 2005). The key concept of practice theory is that of habitus,

“...a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are ‘regular’ without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any ‘rule’...The habitus also provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives” (Thompson 1991:12-13).

Habitus, or the set of dispositions, is examined in everyday routines and interactions, which reveals the ways in which a community embodies actions and perspectives (Hanks 2005). As with routines, interactions account for how social norms are formed, how they are disseminated, and how these are acted out (Field 1998; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002). A central assumption of practice theory is agency (Bourdieu 1977b; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Hanks 2005). Habitus is structured by everyday routines and interactions, yet it is by no means static. Practice theory assumes that there is individual variability. This notion of agency has become prevalent in anthropology; thus practice theory is essential to the study of language socialization.

While the language socialization framework relies on practice theory, it also advances the theory. Practice theory was problematic in that it could not account for how individuals acquired habitus. According to Kulick and Schieffelin (2004), “[b]y analyzing the ways praxis comes to be acquired, and performativity actually operates in situated interactions, language socialization studies can document not only how and when practices are acquired, but also how and why they are acquired differently from what was

intended or not acquired at all,” (352).

Language socialization studies document the (non-)acquisition of linguistic and cultural features by the child or novice (Garrett 2007; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Kulick & Schieffelin 2006). To gain access to this information in the everyday discourse and social interactions, language socialization studies are ethnographic in design and involve extensive research of multiple contexts and interactions through participant observation and interviews. Naturalistic child interactions with adults and other socializing members of the community, in various sociocultural environments, are digitally recorded, where appropriate, for later discourse analysis (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Kulick 1992; Schieffelin 1990; Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). Documenting the language of an individual’s interactions in different contexts allows the researcher to determine the ways that various social settings and individuals influence the child’s acquisition of knowledge (Garrett 2007). Ethnographic methodologies create opportunities to observe and document language use and (non-)acquisition in a natural environment. This leads to a detailed understanding of how language and culture are transmitted, perceived and utilized. Language socialization research has traditionally focused primarily on young children, between the ages of birth to seven; furthermore, the data sets are often quite small, with between five to seven families examined (Demuth 1986; Garrett 1999, 2007; Kulick 1992; Platt 1986; Schieffelin 1990; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo 1986). The importance of keeping the primary study population small is one of feasibility. It is very difficult to document, transcribe, and analyze the discourse and development of more than five individuals, which over the course of a year can lead to 75 to 100 hours of annotated transcription (Field 1998; Garrett 1999, 2007; Kulick 1992;

Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1990). This focused data set also allows the researcher to document a child's language and cultural acquisition through the early and greatest development years, in which the most significant and obvious changes occur. However, as socialization is a lifelong process, occurring over various ages and contexts, a study that focuses only on preteens limits the research data to children only (Bucholtz & Hall 2006). Identities, ideologies, and cultural competence continue to change as individuals grow and become influenced by others around them, therefore there should be some incorporation of multiple ages into the research design. Additionally, due to the limited number of families and children analyzed, there is no account for inter-group variation in how individuals are socialized (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002:355). This issue of inter-group variation can be solved by a focus on the micro and macro levels of analysis. Comparison of the individual learning processes with larger practices and patterns of the community will generate a more inclusive understanding of the group's sociocultural and historical characteristics (Garrett 2007). A micro and macro level analysis can be conducted through observations and interviews of a broader group of community members that vary in age, kinship, and cultural participation, as well as the contexts in which these are conducted. The language socialization research methodologies adopted for this study will be discussed in §1.3 below. The distinct features of language socialization research is that the study documents the primary role language has in socializing novices. It utilizes an ethnographic approach to explain "the socializing force of these semiotic resources in terms of enduring and shifting socioculturally meaningful practices, events, situations, institutions, relationships, emotions, aesthetic, moralities, bodies of knowledge and ideologies" (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012:11).

1.3 Data Collection Methodology

The Salish-Pend d'Oreille cultural group resides primarily on the Flathead Indian Reservation of western Montana. There are 7,846 currently enrolled members of Confederated Salish Kootenai Tribes (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2013a) and fewer than 50 of these individuals are fluent in the Salish language (Nk^wusm 2010). The majority of these fluent speakers are elders, over the age of 65. Age alone is not sufficient to determine one's status as elder, and as such, elders are defined as individuals who are respected for their cultural knowledge and are over the age of 60. There are several individuals in the community that are semi-fluent speakers, who can be described as those capable of understanding the majority of the spoken language yet have some problems readily conveying their thoughts in the language. Many of these semi-fluent speakers, the youngest 20 years old, are directly involved in language revitalization programs, and have themselves learned the language through study. The Confederated Salish Kootenai tribes are the minority population on the reservation, as almost 70% of the population is non-Native (United States Census Bureau 2010). The dominant population has significantly influenced historical and current sociolinguistic practices of the Native community. As Salish language use is the primary focus of this research, the community is defined not as speech community but as a "community of practice" following Lave and Wenger (1991). Approaching the field site as a community of practice allows boundaries of individual interactions to be fluid and dynamic, changing depending upon the relationship or shared practice of the speakers (Ahearn 2011; Bucholtz & Hall 2006; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Lave & Wenger 1991). It is important to assume this flexible definition of community, as there are a broad array of

sociocultural dynamics and factors that influence language use of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, including non-Native English speakers.

The data for this study was collected via ethnographic research which was conducted between 2011 and 2013 on the Flathead Indian Reservation in western Montana. The focus of data collection was on the contexts in which Salish language use continues to convey sociocultural information. Prior to data collection, I developed and fostered relationships with Salish-Pend d'Oreille community members over several years. In December 2010 I received permission from the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee to conduct fieldwork with the tribe. Prior to data collection, I attended Salish language classes, participated in language planning meetings, attended several cultural events, and met with the Director of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee. Open and honest communication was integral to establishing rapport with and respect from the community, which enabled me to explore the issues surrounding revitalization efforts on the Flathead Indian Reservation. Developing these relationships also allowed me to become familiar with the sociocultural and political dynamics across the reservation. Data collection involved participant observations of various community events and family interactions (§1.3.1) and semi-formal and formal interviews of community members (§1.3.2). Utilizing a language socialization framework to understand language and cultural change among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, I analyzed the ways children are socialized to Salish language use and the sociocultural environment. The computer software program NVivo aided my analysis of the research data, to arrive at the dominant themes presented in this dissertation. These themes are representative of the practices

and ideologies of the research participants, which primarily reflect those individuals that are culturally active Salish-Pend d'Oreille community members.

1.3.1 Participant Observations

Through participant observations, I determined when Salish language is used and how Salish language use then socializes children to (i) sociocultural information and (ii) traditional Salish-Pend d'Oreille cultural values and practices. I also analyzed how expressed community language ideologies influence revitalization efforts. I conducted observations at cultural practices, camps, traditional seasonal activities, immersion school classrooms, and language courses. I also observed family interactions at community events, family gatherings, and in the home setting. I selected these contexts, as they provided a diverse array of factors that could contribute to child and novice socialization through Salish language use. I observed and compared mundane, private interactions within the home to those in the community, formal education settings, and in traditional practices. That is, I chose these contexts to examine and link micro-level socialization practice to the macro-level practices of the larger community (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). I obtained the observational data, described in detail below, during traditional events and gatherings that were open to the public or that I was invited to attend. Additionally, classroom observations provided information on formal learning environments for children and adults.

I investigated contexts of everyday social interactions and traditional practices in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community to determine how children are socialized through the Salish language. Observations of seasonal cultural events allowed me to describe and

understand the traditional beliefs and practices that continue today. During these events, I was able to observe important social and family relationships, and document one of the only contexts of continued Salish language use outside of the formal educational setting. Traditionally, the seasonal economic cycle determined the daily activities of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. While individuals are no longer dependent upon these cycles for subsistence, remnants of these practices continue today. Salish language (non-)use was noted during these events; in particular, the salient contextual triggers, the speakers, and the content of the information expressed. Descriptions of the events that I recorded in my field notes included: a list of the individuals, children or families present, the socialization practices observed, and ideologies expressed in conversations with participants. Cultural camps, including Horse Camp, Hunting Camp and Language Culture Camp, and powwows provided opportunities to observe traditional activities for longer durations. These camps focus on the perpetuation of traditional cultural, and sometimes language, practices. Camps, often held during the summer months, provide families the chance to learn about traditional practices together. As such, I was able to observe numerous family practices at these events. For instance, data collected during Hunting Camp and the Arlee Powwow Celebration was more intimate and reflective of ordinary family interactions, as I was able to observe daily family interactions at camp sites. Observations and informal interviews at these camps also contributed to the data on revitalization practices and goals, as well as the ideologies and practices that were explicitly taught to children and adults. Multiple observations of seasonal activities, powwows, and camps also allowed me to determine any variation of the events from year to year. An additional observational context was Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture

Committee Meetings. The culture committee oversees matters of cultural significance for the community and is comprised of a group of selected elders. Regular observations of these monthly meetings provided details on language and cultural ideologies, power dynamics, and Salish language use. Additional contextual data came from daily family and social interactions and informal gatherings with individuals and families with whom I had become closely acquainted.

Salish language is most frequently heard in formal educational settings and therefore, I chose to frequently observe contexts of formal Salish language instruction. For instance, at Nk'wusm Salish Language Institute, a pre-K-8th grade immersion school, I conducted multiple observations of the three classrooms, fieldtrips and other activities that took place outside of the classroom. Some of these activities included school powwows, hikes into the mountains, treks to the Medicine Tree, and Camas Dig and Bake. Additionally, I regularly participated in and observed the Adult Language Learning Class at Nk'wusm, a language program created through an Administration for Native Americans (ANA) Grant that offers adults the opportunity to learn the language in a structured educational setting. I also participated in a bi-weekly adult language class open to the public. Participating in language classes established myself as an interested participant in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille language revitalization efforts, not just for the purpose of conducting academic research but as an individual with a personal interest in linguistic and cultural diversity and the revitalization of endangered languages and cultures, especially in Salish communities. As a language learner, these classes also contributed to my understanding of the language socialization of adults and the issues many of them face in (re)-learning about their culture as adults. My routine participant

observations in this close environment created familiarity and respect among students and teachers when we interacted during community events outside the school.

Throughout the data collection process, I relied heavily on ethnographic fieldnotes to record my observations. Salish language discourse occurred rarely and often spontaneously during my observations. Therefore, I was unable to audio or video record these interactions and relied on ethnographic fieldnotes to document these communicative events. During initial observations in the field, I recorded a few key characteristics about the activity in my notebook while the event was taking place and then created a more comprehensive explanation of the event afterwards. However, I found that this process often created a barrier with participants and would interrupt the natural flow of the activity, particularly when I was directly participating in the activity. Therefore, I began to document my observations after the activity or interaction, either by hand or sometimes audio recorder. For instance, if I was involved in a language lesson, it was not feasible or appropriate to record ethnographic fieldnotes until after the lesson was complete. My role in the observational activity became much less stigmatized once I began recording the information after the event or interaction. Flexibility in the data collection methods used in this study was required to accommodate the sociocultural environment and members of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. Scheduled events and daily activities were often changed because of a death in the community, which required that all activities cease out of respect to the deceased and the family.

1.3.2 Interviews

Semi-formal interviews focused primarily on documenting and understanding the language and sociocultural ideological factors that contribute to the continued shift from Salish language to English. There were a total of 25 individuals semi-formally interviewed and numerous informal, unstructured interviews (Bernard 2006) were also conducted. Initially, I conducted semi-formal interviews with individuals that I knew were involved in language revitalization efforts in the community. Through these contacts, I used a snowball approach to set up additional interviews (Bernard 2006; LeCompte and Schensul 1999). The pool of participants was then expanded to include language learners, teachers, planners, elders, and parents, and other adult community members. Interviewees had a variety of backgrounds, ages, genders, and levels of involvement in language and cultural activities. Male and female respondents were nearly equally represented, ranged from 18-84 years old, and lived on the Flathead Indian Reservation in the towns of Evaro, Dixon, Arlee, Ronan, Pablo, and St. Ignatius (Mission). Interviewees were directly asked about their involvement in current cultural practices, which ranged from limited activity to daily practice. Interviewees' exposure to the Salish language also varied. Some individuals had been exposed to the language since childhood, while others began to be socialized to the language later in life. Throughout the dissertation I identify interviewees by gender and age, but keep their names confidential. These variables were chosen to demonstrate that the ideologies and practices analyzed are reflective of my overall sample size of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille and not confined to a specific sociocultural identity (i.e. gender or age).

Semi-formal interviews were audio recorded using a Zoom H2 Handy Recorder and transcribed using the Mac transcription software, Transcriba 2. Some individuals preferred not to be audio recorded and so information was transcribed by hand. Interview questions focused on historical and current child rearing practices, family histories, language and culture ideologies, language usage, language socialization practices, cultural participation, and general concerns (see Appendix A for a list of interview questions). Interview lengths varied from individual to individual, ranging from 25 minutes to 2½ hours. Informal, unstructured interviews focused on many of these same issues, but without the formality of an interview. I found that individuals were often wary of being formally interviewed, but were open to discussing language and cultural ideologies and practices freely with me during casual conversations. Informal interviewees were fully aware of my anthropological background and my research goals. Information provided in these informal interviews were recorded in fieldnotes after the communicative interaction. Transcribed interview data found throughout this dissertation has been edited to focus the reader's attention on the content rather than the linguistic features. For instance, hesitations have been removed, and as such, this data should not be used for discourse analysis purposes.

A longitudinal ethnographic study proved essential to collecting the data on child and novice language socialization. By collecting data over multiple years, I was able to document changes in Salish language use, community language ideologies, and the language socialization of children and novices. This approach was also necessary to understand the historical, social and political underpinnings affecting language revitalization and language socialization in this community. Flexibility and open

communication also proved invaluable to establishing rapport and lasting relationships with the community; as a result, this dissertation presents a detailed account of the continued role of the Salish language in socializing children to the values and practices of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille.

1.4 Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 presents the relevant background on the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, including descriptions of the traditional cultural beliefs and practices to which children and other novices continue to be socialized. These practices include the seasonal economic cycle, social stratification, kinship and childhood socialization, and religion. This chapter also includes an explanation of the historical influences and events that shaped the current Salish-Pend d'Oreille sociocultural environment. I present some background information on the Salish language, including its relation to the Salish language family, speaker numbers, and research by previous scholars. I also employ the theoretical concept of linguistic relativity to explain the importance of the Salish language to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the ongoing language shift in the community, focusing on the primary factors contributing to the current situation. Historical influences and changes to cultural practices have greatly impacted current cultural and linguistic numbers and domains of use; thus these influences and changes provide critical background information needed to comprehensively understand language socialization and ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille today.

Chapter 3 documents the contexts for Salish language use revealed in this study and analyzes the sociocultural contexts, identities, and beliefs that are indexed by this use of the traditional language. The contexts for Salish language use are limited. Therefore, I propose that Salish language use is a salient marker that helps novices identify the cultural spheres and the participants' roles in these contexts. However, there are also numerous instances of Salish language use, often by non-fluent speakers, which occur regardless of the context. I argue that Salish language use also indexes epistemological perspectives, kinship relationships, affect, and the power dynamics inherent in communicative events. Salish language indexes are essential to learners, as “[i]ndexical knowledge is at the core of linguistic and cultural competence and is the locus where language acquisition and socialization interface,” (Ochs 1996:414).

Chapter 4 defines and analyzes past and current language revitalization efforts in the community. Revitalization efforts, particularly in formal settings, provide children and other novices with the primary means to acquire the Salish language and Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture. Given the decline in Salish language speakers, the classroom has become a central domain for Salish language socialization. A variety of learning contexts, available for community members, were analyzed to determine what individuals are being socialized to and how socialization occurs these environments. I suggest that language revitalization programs reflect the cultural norms of the sociolinguistic environment and therefore must be analyzed as such. That is, I analyze how revitalization efforts are reflective of the practices found in the larger community, not whether or not these programs are successful in producing fluent speakers. Defining the goals of community revitalization efforts also provides a baseline for analysis of the

actual practices and ideologies of individuals involved in these revitalization efforts, and the larger community.

In Chapter 5, I utilize Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure to analyze the language ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. I also propose that these language ideologies affect language socialization practices and revitalization efforts in the community. I argue that a focus on ideologies provides further evidence of the importance of examining language as means to understand cultural change. As children are frequently socialized to ideologies, often indirectly, these perceptions play a large role in the child's cultural identity and knowledge formation (Field 2009; Garrett 2005, 2012; Kroskrity 2000; Ochs 2002; Riley 2012). Examining and analyzing the many diverse beliefs in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community and individuals, I define the general status of the Salish language, power and social inequalities, cultural identity, cultural beliefs and practices of the community.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a summary of the central claims and a discussion of the theoretical implications of these findings for the field of linguistic anthropology. Additionally, the broader implications of this study for non-academic communities are described. This chapter ends with a brief outline of issues for future research.

Chapter 2

Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture and Salish Language Shift

2.1 Introduction

Although the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community has been undergoing language shift from Salish to English, the traditional language of the community continues to serve and index important sociocultural information. Before analyzing the indexical meanings of Salish language use and the ideologies that influence language use and socialization practices, it is necessary to contextualize the sociolinguistic environment. Defining the traditional beliefs and practices of the cultural group, as well as the historical events and factors that contribute to the language shift in this community, is a crucial step to understanding the current language socialization practices and ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. This chapter begins with an overview of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture, describing the research setting (2.2), the relevant characteristics of the traditional community lifestyle (2.3), and the historical events that shaped the current sociocultural environment (2.4). This is followed by a description of the Salish language (2.5) and an analysis of the contributing factors that have led to language shift in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community (2.6).

2.2 Salish-Pend d'Oreille Locality

The aboriginal territory of the Bitterroot Salish and the Upper Pend d'Oreille (henceforth Salish-Pend d'Oreille) (see Figure 1 below) spanned from northwestern Wyoming, into Montana from east of the Continental Divide and westward into Idaho and then north to British Columbia (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2012; Malouf 1998; Teit & Boas 1975).



Figure 1 Distribution of Salish Dialects (Boas 1928)

The Salish-Pend d’Oreille are traditionally classified by anthropologists as part of the Columbia Plateau cultural grouping which spans the northwestern United States and British Columbia, Canada and “includes the Interior Salish, the Sahaptian people, and several cultural isolates, Athapaskan outliers, and the Kootenai and Cayuse...” (Walker 1998b:1; see Figure 2 below).

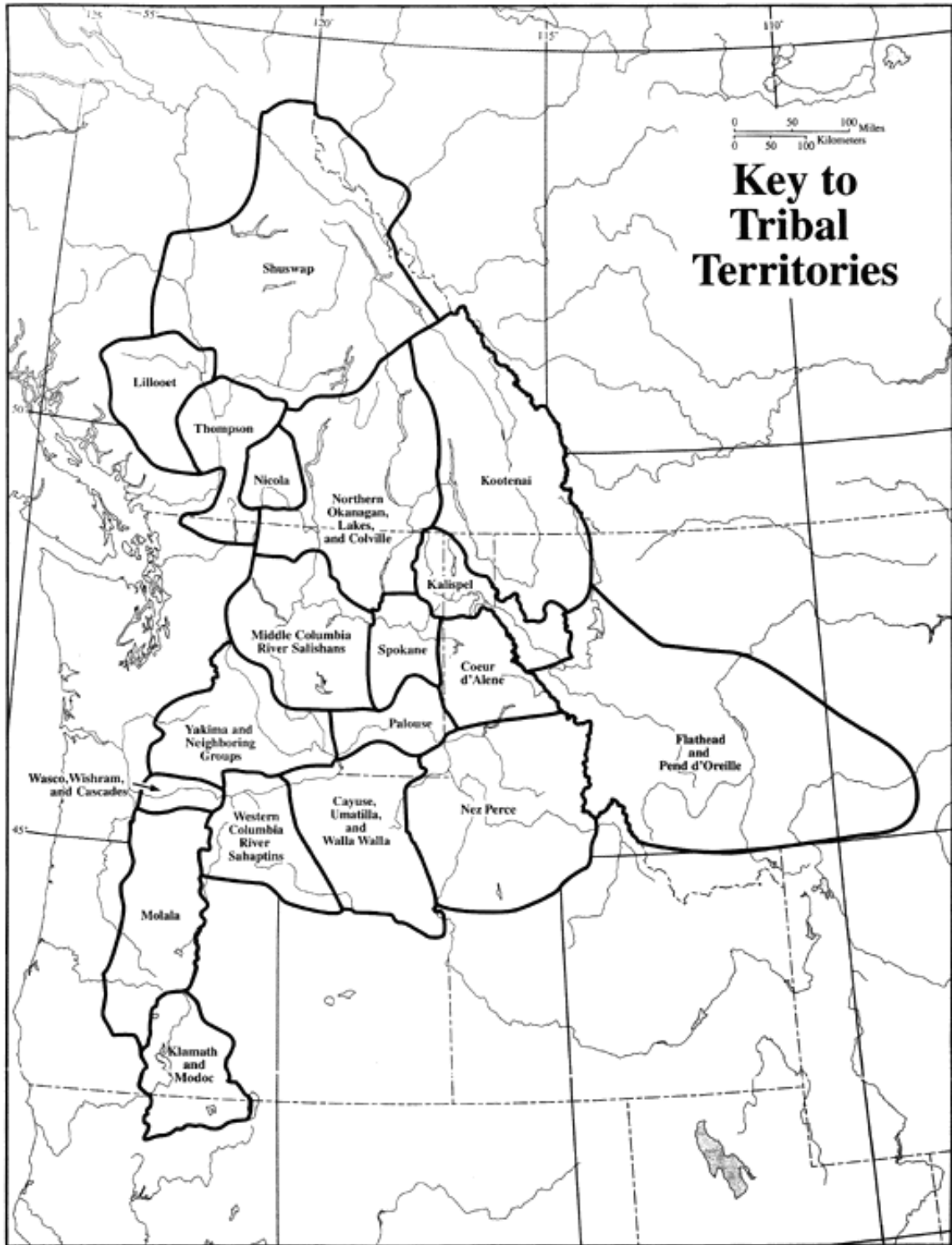


Figure 2 Columbia Plateau Tribal Territories (Walker 1998a)

Individuals have occupied the plateau region for “...between ten thousand and fourteen thousand years as part of the original peopling of the continent” (Cebula 2003:9).

Cultural aspects that define and distinguish the Plateau Indians from other neighboring Native American cultural groups, including the Great Basin, Pacific Northwest, Subarctic and Plains, are their history, kinship system, religious beliefs and ceremonies, and dependence upon the economic cycle of the region (Anastasio 1972; Cebula 2003; Ray 1939, 1942; Teit 1930; Thompson & Egesdal 2008; Walker 1998b). The Salish-Pend d’Oreille share many characteristics with the Columbia Plateau, including historical, religious, seasonal and daily practices. Frequent interactions between the Salish-Pend d’Oreille and other Columbia Plateau tribes allowed for the continued diffusion of cultural characteristics, stories, and trade and marriage relations (Anastasio 1972).

However, the Salish-Pend d’Oreille are a distinct culture grouping (Rockwell 2008; Teit & Boas 1975; Thompson & Egesdal 2008) as they practiced variant forms of the kinship system typical of the Plateau (discussed in detail in §2.3.3). As the eastern most tribe of the Columbia Plateau, the Salish-Pend d’Oreille environment created a diet dependent upon bison, deer and elk, rather than fish, particularly salmon, typical of the other Plateau tribes (Anastasio 1972; Ray 1939,1942). Frequent contact with nearby Plains tribes also influenced religious practices of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture.

Today the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community resides on the established 1.317 million acres of the Flathead Indian Reservation in western Montana (see Figures 3 and 4 below) (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2012).

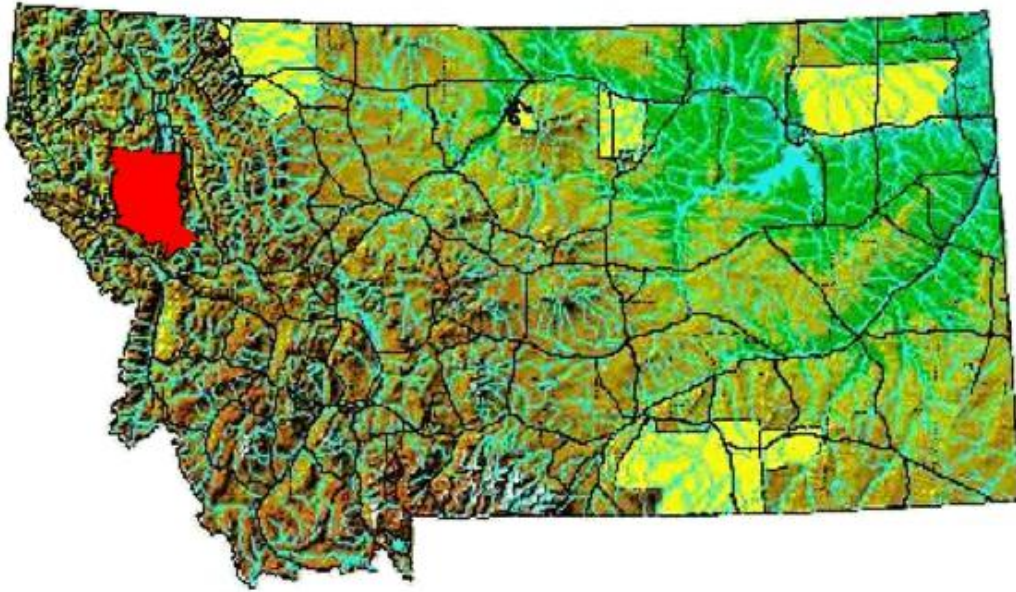


Figure 3 Flathead Indian Reservation (National Agriculture Statistics 2007)

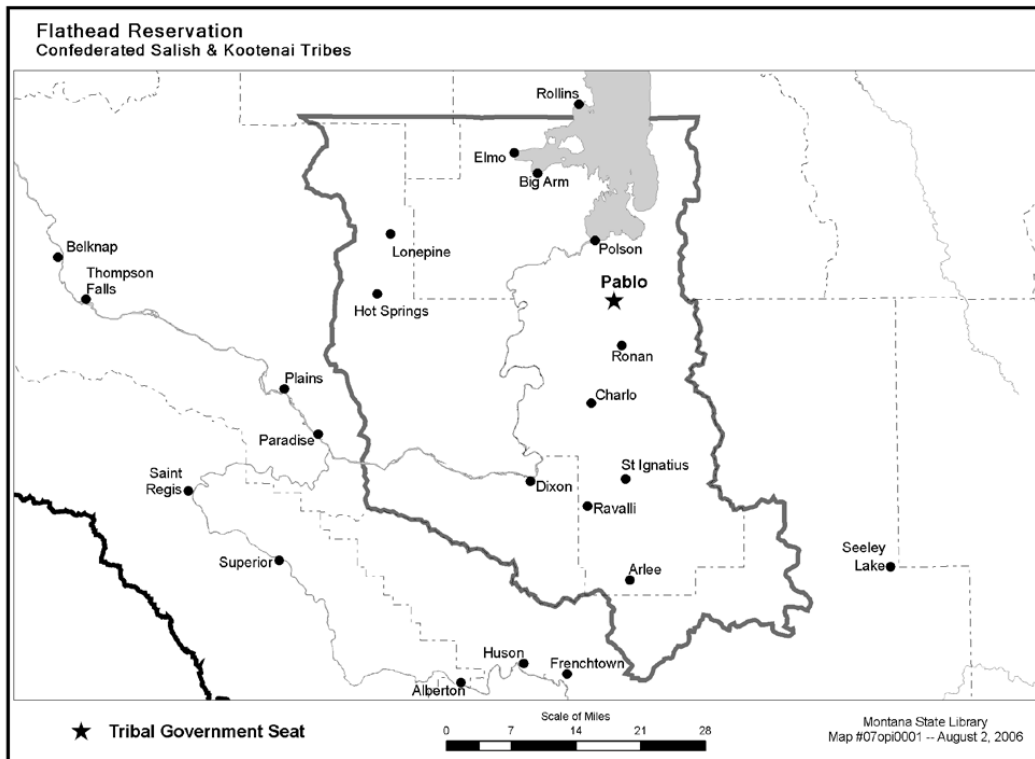


Figure 4 Flathead Indian Reservation (Montana OPI 2009)

The reservation is surrounded by the Mission Mountains to the east and Flathead Lake to the North. Towns on the reservation tend to be small, with roughly 200-2500 residents; they include Arlee, St. Ignatius (Mission), Ronan, Pablo, and Polson and are found along US Highway 93 that runs north/south through the reservation. Further west, along Montana Highway 200 that runs east/west, is the town of Dixon, and along Montana Highway 28, which is parallel to Highway 93, are the towns of Hot Springs and Camas Prairie. According to the most recent U.S. Census, conducted in 2010, the Flathead Indian Reservation has a total population of 28,359 individuals, 19,221 of whom are non-Native (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). There are 7,846 currently enrolled members of Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (2013a) of which about 65% live on the reservation (Tribal Nations 2013). The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes on the Flathead Indian Reservation are comprised of the Kootenai, Bitterroot Salish and Pend d'Oreille. The Bitterroot Salish and the Pend d'Oreille traditionally speak two different dialects of the Salish language and share many cultural characteristics and histories, particularly since the creation of the reservation. As such, these two groups are referred to as the Salish-Pend d'Oreille in this dissertation. The Kootenai are also classified as belonging to the Columbia Plateau, and share commonalities with Plains, mostly with regard to religious ceremonies, including the Blanket Ceremony, Sun Dance, Bluejay Dance, and the Sweatlodge Ceremony (Brunton 1998). Additionally, the Kootenai community speaks Kootenai, a language isolate (Brunton 1998). The Salish-Pend d'Oreille have their own culture committee, as do the Kootenai. The multicultural background of the reservation community results in diverse attitudes, ideologies, and power dynamics that influence the belief systems and practices of the Salish-Pend

d'Oreille cultural group. The pressures of these power dynamics, among other factors (discussed in detail in Chapter 3), has led to a shift away from traditional cultural and linguistic practices. Also, the reservation geography and demographics make access to language and cultural programs challenging.

2.3 Traditional Characteristics of Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture

Traditional Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture was a nomadic hunter gatherer society that subsisted in the forested, mountainous region of the western United States through an intimate knowledge with their landscape (Anastasio 1972; Malouf 1998; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Thompson & Egesdal 2008; Turney-High 1937). The profound and respectful relationship with all living things, from the plants, animals, spirits, ancestors and human beings, shaped the daily lives of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille people (Cebula 2003; Frey & Hymes 1998; Malouf 1998; Rockwell 2008; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Thompson & Egesdal 2008; Turney-High 1937). Many traditional beliefs and practices that were emblematic of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille are no longer continued today. The prominent, residual Salish-Pend d'Oreille characteristics that continue today, and which are pertinent to this study of language socialization, include seasonal round activities, social organization and complex kinship network, and childhood socialization and religious practices (Malouf 1998; Rockwell 2008; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Thompson & Egesdal 2008; Turney-High 1937).

2.3.1 Seasonal Economic Cycle

Living in harmony, caring for, and respecting the world and people around them are concepts that are traditionally central to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. The Salish-

Pend d’Oreille practiced these concepts in their daily lives; these concepts also played an important role in the seasonal economic cycle, kinship practices and in their religion. As nomadic hunter gatherers living in a forested, mountainous region, the economic seasonal cycle dictated the daily subsistence, religious, and ceremonial activities of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille. The daily dependence upon the land gave this cultural group an intimate understanding of their environment. The cycle began in the spring time with the first rites ceremonies and fishing, followed by summer celebrations, continued gathering of plants and medicines, followed by hunting in the fall, and then the sacred storytelling time of winter. The cycle began anew with the first thunderstorm of spring, which once again signaled the time to put traditional stories away. The Salish language calendar reflects the relevance of the cycles to the Salish-Pend d’Oreille people. As illustrated below, the Salish names of the months refer to the culturally relevant events that take place during those months:

sp̥eʔm sp̥q̥niʔ	‘May, Bitterroot Month’
sx̣ʷelí sp̥q̥niʔ	‘June, Camas Month’
čulay sp̥q̥niʔ	‘July, Celebration Month’
sč̥tip sp̥q̥niʔ	‘October, Hunting Month’
sq̣ʷllú sp̥q̥niʔ	‘November, Storytelling Month’
es ʔacmí sp̥q̥niʔ	‘December, Trapping Month’

The first fruits ceremony marks the beginning of the harvesting season in the spring time. For the Salish-Pend d’Oreille, this ritual is conducted in April or May during the harvesting of the bitterroot plant. During the Bitterroot Dig ceremony, a young girl is selected to dig the first bitterroot. After removing the bitterroot from the ground, the girl gives the plant to an honored elder woman, who then peels the outer skin from the root

and places the remaining bitterroot top back into the ground. This process ensures the bitterroot plant will return the following season. The bitterroot plant was traditionally very important for the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, as it provided a staple crop for them to gather year after year. The spring season is followed by summer months which entails gathering additional plants such as camas, serviceberries, huckleberries, chokecherries, ingredients for teas, and medicinal plants. Many of these plants were gathered in large enough quantities to last through the hard winter months. Summer is also a time for continued fishing and gathering; it also marks the time of summer buffalo hunts and celebrations. The warmer climate of this season allowed individuals to travel and visit others with much greater ease. The summer season was often considered one of the more enjoyable times of the year, given the ease of travel and abundance of food, social interactions, and activities, and continued until September, roughly (Anastasio 1972).

The fall season is a time to begin hunting larger game, such as elk, moose, and deer, and continue hunting buffalo, which were then preserved for the winter months. The winter months were a quiet and sacred time for the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. During these months, activities included small animal trapping, Jump Dances and Medicine Dances, and storytelling. After the first snowfall, traditional stories, often involving Coyote, an important mythical figure in creation stories (Frey & Hymes 1998), begin to be told once again. The significance of these stories will be examined further in § 2.3.4 below.

The Salish-Pend d'Oreille are no longer reliant upon the traditional economic cycle for daily subsistence, yet there are several individuals and families in the culture that continue to follow these seasonal patterns and practices. The economic cycle of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille tribes had significant impact on the daily and yearly activities but

also determined settlement patterns, religious ceremonies, gender roles and economic systems, each of which are discussed in the proceeding sections.

2.3.2 Social Stratification

The lifestyle of respect and sharing, as aforementioned in §2.3.1 above, was also reflected in the social organization of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. As with other Columbia Plateau tribes, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille were egalitarian, in that equality amongst their members was favored over social stratification (Lahren 1998a; Malouf 1998; Teit 1930; Thompson & Egesdal 2008). Each tribe or band (typically a grouping of villages) consisted of family units, associations, and/or mutual interests, often closely related by blood, and were ruled by consensus or persuasion rather than force (Lahren 1998a; Rockwell 2008; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Teit 1930). The concept of interdependence and reciprocity, a salient cultural characteristic of the Columbia Plateau tribes, is reiterated in O'Neil (1996) in her examination of "pity" among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. The term refers to the act of generosity and responsibility that individuals have in taking care of one another through whatever means possible. Mourning Dove (1990) emphasizes this need for all individuals and families to work together and share the fruits of their labor to succeed and overcome obstacles faced. During the late winter, when salmon and root provisions, including camas, were low, there were greater threats of starvation and malnutrition (a common theme in the mythology stories) (Boyd 1998). The threat of starvation re-enforced the value of sharing throughout each village. Every individual and family was expected to contribute to the overall well-being of the community, whether it was during the harsh winters, on a buffalo hunt, or during spiritual

traditions (Cebula 2003; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Smith 2008; Teit 1930). Smith (2008) conveys this “strong ethic of sharing resources,” in a discussion with Salish elder Agnes Vanderburg who recalled “when they get meat, they pass it to every tipi, until everybody gets enough for the winter,” (19). This concept of sharing and respect is also reflected by elder Johnny Arlee, who said that “...[w]ithout the respect, children grew only to work for themselves, with no heart for others and the world around them” (Flathead Cultural Committee 1977: ii). These traditional values were at the heart of Salish-Pend d’Oreille society; yet many of the elders today have expressed a significant decline in these beliefs in the recent decades.

The subsistence system of the Plateau tribes restricted social hierarchies while simultaneously defining divisions of labor, primarily based on gender (Teit 1930). Leadership roles possessed limited authoritative and coercive power and were typically not hereditary; instead these roles were based on particular skill sets, such as hunting or warfare, and the character of the individual. Chiefs and other leadership positions were “governed by consensus under the guidance and advisement of elders,” (Rockwell 2008:4). While gender roles were separate and clearly defined, there was still great equality between men and women as each gender had balanced roles in authority, autonomy and power in the domains of economy, religion, politics, and domestic sphere (Ackerman 2003; Cebula 2003; Hunn 1990; Teit 1930). Ackerman (2003) provides a detailed analysis of gender equality, as carried out in the domestic and economic spheres of the Okanagan culture, while Teit gives a brief explanation for the Flathead Salish (1930). Beginning with the domestic sphere, men and women had distinct, but balanced roles which they fulfilled to ensure family and community survival. These roles included

fishing and hunting by the men, while women prepared the game caught and gathered vegetables (predominately camas and berries). Economically, both genders had the authority over their own goods and could only trade their own personal belongings. For women, once they had begun to treat meat or fish, these goods were considered their possession. The gender roles of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille helped to reinforce the concept of interdependence for the family and the village throughout the year.

The social organization of the tribe changed significantly upon the arrival of western society. Many of these changes, described in detail in §2.4, have had a lasting impact on the overall cultural continuity of tribe. The Salish-Pend d'Oreille are now governed by a tribal council political system in which tribal officials are elected into office. There is also marked social stratification throughout the reservation due to the wide array of employment opportunities and wages associated with each position. For instance, some tribal elected officials and department heads earn over \$100,000 while over 20% of the population are below the poverty line (Missoula County 2013). Many clearly defined traditional roles of men and women have now become blurred or obsolete, including who may set up or take down a tepee, who can collect specific plants, and so forth. Familial units are also no longer the foundation for villages or towns, as many individuals and families are no longer dependent upon one another and often create new family units away from their relatives.

2.3.3 Kinship and Childhood Socialization

Columbia Plateau tribes traditionally had a complex kinship network that provided the basic foundation for the tribal villages and bands; this network was fundamental to

survival and all aspects of daily life (Ackerman 1998, 2003; Cebula 2003; Mourning Dove 1990; Walker 1998b). The tribes practiced a bilateral system that recognized the lineage of both parents but was flexible in that it also allowed individuals the choice of recognition of one parent's lineage over the other (Ackerman 1998; Malouf 1998; Turney-High 1937). For the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, the system was slightly less permeable. Warfare decreased the number of male relatives significantly, causing an increase in exogamous marriages and recognition of matrilineal descent, while still acknowledging the father's lineage (Ackerman 1998; Anastasio 1972; Turney-High 1937). Parents often arranged marriages for their young children. The young couple would be married a few years after they had reached puberty, once the woman could demonstrate her skills as a wife and the man could demonstrate his ability to provide for his family (Ackerman 1998; Salish Kootenai College 2008). Post-marital residence forms varied; ambilocal residence was common for most groups, though the Salish-Pend d'Oreille had a tendency to practice matrilocal residence (Ackerman 1998; Anastasio 1972; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). Marriage was prohibited between cousins to the sixth or seventh degree (Turney-High 1937), as cousins up to the fifth generation were considered brothers or sisters (Pete 2010; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). This relation is also reflected in the Salish language, as the term *snk^wsix^w* refers to 'brother, sister, cousin'. Polygyny (the practice of having multiple wives) was an acceptable and respected practice throughout the Columbia Plateau, however, it was not commonly practiced among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille (Anastasio 1972; Hunn 1990; Malouf 1998). In the case of death, sororate (the practice of the deceased wife's sister marrying the widower) and levirate (the practice of the

deceased husband's brother marrying the widow) were practiced, but were not considered obligatory (Hunn 1990; Malouf 1998). When a death occurred in the camp or village, all celebratory activities would cease out of respect for the deceased. If there were orphaned children, adoption was a common practice; the extended family took on the responsibility of raising the orphaned children (Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). The commonality of adoption is reflected in the following quote from an interview collected during my fieldwork:

“I mean, that's just part of the way I grew up, is the family is, I guess when you lose somebody, it's like someone else steps in. Like if your mother passes on, one of your aunts or, takes that role. Or if your father passes away, one of your uncles or someone always fills in. If you have that core family, the way it was when our ancestors lived in the old traditional camps. That's kinda how I was taught, so that's how I still look at.” (male, 54 years old).

Adoption practices continued the tradition of sharing and providing for everyone in the community or village.

The extended family was the central unit for the culture, consisting of numerous nuclear families of multiple grandparents, sons and daughters, spouses, and grandchildren; each unit shared economic resources, residences, and responsibilities of educating children on moral and social values (Ackerman 1998; Hungry Wolf 1989; Salish Kootenai College 2008). Every member of the family was expected to contribute to the daily communal activities, including children who learned from relatives early in life the importance of “generosity and responsibility,” (Salish Kootenai College 2008:26). The Salish language reflects this extensive, complex kinship system. Kinship terminology is dependent upon the sex, age and generation of the speaker, as well as the

sex and generation of the relative (Nk^wusm 2010; Thompson & Egesdal 2008). The kinship system is bifurcative collateral (distinguishes between relatives on mother and father's side), with the language further classifying or acknowledging consanguinal (relatives through common descent) and affinal relatives (relatives by marriage) (Ackerman 1998; Nk^wusm 2010; Thompson & Egesdal 2008). For instance, a male speaker would refer to his uncle, or mother's brother as *nunúme?*, while his paternal uncle would be *smamá?* (Pete 2010). The language also uses reciprocal terms. For example, the term for father's mother *qéne?* is the same term that is used for an individual's son's daughter. The extended family was traditionally very important to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille which is still seen in varying forms in the current society. In Chapter 3 I propose that Salish language use in today's society indexes these highly valued kin relationships in today's society.

The education of children was a concern and duty of everyone in the family, but grandparents, the authoritative and most respected figures in the household, assumed the primary role of raising and socializing children. Pre-pubescent children learned the appropriate behaviors of the culture through emulation of others, explicit instruction, and practice (Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). Young children participated in daily activities, which included a morning dip in the river, followed by carrying water to the tipi, or other chores dictated by the gender; boys would untie and graze horses while girls collected firewood, helped cook and clean, scrape and tan hides, and care for younger siblings for girls (Hungry Wolf 1989; Johnson 1969; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). Young girls enjoyed playing with toy dolls

while boys played with toy weapons (Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). Playtime and games were another means by which children learned the necessary skills of the society. These games, including shinny and hoops and darts, helped teach children dexterity and strength. Some games were specific to the boys' training and focused on developing their endurance, courage, toughness and marksmanship (Salish Kootenai College 2008). Once boys and girls were capable of performing these and other essential survival tasks, they would embark upon their spiritual journey to find their Guardian spirit through vision quests (Arlee N.d.; Cebula 2003; Salish Kootenai College 2008). This journey was understood to help, "...them to become good and powerful people and deal with life's challenges and privileges," (Salish Kootenai College 2008:56-57).

Many of the skills that children learned were explicitly taught, while the more abstract values, such as character ideals, were taught through storytelling, demonstration, and informal social controls. According to the Flathead Culture Committee (1977), later renamed the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee, "[i]n our elders past, the language, religion, medicines and other traditional information was passed down through oral teachings," (ii). Discipline of children was often the job of the designated whipping chief, also nicknamed Spotted Face, whose mere name mention was enough to frighten individuals into behaving (Cebula 2003; Johnson 1969; Turney-High 1937). Ridicule was another common form of control that was used for both children and adults (Turney-High 1937). Character values that were encouraged and developed by puberty included hard working, self-discipline, helpfulness, patience, sharing, and respect (Johnson 1969; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). This is illustrated in the following passage:

“In the teachings of the elders, respect was considered the most important to the Indians. This taught a child to learn to respect their religion, their language, their elders, their fellow human beings (sic), plants, animals and also their legends, medicines and traditional ceremonies. But especially, to learn to have respect towards ones ownself. By this way of teaching, a young child learned to be a strong leader in whatever way of life he or she was appointed or chosen to live. It was the responsibility of each to pass down his or her culture to their children.” (Flathead Culture Committee 1977:ii)

After puberty, there were specific skills that could be acquired for boys and girls, but not before undergoing a rite of passage. Near puberty, a young girl’s mother sought the tutelage of an older, knowledgeable woman whom her daughter could learn from and emulate. The chosen woman, often a family relative, would help the girl through her puberty rights and in turn would be taken care of by the girl later in life (Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). Boys would be marked as men once they had made their first big game kill. Learning the proper hunting traditions required the young man to purify himself before the hunt, and learn to pay respects to the animals, kill the animal, handle the carcass, etc. (Salish Kootenai College 2008).

Historically, children were socialized into a culture deeply embedded with ritual and tradition and raised under the guidance of the entire community. From the naming ceremony at birth, through rites of passage at puberty, and into adult life individuals were socialized to the beliefs and practices of the culture at every turn. Multiple individuals were responsible for ensuring the lifelong enculturation of children to the ideals, beliefs and practices of community. These individuals would include parents, grandparents, elders, adults and even older siblings and children (DuMontier et al 1991; Salish Kootenai College 2008). A child’s mother and other female relatives were responsible for teaching the girl the necessary skills expected of her, while a boy’s father and male

relatives illustrated the behaviors and practices needed to provide for the family (Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937). The role of grandparents in raising children was especially important for the Salish-Pend d'Oreille (Ackerman 1998; Anastasio 1972; Salish Kootenai College 2008; Turney-High 1937), as they "...shared the parental concern for children to learn and acquire everything so they could to grow up well and live in a good way," (Salish Kootenai College 2008:61). In today's society, there is a noticeable decline in the role the community and extended kin group play in the socializing children.

The balance of the extended families and individual roles changed dramatically by the demands of the missionaries and the United States Government. The Catholic church and the government sought to redefine the family unit, primarily through boarding schools, in order to assimilate the Salish-Pend d'Oreille to western practices (Ackerman 1998; Beckham 1998; Schaeffer 1936). Housing constraints also influenced the restructuring of the family unit, as individuals were forced to move from a nomadic lifestyle to a sedentary home where extended families could no longer feasibly live under one roof (Ackerman 1998). Missionary and government actions reshaped the definition of the family unit, and the traditional roles and practices associated with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille kinship system. Ackerman (1998) argues that many of the current issues among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, including familial and social problems, are due to this restructuring process, further altering the traditional socialization and dissemination practices of the group. Some elders have even attributed the "lost sense of connectedness to tribal community," as the reason for the fractured families of today (DuMontier et al. 1991). The Salish-Pend d'Oreille kinship system has changed in the last hundred years,

but family remains one of the most significant factors in the structuring of cultural practices and beliefs. I argue in this dissertation that family continues to play a vital role in how children are socialized.

2.3.4 Religion

The religious principles and practices of the Columbia Plateau tribes, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille included, distinguish them from other Native cultures in the United States and Canada. These distinguishing characteristics include shamanism, the importance of the sweatlodge, belief in and direction from guardian spirits, and seasonal ceremonies. Traditionally, the daily activities and seasonal cycles of the Plateau reflected an intricate understanding and respect for their environment (Rockwell 2008; Salish Kootenai College 2008). For the people of these communities, humans were merely a part of the greater spiritual world and “[e]stablishing and maintaining good relationships with the spirit world was the heart of Plateau religion,” (Cebula 2003:12). Most individuals interacted with the spirit world through their guardian spirits. Guardian spirits include “animal, insect, bird, inanimate objects, natural phenomena (chinook wind, whirl wind, thunder, clouds, fire and snow), heavenly bodies, fabricated objects, and the mythological characters (dwarfs and dangerous beings),” (Lahren 1998a: 292) that made the world safe for humans to live. Guardian spirits took “pity” (Cebula 2003; Frey & Hymes 1998) on individuals, giving them a special power or skillset and providing guidance throughout the individuals’ lifetime. Interaction and guidance from a spiritual helper was often accomplished through songs, provided and learned during vision quests or dreams in adolescence (Frey & Hymes 1998; Grim 1992; Lahren 1998a; Malouf 1998).

Shamanism was traditionally associated with individuals who had multiple guardian spirits or possessed particularly strong *sumeš* 'spirit power'.

Frey and Hymes (1998) outline the mythology of the Plateau cultural groups, including key mythological figures and the art of telling tales and myths provided by skillful raconteurs. The mythological world is the world that contains the figures Coyote, Grizzly Bear, Wolf and many other animals, plants, and objects that demonstrate human characteristics and actions. Through the work of these mythological characters, the world is made meaningful and possible for humans to enter. An additional means to communicate with the mythological world is through the telling of stories, often done by a raconteur in the winter time. Raconteurs are artful storytellers that organize their tales into patterns of either four or five lines (Frey & Hymes 1998). The pattern number, or the "...culturally 'right' number into which persons or things are grouped or occurrences of events 'naturally' fall," (Thompson & Egesdal 2008), is dependent upon the Plateau group; for the Salish-Pend d'Oreille this number is four (Frey & Hymes 1998; Thompson & Egesdal 2008). Embedded in the tales and myths are both humor and moral lessons to be ascertained by the listener (Thompson & Egesdal 2008). It is important to tell these stories and reconnect with the spirit world in the winter time, as this is a time of "spirit sickness" and separation from the landscape. However, through the telling of stories a greater connection with the mythological world can be achieved (Frey & Hymes 1998).

The sweatlodge is another essential means by which the Salish-Pend d'Oreille access and connect with the spiritual world. For many, the sweatlodge can be equated to the "church" for spiritual healing (Thompson & Egesdal 2008), as many individuals prayed to the creator or their guardian spirit for direction. Sweating occurred for many

on a daily basis for “spiritual and physical cleansing, curing, enculturation, social control, prophetic visions, socializing, and physical conditioning,” (Ross 1998: 277-278); special sweats could take place before hunting or gambling (Lahren 1998a). The size, construction, and location of the sweatlodge differed from family to family, as did the process that one underwent during a sweat. A sweatlodge may be large enough to hold only one individual or up to twelve (Lahren 1998a). Although Salish-Pend d’Oreille religious beliefs and practices have been exposed to numerous challenges, sweating remains an important practice for maintaining connections with the land and the spiritual world. The sweatlodge continues to be a place of healing, guidance, and socialization for many individuals in the contemporary society.

2.4 European Influences on the Salish-Pend d’Oreille Culture

Historical events have shaped current language use, cultural practices and beliefs of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille. The cultural characteristics of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille previously discussed were drastically altered by western European influences and decrees. It is important to understand how and why the changes to the culture occurred to help contextualize the social and linguistic climate which the tribe currently faces. In this section, I provide a brief description of the European influences and explain why certain practices and beliefs of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille people have survived, while many others have been lost.

Similar to other Columbia Plateau cultural groups, Salish-Pend d’Oreille history can be divided into four main periods: (i) pre-contact, (ii) contact with explorers, fur traders, and missionaries, (iii) the treaties, and (iv) the reservation period. Contact with

Euro-Americans did not occur until the meeting of Lewis and Clark in 1805, but their influences reached the area long before the nineteenth century (Brunton 1998; Lohse & Sprague 1998; Malouf 1998; Miller 2003; Walker & Sprague 1998). Two prominent impacts to tribal population were the introduction of epidemic diseases and the horse. Epidemics and disease (smallpox, measles, influenza, colds, malaria, dysentery, and whooping cough) wiped out mass numbers of populations throughout the region, due in part to the greater ease of movement and contact that the newly adopted horse offered (Boyd 1998; Cebula 2003; Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council 2005; Malouf 1998; Rockwell 2008; Teit 1930). The horse also brought an increase in warfare (Ray 1939, 1942; Schaeffer 1936; Walker & Sprague 1998). Teit (1930) describes how many Flathead individuals claimed to have obtained the horse from the Shoshone tribes by about 1600 (350), while Cebula (2003) and Haines (1938) state that most individuals owned some horses by the early to mid 1700s. Horses created greater communication and interaction with the various bands of the Plateau, and allowed for mobilized hunting parties to travel significant distances, including bison hunts.

Euro-Americans eventually reached the Plateau, around the nineteenth century, with the arrival of fur traders, explorers, and missionaries. The fur traders brought new technology, including guns and ammunition, and concepts of wealth and western religion, which upset political balances of the region. The first direct contact that the Salish-Pend d'Oreille had with Euro-Americans took place in 1805 with Lewis and Clark entered their territory (Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council 2005). Walker and Sprague (1998) suggest that tensions between non-Natives

and Plateau Indians increased with the economic decline of fur trade and were further heightened with waves of settlers and missionaries coming into the region. Missionaries were first welcomed into cultural groups of the Plateau due to the religious movements of the time, including the Prophet Dance, which sought to understand and explain the onslaught of changes occurring in their lives. In the 1830s and 1840s, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille requested religious guidance from the Jesuit missionaries in St. Louis (Walker & Sprague 1998), because of "...a prophetic vision received by a man named *Xaliqs* (Shining Shirt)" (Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council 2005:111) and in part due to the influence of a group of Catholic Iroquois living amongst them (Cebula 2003). Upon arrival in 1841, these missionaries sought to teach the tribe their religion, but were also adamant about changing practices of marriage, kinship, and various other cultural beliefs (Cebula 2003; Malouf 1998; Walker & Sprague 1998). Many individuals became disengaged with the church after a short while, as disease, death, cultural constraints, and Euro-American settlers continued to increase, despite following Jesuit missionary direction.

While there were some changes and factors that decreased group stability, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille were able to practice and maintain a traditional lifestyle primarily free of restrictions, until the treaties negotiated with Governor Stevens in 1855. Prior to 1846, Euro-American interactions with the Plateau region were motivated by exploration rather than land acquisition; yet after this date attitudes towards Native Americans drastically changed. As settlers continued to inhabit the area, a greater need for land was created and the US government responded with legislative measures. The Flathead Indian Reservation was created through the Treaty of Hellgate in 1855, which forced the

Bitterroot Salish, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai tribes to move onto the designated land for their occupation and use. Chief Alexander's Upper Pend d'Oreille band agreed to permanent residence in the Flathead Valley, but Chief Victor's band in the Bitterroot refused to uproot from their traditional territories. After Chief Victor's death in 1870, several families decided to relocate to the reservation; yet his son, Chief Charlo, continued resistance until his band was forced to do so by the US Government in 1891 (Lahren 1998b; Malouf 1998; Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council 2005; Schaeffer 1936). However, the terms outlined in the treaties were soon broken by the US Government, including hunting and fishing rights, land tenure (The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887), and the right to practice traditional lifeways. As a result of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, commonly referred to as the Allotment Act, the Flathead Indian Reservation was opened to non-Native homesteaders in 1910, against the terms and negotiations of the Hellgate Treaty. The Allotment Act is seen as the defining event that led the Salish-Pend d'Oreille to become the minority population, land holders, and economically disadvantaged group on their own reservation (Bigcrane & Smith 1991; Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council 2005; Malouf 1998; Vanderburg 1995).

The reservation period marks a time when the Salish-Pend d'Oreille struggled to maintain their traditional beliefs and practices under the newly defined reservation system and dominant society. Schaeffer (1936) describes the "modern day" reservation, suggesting that there was a contrast between full blood Salish-Pend d'Oreille, who still practiced their traditional ways, and mixed bloods who he suggested tried to assimilate to the non-Native practices. "Full bloods" had a difficult time accepting the stationary

existence that farming and raising cattle required. Much of the land owned by these individuals was either sold or leased to non-Natives; yet many maintained their traditional lifestyle through hunting and gathering, and tending small garden plots, all aided through rations from the government. “Full bloods” tended to be significantly poorer than the mixed bloods who tried to blend with the non-Native society. Salish-Pend d’Oreille individuals often found it difficult to continue their traditional practices due to external factors, such as government and religious officials. These institutions sought to undermine the traditional culture through changes to the economic lifestyle of hunting and gathering, political organization, kinship networks, traditional medicine, and dances and feasts (Beck 1982; Bigcrane & Smith 1991; Malan 1948; Ray 1939 and 1942; Rockwell 2008; Schaeffer 1936; Turney-High 1937). These drastic changes to the everyday lifestyle of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille not only significantly impacted the continuation of many traditional practices and beliefs, but also resulted in secondary impacts. For instance, many individuals experienced an increased severity of health related issues, such as tuberculosis and water born diseases, due to poor housing conditions that were often unsanitary, deteriorated, and overcrowded (Schaeffer 1936).

Despite these and other hardships and pressures faced over the past roughly two hundred years, the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture persists. Many traditional beliefs and practices continue in today’s society, or are in the process of being revitalized, as the community continues to fight to maintain their lifeways. Today, hunting and gathering, at one time vital to the subsistence of the group, are still practiced, but on a much smaller scale. Resources continue to be shared with those less fortunate and the importance of communalism and the extended family can still be seen in the daily lives of the group.

Salish language shift and loss has been one of the marked changes that has occurred, with the English language now the vernacular of most of the community.

2.5 The Salish Language

There are three traditional language varieties spoken on the Flathead Indian Reservation: Salish, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai. The Kootenai language, an isolate, is spoken by fewer than six Kootenai elders on the Flathead Indian Reservation, in addition to a small number of individuals throughout Idaho, and British Columbia, Canada (Brunton 1998; Ethnologue 2002; Mithun 1997). The two Salish language dialects spoken on the Flathead Indian Reservation are Bitterroot Salish and Pend d'Oreille (more specifically Kalispel). Traditional language use on the reservation is limited, but when it is spoken or taught by members of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community it is typically in the Kalispel dialect as Bitterroot Salish has become exceedingly rare. The Salish-Pend d'Oreille refer to themselves generally as *sqelix*^w 'people, flesh of the land' and more specifically *Seliš* 'Bitterroot Salish' and *Qlispé* 'Kalispel'. Both dialects are commonly referred to as "Flathead Salish" or "Montana Salish" by linguists (Mithun 1997; Thomason & Thomason 2004) and typically "Salish" by the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. In this dissertation I use the nomenclatures Salish and Salish language to refer to the traditional languages *Qlispé* and *Seliš*, and Salish-Pend d'Oreille when discussing the cultural group. The Salish language, is part of a

"dialect continuum of Spokane-Kalispel-Pend d'Oreille(s)-Flathead within the Southern Interior branch of Salishan language family, which stretches west from the Continental Divide in Montana, through Idaho, Oregon and Washington, and up into British Columbia" (Thompson & Egesdal 2008: xvii).

Historically trade, intermarriage, and socioeconomic interactions between groups was common throughout the region; it was therefore very common for individuals to be bilingual in any number of the languages of the Salish language family, along with the neighboring languages of different language families, such as Kootenai (an isolate) and Nez Perce (Sahaptian) (Kinkade et al. 1998). However, today every language of the Salish language family faces a serious decline in fluent speakers (Czaykowska-Higgins & Kinkade 1998; Gordon 2005; Kroeber 1999; Lyovin 1997; Mithun 1997). This decline in native speakers and increased shift to English has been ongoing since the mid 1800s (Kinkade et al. 1998). The Salish language has fewer than 50 fluent speakers remaining, all over the age of 60 (Nk^wusm 2012); it would be classified as nearly extinct or 8b in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Ethnologue 2005). English is the language of everyday communication in the community, yet there remains a strong desire among many community members to maintain and revitalize the traditional language for younger generations. These revitalization efforts will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 4.

The languages of the Salish language family have been studied since the 18th century by explorers, fur traders, missionaries, linguists and anthropologists, yet little research has focused on the Salish language. Initial interest in the regions' languages resulted in the production of several word lists and recorded texts and a few grammars and dictionaries. The influx of scholarly work came in the late 1800s and early 1900s when language descriptions became "dominated by the fieldwork and the classificatory, analytic, and comparative work of Franz Boas and those he influenced," (Czaykowska-Higgins & Kinkade 1998:5). Currently, scholarly research on the Salish language family

is vast, covering all topics of the grammar and extends throughout the field of linguistics. The first International Conference on Salish Language and Neighboring Languages was held in 1965 and remains an integral source for the dissemination of research findings for Salishan linguists and others in the region (Davis 2013). While Salishan linguistics has flourished, there has been limited scholarly research conducted with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille language community (Kinkade et al. 1998). A grammar was produced by Catholic Missionary P. Gregorio Mengarini (1861) for the Ethnological Survey of Canada and a dictionary was produced by the Jesuit Reverend J. Giorda (1879). Linguist Sally Thomason has worked with Salish-Pend d'Oreille elders since the 1980s but much of her work remains unpublished or unavailable to the public, at present. There is a grammar in progress by linguist Steven Egedal, at the tribe's request, but the publication date is yet unknown. The Salish-Pend d'Oreille began their own language documentation in the 1970s, which included oral recordings and transcriptions of elders, along with the production of pedagogical materials. More recently, (Pete 2010) published a second edition of a Salish dictionary, and several children's books, and language curriculum materials have been and continue to be produced to aid revitalization efforts (discussed in Chapter 4).

The traditional language of a culture encompasses their worldview perspectives and the Salish language is no different. Linguistic relativity is a useful theoretical perspective to comprehend the importance of Salish language to Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture and ideological perspectives. Linguistic anthropologists have expanded on the original perspective of linguistic relativity, but the primary notion that "language, culture, and thought all influence one another" (Ahearn 2011:70) continues to be a guiding principle

of several research studies (Ahearn 2011; Duranti 2009; Ochs 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin 1995). Ochs and Schieffelin (1995) argue that a

“language socialization approach promotes an updated version of linguistic relativity and asserts that children’s use and understanding of grammatical forms is culturally reflexive – tied in manifold ways to local views of how to think, feel, know (inter)act, or otherwise project a social persona or construct a relationship,” (169).

In the Salish language, semantic domains, grammatical categories and structure influence and reflect the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture. For instance, the Salish language reveals the complex kinship system of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille (see Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion of kinship terms). Also, the Salish language is linguistically classified as a polysynthetic language that uses roots, affixes, clitics, and non-concatenative morphology in word formation. Speakers of the Salish language may not be able to explicitly explain how the grammatical structure of the language reflects cultural ideologies and practices. However, many believe the language is expressive of their connections to the earth and their traditional practices. One interviewee explains,

“You really do get a deeper understanding when you hear it in the language. It’s simple. It ain’t all these different words and adjectives and all that. It’s just simple. It’s just saying it how it is and you get a better understanding,” explains one interviewee. (male, 19 years old)

Another Salish-Pend d’Oreille individual (male, 35 years old) explains that, “[o]ur language, we believe was given to us by the creator to help express who we are, to help explain and understand the world we live in from that perspective, unique to our people.” The concept that the Salish language conditions Salish-Pend d’Oreille worldview perspective is reflected in the following interviewees’ descriptions of *séwłk* ‘water.’:

“Just the word *séwłk*^w. Most people think it means water. It doesn't mean water. It's referred to and used for water but it's asking permission for it. *Sewnt* means to ask and the *=łk*^w is the liquid and that is huge. It's so huge. And if you start to learn, know the language well enough you start to pick out. Oh is that why that is related to that, because it is part of that word. Oh, and it has so much more meaning and when you're learning your culture and ways and your language, you're going hear those things.” (female, 39 years old)

“Anytime you take a drink of water or you go to water, you ask that water to help you in any way, so you can put all your bad into that water and let it take it away or you can ask it to clean out or you can ask it for whatever you want and that's built into that word.” (male, 35 years old)

These quotes are also indicative of the influences that language ideologies have on the ways that individuals construct their realities and justify language use in practice (Duranti 2009).

Language use further demonstrates the connections between language, culture and thought, as the actual use in everyday social interactions can influence the way speakers construct their realities (Ahearn 2011; Duranti 2009). This connection is relevant for language socialization research, as these studies seek to understand how children acquire the sociolinguistic practices necessary for active participation in a given culture. For the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, the Salish language transmits the traditional cultural values more accurately than the English language, as in the case of myths and oral histories through which moral lessons and behavior are taught. According to many Salish speakers, including Salish-Pend d'Oreille Native Clarence Woodcock, the myths lose much of their meaning and creativity when told in English (Frey & Hymes 1998). Words traditionally held powerful meaning when spoken; today, children cannot understand many of these

linguistic and physical cues, reducing cultural ties with the spiritual world (Frey & Hymes 1998). It was customary to teach children the ways of the culture in which obedience, discipline, and respect were an integral part. As O’Neill describes, “...it is not simply that the problems of contemporary life are traceable to a range of practices but that a fundamental practice, a practice of belief and obedience, is no longer part of daily life. . .loss of obedience underlies the loss of Indianness,” (1998:60-61). A detailed analysis of the cultural and linguistic practices and ideologies will be explored in greater detail in the following chapters, including the ideologies held by Salish-Pend d’Oreille members about the importance of language to cultural continuity.

2.6 Salish Language Shift

Language obsolescence, or language death, is a very real possibility for the Salish language. The Salish-Pend d’Oreille community has shifted from the traditional Salish language to English in almost every context, is spoken by the oldest generations and is no longer being transmitted to children in the usual way (from parent to child) across the community. Language shift is defined as the process by which “...the habitual use of one language is replaced by the habitual use of another,” (Gal 1979:1), or when “...a community of speakers effectively abandons, not necessarily consciously or intentionally, its use of one language in favor of another,” (Garrett 2012:515). In many cultures, including the Salish-Pend d’Oreille, language shift is the result of colonialism or power inequality and subordination (Errington 2007, Garrett 2012). The shift can often be a slow process by which language use begins to habitually change across individuals and contexts, until, though not always, language obsolescence occurs (Dorian 1981, 1989; McEwan-Fujita 2010). Speakers realize the importance that language has in everyday

social and economic interactions and therefore adjust their language to fit “in culturally acceptable and meaningful ways” (Gal 1979:9). The individual is ultimately responsible for cultural change, and therefore it is essential to analyze not only the macro level influences of change, such as historical governmental policies but also the micro level attitudes and practices of the local community and individuals, i.e. agency. Kulick (1992) explains, “...the study of language shift becomes the study of a people’s conceptions of themselves in relation to one another and to their changing social world, and of how those concepts are encoded by and mediated through language,” (9). While language shift is common throughout North America and the world, Salish-Pend d’Oreille language and cultural change must be understood within its own unique set of historical contexts and individuals choices. Identifying the factors which caused language shift in the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community can lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the current linguistic and cultural practices and ideologies.

For the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community, language shift began in the early 20th century when the socioeconomic dynamics of the reservation began to favor the English language. Prior to this point, there were several attempts made, by missionaries, the United States government, and others, to assimilate the Native population to the non-Native society. Despite these efforts, the Salish-Pend d’Oreille people were able to continue their traditional cultural and linguistic beliefs and practices. The opening of the reservation to non-Natives in 1910 marked the beginning of substantial inequalities in power and control of resources, which led to a significant decrease in the traditional way of life for the community. The nomadic and hunting and gathering lifestyle was no longer a feasible subsistence system for the majority of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille.

Individuals were often required to enter into the economic system of non-Natives for employment, subsidies, and goods. In the early years of co-existence many non-Native shopkeepers and missionaries were conversant in the Salish language. However, as the dominant population increased, fewer and fewer non-Native individuals made attempts to speak the Salish language, which necessitated the knowledge and usage of English for daily interactions with non-Natives. According to Malan (1948:174),

“Recreation, religion, government and economic institutions in fact all but the family, are in the hands of white men, and it is, therefore, necessary in all situations involving contact with one of these institutions to use the English language.”

During this time, many Salish-Pend d’Oreille individuals also began to disguise their knowledge or proficiency of Salish in order to fit into the changing environment and hide “feelings of shame” (Malan 1948:164). While the changes to the economic and power dynamics contributed to the shift from Salish to English, the most explicit factor was the boarding schools.

It was common policy across the United States to use boarding schools as the primary means to assimilate Native Americans into non-Native society; this practice proved very effective in changing traditional language and cultural practices of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille. Beginning in the 1880s, children were forcibly removed from their homes and sent to the schools so that they could be “civilized” and stripped of their traditional way of life. This included the attempt to replace traditional language use with English, as described by Atkins (1887),

“In my first report I expressed very decidedly the idea that Indians should be taught, the English language only...There is not an Indian pupil whose tuition and maintenance is paid for by the United States Government who is permitted to study any other language than our own vernacular the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities beneath the sun. The English language as taught in America is good enough for all her people of all races,” (XXI).

On the Flathead Indian Reservation, US Indian Agent Peter Ronan adopted this same assimilation principle. Malouf (1998) writes that “...Ronan used these same tools of coercion to compel parents to send their children, as young as five, into the institutions, where they were corporally punished for infractions such as speaking their own language” (308). These institutions included the Sisters of Providence boarding school, established in 1884 for girls, followed by a Jesuit run boys school in 1888 (Montana Office of Public Instruction 2010a; Ronan 1887; Schaeffer 1936). The Ursuline Boarding School in St. Ignatius, ran by Jesuit missionaries, was established in 1890. This school served as the primary education system for kindergarten through high school-aged Native children on the reservation until 1972 (Montana Office of Public Instruction 2010a). Children were removed from their homes and sent to boarding schools where they were not allowed to speak their traditional languages, had to endure forced labor, and were forced to cut their hair (Beck 1982; Beckham 1998; Malan 1948; Mourning Dove 1990; Vanderburg 1995). The US Government’s philosophy at the time is reiterated by Ronan (1890):

“...The children, if taken into school at the age of two or three or four years and kept there, only occasionally visited by their parents, will when grown up know nothing of Indian ways and habits. They will, with ease, be thoroughly, though imperceptibly, formed to the ways of the white in their habits, their thoughts, and their aspirations. They will not know, in fact be completely ignorant of the Indian language; will know only English,” (127).

The boarding schools had the effect of demoralizing children who attended the school and spoke the Salish language. However, not all parents sent their children to these schools and many of those students who attended the schools often fled back to their homes. Also, several who attended the schools were able to maintain their traditional language use in the home and refused to give up their cultural and linguistic way of life. This is evidenced by the numerous fluent speakers who attended the schools who are still alive today (Strickland 2006). However, the lasting effects of these boarding schools cannot be ignored. Agnes Vanderburg, mother of Lucy and a fluent speaker dedicated to passing on the cultural and linguistic knowledge of her people when she was alive, “...blamed the dramatic decline of fluent speakers of Salish on the boarding school experience, saying, ‘That’s why the ones who were growing up quit talking our language’” (Smith 2008: 22). By the 1940s, the Salish language was noticeably declining. Malan (1948) notes,

“[t]he overall picture shows clearly that English is gradually replacing Salish as the language of these people although there is the small full blood minority group tenaciously holding on to their native language and resisting the onslaught of English and the white culture which it represents” (172).

Boarding schools had significant impacts on the children who attended, as they were removed from their homes and punished for speaking the Salish language. According to one interviewee, who is now trying to re-learn the language, “We used to get whipped

when we tried to talk in the language. It was forbidden to speak it back then,” (male, 63 years old). The lasting effects of the boarding schools have affected the dissemination of the Salish language for generations.

Another major factor contributing to the decline in fluent Salish speakers is the changes to kinship networks. Historically, the extended family played a vital role in the maintenance and perpetuation of daily activities, survival, and education of children. First, boarding schools continued to break down the structure, values, and practices of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture as they kept children away from their parents and grandparents for the entire year (Schaeffer 1936). Schaeffer also argues that, “[t]he Government...was able to use the schools as a means of breaking down the family ties and home life of the Flathead.” (61). The children who attended boarding schools were not only punished for speaking their language, but were also not given the chance to observe traditional socializing practices from their families. One interviewee describes the “lost generation” in the following passage:

"There was a generation of people that were kind of a lost. That was due to government schools and Ursuline Academy's and the Catholic school system. They were stripped of their language in those schools. They were forbidden to speak and so for a lot of years there was that group of people that were kinda forbidden to speak so they just, rather than be punished they didn't speak. And a lot of them lost the language that way. So there was a generation, I call that a lost generation and because their kids were not speakers. And right now, that's some of the kids that are coming up now that are teenagers that are non speakers. And fortunately some of us hung on and we just didn't want to let it go...But there was that generation of people that just lost it. Just decided not to speak, rather than be punished.” (male, 84 years old)

The boarding schools led to an unstable and altered familial base for most kin groups, discussed in §2.3.3 above. By altering how the family was structured, the foundation for traditional guidance and education of the child was no longer available. Multiple

relatives were no longer readily available for the child to emulate and learn from, further changing the linguistic and cultural practices and values of the culture.

The next significant change to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille and the Salish language was caused by the impacts of World War II and the Urban Relocation Program. During the 1930s and 1940s, several community members participated in the war effort, both directly and indirectly. Many individuals served in the military forces and service industries during World War II. Several families relocated to the major cities, such as Portland and Seattle to participate in these efforts (Malouf 1998; Montana Office of Public Instruction 2010a). The large migration off the reservation further impacted the already changing sociocultural environment of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille and many in the community noted the difficulties of continuing their traditional practices and noticeable decline in speakers (Malouf 1998). The late Salish-Pend d'Oreille elder Margaret Finley described how, "life changed very rapidly for Indian people, 'when we got in the war with the Japanese, Pearl Harbor, right after that. Everything changed very fast, very, very fast...how we do things together, happiness, all that. It all changed.'" (Montana Office of Public Instruction 2010a:7). While Native and non-Native individuals moved to urban centers for greater opportunities during World War II, the major relocation of Indians across the country did not begin until the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) Urban Relocation Program. From the 1950s to 1970s, the BIA encouraged Native Americans to move off the reservation to major cities with the promise of housing, job training and placement, and counseling (Burt 1986; Laukaitis 2005; PBS 2013). The lasting effects of the urbanization can still be seen today, as many individuals and families who relocated to the cities stopped practicing many of their traditional ways and found it difficult to

return home to an unfamiliar place. One interviewee, raised in California as part of the relocation project, still struggles with learning her culture and identity:

“I didn’t know I was missing something, cause I didn’t ever have it so I didn’t know it was missing. And when I started getting, I was like, wow. I want more. I like this. It feels good, it feel right, you know. This is what’s been missing.”
(female, 53 years old).

As Halverson et al. (2002:321) argue, the relocation program also

“...accelerated numbers of intermarriage with non-Indians, a decrease in a sense of tribal identity, a decrease in the number of American Indian who speak a tribal language at home, and increases in those who have no reported tribal affiliation and little, if any, participation in cultural activities.”

There are several causes that are attributed to the shift away from the Salish language, and many community members continue to struggle with the current sociocultural environment and language loss. One elder describes this struggle in the following way:

“We asked younger people, usually the elders ask the younger people, whatever happened you know and they got a lot of answers on that. They don't know who to blame or they blame their folks or they blame themselves or they blame their religion, the Catholics or whatever, or the white man's school or the laws, you know. The laws are got something to do with it too. . .It's been, made fun of. The religion. Disgraceful. They look at you and make fun of you and they just say you sound ugly. There are so many things that tore up our language.” (male, 73 years old).

The historical influences described can still be seen on the reservation today and continue to play a large role in the socialization of children to the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture and language. Due to many of these historical impacts, the majority of children or other novice learners no longer have access to the speakers or contexts where they can learn the language. Many of the fluent speakers alive today are forgetting much of their Salish

language knowledge, as there are fewer and fewer opportunities to converse in the language. Despite these significant changes and influences, there are families and individuals in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community that have maintained the language and cultural practices. There are also community members who have strived and are continuing to strive to revitalize the traditional way of life. These efforts, along with the current sociocultural and linguistic environment, practices and attitudes will be explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Salish Language Contextual Use and Indexicality

3.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to define the sociolinguistic environment of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. This entails describing the contexts or domains in which the Salish language continues to be most predominately used. These contexts of Salish language use are then analyzed to determine what is indexed about the larger sociocultural environment. Through analyses of Salish language use, a deeper understand of the social factors that influence language choice can be achieved; this analysis will reveal the indexes that children draw upon when being socialized to the current practices and beliefs of the community. The primary process that will be used to understand the factors that motivate the continued use of the Salish language in an English dominant society, is indexicality. Indexicality is defined as the way “linguistic forms ‘point to’ aspects of social or cultural contexts” (Ahearn 2011:28). It provides a way to determine why the Salish language continues to be used, who it is used by, and how children are socialized to use the language in culturally significant ways. When describing the different domains or contexts for Salish language use, one must take into account the various ideological values that speakers and hearers have regarding this language. These ideologies will be explored in depth in Chapter 5, but first I will turn to the contexts in which the Salish language is typically heard (§3.2), followed by a theoretical framework of indexicality (§3.3) and an analysis of what the language is indexing (§3.4) as well as how these concepts are socialized. It is my claim that while Salish language use is limited to specific interactions and contexts, the language continues to perpetuate epistemological

perspectives valued in the traditional society and convey broader sociocultural meaning and relationships.

3.2 Contexts of Salish Language Use

Conversational use of the traditional language in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community occurs most frequently in a limited number of contexts. Interviewees commonly cited ceremonies, whether traditional or Catholic, as the contexts where the language is most frequently used. For instance, individuals interviewed in this study explained that they heard the Salish language spoken most frequently at wakes or funerals. There are two main reasons interviewees gave for the frequent use of Salish language in these contexts. First, wakes and funerals are contexts where fluent speakers, gathering together to pay respect to the deceased and his or her family, will sometimes converse with one another in the Salish language. Second, the songs and prayers practiced during the wake or funeral are conducted in the Salish language. The language is also commonly used during prayers at traditional practices, including events such as the Medicine and Jump Dances or Bitterroot Dig. At these types of traditional events or other cultural gatherings, the practice commences with a prayer in the Salish language. Additional situations of Salish language use, observed and described in interviews, include elder gatherings, such as Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee meetings; educational settings; memorials; language learning contexts; and familial interactions. In these contexts, Salish language use is predominately limited to greetings, commands, and basic phrases. Conversational use is rare and is reserved for communication amongst elders, with few exceptions. Therefore, when I discuss Salish language use in the

community, I am referring to instances when the traditional language is spoken in any capacity. The most frequently used vocabulary words involve greetings and commands, kinship terminology, seasons and animals, colors, plant names, in addition to a few phrases.

Analyzing the contexts in which Salish language is used, and by whom and why, gives insight into how revitalization efforts can move language use beyond these realms and into wider contexts. Also, understanding the contexts of current Salish language use reveals not only the salient features of language socialization, but also gives greater insight into the social power relations, cultural capital, and respect, privilege, and deference in the community. By examining the situations in which the Salish language is used most frequently, a pattern of use begins to emerge. It should be noted that the Salish language contexts discussed here were the ones most frequently observed and expressed in interviews. There may be additional contexts of Salish language use that I was not privy to in this study. In some cases the Salish language may not have been used simply due to my presence. However, due to the duration of my fieldwork and my close relationships with many members of the community, my presence in a given context is less likely to restrict Salish language use.

3.3 Theoretical Framework of Indexicality

One factor in influencing language use is power, which is inherent in any given social interaction; yet power relations alone cannot explain why the Salish language continues to be used or why the language is being revitalized. When Salish language is used, it not only indexes these power dynamics within the sociolinguistic landscape, it

also indexes some key components of the traditional practices and values of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille that continue in the contemporary society. The concept of indexicality, the way language indexes characteristics about the speaker-hearers and setting, is productive in determining how sociocultural knowledge is obtained and negotiated. Analysis of indexes can reveal the culturally salient features of the language that are accessible to learners and novices and in what contexts these occur.

Ochs (1990), informed by a language socialization framework, examines how indexicality is used by both children and more knowledgeable community members to communicate in meaningful ways. According to Ochs, there are three main properties of indexicality: (i) indexing through individual or a set of linguistic features, (ii) direct and indirect indexical relations, and (iii) vectors of indexicality. Individuals draw upon single linguistic features or a combination of linguistic features to determine sociocultural information about the speaker. Ferguson (1977) demonstrates that deletion of the copula in Standard American English (“*That bad*” rather than the grammatical “*That is bad*”) can index the social status of the speaker, such as a child or foreigner. To further clarify the status of the speaker, the hearer considers the pitch or loudness of the utterance. So, if the speaker has a higher pitch and deletes the copula, the speaker is most likely a child.

Another property of indexicality is the way linguistic features directly or indirectly index contextual characteristics. Linguistic features may directly index, for instance, the speaker’s feelings, or the features of the language may index the activity as a joke, gossip, or speech. Indirect indexing is a more complex relation, where one indexical feature of a communicative event may index another feature of the same communicative event. For example, Ochs (1990) describes how affect and epistemological dispositions

are directly indexed in languages, and these dispositions then evoke or constitute additional sociocultural dimensions of the communicative event. These sociocultural dimensions include speaker-hearer social identities and relationships, as well as the activity or genre of communication.

Indexicality also involves the ability of the index to refer to the current context, as well as the past and future events. For instance, in some languages (e.g. Samoan) epistemological perspectives are directly indexed through evidential markers (grammatical markers that provide the source or reliability of the information about a statement); use and comprehension of these evidentials often require knowledge of past events. The vectors of indexicality concept is similar to Baumann and Briggs' (1990) notion of re-contextualization, which refers to the ways that individuals internalize previous contexts and then reformulate those past events in new meaningful ways. According to Ochs, children are able to acquire sociocultural knowledge and linguistic knowledge through the indexical relationships of language and sociocultural dimensions. She further argues that these indexes demonstrate to the learner the sociocultural norms of a community through language use.

3.4 Indexicality and Salish Language Use

Using the properties of indexicality, we can determine the ways in which children and other learners are socialized to particular belief systems and practices within the Salish community. As proposed by Ochs (1990), the process of language socialization needs to be understood in relation to the language and sociocultural links within a community's discourse. A discourse is not only a speech act, but also serves to negotiate

and establish a set of sociocultural norms and expectations for the speaker-hearer to draw upon. Within these discourses are valuable social cues that mark the speaker's identity and relation to the hearer, i.e. indexes. Indexicality can explain how children in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community distinguish between various speaker-hearer roles and identities that are taken up in the speech act. Indexicality can also reveal the salient features that children draw upon to actively and appropriately participate in daily interactions. In the following sections I describe the ways in which the Salish language continues to be used to embody, or index, important cultural beliefs and practices. Of the three main properties of indexicality outlined in §3.3, I focus here on the direct and indirect indexical relations. By adopting Ochs (1990), as well as Silverstein's (1976) similar concept of nonreferential indexicality, an understanding of the "pragmatically salient lexical items and expressions" (Garrett 2005:338) of Salish language use can be achieved. Additionally, examining the indexical markers provides further insight into why Salish language is still utilized, despite the decline in speakers. In this section, I propose that in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, Salish language use indexically marks (i) the designation of a traditional event (§3.4.1), (ii) conveyance of important Salish-Pend d'Oreille epistemologies (§3.4.2), (iii) a demonstration of kinship and endearment (§3.4.3), and (iv) identification of the power and authority of the speaker-hearers relationship (§3.4.4).

3.4.1 Traditional Cultural Contexts

The most explicit means for sociocultural information to be conveyed to learners is by the indexing of a traditional cultural event through the use of the Salish language.

Salish language use during traditional cultural events provides learners with a salient, direct index to the norms, beliefs and practices of the event. An individual attending almost any traditional cultural practice or gathering, such as a Bitterroot Dig, Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee meeting, or Medicine Tree Honoring (a bi-annual trek to a sacred site in the traditional territory of the Bitterroot Salish), will hear the Salish language spoken. In these contexts, the Salish language is predominately used at the beginning of the event, as one or more fluent speakers offer a prayer of thanks in the language, to the creator, past ancestors, those in attendance, and often the children, "who are the future of the tribe" (male, 83 years old). The speaker then translates the prayer into English, as the majority of audience members do not have the proficiency needed to understand the prayer in the traditional language. Other Salish language use at these events is limited to a few phrases and utterances. When the Salish language is used during the introduction of these contexts and only by specific individuals with cultural capital (see §3.2.4 below), novice learners are being socialized to understand 1) that the event is a traditional practice and therefore certain actions are to be expected and 2) that only specific individuals have the authority to address the audience and therefore should be respected. Part of the socialization process of children and other novices, including adults who are just beginning to learn about cultural practices, includes learning the proper behaviors and norms of specific contexts. The use of the Salish language in traditional cultural contexts provides a clear index to the expected sociocultural practices during traditional events.

3.4.2 Epistemological Perspective

A primary and tacit form of Salish-Pend d'Oreille language socialization occurs when the Salish language indexes the epistemological perspectives of the community. It is not sufficient to state that in these cases the language indexes a cultural activity. There are numerous cultural practices that continue to be performed, some even on a daily basis, in which the Salish language is not used. In addition, the Salish language may be used during one cultural activity on one occasion, but it is not used when a similar event is held on a different occasion. For instance, in this study I observed Salish language use during some, but not all, powwows held throughout the year. However, there are specific instances in which one can almost always hear people speaking in Salish. Whenever there is an event or interaction involving the natural world, such as plants, animals, or the landscape, the Salish language is typically used. That is, a traditional cultural context, such as a woman beading, may not invoke the Salish language, but if the event involves nature, the language will most likely be used.

This proposal of epistemological indexing is an example of Ochs (1990) indirect indexing. Recall that indirect indexing refers to the notion that one linguistic index can also index another feature of the event. I propose that Salish language use indexes traditional Salish-Pend d'Oreille epistemological dispositions regarding the natural environment, which then indexes a communicative event as cultural practice. For instance, as noted above, the Salish language is used during the opening remarks and prayers at the Bitterroot Dig and Feast. Salish words for *speʔm* 'bitterroot' and *péceʔ* 'digging stick' were also used by many fluent and non-fluent speakers during the event.

So, these Salish language terms index the importance of the natural environment to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille; these terms then index the context as a traditional practice. Similar practices of Salish language use in prayers and opening remarks are observed at other cultural practices involving nature, such as the River Honoring Ceremony, Medicine Tree trips, Horse Camp, Hunting Camp, and Jump Dances that each occur in their respective seasons. Individuals draw upon contextual cues involving the culture's epistemology of nature and spirituality to determine that Salish language use is socioculturally expected. The use of the Salish language in contexts involving nature, convey the important relationship between the individual or group and the environment. That is, Salish language use indexes the epistemological perspective of respect and harmony the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community has for the natural world. This system of knowledge that embodies the relationship of respect and connectedness with the environment continues to be passed on to children. When asked about what is important for children to know about the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture, interviewees described the significance of teaching children about the land and respect.

“I would say, first and foremost would be the respect of all things. You know, people, your language, your land and to be thankful for all of that is pretty big.”
(male, 27 years old).

“What do I think is important for them to know? Anything about the land. So it ties, it ties them to it. If they know how to gather things and they know how to prep it. You know, that's something that has been passed down for thousands of years so, for me, I think that when they need something they can call upon, knowing that this is their homeland and this is where their ancestors are from. They can call upon those things to help them...I think it's important to know our history, the history of traditional values. I guess what I mean by traditional is, values that we had when we lived off the land because those values are tied to the land and they're tied to your everyday life and you're not removed from it.”
(female, 39 years old)

While the Salish language continues to index the important epistemological perspectives of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, this perspective has become more difficult to impress on children. Children are further removed from the natural environment and are more inundated with the technology of today's society than their ancestors. One interviewee expressed these feelings when asked about the changes in socialization practices that have occurred in their lifetime, "I think there is that, there's that gap of appreciation, that connection to the earth" (female, 36 years old). Even children and adults who have rudimentary Salish language knowledge use the language to invoke the Salish-Pend d'Oreille perspective of the importance of nature and spirituality. Salish language terminology often used by young children include plants, animals, and sometimes spiritual references, such as *sumeš* 'medicinal power'. Plants, including those with medicinal properties, traditionally played an important role for the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, and a few plant species continue to be utilized in various forms today. Children and adults are often use *šasšs* to refer to a type of lovage plant that has many traditional and medicinal properties. For example, at the opening of the annual River Honoring (an event that gives thanks to the river and honors those who have contributed to the welfare of the environment), a young girl was overheard telling her father that she was looking for *šasšs* as she was pulling up clumps of grass near the river. In another instance, a young boy asked his teacher for some *šasšs* to take to his sick father. In addition, individuals with little or no Salish language knowledge have been known to seek out Salish nature terminology to name their children. It is not uncommon for Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals to have a formal English name and traditional name, in which

they are named after a plant, animal or other natural phenomenon. There were also observed instances of pets named after a Salish term (e.g. a Salish woman named her dog *sšenš* ‘rock’). Even fluent elders were observed to switch from English to Salish when they referenced or discussed a particular cultural practice associated with nature or animals. Through the use of Salish language nature terminology, individuals seem to be embodying the epistemology of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille. As one interviewee explained:

“When we talk about cultural things and when I can speak it, it becomes the life of it. When I speak my language, it can do those things...I mean, you can go to ceremonies and do cultural traditional things without the language but once you start understanding that more, you live that, you’re living that life...Cause it’s one thing when you’re sitting there digging bitterroot, speaking Salish, going back preparing it, cooking it, eating it. You know, living that life. And you could do all those things without speaking Salish but it’s not the same thing. It’s not.”
(female, 38 years old)

Another Salish individual described the use of Salish versus English as follows:

“There's other words too, I think they just color the world slightly different, like names and places. Like *snyelmn*. Saint Ignatius, that's a mission, name of a mission there. *Snyelmn* is surrounded, you know to me, that invokes the bowl shape of that place. It just has a different perspective...They conjure up two different images. So when teaching about that you get into different kinds of history.” (male, 37 years old)

Individuals can draw upon these salient features of nature and spiritual contexts and recognize that Salish language use is accepted and often encouraged in the communicative events. These instances of Salish language use index the belief and knowledge system of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille and demonstrate the speaker’s identity through their knowledge of linguistic resources. The fact that Salish language is used in contexts involving traditional epistemologies reflects the value that these epistemologies hold for many members of society. Therefore by using the language, individuals can

express their identity and connection with the landscape. The occurrence of this specific use of the language demonstrates to children the importance of respecting nature.¹ Salish language use directly indexes this epistemology, while also indirectly indexing the traditional cultural practice.

3.4.3 Affect

Ochs (1990) proposes there are two main direct indexes that embody other indexes: epistemological dispositions and affective dispositions. In §3.4.2 above, I discussed the ways in which Salish language use directly indexes epistemological stances and in turn indexes the activity as traditional. Affect, “linguistically mediated and permeates talk, infusing words with emotional orientations,” (Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002:252), indirectly indexes sociocultural relationships. Affect is directly indexed in language through various means, such as honorifics, phonological lengthening, quantifiers, interjections, and prosody (Ochs 1986, 1996). I argue that the Salish language indexes affect through diminutives, emphatic stress, nicknames, and reduplication. Affect then indirectly indexes the kinship and social relationships of communicative participants. All speakers convey their feelings through linguistic forms, but when Salish language is used, the speaker is able to emphasize and further establish their kinship relationships (§3.4.3.1) and social relationships (§3.4.3.2).

3.4.3.1 Kinship Relationships

¹ see §2.3 above for discussion of the traditional role of nature

The family plays a vital role in the social structure of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille (discussed in §2.3.3 above). Children often use the language to refer to their relatives by the appropriate Salish terminology, even those children who have limited proficiency in the Salish language. In most instances, children usually do not refer to their *grandmother* by the English term, but rather to their *qéne?* ‘grandmother (father’s mom)’ or *yayâ?* ‘grandmother (mother’s mom)’. The Salish language has reciprocal kin terms for the extended family. For example, *qéne?* is used by a boy to refer to his paternal grandmother. This same term is used by the paternal grandmother to refer to her son’s child. When using Salish kin terms, family members are able to communicate and reiterate the reciprocal and special bond that is shared with one another.

Salish use also enables this bond to be emphasized in the naturally occurring discourse among family members. That is, individuals freely switch to Salish, regardless of the context, when referring to certain relatives. Reciprocal kinship terminology typically used by adults and children include (Pete 2010):

úpye? ‘great grandparent’ and ‘great grandchildren’
sxépe? ‘grandfather (dad’s dad)’ and ‘grandchild (son’s child), male speaking’
qéne? ‘grandmother (dad’s mom)’ and ‘grandchild (son’s child), female speaking’
síle? ‘grandfather (mom’s dad)’ and ‘grandchild (daughter’s children), male speaking’
yayâ? ‘grandmother (mom’s mom)’ and ‘grandchild (daughter’s children), female speaking’
nunúme? ‘uncle (mom’s brother)’ and ‘nephew/niece (sister’s children), male speaking’
qáxe? ‘aunt (mom’s sister)’ and ‘nephew/niece (sister’s children), female speaking’
tetitk^we? ‘aunt (dad’s sister), female speaking’ and ‘niece (brother’s daughter), female speaking’
sk^wúk^wi? ‘aunt (dad’s sister), male speaking’ and ‘nephew (brother’s son), female speaking’

Aunt/uncle and niece/nephew terminology are not used as frequently as the terms for grandparent and grandchild. Kinship terminologies (which are not reciprocal terms) for nuclear family members were used by few individuals and families. Children are not often exposed to these Salish terms for nuclear family members on a regular basis, outside of the school setting; therefore they are not socialized to use these terms. In formal language learning contexts (such as at Nk^wusm, the Salish Language Institute), children are explicitly taught Salish kinship terminology for their nuclear and extended family. Despite this acquired knowledge, non-reciprocal terms (i.e. terms for nuclear family members) are typically not used by children when referencing their family in informal communicative interactions. However, Nk^wusm students do use Salish language kin terminologies for the nuclear and extended family when they give formal speeches, as they have been explicitly taught to do so in language lessons.

The use of the reciprocal terms, particularly grandparents and great-grandparents, demonstrates the continued role that the extended family plays in the rearing of children. It is very common for grandchildren to spend several hours or even days with their grandparents or other relatives. This time spent together gives the child increased input and practice with Salish reciprocal terms. Many community members spoke about the endearing qualities the extended kin terms have. For instance, one man spoke of how his *túpye?* nicknamed him *túpye?* because of the close bond they shared. Another spoke of the respect that is conjured up when referring to kin:

“To me, that conjures up different images. It forces one to think beyond the nuclear family in Salish. *yayá?*, *qéne?*, *túpye?*, *mestrñ*, *turñ*, all of those terms you know and *túpye?* is another one too. You know the word right? Well that's also the word they use to refer to the sweathouse...So again, it kinda conjures up a

different image and I think it sort of like, respectful, you should be respectful about that place.”

Use of Salish reciprocal kin terms, primarily grandparent/grandchild distinctions, transcend activities. These linguistic terms were used inside and outside the home, in both cultural and everyday practices, and in informal and formal settings; this use of Salish reciprocal kin terms in a wide variety of contexts directly indexing affect and indirectly indexes the significance that these social relationships have for individuals. As the context does not dictate the occurrence of these terms, use of Salish language kin terms “...code sociological relations of personae in the speech situation,” (Silverstein 1976:203). Children and adults are socialized into their given roles and relationships through their frequent interactions with one another. Through routine everyday grandchild-grandparent interactions, children are socialized to frequently use Salish for kinship relations. Salish language use is more common in these socialization contexts, due to the likelihood that the child’s grandparents or great grandparents were more likely socialized to the Salish language than the child’s own parents (see discussions in §2.6). Children and grandparents are implicitly socialized to draw upon these salient terms for one another, indicating the time spent together and special bond that takes place between the family members. These socialization practices are implicit in that the “sociocultural information on acts and activities, identities and relationships, feeling and beliefs, and other domains must be inferred by children and other novices,” (Ochs 1990:291). Individuals, both young and old, when referring to their *túpye?* ‘great grandparent/great grandchild’, *sxépe* ‘paternal grandfather/grandchild (son’s child)’, *yayá?* ‘maternal

grandmother/grandchild (daughter's child), or other kin, speak with joy, endearment, and affect in their voices, further indexing their close relationship with their family.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the goal here is not to de-emphasize the close and important relationships that parents and children have with one another, which can be seen in several ways throughout the community. Rather, the point here is to emphasize how Salish language use indexes the important role that the extended family has in socializing children to become part of the community and to learn about the practices and values of traditional society.

3.4.3.2 Social Relationships

Kinship terminology is not the only relationship that displays a speaker's emotions through Salish language use. Affect or endearment indirectly indexes additional social relationships and ideals concerning language and culture. Numerous contexts were observed where fluent and semi-fluent speakers would switch from speaking English to Salish when discussing the Salish language and the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. The following two examples are excerpts from recorded individual speeches during the final day of the weeklong Language and Culture Camp (see §3.2 above for a description of the event). Individuals, chosen for their commitment to Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture revitalization, were asked to speak to the attendees about the camp. Individuals were asked to *stem̓ aspuʔús* 'speak from your heart'. The first example demonstrates the way affect is indexed through the Salish language, as the individual switches to Salish to emphasize the point. Salish language utterances are italicized, with the English gloss given in brackets:

Example 1:

“What are we protecting that stuff for if we don't even know who we are. So that needs to come first and our language is the foundation of that. In the world, there's about 7,000 languages left in the world right now, throughout the whole world. Every 14 days a language dies. 14 days, a language dies in the world. We're not anymore special than anyone else. We are who we are and what we got from the creator's unique and awesome but if we don't do something, we will become a statistic. So, what we're doing here today, what we've done this week is, is pushing so that we don't become one of those numbers. And it's going to take a lot of hard work. This was a fun week but it's the rest of the year that we have to put into the hard work of learning so that when we come here, for one week and then next year, we can hear more language and more language every year. And it takes hard work learning and going to see our elders at their homes, at their work, wherever. And we can never give up. *Ta qe qes čmšqnmist* [We must never give up]. *Ta qe, ta qe qes hoystm* [We must never quit]. *Ta qe qest nteptmstem* [We must never forget]. We can never forget. Never, never give up what we're doing. It's for our children and for our future. So, I'm just really thankful for everybody. *Lémlmtš pesyá?* [Thank you everyone].”

Note that the speaker switches from English to Salish near the end of his speech to emphasize his ideology of the importance of the Salish language to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture.

Affect is also indexed by the Salish language use when individuals reference others with whom they have an endearing relationship. The next example, also recorded during the Language and Culture camp, demonstrates the relationship between the elder speaker and the young leader of the camp.

Example 2:

“But least of all you look at our leader this year. *Ayo spayo?* [Hey, Mexican] over there.² I know. I'm very very proud of, of what he's accomplished in a short period of time. And this year, I was able to relax a little bit. I was able to enjoy the camp a lot more cause I didn't have to worry as he had everything under control. But, no, a young man like he and his sidekick have come a long ways in a short period of time and we have to be thankful for the young people like that put it into their hearts. They want to learn. They want to do things that make us stronger.”

The speaker indexes affect through the use of the Salish language nickname to refer to the young leader. The speaker also reduplicates *very* to index affect. Affect in this instance, indirectly indexes the social relationship of the two individuals.

3.4.4 Power Relationships

Thus far, I have discussed the ways in which Salish language use indexes traditional contexts, epistemological perspectives and speaker-hearer kin relationships. It is also pertinent to consider the broader social relationships and statuses, primarily power and authority, indexed by Salish language use. As noted by Bourdieu (1977a), “language is not only an instrument of communication or even knowledge, but also an instrument of power,” (648). Analysis of the social uses of the language can provide insight into the sociocultural dynamics of the environment. Use of the Salish language provides social cues for participants in a given interaction and these cues can be drawn upon to determine the socioculturally accepted actions and responses. That is, Salish language use allows a speaker to convey his or her sociocultural identity and relationship to the other communicative partners present. It also enables the hearer to respond in appropriate ways, demonstrating the hearer’s social identity and knowledge of the sociocultural

² Nickname used reciprocally between the two individuals.

settings. Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin (2012) demonstrate the relevance of investigating “...relationships of language, power, and identity, showing that, even for the youngest speakers, such associations, are always indexed in talk, in what they are expected to say and in the talk around them,” (485). Language use in any given interaction is dependent upon several factors, including the historical and contemporary power struggles that are inherently involved in social interactions. Drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1977a, 1977b, 1991) and Philips (2006), power, or more specifically, symbolic power, is enacted by those individuals with a higher status (economically, socially and culturally) that allows them to dictate the discourse and the specific code used. In this section I examine the ways in which Salish language use indexes power. I discuss the ways that Salish language use indexes, often simultaneously, social identities, or more specifically, cultural identity and cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991) in a variety of contexts. In addition, I examine the ways that English, or the non-use of Salish, also indexes contextual and ideological information about the speakers and settings. Analyzing the dynamics of power and authority, I suggest that there are two main variables that influence Salish language use or non-use: (i) the context and (ii) the identities of the speaker and hearer.

3.4.4.1 Power in the Non-Native Contexts

Language choice is heavily influenced by context, primarily those situations which are influenced by the dominant population. Examining language shift in contexts of cultural contact necessarily involves some investigation of the power dynamics of the social relationships (Garrett 2006, 2012; Makihara & Schieffelin 2007; Philips 2001), as

“language shift occurs in stark inequality,” (Garrett 2012:515). Despite the sovereignty held by the Salish-Pend d’Oreille, the non-Native population controls the power in most social situations. History, economics, and bureaucracy dictate that English is the vernacular of everyday (Ngai 2004; O’Neill 1996). Historically, external forces generated the language shift to English through various means, such as boarding schools, policies, and social practices (see discussions in §2.6 above). Economically, the tribal government, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT), “...employs approximately 1,200 people and ... makes considerable efforts to support a diversified economy by providing training and resources for tribal members,” (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2013b). However, the non-Native English speaking population, on and off the reservation, continue to control the majority of the employment opportunities and economic resources. English also dominates the education system, from primary to post-secondary. The power dynamics of the reservation establishes English as language of daily interaction and education is English (Ngai 2004; O’Neill 1996).

The public education system, which is one of the most prevalent means of socializing children to a particular philosophy, continues to be controlled by the dominant society. On the Flathead Indian Reservation, the “CSKT Tribal Education Department works with 25 school facilities within seven school districts,” (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2013b). All of these facilities, excluding one, are public schools and therefore must follow the mandated Montana Common Core State Standards. These standards dictate the curriculum guidelines and require that English is the language of instruction. Montana has implemented the Indian Education for All (IEFA) policy, which “recognize(s) the distinct and unique cultural heritage of American Indians and to be

committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural heritage,” (Montana Code Annotated 2013). However, teachers are not required to integrate the materials produced through the IEFA. In the state of Montana, “American Indian students drop out of grades 7 and 8 at a rate of 12 times that of White students and out of high school at a rate more than 2.5 times that of White students,” (Montana Office of Public Instruction 2010b).

Associated with the control over resources, socially and economically, is the added element of racism and deprecation of Native heritage (Ngai 2004; O’Neill 1996). In addition to observations in this study, several Salish-Pend d’Oreille individuals interviewed for this study relayed instances of prejudice that they themselves or their children had experienced. These instances can have lasting effects on the identity formation of Salish-Pend d’Oreille individuals, and may even challenge their own desire to acquire the cultural or linguistic knowledge of their ancestors. The following quote is taken from an interview with a mother expressing her concern about racism:

“I definitely think we need to figure out a way to make being an Indian, you know, I don't want to say cool cause that sounds, like fleeting. Because things that are cool become uncool but to make it to where they're proud again to be Indian. You know, to make it to where they don't feel like they have to fight and be in defense of ‘yeah, I'm Indian.’ I think there are some, and I don't like to focus on this kind of stuff, but I still think there are some racial tensions in our community that definitely come into play, but I think that's up to us as a community to teach our kids how to deal with that. What to tolerate and what isn't, what you can't tolerate, or shouldn't tolerate. This belief that, in our country it, you know, racism towards Native peoples is just accepted.” (female, 39 years old)

The non-Native residents continue to hold the dominant power throughout the reservation, due to their population size and economic holdings, as well as control over the mass media. This power heavily influences the ideologies of Native and non-Native

children. As Philips (2006) states, “[a]t the heart of the study of language and social inequality is the *ideological* valuing of some *features of language* over others,” (original emphasis) (489). The non-Native population dictates English is the language of everyday interaction, which frequently leads to the (unconscious) devaluing of the Salish language, for Native and non-Natives.

3.4.4.2 Power in Political Contexts

The use of English by Salish-Pend d’Oreille individuals in positions of power indexes the ideological valuing or devaluing of the Salish language. By speaking English, particularly in contexts that can accommodate the traditional language, these individuals may be contributing to the continued shift away from Salish. Language is “expressive of local ideologies and social orders,” (Ochs 1990:287), and therefore individuals in positions of authority have the ability to define the sociolinguistic norms for the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community. Examination of language use within the political domain helps to define the status of the language for individuals in power, as well as the community.

The two main seats of power are the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT) Tribal Council and the Salish-Pend d’Oreille Culture Committee. Tribal Council is the governing body that makes decisions on behalf of CSKT. These elected officials typically hold a higher social status within the community and many of them are not regularly active in traditional cultural and language practices. Throughout fieldwork for this study, these leaders were not observed speaking the Salish language in contexts in which I was present and were rarely observed at traditional cultural practices. The

linguistic capabilities of these individuals is not known; yet through their non-participation in Salish language and cultural activities they demonstrate a devaluing of these practices. Several community members discussed, in formal and informal interviews, the disinterest that they felt Tribal Council members had with regard to language and cultural revitalization efforts. The following quotes represent common responses to the question: What should the priorities of the tribal council be?:

“I also think it’s important like for people in tribal council, you should be able to speak your language, or part of it anyway. As a leader, you should be able to understand, when someone was, is speaking to you in the Native tongue, you should be able to understand that. I think that should be a priority to them.”
(male, 52 years old)

“People in the community are trying to tell them [the tribal council], well it's important to save our language cause it makes them better and more successful people. Well, you're talking to this crowd who don't know Salish, but they're in a position of power so somehow you know the internal message to them is, "Well I never learned it. Look at me, I've been successful." But then they also have their own internal struggle probably, but I know I don't.” (male, 37 years old)

As elected officials, Tribal councilmen and women have authority and legitimacy, which gives them the power to define the social norms for the community. This also means their actions are highly publicized and critiqued, as demonstrated by the previous quotes. The Tribal Council manages a multitude of projects and issues on the Flathead Indian Reservation, of which language and cultural revitalization is only one part; yet many community members expressed a desire to see more overt support of these programs. Also, these elected officials may not be choose to speak English over Salish, but rather, they simply have not been socialized to use the traditional language. However, as leaders in the community, they demonstrate to the Native population, through their non-use of Salish, that the language is not part of the sociocultural norms.

The Salish-Pend Culture Committee (SPCC), the other seat of power, serves the community through their guidance, documentation, and education of the language and culture (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2014). The SPCC is comprised of a group of selected elders that regularly meet to manage matters of cultural significance. These elders are fluent or semi-fluent speakers of the Salish language and continue to perpetuate the traditional values and beliefs of the culture through the committee and their own personal practices. Individuals in the community working on language and cultural revitalization efforts typically seek approval from the committee before creating language programs or teaching the Salish language. The SPCC must also approve culturally sensitive language curriculum. SPCC aims to perpetuate the language and culture, yet individuals in the community feel there is a deficiency in the sharing of resources, which the committee controls, such as audio recordings of songs and stories.

The following quotes express interviewees concerns about the access to materials:

“I would like things to be more accessible and to have that responsibility of passing, openly passing on knowledge for anyone that's looking. You don't have to be Salish or Kootenai or Pend d'Oreille. That, this information, I think that's gathered. You, you can't love something or feel something is so sacred that no one is worthy to have that knowledge, when it's everyday we lose something. We lose something to the bigger, modern society. And it's a hard thing, there's so many, being enrolled or not, I think there's so many people in our community who don't know, who don't have that real, real deep understanding of their own identity. Through no fault of their own and to even have the courage to maybe once walk in there and ask for something and if they're not treated kindly, at the very least, they may be like "well I tried once and I just, I don't want to feel bad." And that'll be, it, that could be it for the rest of their life, cause it's such a delicate thing...It can be a really delicate thing and all it takes is just one to be indifferent to them or anything. To completely turn them off, perhaps for the rest of their life. (female, 38 years old)

“Culture Committee is preserving the language I know but I think they are kind of more self-centered cause they want to hang onto it. They shouldn't hang on to it if they want the people to learn. They should be willing to, cause I know when I

was asking questions to the culture committee, they kind of give you the run-around. You should never get a run-around when you ask a question, to try to learn something about your culture. That happened to me a lot of times when I used to ask questions. So if you send a young person to go down there to the culture committee, they might get a run-around and never get the right answer. And that's not right either.” (male, 63 years old)

Through the management of matters concerning the language and culture, including resources such as audio recordings of songs and oral traditions, the Salish-Pend d’Oreille Culture Committee control the flow of information. Community members interviewed in this study frequently referred to culture committee meetings as a context for the frequent occurrence of Salish language use; at these monthly meetings elders meet discuss various topics and hear presentations regarding cultural topics. During the SPCC meetings that I attended, and at events sponsored by the SPCC that I observed, culture committee members used the Salish language, most commonly in brief sentences and rarely in conversation. As individuals with authority, particularly in cultural domains, committee members have the ability to dictate the language of choice, yet they frequently use English. There are several possible reasons why the culture committee elders do not use Salish. One, is that many individuals who attend these public meetings are not fluent in the Salish language so the elders speak English to be understood. Also, the elders on the SPCC have been socialized for decades to use English, and now do so out of habit. However, by not speaking Salish more frequently, they continue to validate the social norm of speaking English.

The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribal Council and the Salish-Pend d’Oreille Culture Committee are two hegemonic domains with different privileges and authoritative powers, and yet both seats contribute to the social norms of Salish language

use. These are two examples of what Thompson (1991) suggests are “institutionalized mechanisms have emerged which tend to fix the value accorded to different products, to allocate these products differentially and to inculcate a belief in their value,” (24) which then in turn “...provides a practical justification of the established order” (Thompson 1991:25). That is, through their practices and ideological valuing, these governing bodies shape sociocultural norms of the Salish language.

3.4.4.3 Power in Public and Private Contexts

The indexing of power in social relations and status is also accomplished with Salish language use in the public and private domains. More specifically, gender is indirectly indexed by Salish language use or non-use in particular settings. In this regard, gender plays a significant role in the continued use of the Salish language. Traditional language use in public domains tends to be dominated by men, while females use the Salish language more frequently in private contexts. Therefore, language use indexically marks gender (indirect) and power (direct). Indexing gender through language is a common phenomenon across cultural groups, particularly with regard to specific linguistic features of codes available to a community (e.g. Ochs 1990).

Language use is another means by which gender may be indexed. Among the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community, language use in a communicative event is influenced by the speaker’s gender, age, and context, as all these factors influence the code of the discourse. During informal interviews, younger generations of women acknowledged that English is the language of power and therefore a means by which they can achieve greater social and power equality, similar to the findings of Cavanaugh (2006) and Gal

(2001). I observed elder women tending to defer to men in public situations, remaining silent or using English, particularly during political contexts. For instance, during observations of culture committee meetings, women on the committee rarely expressed their opinions unless directly addressed by the men. On the other hand, individuals that I interviewed explained how women, rather than men socialized them in private settings to the traditional Salish-Pend d'Oreille practices and the Salish language. The social identities, including gender, of Salish speakers may be fluid, changing from one context to the next. Analyzing these patterns is relevant to establishing how children develop sociocultural competency and may lead to additional contributions to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille language revitalization efforts.

3.4.4.4 Power through Sociocultural Identity

Salish language use directly indexes power through contextual information, but it also indexes the social identity of the speaker. When examining the contexts of Salish language use, it is necessary to examine the individuals who continue to maintain, to a larger extent, their traditional beliefs and practices. The ability to speak Salish fluently or semi-fluently, tends to be confined to a select few individuals and family groups. The few who possess the knowledge or cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977a, 1977b, 1991) hold the power in the contexts of traditional practices and events. Therefore, Salish language use by these individuals indexes different features about the speakers (Kroskrity 1998), including their cultural identity and cultural capital. Salish language use also provides evidence that these individuals who speak the Salish language have been socialized to the cultural norms and ideologies of traditional language use. For example, speaking Salish

indexes the individual's connection, in whatever capacity, to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. Language ideologies are intertwined with indexicality as the latter "produces ideology through practice" and iconization "represents practice through ideology" (Bucholtz & Hall 2006: 380). That is, Salish language use in practice indexes power and cultural identity but it also produces the ideology of iconic representation of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. Salish language ideologies are explored in Chapter 5.

Speaking Salish also indexes the cultural and linguistic capital of the individual, particularly in culturally specific contexts. The concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977a, 1977b, 1991) is best understood as the "sociocultural attributes, both acquired and achieved, that are highly valued in society, bring prestige to the individual, and can be converted into material capital" (Philips 2006:475). Individuals with the cultural or linguistic capital (i.e. those capable of speaking Salish) are the same individuals that were observed being asked to give prayers and speeches at cultural event; these requests accord these individuals with more respect, status and prestige in these contexts.

According to Bourdieu (1991),

"speakers lacking the legitimate competence are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence...which depending on social inheritance, re-translates social distinctions into the specifically symbolic logic of differential deviations, or, in short, distinction." (55).

While non-Salish speaking individuals are typically not excluded from these domains, there is a distinction created amongst those with the cultural capital and those without.

However, language as indexical of cultural capital is not always isolating. Ahlers (2006) demonstrates that "...any language use is a form of cultural capital, and serves to mark a language user both as a member of a certain community (and as a Native

American more broadly) and as a person who engages actively with traditional culture and with their heritage language,” (60); she also suggests that there is evidence that the language can continue to “index a shared social identity, exclusive, at least potentially, of linguistic identity” (70). In other words, language can itself serve as another physical marker (e.g. dress or hairstyle) of Native identity, creating a unified Native community in contrast to the non-Native population. Ahlers (2006) work, which emphasizes a shared identity through the use of language, exemplifies the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community and can be beneficial to the community’s language revitalization efforts.

3.5 Conclusion

Analyzing Salish language use as indexical of the sociocultural dimensions, such as environment, relationships, and epistemologies, helps achieve an understanding of the larger sociocultural relationships and dynamics present on the Flathead Indian Reservation. Language, as a sign, can index a wide array of features about the speaker, community and society, including how power is expressed (Ochs 1990). In turn, children are socialized to use a particular language for each specific interaction or context (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012). Children also draw upon these salient, indexical features to determine their own language preferences in opposition to these power relationships. That is, children themselves have agency and therefore the ability to change the power dynamics. As Garrett (2012) states, “children’s participation in language socialization practices that discursively elaborate code choice both indexes the symbolic capital of particular forms and creates subjectivities that can explain processes of change” (487). It is important to not only examine the way language embodies power (both politically and

socioculturally) but also how language use and ideologies are shaped by the very nature of these power dynamics. Historically, language shift from Salish to English was primarily a result of the colonial forces. While there is continued pressure from the dominant society, language use by individuals with power and cultural capital within the Native community can unconsciously undermine the value and use of the Salish language. However, those individual that possess cultural capital could also index their commitment to the revitalization of the language and culture through Salish language use. By possessing cultural capital or specific knowledge related to cultural events and practices, these individuals hold prestige in traditional contexts. Expanding this capital into everyday mundane contexts and providing additional economic capital is key to revitalization efforts and changing the ideological values of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille (discussed in Chapter 5). Providing economic value to cultural capital is discussed by Bourdieu (1991) who states "one cannot save the value of a competence unless one saves the market, in other words, the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers" (57). This point is further reiterated by Friedman (2012) who states, "...factors that promote or discourage the successful revitalization of minority languages, such as cultural capital, associations with cultural identity and increased economics and revaluation of local cultural practices" (491). Economically valuing individuals with Salish language knowledge, through teaching or other paid positions, for instance, could prove valuable to language revitalization.

Power relations, while tacitly present in every interaction, are not the only salient features indexed by the Salish language. Key characteristics of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture are signaled to the individual, through the use of Salish, including epistemological

perspectives and kinship relationships. The Salish language also designates an event or practice as traditional. Despite the fact that English is the vernacular for the majority of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, Salish continues to provide an essential means to express cultural and community identity. Drawing upon these indexical markers, learners gain important sociocultural information about the linguistic landscape. Therefore these indexes could become outlets for furthering the revitalization efforts of the community. In the following chapter I discuss these revitalization efforts of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, as these programs are key contexts for the socialization of novices to the Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture.

Chapter 4

Salish Language Revitalization

4.1 Introduction

Salish language use is currently limited to specific contexts and interactions (as discussed in §3.2 above); however, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community has created several programs to “reverse language shift” (Fishman 1991). These formal and informal revitalization programs have become a primary source of Salish language socialization for children. This chapter examines the revitalization efforts of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. Rather than describe the efforts in terms of their ability to produce new fluent speakers (a common goal of revitalization programs), the efforts will be described and analyzed to determine the ways children and novice learners are socialized to the language and culture of the community.

Language revitalization and cultural revitalization are critically important movements to indigenous groups around the world. Cultural syncretism is a somber reality for many cultural groups that have been separated from their traditional practices and beliefs, often through forced assimilation and acculturation. Revitalization programs provide these cultural groups with the opportunity to reclaim or revive their disappearing practices and beliefs. Revitalization is the conscious effort by members of a cultural group to reestablish, reformulate, and perpetuate certain aspects of the indigenous culture. Revitalization movements are not a contemporary concept. Throughout mankind's history, cultural contact has been inevitable, but several societies have resisted, or attempted to resist, the pressures from more dominant, often alien cultural groups, and fought to maintain their traditional practices. Current revitalization movements have

increased in earnest, gaining momentum in the 1960s and 1970s with the civil rights and indigenous movements around the world; these movements have become a way for individuals and groups to redefine who they are as a people. Language revitalization efforts have become a means for many indigenous communities to also revitalize their cultural practices. Scholars have also become interested in language revitalization efforts, as a way to understand the sociocultural underpinnings of these movements, and often, to contribute their expertise to this work. The general goals of revitalization efforts are to reclaim and re-establish traditional cultural practices and beliefs that are shifting or that have been lost. For many language revitalization movements, the primary goal is to produce new native language speakers, or, at the minimum, second language speakers and learners with some degree of language competency. Following a language socialization framework, competency is not just knowledge of the grammatical structure of a language. Competency also includes knowledge of the appropriate sociocultural norms and practices associated with communication (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984, 1995). Before considering the specific context of language revitalization and socialization in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, it is important to consider why maintaining and revitalizing a language and cultural way of life is important and the ways in which communities and scholars approach language revitalization. In this chapter I discuss the relevant language endangerment and revitalization literature (§4.2), the Salish-Pend d'Oreille language revitalization efforts (§4.3). I examine how revitalization programs socialize children and other novices to the Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture in (i) formal learning contexts (§4.4), (ii) informal learning contexts (§4.5) and (iii) additional contexts (§4.6).

4.2 Language Endangerment and Revitalization

The world's languages are disappearing at an alarming rate, with a language dying roughly every two weeks (Crystal 2000; Harrison 2007). There is a great deal that will be lost, for individuals, communities and humanity, if these languages are no longer passed on to future generations. Traditional languages hold entire bodies of knowledge, connect individuals to their environment and culture, and provide a means to express one's worldview perspective (Crystal 2000; Errington 2003; Harrison 2007; Hinton 2001a). Knowledge of an individual's traditional language can be important to maintaining a sense of identity and belonging to a particular group. Once this linguistic knowledge has been taken away or lost, an individual must express himself in the language of the dominant society, often leading to a loss of cultural and sometimes individual identity. Elson (1987) states, "[a]s the most uniquely human characteristic a person has, a person's language is associated with his self-image. Interest in and appreciation of a person's language is tantamount to interest in and appreciation of the person himself," (online). Language serves not only as a marker of cultural identity, but also helps determine how individuals conceptualize and act out appropriate behaviors of the cultural group. Language embodies cultural knowledge and symbolizes the social interactions that have been learned through numerous generations. These shared sets of meaning demonstrate cultural understanding and knowledge for a particular group. Linguistic practices can identify social choice, behavior, and belief systems. Additionally, language is the foundation by which children are enculturated to a specific community worldview; it is therefore a basic human right for an individual to have the ability to speak the language of choice (Crawford 1998; Crystal 2000). Linguistic

diversity is also a motivating factor for maintaining languages, as languages provide important insight into humanity's knowledge base (Crystal 2000; Hinton 2001a). Language revitalization efforts have become an integral part of academic and non-academic communities' in the pursuit of understanding and reclaiming the linguistic heritage of cultures around the world.

Academically, research on language revitalization has stemmed primarily from the field of Linguistics. Many endangered languages are oral languages that have never been recorded or documented. The goals of many linguists are to produce a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices of endangered languages. Documentation includes audio and video recordings of the focus language, which can lead to the production of grammars, dictionaries, and educational materials for languages that are shifting into obsolescence. Through language documentation, linguists can record invaluable information from fluent speakers before the language disappears. Linguists are able to gain greater knowledge of the diverse linguistic capabilities of humans from studying languages that uniquely categorize the world. The subfield of historical linguistics can also retrieve important information by reviewing lexical, syntactic, and morphological aspects of languages to determine the movements and contacts of cultural groups. Elson (1987) suggests that, "language is one of God's most important gifts to man, and of all human characteristics, language is the most distinctly human and the most basic. Without language, culture and civilization would be impossible. . . Therefore, all languages deserve respect and careful study," (Electronic Document). The main goal of language documentation is not necessarily to revitalize the language, but often linguists are compelled to help the language community in their

efforts to reestablish the indigenous language (Fishman 1991; Grenoble & Whaley 2006; Harrison 2007; Hinton 2001a). When a language has been more extensively documented, community members have greater resources to draw upon when developing their revitalization efforts (Grenoble & Whaley 2006).

In addition to the field of linguistics and its subfields, language revitalization has been studied in other academic fields, including Education, Psychology, Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology. Linguistic anthropologists approach language revitalization through the examination of the larger sociocultural and sociolinguistic environment in which the traditional language exists. That is to say, this field asserts that it is fundamental to understand the sociocultural environment in which a language is used or not used, as well as the ideologies and practices surrounding traditional language use. By examining language revitalization in relation to the larger sociocultural environment, researchers can determine the emergent pattern of linguistic practices that affect language revitalization efforts of a particular community.

As discussed in §2.6 above, throughout the United States, colonialism, forced relocation, boarding schools, and power influences greatly affected Native communities' abilities to continue the practices of their ancestors. However, during the 1970s, many communities around the country began to claim their sovereign rights and started their own revitalization efforts. In recent years, language revitalization movements have increased significantly. Issues of power dynamics, contemporary relevance, and identity all greatly influence how a community approaches language and cultural revitalization. Constant struggles of internal strife and external pressures can define the circumstances under which language and culture may be practiced or taught, and the individuals who

participate in these practices. Individuals find themselves questioning whether traditional practices can fit into their modern everyday lives, and if so, how. Also, individuals may not have a firm understanding of who they are themselves, as many often straddle the line between Native and non-Native; traditional and contemporary; private and public, depending on the given context. Given the individual dynamics of each community, "...it is necessary to understand language revitalization challenges not in terms of failure or success, but as a function of contemporary sociolinguistic landscapes," (Meek 2010). Revitalization movements are a means by which individuals and communities can redefine who they are as a cultural group moving forward. Language revitalization has been expressed, by community members in this study, as central to this concept of cultural identity among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille and as such, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community is attempting to breathe new life into their traditional lifeways and belief systems.

4.3 Salish-Pend d'Oreille Language Revitalization Efforts

The traditional language and culture of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille continues to hold significant meaning for many members of the community. Many elders continued to practice the traditional way of life despite the continued external pressures to abandon it. However, beginning in the 1970s, a renewed interest by tribal members created a shift in the community toward revitalizing their cultural ways (Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee 2005). Recognizing the declining number of fluent speakers and individuals knowledgeable in traditional practices, a handful of community members formed the Flathead Culture Committee with "[t]he intention...to gather information of our Flathead

cultural background before all our tribal elders pass away” (Flathead Culture Committee 1977: ii). Initial efforts focused on the documentation of language and cultural knowledge. These efforts also included the creation of language materials, primarily children’s learning books. Since the creation of the culture committee, there have been numerous efforts throughout the community to re-establish the traditional values and practices into the everyday. The Flathead Culture Committee, since renamed the Salish-Pend d’Oreille Culture Committee (SPCC), continues to serve as an integral resource for revitalization efforts. The committee serves as steward of language and cultural recordings and documents, is involved in the production of new materials, oversees cultural activities, and governs practices concerning culturally sensitive topics. The committee’s stated mission is to “...preserve, protect, and perpetuate the living culture and traditional ways of life of our people,” (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2014). The overall language philosophy of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille expands upon this notion of perpetuation and declares the Salish language a crucial aspect of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture and identity.

“Salish language is our most urgent area of work. It is the core of our culture. If the language is lost, a crucial part of our way of life will go with it. Unless we make a determined, aggressive effort to save it, Salish will become one of the ninety-eight percent of native languages that will soon become extinct. If our language is to survive, we must add to our rapidly dwindling numbers of fluent speakers. It is critical that younger tribal members learn and gain fluency,” (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2014).

According to the Heritage Language Policy of Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (2005), “...the perpetuation of the cultures and languages of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes is a necessity to the tribal governments, departments, families, youth, and future generations (1).” These statements indicate unified community language

revitalization ideologies and practices; yet there are many diverse perspectives and approaches to language and cultural perpetuation found throughout the community. There are two main contexts for Salish language socialization: (i) formal education settings; and (ii) informal learning settings. Within each of these contexts, there are various options for children and novices to learn about the traditional language and culture. A basic description of these activities, the individuals involved, and the desired outcomes of each type are discussed in detail below. In these descriptions, I focus on the ways individuals are socialized to the sociocultural environment in each learning context.

4.4 Formal Salish Language Socialization

The opportunity to learn the Salish language has, out of necessity, become almost entirely based in the formal educational setting. As the language is only spoken by a limited number of individuals and in a limited number of contexts, the formal learning environment is a crucial way to help interested community members learn about the Salish language. In this section, I examine Salish language socialization in the school systems, providing observed and interview data from primary, secondary and post secondary education classrooms on the Flathead Indian Reservation. This is followed by an analysis of data from formal language learning contexts for adults, as well as other Salish language acquisition programs available intermittently, such as language and culture camps. The goal of this section is not to assess the success of these programs in producing new fluent speakers, but to instead describe and analyze the ways in which individuals are socialized to the language and culture of the community through these programs.

The variety of formal language learning opportunities for children, adolescents and adults to learn the Salish language, range from minimal Salish language input to full immersion. The ratios of fluent and semi-fluent speakers to language learners rang from 1:3 or 4 to 1:20. In the formal settings, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee (SPCC) approves all language materials and teachers in order to ensure that culturally sensitive material is either avoided or taught during the appropriate seasons (see §2.3.1 above for further discussion on seasonal practices).

4.4.1 Public Education Language Learning Contexts

Ngai (2004) examined issues that surround indigenous language education in the public schools on the multicultural Flathead Indian Reservation, sampling three main districts. She found that school districts throughout the reservation placed varying degrees of importance on educating their students in the Salish language. Some offered no courses in the indigenous language, while others only offered it as an elective course in which students met just once or twice week for roughly twenty minutes (Ngai 2004). My own findings were compatible with Ngai's in the school districts I examined.³ In this study, I found that one school district offers Salish language classes once a week for one hour. These classes, taught by a fluent elder speaker and a semi-fluent speaker, are typically not held in high regard by most students. One interviewed parent described her daughter's reaction to students in these classes in the following way "...the kids are really disrespectful. She's [her daughter] had to tell the kids to please behave. She said it really saddens her that it's that way." The limited time allotted to these Salish language classes

³ Ngai (2004) does not disclose the actual school districts that she analyzed.

and the lack of respect shown by many individuals, including students, teachers, and administrators, affects how the value of the Salish language is perceived. Other school districts, offer varying degrees of accessibility to both the language and culture. Several interviewees and other community members expressed that numerous instances of racism have occurred in some school districts. These instances of racism, which involve both students and teachers, result in the devaluing of the Salish way of life and people. There are formal learning environments, however, where traditional language and culture are more valued.

4.4.2 Private K-8 Education Language Learning Context

One of the most significant opportunities for children and young adolescents to learn about their heritage in a formal learning environment is at Nk^wusm Salish Language Institute, an immersion program for children ages 2-13. The non-profit school, privately funded through donations, grants, and fundraising efforts, was created in 2002 by a group of four motivated young adults (Nkwusm 2010). The founders of the school discovered a renewed interest in their culture and language after adolescence, many into their early twenties; they began to dedicate themselves to learning as much as possible about their own cultural heritage through college electives, personal educational endeavors and the guidance of elders. These individuals, frustrated with their inability to access a breadth of cultural and linguistic materials and to find contexts for language learning and use, made a conscious effort to change the situation. The founding members, sought

“...to increase the number and quality of materials available to teach the Salish language for primary students by creating a complete curriculum with materials and activities for the primary grades; increase the number of speakers through community participation in school activities and programs and the school’s participation in community activities; increase the fluency of Salish speakers through participation in the school and the school’s outreach programs; and ultimately recreating the process whereby the Salish language is passed from parent to child,” (Nk^wusm 2012).

Upon entering the school, one observes the numerous posters, signs and books in the Salish language, all created by the teachers and staff of the school. Students’ artwork and pictures also line the walls of the school. There is a warm, relaxed atmosphere of the students, staff and teachers, giving the feeling of a family rather than a formal learning environment. The 36 students enrolled for the 2012-2013 academic year (Charkoosta 2012) are divided into three classrooms: pre-Kindergarten (pre-K) through Kindergarten, 1st-3rd grade, and 4th-7th grade (there were no 8th grade students during the 2012-2013 school year). Each class has a teacher, who has some Salish language proficiency, and an elder fluent in the Salish language (referred to as a “language specialist”). There are also instructional aides in each of the two younger classrooms that assist the teachers in classroom management.

The language model that the school one day hopes to achieve is as follows: total Salish language immersion in all subjects for pre-school through 3rd grade; 20% English language in English and Language Arts, and 80% Salish in the remaining subjects for 4th grade; and increasing English by 10% until there is an equal split of English/Salish for 7th and 8th grades (Nk^wusm n.d.). While this is not the current model, it does accurately describe the general ratio of English to Salish use in each classroom. English language use was the primary language of instruction for the majority of classes; yet the pre-K and

Kindergarten classroom was observed to have the most Salish language use of all the classrooms, followed by the 1st-3rd grade, and finally the 4th-7th grade classroom.

The pre-K/Kindergarten classroom, with 8-10 students, provides the children ample exposure to the language and culture; even at this early stage, children are socialized to the larger societal norms of Salish language use. Inside the classroom, the walls are decorated with Salish words, including pictures of objects and animals with their corresponding Salish terms; frequently, there is music playing, such as recordings of children singing in Salish, drumming and Native songs. A typical day begins with children singing a song, then taking turns reciting the days of the week, months, colors, and each letter of the alphabet with a corresponding picture, in the Salish language. The class then moves on to additional activities, such as listening to stories told by the language specialist, drumming and dancing, learning about the animal of the month, as well as a craft and indoor and outdoor playtime. Each of these activities reflect important aspects of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille life, such as respect and understanding of nature, playtime, the joy of singing, drumming and dancing, and respecting and listening to elders. Before the lunch meal, the pre-K/Kindergarten students join other Nk^wusm students, staff and teachers for a prayer and then eat lunch together. During classroom activities, the language specialist would speak in Salish for the majority of the time, while English was the prominent language of the teacher. The young children used Salish during several classroom activities, particularly when prompted in Salish by the language specialist. Responses by the children often included Salish words or phrases. Commands were frequently given by the teacher in Salish, to which the children promptly responded, demonstrating their understanding of the instructions. For instance, at the end of one

playtime, the teacher told the kids in Salish to put away the toys and sit down for the next lesson. The children quickly placed the toys in the proper places and ran to the center rug where the language specialist would soon begin his next story. Children's use of the Salish language was confined to lessons only. Whenever there was a break from a specific lesson or activity, such as recess, the students would begin speaking with one another in English. The use of English by the children is a result of ease and because this is what they have been socialized to do. First, they mimic their teachers, in that they perform during language lessons but once outside this strict setting, they revert to English to speak to their peers. The teachers, even the language specialists, switched to English anytime there was not a lesson taking place. So, whenever any planning took place, during lunch or even during small recess breaks, the teachers would begin to converse with one another in the English language. This is, in part, due to the fact that the teachers do not all speak Salish fluently, but also because of the way they themselves have been socialized to use the English language outside the formal learning environment. Teacher fluency and training is a common issue of language revitalization (Hinton 2001b). As with many revitalization programs, Salish-Pend d'Oreille teachers are frequently trying to learn the language while simultaneously creating lessons plans and curriculum. However, as role models and individuals in position of power, the teachers have the ability to define the way language is used; in other words, they are the ones socializing the children to speak the language in these very defined contexts. The socialization to limited Salish language use continues into the higher grades.

Older children have more opportunities to learn about traditional cultural practices than the youngest students and these older students continue to build on their previous

Salish language knowledge. Children in the older classes go on field trips, such as hikes into the mountains to learn about and collect plants and herbs. However, there are added struggles not seen in the pre-K and Kindergarten classroom and older students are also not exposed to as much Salish language use. There are greater demands on the teacher and students to meet curriculum standards in subjects other than the Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. Moving beyond the basic levels requires greater proficiency in the Salish language, which is difficult when many of the teachers are themselves trying to learn the language. These factors play a role in why there is not as much Salish language input as in the youngest classroom. In the 4th-7th grade classroom, there was an hour long language lesson in the morning in which the teacher and students spoke in Salish throughout. Also, for one hour in the afternoon, the language specialist spoke in the Salish language. The opportunity to hear continuous, routine Salish language use is unique to this school and provides students with the chance to increase their own Salish language proficiency. This is evidenced by the fact that students in the older classrooms can give brief speeches in the Salish language. However, aside from these two hours, the students and teachers conducted classroom and recess activities in English.

Nk^wusm provides an environment in which students can comfortably and proudly learn about their traditional heritage. The expressed goal of the school is to “increase the number of speakers...and ultimately recreating the process whereby the Salish language is passed from parent to child,” (Nk^wusm 2012). Salish language use during classes observations was noticeably absent for much of the day. My analysis of language socialization of students is not meant to undermine the important work of this school, but

to highlight the ways language practices of teachers influence student acquisition of the Salish language. Yet this formal learning environment is alone not sufficient to produce new fluent speakers. Students attending the school are being socialized to many traditional practices and beliefs, in addition to the language, that are not otherwise available to children on the reservation. They are also being socialized, however, to the common practice of switching to the English language whenever they find themselves in interactions that do not require Salish. These contexts include daily interactions with peers, teachers, and staff, along with any lesson that is not directly focused on Salish language learning. Even though many of the students, teachers and staff may be capable of using Salish in more contexts, English is the vernacular of everyday communication for these individuals.

4.4.3 Private High School Language Learning Context

Salish language instruction is available to secondary school students at Two Eagle River School. The school, located in Pablo, was established in the 1970s, as “...an alternative school for Native American students, provid[ing] Native languages and culturally relevant curriculum in a safe healthy environment,” (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2013a). Serving grades 9-11, the school requires all students to complete two years of Salish language coursework to be eligible for graduation. The students enrolled in the class meet everyday during the quarter for one hour. During an interview, the teacher of the class explained that the goal of the class was not to create fluent speakers but simply to expose the students to the Salish language and enable them to read more proficiently in the language so they can succeed in Salish language classes

at Salish Kootenai College. The teacher, who has been teaching on and off for the past 7-8 years, was raised with Salish as her first language, but like so many others, is currently trying to re-learn the language. According to the teacher, it is difficult to teach any advanced language material to the students, as individuals are either really interested or not interested at all in the language, and school attendance is often very poor. Upon completion of the mandatory two years, students have a very basic understanding of the language. Another interviewee and former student at Two Eagle River School expressed similar sentiments, explaining that "... the classes are not taken very seriously by most students." Limited interview data with teachers and students at this school makes it difficult to comprehensively define how students are socialized to the Salish language at Two Eagle River. However, the available data suggest that the Salish language is not highly valued by many students. It appears that Salish language classes at Two Eagle River School, while giving exposure to the language, seem to be promoting the current sociocultural environment of using English.

4.4.4 Post-Secondary Language Learning Contexts

At the collegiate level, Salish Kootenai College (SKC), located in Pablo, offers introductory levels of Salish language classes. The tribal college offers six terms of Salish language classes: Basic Salish I through III and Intermediate Salish I through III. These courses are taught by a fluent tribal elder, along with a semi-fluent speaker. Occasionally, another fluent speaker fills in to teach when the primary teacher is absent. Each class meets for an hour and a half twice a week during the eleven week term. In general, the goal of these courses is to introduce the student to Salish pronunciation, basic

vocabulary, and basic sentence structure. The curriculum follows cultural based topics such as greetings, months and seasons of the year, body parts, and kinship terminology. Individuals that complete the six courses typically have rudimentary conversational skills in the Salish language. The teacher spoke limited Salish during the lessons, but would speak to semi-fluent individuals in the Salish language when they would visit the classroom or his office. Throughout participant observations of these classes in this study, individuals expressed the high regard in which they held their language and their desire to continue learning the language after the course ended. The classroom expectations of respect and support were established at the beginning of the quarter and each student felt comfortable learning and speaking the language. This level of comfort and trust enables students to forget their initial qualms that often accompany language learning (e.g. pronunciation errors). At the beginning of the quarter, many individuals were apprehensive or refused to speak Salish, but as the class progressed, these students spoke the language more freely. Also embedded in these classes is the dissemination of cultural knowledge. Much of learning the language is about learning cultural knowledge. That is, students are taught about important linguistic terms that are useful in the community and at cultural events. For instance, the Salish terminology for important times of the years are taught, along with the events that occur during these months. The language courses at Salish Kootenai College, therefore, socialize students to Salish language use, but also teaches how the language embodies important cultural practices and beliefs. The courses also socialize students to be respectful and supportive of their peers and teacher.

The Native American Language Teacher Training Institute (NALTTI) at Salish Kootenai College also contributed to the language revitalization of the Salish language. The three year program, which has since terminated, was funded through a grant from the Administration for Native Americans, was established to (i) help semi-fluent speakers further their Salish language knowledge through the aid of fluent Salish elder Sophie Mays, and (ii) help train these individuals to become Salish language teachers. Salish language materials were also created through this program, including "...lesson plans, study aides, and a Teacher language resource handbook," as were several audio and video recordings of Sophie telling stories (Upham 2010). This program is not analyzed for the language socialization; rather it is mentioned because many individuals involved in this program continue to be active participants in the community's language revitalization efforts, in part inspired by their mentor and friend Sophie, who passed away in 2009.

4.4.5 Adult Language Learning Contexts

There are only a few, often sporadic, opportunities for adults to learn the Salish language in a formal learning environment. In most instances, non-academic language classes are free to adults, though only a few individuals attend. In one instance, Salish language classes were taught bi-weekly in the evenings for adult learners at Nk^wusm, in Arlee. Additional classes, taught by an advanced learner and speaker of the Salish language, were also held in Pablo and sometimes in Mission. During most classes in Arlee, there were only a handful of individuals present, ranging in age from approximately 30 to 65 years old. The classroom atmosphere was relaxed and the lessons were humorous and moved at a casual pace, based on the teacher's assessment of

students' needs. The adult language course ended at the end of the school semester, but the teacher expressed a desire to continue them again in the future. One formal language learning opportunity, available to only a few adult individuals, socializes language learners toward frequent Salish language use and as such will be described in depth below.

A language program at Nk^wusm, created through an Administration for Native Americans (ANA) Grant, offers a select few adults the opportunity to learn the language in a structured educational setting. These adults have been hired to learn the language, with the hope that they will one day become teachers at the school and throughout the community. The adults range in age from early 20s to mid 40s and have varying degrees of Salish language input throughout their lifetimes. The two teachers of these classes are advanced speakers and learners of the language. The adult language learning class meets five days a week, roughly 9am-5pm to learn the language. Instruction follows a specific curriculum that moves the learners through three levels of language learning. The curriculum was developed by Christopher Parkin and the Kalispel Tribe⁴ and has been adapted to meet the needs of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community.

The curriculum allows the language learner to progress through basic vocabulary lessons to more advanced, conversational levels of Salish language use. In Level 1, adults are first exposed to Workbook I, which consists of 45 lessons that build the learner's vocabulary. Each lesson contains between ten to 15 new words and three to 15 simple phrases or sentences. These lessons are built around a variety of culturally relevant topics, including greetings, food and drinks, physical descriptions, states of

⁴ The Kalispel and Salish-Pend d'Oreille are both classified as part of the Columbia Plateau cultural group and linguistically part of the Southern Interior Branch of the Salish language family.

being, clothes, body parts, kinship terminology, powwow talk, locations, plants, weather, actions, and many more. After the adults work their way through Workbook I, they begin learning 16 stories in the Level 1 Story Workbook. Following the traditional seasonal cycles, these lessons have four stories relevant to each of these cycles. For instance, in the Winter section, Story 1 is titled “Coyote Stories for Martin and Lucy” and in the Spring section, Story 8, is titled “Lucy and Grandma dig camas.” These stories, more or less memorized, allow the learner to become more familiar with Salish sentence structure and word formation and to practice speaking the language. Once the adults finish the 16 stories in Level 1 Story Workbook, they move onto Level 2 in the curriculum, beginning with Workbook II. There are 40 different lessons in this book, all of which focus more on conversational and grammatical learning. Workbook II is then followed by 16 additional stories from Level 2 Story Workbook. The process is also repeated in Level 3, but the curriculum for this level has not been fully developed. By the end of this curriculum, the adult learners are expected to be advanced speakers of the language. The amount of time required to complete each level is flexible and depends primarily on the teachers and students, but can take up to three years, one year for each level. The time it takes students to complete the program is dependent upon whether the language curriculum has been developed, the teachers’ familiarity with the curriculum, and the daily work schedule/expectations set by each program. The more responsibility the teacher places on the students to learn inside and outside of the classroom, the faster individuals can move through the curriculum and achieve an increased fluency. At the conclusion of this study, the adults in the program were studying Workbook II in the

Level 2 curriculum and have already become conversational in the Salish language, after only one year.

This adult program has proven to be beneficial for language socialization of learners to the Salish language and culture for numerous reasons. The learning environment is highly routinized with a great deal of Salish language and cultural input. These structured and predictable contexts give learners the opportunity to acquire explicit linguistic forms, as well as tacitly acquire sociocultural beliefs. Each student knows how their day will be structured, as well as each individual lesson. Throughout the day, the adults are given time to study the language on their own and in a group environment and to speak and hear the language frequently. They also have access to fluent and semi-fluent speakers. During each lesson, students are not only learning about culturally specific linguistic terminology, but they also have weekly sessions with two fluent elders. During these sessions, each elder speaks continuously for one hour about a topic of their choice, exposing the students to the language but also to many sociocultural beliefs and practices as well. For instance, at one session, the elders communicated the importance of giving back to the earth. That is, if you take something you always give something back in return. Other topics observed include the changes that have occurred with many practices over time, including Medicine and Jump Dances, burials, and other Native Laws, such as the incorporation or resistance to mainstream, non-Native practices. The adults were observed to listen intently to their elders and to note any unfamiliar vocabulary words. Both elders spoke of their eagerness to help and support the students in their language and cultural learning.

In addition to the high levels of predictable language and cultural input, this particular class necessarily increases the capital of the language (Bourdieu 1977a, 1997b, 1991; Philips 2006). By paying individuals to learn the language, this program increases the power of the language. That is, learning and speaking the Salish language, which is often seen in the community as not having any economic value, now provides employment opportunities. While the ANA grant provides temporary employment, the program hopes to find additional positions for these adult learners after completion of the funding. Also, students do not have to worry about taking time away from their daily obligations, such as jobs and families, to learn the language. It is their job to learn the language, and they therefore dedicate that specific time to the language. This program additionally increases the likelihood that the adults will pass on their knowledge to other individuals, particularly children, in contexts outside of the formal learning environment; as these adults are being socialized to increasingly use the Salish language, so too will the children with which they are in contact. Many of the adults in this class either have children or other family members with whom they can speak, thus furthering the possible domains of Salish language use.

This particular curriculum is beginning to be utilized by several revitalization programs throughout the reservation. For instance, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee recently received a grant from the Montana Indian Language Preservation Pilot Program to utilize this same curriculum to teach four individuals the Salish language.

4.5 Informal Salish Language Socialization

Formal education cannot be the sole context for language revitalization efforts (Hinton 2001a). The Salish-Pend d'Oreille community is well aware of this, and as a result has formed several small groups and organizations to help produce informal learning settings, particularly in the home. There are numerous families that have tried to maintain some degree of Salish language use within the home environment. While these contexts of language socialization in the home are limited (see discussion in §3.2 above), there is an effort to increase this. For example, the youngest fluent Salish language speaker, at nineteen years old, formed the group Yoyoot Sk^wk^wimlt which means 'strong young people.'; Yoyoot Sk^wk^wimlt, a group of close friends, gather together every Sunday for four hours to learn more about the language and culture under the young man's guidance. According to the group's founder, the individuals have the hope of one day becoming fluent speakers, but know that they will not achieve this level of fluency at their current rate. He wishes he could spend more than four hours every week with the group, but acknowledges that it is merely a side project for all the individuals involved. This group has been honored throughout the community for their positive behavior they continue to demonstrate, which includes leading a healthy lifestyle, being role models for younger children, and respecting elders (Upham 2013).

Along with the formal language learning contexts outlined above, there are also camps held throughout the year, which provide families with the opportunity to learn about the language and culture together. One example is the week long Language and Culture Camp, hosted by the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee each year. This camp is an extension of the Agnes Vanderburg Camp that began in the 1970s. Salish

elder Agnes Vanderburg held a language and culture camp every summer for nearly 20 years, teaching anyone willing to learn traditional practices (Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee 2005; Vanderburg 1995). This camp brought families together for a few hours to several weeks, to partake in cultural activities and visit with elders who were knowledgeable in traditional practices (Vanderburg 1995). During my research, several individuals remembered attending the camp as children, not necessarily partaking directly in traditional activities, but everyone recalled the camps with nostalgia. Lucy Vanderburg recalls her mother's camp and upbringing, "Sharing culture was a family theme for us," she said" (Plummer 2008). The Language and Culture Camp, continues today and offers individuals language lessons each morning and craft construction and history lessons in the afternoon. The purpose of these camps is not necessarily to create new fluent speakers, but rather to expose individuals to the language and cultural beliefs and practices; as such, the language lessons focus on basic vocabulary and phrases. The words that are taught include Salish cultural terminologies, including animal names, kinships terms, placenames on the reservation, and terms used during hunting, fishing, or beading activities. Child and adult participants have varying degrees of Salish language knowledge, many learning about the language for the first time at the camp. When the language lessons are in progress, the children often are outside playing or engaging in activities set up specifically for them, which typically do not involve Salish language use. However, in the afternoon sessions, children and adults participate in making crafts, such as bracelets, necklaces, bustles, beaded pouches, and mini war bonnets, typically under the tutelage of elders. The activities offered at the camp differ from year to year, but have been observed to include a camas dig, hikes that focus on identifying various plants,

skinning a deer and drying meat. During one year's camp, different fluent elders were chosen to speak during each day of the week, for approximately ten to fifteen minutes in the Salish language. The speeches were translated from Salish to English by the fluent elder themselves, by other fluent speakers, or sometimes not at all. The elders spoke about the importance of the language and culture and about their own lives. This camp socializes attendees to traditional cultural activities and also socializes attendees to show respect towards elders and, to some degree, to value the Salish language.

Other camps that socialize children to traditional cultural practices and values, include Horse Camp, Hunting Camp and Coyote Storytelling, each held during the appropriate cycle of the year (see §2.3.1 for further discussion on seasonal activities). The purpose of these camps is to educate children on cultural practices that hold importance for the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. The Salish language is not the primary focus of these camps, but instead the focus is on maintaining and creating familial and community bonds, and respecting and perpetuating a relationship with the natural environment. For instance, at Hunting Camp, children are taught the importance of partaking in a morning dip to cleanse oneself before proceeding on the hunt, thanking the animal for giving its life, and not to waste anything from animal. These camps provide a healthy and positive socialization environment for children and adults to come together to learn about their traditional cultural and linguistic practices.

4.6 Additional Language Revitalization Efforts

In addition to the various formal and informal language and culture learning opportunities outlined above, there are also several other programs in which individuals

can learn about the Salish language and traditional the Salish-Pend d'Oreille practices, particularly language.

The People's Center, located in Pablo, serves the tribe by educating the public and community on traditional Salish-Pend d'Oreille practices and history. Through museum displays, language recordings, classes, including weekly beading classes, and occasionally language material development, the center works to further public awareness about the Salish, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai tribes. The museum displays historical information and traditional memorabilia, along with rotating displays, such as cradleboards or moccasins on loan to the museum from tribal members. The center also hosts several different activities throughout the year, including Native American Awareness Week which educates school children from all over the reservation; Camas Bakes; powwows, Family Fun Nights; and language classes. Several of these activities have been scheduled, but are often cancelled due to the lack of attendance. For instance, the Family Fun Nights, scheduled to include beading, regalia outfit construction, drumming and singing, and movies, had such low community attendance for the first four weeks that it was consequently cancelled. Staff members also explained that the language classes were scheduled to meet once a week for two hours with a fluent elder, but were also cancelled due to lack of community interest.

One cultural revitalization program that has been recently founded is the Salish Institute. The foundation, which has become an organizing unit for Salish-Pend d'Oreille events, promotes the well being and improvement of the tribal community through positive activities. This organizing involves "leverag[ing] human and capital resources to initiate, coordinate, and support activities and programs that promote cultural identity and

strengthen tribal communities” (The Salish Institute 2013). The Salish Institute is a non-profit organization funded through various donations and fundraising events to provide “...an organization that is grounded in tribal values and brings hope to future generations. We aspire to create a safe place of learning and offer year-round healthy positive activities such as culture camps, language classes, community building and wellness activities, ” (The Salish Institute 2013).

The Salish-Pend d’Oreille tribe also works with other Salish tribes across the northwestern United States, such as the Kalispel and Spokane Tribes, to perpetuate traditional beliefs and Salish languages. These tribes work together on language curriculum development and planning, sharing language resources, and gathering together at an annual conference. The annual Celebrating Salish Conference hosted by the Kalispel Tribe, offers all Salishan tribes the opportunity to share their language program approaches, successes and struggles, and various ideas with one another. The warm and open environment of the conference allows any individual or group interested in Salish language revitalization the chance to learn more about the ongoing efforts of Salish Tribes. This conference offers workshop presentations by attendees, for teachers, learners and community leaders, as well as a storytelling theater for youth, karaoke contests, and a traditional powwow and dinner. There is also an elder honoring ceremony. The conference provides attendees the ability to network and share knowledge with others on the same reservation and across the Salishan territories of the Northwest United States and Canada.

4.7 Conclusions

The Salish-Pend d'Oreille community has been diligently working at revitalizing the Salish language since the 1970s and yet the number of fluent Salish speakers has continued to decline. In analyzing the tribe's efforts, I have examined how children or other novice learners are being socialized and to what practices they are being socialized to. This chapter examined some of the ways socialization occurs in this community, particularly with regard to institutionalized settings. When Salish language is used, it is embedded in important Salish-Pend d'Oreille cultural practices and values. Salish language socialization in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community is mostly limited to the formal language learning setting. The continued practice of confining language socialization to these settings reinforces the sociocultural norms of limited Salish language use. However, these practices cannot be understood in isolation. There must be some analysis of the ideologies that inherently play a role in language choice in the community members, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

It should be noted that there has been a noticeable increase in the amount of Salish language use in the last two years since I completed my ethnographic research. I believe part of this increase is due to the efforts by individuals involved in the Adult Language Program at Nk^wusm. These individuals are growing more comfortable conversing in the Salish language and are inspiring other fluent and semi-fluent individuals to use the language as well. The increase in Salish language use is significant for several factors. First, this demonstrates the importance of conducting longitudinal ethnographic research, as well as continuing to maintain relationships with

individuals in specific field site. As cultural and linguistic situations are continually changing and evolving, even in a short amount of time, it is important to conduct research for extended periods of time to note these changes and to gain a deeper understanding of the issues that may affect a given environment. Second, language revitalization is a long, generational process and as such efforts and programs need to be given some degree of freedom to allow for socialization to occur. Third, the increase in Salish language use may signal a change in the ideologies of community members, which can have profound influence on the overall language and cultural revitalization efforts.

Chapter 5

Salish Language Ideologies

5.1 Introduction

Language revitalization goals vary depending on the program, but for many communities, the ultimate goal is to create new fluent speakers and re-establish the indigenous language across multiple domains (Grenoble & Whaley 2006; Hinton 2001a; Meek 2010). For most communities, however, this goal is rarely realized. It is important to examine the possible factors that contribute to the continued language shift in spite of revitalization efforts. It is not beneficial to understand a community's efforts in terms of their success or failure, as this can be detrimental to their continued efforts. Analyzing revitalization programs "as a function of contemporary sociolinguistic landscapes," (Meek 2010:41) elucidates the language and practices that contribute to the continued shift and contributes to the development of a much needed theoretical and methodological framework for language revitalization (Penfield 2013). That is, critiquing a community's language revitalization programs does not benefit the community itself or further academia's understanding of language revitalization. Such analyses often either over idealize "success", or conversely, alienate and blame those individual or group "failures". A more advantageous approach to understanding language revitalization, is to analyze the efforts as reflective of the community's language practices and ideologies. In the case of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, language revitalization efforts began in the 1970s but the Salish language continues to shift to English. In analyzing the tribe's efforts, I propose that the ideologies and practices of the community often undermine current revitalization efforts and hinder the

linguistic and cultural socialization of their disappearing language. Researchers that focus on language endangerment and revitalization efforts in communities across the globe are finding it more and more essential to include ideologies in their theoretical and methodological framework (Field & Kroskrity 2009; Friedman 2012; Garrett 2012; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Riley 2012). This is in part due to the increased awareness of the large sociocultural role that language ideologies play in everyday communicative practices of speakers and the effect that these ideologies have on determining the outcome of revitalization efforts (Field & Kroskrity 2009; Friedman 2012).

A focus on community ideologies demonstrates how language embodies larger sociocultural factors, including power, authority and belief systems. According to Woolard (1998), language ideologies connect communicative forms with the daily social experience. Speakers bring their own multiple beliefs, feelings, and experiences to a communicative event, which effects the language use of the participants. Language ideology, as defined by Silverstein (1979), is the “set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use,” (193). An additional interpretation is provided by Irvine (1989) who states that language ideologies are “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests,” (255). Language use in particular situations may differ from one individual to the next, depending on the individual’s ideological background and cultural and linguistic knowledge. Silverstein (1979) and Irvine and Gal (2000) demonstrate the diverse ways that indexicality and semiotic processes are influenced by and representative of broader

sociocultural factors. Analyzing ideologies through semiotic processes is also a way to understand language and cultural change (Field 2009). Ideologies can also affect identity construction for an individual, particularly through language, as every discourse indexes sociocultural information, including economic status, gender, age, power, and norms (Hill 2008; Ochs 1990).

As cultures are constantly adapting to new circumstances that are necessary for the continuation of their worldview, so too does the way caregivers socialize their children and how these children dynamically interact in this process. This chapter defines the language ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille and how these ideologies impact the community's language and socialization practices. The chapter begins with an overview of the language ideologies framework that I adopt to describe the Salish-Pend d'Oreille language and cultural ideologies and practices (§5.2). I present an analysis of Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic processes (i) iconization (§5.3), (ii) fractal recursivity (§5.4), and (iii) erasure (§5.5); I use this framework to contextual the ideologies and practices of the community with current revitalization efforts and the larger sociocultural environment. As stated by Field and Kroskrity (2009), "[w]ithout understanding these and other Native American language ideologies, scholars and researchers – both Native and non-Native – cannot hope to understand Native American languages and the way speakers use them, change them, and renew them" (10).

5.2 Language Ideologies Framework

Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure provides a critical framework to examine the ideologies of a community. For

Irvine and Gal, linguistic features, and even languages themselves, are a system of signs that can index individuals, social groups and activities. Through an interpretation of these semiotic signs an understanding of the ways which speakers and hearers justify these indices emerges. In other words, the authors approach indexicality as a means to understand how language ideologies are formed and justified in practice (Bucholtz & Hall 2006).

The first process in this semiotic approach is *iconization*, which involves a sign relationship that links linguistic features with a social group. This process occurs when particular linguistic features or even language becomes symbolic or iconic of a particular culture. Iconization has the potential to serve as a marker of group identity, but more often causes the essentialization of a given culture, reducing both the language and culture to “something homogenous and simplistic,” (Field 2009). For instance, during the nineteenth century, academics documenting the languages of Senegal defined each linguistic variety as corresponding to a specific tribal group and territorial boundary. This ideological perspective defined a given language as iconic of a particular population, ignoring the “multilingualism and intermingling of speaker,” (Irvine & Gal 2000:48). Furthermore, the Senegalese languages were defined by scholars at the time as being more simplistic; and because the languages were iconic of the speakers, they were also viewed as primitive (Ahearn 2011; Irvine & Gal 2000). Iconization emerges from individuals’ perspectives outside of a group and from within a given community (Field 2009). It is common for populations, particularly governmental powers, to promote their language as tied to one’s identity (Field 2009; House 2002; Field & Kroskrity 2009), which can have both positive and negative consequences. Among the Navajo Nation, it

is common for the tribal government to promote the idea that the Navajo language is homogenously spoken across speakers, generations, and domains; in reality, however, this is not the case (Field 2009).

The second semiotic process defined by Irvine and Gal is *fractal recursivity*, defined as, “the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level,” (38) or the “projection of oppositions between groups or linguistic varieties” (Field 2009:40). This process of ideological valuing takes one “level” or dichotomy, such as Native and non-Native, and applies it to another concept, such as language. Messing (2002) describes the case of Tlaxcala, Mexico where, the opposition of indigenous and non-indigenous populations is recursively reproduced when non-indigenous individuals discriminate against the minority population based upon an individual’s language use and location of residence. Nahuatl is viewed as iconic of the local indigenous population and non-indigenous individuals map this relationship onto the belief that speakers of the language reside in a higher elevation; this results in lower economic status and outdated practices. Additionally, the notion of recursivity presumes that there are numerous ideological values throughout a community and even with individuals themselves. These varying beliefs continue to be perpetuated in social activities and amongst individual groups and, as with the other semiotic processes, these multiple layers of ideologies are often ignored (Andronis 2003; Field 2009; Field & Kroskrity 2009). As Field (2009) argues, the Navajo language is seen as iconic of the cultural group and thus distinguishes between Native and non-Native speakers; this opposition is then recursively projected onto modernity. To be Navajo is to speak the language, which often ignores the desires of individuals to speak English (Field 2009). In

another example, she explains how the Navajo language is given low status in the school, which is then recursively applied to other social categories including “rurality, poverty, and lack of ‘cool,’” (Holm & Holm 1995:154-155).

Erasure is the third process defined by Irvine and Gal. During this process, information about a person, activity, or group is deleted or ignored for the benefit of fulfilling an ideology (Ahearn 2011; Field 2009). For example, one’s ability to speak multiple languages or practice traditional beliefs in modern society are overlooked or ignored to fulfill a particular perspective. In their analysis of linguistic practices of Macedonia, Irvine and Gal (2000) demonstrate how the country’s culturally diverse and adaptive environment were denied (or erased) to realize political goals after independence. After declaring independence from Yugoslavia, there were several countries that continued to claim land within the borders of Macedonia. To help promulgate Macedonia’s ideology of a unified nation and to diffuse these outside interests, erasure, along with the two other semiotic processes, ignored the country’s multicultural and linguistic diversity. The promotion of the Macedonian language as the official language via government policies, and the creation of literacy programs to ensure that education reinforced this codification, are instances of erasure. In the United States, the dominant ideologies of monoglossia and cultural myopia ignores the diversity that actually exists within the country (Ahearn 2011). That is, there is an inherent belief by the dominant population, as well as global powers, that there is no or limited internal variation (Field 2009) within this society, ignoring the linguistic and cultural diversity of the nation.

Adopting the framework of Irvine and Gal (2000) is essential to understanding the Salish-Pend d'Oreille cultural and linguistic ideologies. The perceptions of the community, both internally and externally play a significant role in socialization practices. As language ideologies directly affect socialization, analyzing ideologies in terms of these semiotic processes can further identify the sociocultural environments' impact on Salish-Pend d'Oreille language revitalization efforts. Interpretation of the semiotic signs creates awareness of the "linguistic differentiation" (Irvine & Gal 2000) that exists within the community in actual practice (Field & Kroskrity 2009). Linguistic differentiation is defined as "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them," (Irvine & Gal 2000:35). Analyzing iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure also conveys information about the larger macro processes (historical influences and power dynamics) and the micro processes (individual and group socialization practices and attitudes) (Riley 2012). That is, semiotic associations can be seen as "...reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities," (Irvine & Gal 2000:37), as well as "complex social tools that are situationally and culturally implicative" (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012:17). It should also be noted that in many ideological formations, there is significant overlap in the three semiotic processes outlined above (Field 2009; Gal 2005; Irvine & Gal 2000). For instance, in the Senegalese linguistic mapping project, all three semiotic processes are present. Iconization occurred when languages were linked with specific populations or cultures, erasing multilingualism from these groups. Fractal recursivity resulted when the dichotomies of "white to black, complex to simple, and dominant to subordinate," (Irvine

& Gal 2000:55) were projected onto historical relationships in the region, creating further justification for control by Europeans. This overlap is seen across the various Salish Pend d'Oreille ideologies analyzed below, particularly with respect to the ideological conflicts that a single individual experiences.

5.3 Iconization of Salish-Pend d'Oreille Language Ideologies

In the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, the Salish language has become ideologically linked to (i) elders, (ii) the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture and (iii) institutional settings. The Salish language is interpreted by many community members as iconic of Salish-Pend d'Oreille elders (§5.3.1). The Salish language is also perceived as symbolic of Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture and traditional way of life (§5.3.2). The third iconization of the Salish language occurs in the association of language learning to formal educational contexts (§5.3.3). In the following sections, each iconic relationship is examined, and an analysis of the possible effects such ideological representations can have for revitalization efforts in the community is presented.

5.3.1 Iconization of Salish-Pend d'Oreille Elders

The Salish language has come to be associated with elders. The elders tend to be the last remaining fluent speakers of the Salish language in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community; consequently, individuals are prone to defer to these elder speakers to determine the language of conversation. This deference demonstrates the respect that individuals have been socialized to give to their elders (see Meek (2007, 2010) for a similar proposal in the Kaska community). Ideologically associating the Salish language with elders can be problematic for language revitalization efforts (Field 2009; Friedman

2012; Meek 2010), as children are socialized to this ideology of elder iconization and the practice of non Salish language use. Beyond basic greetings, observations of children's interactions with elders revealed that the children almost always waited for the elder to pose a question in the Salish language before using the language themselves. During informal conversations and semi-formal interviews, several individuals described how they had learned the language primarily through interactions with elder speakers; some individuals remembered simply overhearing parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles speaking to one another in the language. One interviewee describes the acquisition of Salish during his youth,

“In my home, growing up it was through my *yaya?ts* and *sile?ts* all the time and then it got cut off in the, I would say early 50s. They didn't, they quit teaching the kids cause they thought it would hurt them. So, what I picked up was from just listening to what they were saying. They weren't directly teaching us the language.” (male, 54 years old).

By waiting for the elders to engage the children in Salish language speech, children are further socialized to the ideology of iconization and practice of deference. Individuals may also hesitate to use the Salish language in the presence of elders, because, as one individual suggested, “elders can be very critical” of language learners and their pronunciation. This semiotic association between the language and elders confines Salish to a specific generation. Children may be socialized to this ideology, leading them to believe the language is not readily available to them for conversational use (Friedman 2012).

Another aspect of the iconization of elders is that of access. Learning from elders and spending time with them creates special bonds; however, not all individuals feel they have access to these fluent speakers. In fact many interviewees made note of the

difficulty with access to resources needed for learning about the language and culture. If an individual feels he/she does not have easy access to a fluent speaker, then he/she may not feel they can actively learn the language. The issue is not just with language learners having access to fluent speakers either. Elders, as with other individuals, often have difficulties finding domains in which they can use the Salish language, or conversation partners with whom they can speak in Salish. Iconically linking the Salish language with elders also assumes that to be an elder, is to be a fluent speaker. This iconization also evokes the concept of erasure, essentializing all elders and knowledgeable individuals in the language and culture. Iconization also ignores the difficulty, expressed by several elders, that previously fluent speakers of Salish have in recalling the language. English is now the vernacular of the reservation and elders often “use English with each other because they aren’t used to talking in Salish and it’s a lot easier for them to use English” (male, 35 years old).

Lastly, the ideological representation of elders places the burden on the elder to be the bearers of the language and culture. According to one interviewee (male, 37 years old), “I think if we're talking about Salish, I think it rests on the shoulders of first and foremost of fluent speakers. I feel like, they were given this gift and it's their opportunity and their responsibility to pass on that gift to another generation.” The Salish-Pend d’Oreille elders who are knowledgeable in cultural and linguistic practices do share some responsibility in passing on this information to others. Yet they alone are not responsible for language shift, nor can they alone be responsible for socializing children and other novices to the Salish language. The continued socialization of children to respect their elders is important to maintain the Salish-Pend d’Oreille cultural epistemologies.

However, language revitalization efforts need to transform the language ideology that iconizes elders.

5.3.2 Iconization of Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture

Iconization also occurs in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community when the Salish language is viewed as representative of the culture (Bunte 2009; Field 2012; Irvine & Gal 2000; Meek 2010). In the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, the Salish language is a marker of identity, despite the decline of fluent speakers. For many individuals, the Salish language and being able to speak Salish are markers of their identity. This belief is demonstrated in the following excerpt from a story told by a father, recounting their interaction on his daughter's first day of kindergarten.

“I was asking her about school and, she said something funny. I had asked her how was it going and who's your teacher. I remember she said, ‘oh my teacher's not Salish.’ I said ‘what do you mean your teacher's not Salish. How do you know that?’ And she said ‘cause, I said *ɣest sk^wek^wst* and she didn't answer me so I knew she wasn't Salish.” (male, 37 years old)

The father also had similar experiences himself, recalling, “[y]ou say things, and you're like, ‘oh, they don't know that. Guess they're not one of us’”. For many individuals, the language is not only iconic of the culture, but it also grounds them in their identity and expresses what it means to be Salish-Pend d'Oreille. The following quotes represent the prominent ideological perspectives interviewees had regarding the relationship between language and culture.

“Think about having Kool-Aid without sugar. You can have red Kool-Aid, but it just doesn't taste right. You add the sugar, your language, and it just, it makes it perfect you know. Our language, we believe that it was given to us from the creator and to help express who we are. To help explain and understand the world

we live in from that perspective and if you look at from the creator point of view, there was a reason.” (male, 35 years old)

“Lot more of our Indian people are becoming less and less aware kinda of who they are. That's why we're trying, we're fighting so hard for our language because if they know our language then they'll have to know our culture.” (male, 19 years old)

“If you know the language, it's a different world from white world...And you identify yourself as an Indian. You go up there and say, hey are you Indian? And then you talk your language and you eat your traditional ways, you dance the traditional ways, then they'll say you are an Indian. But if you don't do that then, you're kind of weak on the Indian side you know... (male, 73 years old)

“I learned this from an old man. He said if you're an Indian, you will know who you are because it's important to who you are. He said if you know your language, you'll speak your language. If you're a non-Indian, you're a white man, then you will learn that culture and you'll speak that language, but as long as you're an Indian you will not need to speak the English language because that's not who you are. And he was pretty strict on that and he said it in Indian. Like he said, ‘if you're a white man you'll speak English and you're Indian you'll speak Indian.’ (male, 83 years old)

“Absolutely it is the foundation of culture. Without language the culture is dead” (male, 41 years old)

The language can serve as a strong marker of identity and pride for many individuals. But as with the homogenizing assumption that all elders are fluent speakers, iconically linking Salish with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture can essentialize the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. Not all individuals believe that the Salish language is demonstrative of the culture, particularly in the contemporary society. The following quotes are in response to the question, “What does it mean for you to be Salish or Pend d'Oreille?”:

“To me, it's not necessarily my language that makes me a person of that ilk. It's more of a prideful thing,” (male, 75 years old)

“To me, it's not just your language. To me it's not just your language. It's much more than that.” (original repetition) (male, 19 years old)

An additional issue caused by this semiotic association between the language and culture is that iconization can create issues with identity and contribute to feelings of inferiority among language students. When a language is viewed as symbolic of the culture, there is an alienating aspect for those individuals that cannot speak their traditional language. Field (2009) describes the “linguistic insecurity and embarrassment” among Navajo youth, which has furthered their resistance to learn or continue to learn their traditional Navajo language. In the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community, notes one interviewee, “there's a shame aspect, I think, that is involved and that we have to not only learn the language but learn how to get rid of that shame aspect. You know, I'm Indian and I look Indian but I don't speak my own language,” (female, 39 years old). O’Neill (1996) noted similar anxieties about language proficiency in her own fieldwork with the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community more than 25 years ago. In the following example, she details the experience of one interviewee:

“In some of these settings, especially in the presence of really Indians, Cathy mutes her claims for an Indian identity, often by positioning herself as a ‘student’ of Flathead ways, expressing, for example, a desire to correct her shameful ignorance of the Salish language but confessing a complete inability to learn it,” (O’Neill 1996: 63).

For language revitalization programs, it can be beneficial to emphasize the relationship between the language and culture. That is, encouraging individuals to learn the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture through Salish language use is a productive means to

promote language revitalization. However, the ideology that the Salish language is iconic of the culture can oversimplify or essentialize the culture and further alienate individuals trying to define their own identity.

5.3.3 Iconization of Institutional Settings

Another type of language ideology present among members of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, is how the language has become iconic of institutional settings. Salish has become associated with educational settings such as schools, camps and language classes, in which the language use is required. Many individuals in the younger generations that have not grow up hearing the Salish language used in their homes or in the community, struggle to see the Salish language as pertinent in domains outside the schools. This perspective is demonstrated in the following observation during a fieldtrip into the mountains:

A man, speaking in Salish, was trying to elicit a description of the surroundings from a young boy. After several attempts to get the boy to speak in Salish, the boy, who had attended Nk^wusm for several years, finally replied “Why do I have to use the language? I’m not at school anymore.”

The Salish language has become iconic of schools and those individuals tied to the schools, such as teachers and administrators. This iconicity is creating a shift in language socialization practices. Language revitalization efforts of the community (discussed in Chapter 4) primarily focus on the formal learning contexts. Given the few remaining fluent Salish speakers in the community, Salish language socialization occurs primarily in the schools. However, institutionalizing the Salish language can have the adverse effect of minimizing traditional language socialization in home, the most

important place for language socialization (Meek 2010, Hinton 2001a). As Hinton (2001a) describes, educational settings can never be the sole focus of revitalization. Interview data reveals that parents who choose to send their children to Nk^wusm believe they have fulfilled their obligation to their children and culture and consequently take no further effort to learn the language themselves or use the Salish language in their homes. However, there are also Nk^wusm parents who are active participants in their children's learning of the language. Also, as no direct observations of the language socialization practices of these parents occurred, this analysis is based only on interview data.

The institutional settings is a “potential site for socializing children into ideologies that support or undermine language revitalization efforts” (Friedman 2012: 632) and are “prime sites for analyzing the construction of authority in relation to language and circulating (language) ideologies and discourses that support these constructions,” (Meek 2010:108). The educational setting can shape the way children use the Salish language in their everyday interactions. The school system also socializes children to a western education, which may or may not be congruent with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille socialization practices and beliefs. Finding ways to expand language ideologies and practices into contexts outside of these structured settings can further aid revitalization efforts, as experienced by the Maori and Hawaiian language programs (Friedman 2012, Grenoble & Whaley 2006; King 2001; No'eau Warner 2001).

Moving the language back into the homes is not easily done, particularly given the current sociocultural environment on the reservation. This point is best summarized by the following quote from an interviewee when asked about who should be responsible for teaching children the language and culture.

“Everybody, the whole community should really be involved. It starts with the parents though. It should always be in the homes...but we're, [it's] just not gonna happen right now. We're so, our people lost so much that most adults don't know this stuff. They don't know their history or language very well...The deep cultural things aren't happening in the homes. So the responsibility comes back to the community and how do we bring that back and there's a lot of different ideas you know. Our school, you know, starting our own schools is huge. Community events that are open and welcoming. But we have a lot of things, you know, to overcome...And for me, that's where the schools are an easy way that you can. You can create an environment that teaches these things, but you also have the ability to say who teaches. So you bring in the good people, the right people. Put these children around good, positive people. You know, there's not only the healing with adults and but that deep cultural language teachings so that they can bring it back to their homes. So there's a lot.” (male, 35 years old)

This analysis of iconicity broadens the process of sign relationship, from one that links linguistic features with a social group, to one that also associates language use with an activity or domain. That is, Salish has become iconic of not just the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture but has become iconic of the specific domain of education.

5.4 Salish Language Fractal Recursivity

An understanding of how the Salish language is iconic of particular social groups and contexts is necessary to establish the semiotic process of fractal recursivity within the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community. Fractal recursivity describes a process in which one type of ideological difference is applied to another level. In the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community, this semiotic process is most apparent in the traditional-modern dichotomy, projected from the Salish language representation of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture. That is, the iconic relationship of language and culture is in opposition to the English speaking, non-Native society; this opposition is then recursively reproduced in the traditional-modern contrast. By ideologically representing Salish language and Salish-

Pend d'Oreille culture as contrastive to the modern society, the ideological variation of individuals and across groups can be overlooked. Irvine and Gal (2000) emphasize the importance of considering the “ideological oppositions between activities or social roles, that is, as existing at the intraindividual level rather than defining oppositions between stable groups,” (Field 2009:42). For instance, Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals who are struggling to define their identity in the contemporary society, may be further disconcerted with the belief that Salish language is necessary for participation in Salish-Pend d'Oreille practices. During a conversation with a woman about her desire to learn the Salish language, she said “Language is really important to me.” After a brief pause, she looked at me and said, “Or is it? Or do I like the concept of Salish more than reality.”

As argued in §5.2.1 above, many individuals believe that the Salish language is important, if not vital, to their cultural identity, and therefore believe that it is important to learn the language. However, as is often common among minority groups, these individuals also feel English is the language of success. Consequently, they feel that they must know this language to succeed or fit into the modern world (Field 2009; Messing 2002). One occurrence of English/modern to Salish/traditional relationship was observed during a tour of Nk^wusm, the Salish language immersion school. As part of the tour, two young female students gave a brief presentation, partially in the Salish language, describing how happy they were to be attending the school. At Nk^wusm, the girls felt they could express themselves and be proud of being Native, which was very different from their experience at a public elementary school where they were often treated poorly for being Native. The girls also spoke of their excitement to be learning more about their language and culture at the school. One elderly Salish woman who was part of the tour,

expressed how happy she was to hear the language spoken by young people again. She also conveyed how she had been through similar situations of mistreatment while at school during her childhood. However, she expressed concern that these children were not learning the “white way” and the English language, which were both necessary for participation in the current society. The ideology that speaking English is a requisite for success in the modern society, while speaking the Salish language is not, can pose a challenge for Salish-Pend d’Oreille revitalization efforts. Those individuals and groups working to continue their traditional practices or re-contextualize and revitalize the language and culture must overcome this language ideology common in the society. When asked about the biggest issue facing children’s acquisition of the language and culture, one interviewee responded, “I guess, to put it as succinctly as I can, necessity. Well, evidently it must be very close to the reason because if there's no necessity they don't want to do it and that's applicable to just about every other aspect of community life,” (male, 75 years old). The assumption that the Salish language is not relevant in the current society further creates an environment for its decline.

Fractal recursivity also occurs in the differentiation between the generations, particularly among the youngest and oldest community members. The opposition of Salish language to English is further ideologically represented in the traditional and modern dichotomy with regard to generational differences. Elders are iconic of the Salish language, which is in contrast to the younger generations of English speaking Salish-Pend d’Oreille individuals. Interviewees spoke of the disconnect between the generations, as seen in the following quote:

“Our speakers are elders. So that their culture is still pretty, you know, before computers, before all these things. And then there's a huge gap between you know, two three generations, between who we have as kids right now that we're teaching... so I think recreating that place of where people are actually expressing ideas, describing their world, you know especially the world that, our everyday world that we're living in. I mean so, what do we think about with the kids. They go home, they watch TV, they might play baseball, they play games, especially little Nintendo games or laptops. That's their world. They need to be able to express that either in English or any other language they have. They want their kids to learn about tanning hides and setting up tepees and something that's not in their everyday life. ” (female, 36 years old)

Not only is the Salish language not seen as “cool,” it is also not seen as pertinent to the modern world. That is, children, adolescents and young adults often expressed how little importance the Salish language and, for some the Salish-Pend d’Oreille culture, plays in their everyday lives.

The generational differences are also seen in the use of technologies. One interviewee describes how technology influences the language and cultural socialization of children:

“The way television tries to assimilate everything. It's very, it influences children a lot, even us. It influences me...I think we can start using that stuff to our advantage. Like some of the elders and older people don't understand with our iPod, that our kids are on it. But I got all my storyteller⁵ on my iPod, so they can use it their advantage, you know. So, there's pros and cons about, you know, the electronics and all that television and computers and all that. I think we can use it to our advantage now but at the same time it's a distraction on how the kids use it or how their parents let them use it. (male, 27 years old)

In the socialization of their children, adults often find it difficult to balance the maintenance of traditional culture with contemporary material culture. When the

⁵ Storyteller is a computer program that aids learners in the Adult Language Learning Program.

opposition of modernity with traditional cultural and linguistic practices occurs, the socialization practices become more complicated.

5.5 Salish-Pend d'Oreille Erasure

Erasure plays a significant role in how Salish-Pend d'Oreille community members perceive children's attitudes and socialization, and how Salish language use and revitalization efforts are portrayed. Erasure ignores or simplifies particular characteristics or practices of individuals, groups or even activities to fit into preconceived notions of language practices (Irvine & Gal 2000). A common phrase heard during discussion about changes in child socialization practices was "a lack of respect from children today." Parents, grandparents, elders, teachers, and relatives all referenced how children today did not respect their elders, the environment, or even themselves. The following quotes are responses from interviewees, when asked, "How has raising children changed since you were a child?":

"Oh, the discipline. Or lack in my view, a lack of discipline and respect. The younger kids have, to me just things that we never would have done growing up." (female, 38 years old)

"Children at a young age are given too much freedom. They are not responsible to anything, their own bodies, education. There is no respect, for their parents, teachers or society as a whole, and there is no self-respect." (female, 65 years old)

"I'd like to see the generation be connected to their culture, yet have a really good view of the world, as a whole. I'd like to see the young generation be more environmentally conscious and self-sufficient. I'd really like to see them be more self-sufficient. Less co-dependent. Way too much co-dependencies. (male, 52 years old)

"My greatest thing is respect, you know, for elders, and respect for each other, you know. And because long time ago we respect everybody. Raising kids,

they're the bosses. The thing is when I was small, the parents were the bosses, the elders were the bosses, then it went to the parents were the bosses, then when you're the one that's on the bottom totem pole. Today, the kids are the bosses, the parents are the next and the elders on the last totem pole.” (male, 73 years old)

“The other things that seems so bad, and not so much in my family but in other families, that they talk back to their parents like their peers and I have no idea where that comes from but sadly, the parents allow it...There is no self-discipline. Maybe, I don't know, just maybe, the younger generation now, has no concept of self-discipline. I don't know if they weren't told or if they just didn't listen.” (male, 75 years old).

The ideology of blame, in which children are primarily responsible for the absence of respect for others and their surroundings, ignores parental socialization (see Kulick 1992). That is, the childrearing practices of the adults were overlooked to fulfill this ideology in which children are seen as the root cause of the lack of respect. Although children remain active agents in their own educational process, the socialization practices of the educators cannot be overlooked. Language socialization research has demonstrated that children serve as active agents in the socializing process, as socialization is a product of interaction (Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Makihara 2007; Meek 2007; Schieffelin 1990). Agency afforded to children is key, as youth are influenced by not only their caregivers, but also other children, teachers, and community members; this in turn leads the children to socialize their caregivers, establishing a more cyclical process. Caregivers, however, significantly affect the means and interactions by which children learn about their sociocultural worldview perspectives.

Many factors influence how today's children are socialized. Historical influences, including boarding schools, substance abuse, and changes to the familial structure have considerably impacted the current socialization practices. The majority of children who

were sent to boarding schools (discussed in Chapter 2) were not given the opportunity to be raised in a traditional Salish home environment and therefore were not able to provide their own children with this foundation of Salish-Pend d'Oreille epistemologies and practices. The inception of drug and alcohol abuse added additional strain to the cultural and childrearing changes (O'Neil 1996; Raymond 1983), which is represented in the following interviewee quote:

“Cause at that time, yeah, it's right when my grandparents, my *sile?ts* and *yaya?ts* you know. That's when it really started. Alcoholism. Cause it's amazing that there were so many, mostly the women that didn't touch it, the men. And it was a real tragic throughout the reservation and, I mean I lost almost every one of my uncles.” (male, 54 years old)

The process of acculturation continued for generations, leading to the current society's struggles with enculturating children to the cultural and linguistic beliefs. Interviewees often voiced their concerns for the current socialization practices, particularly with the changes to the overall role of the extended family and community (discussed in §2.3.3 above), as in the following quotes:

“But we're losing so much of the culture and language but on top of that, it's kinda like, because of drugs and alcohol that you can't even begin to teach somebody that until you get them clean and sober. That's kinda what we're dealing with now...What are we gonna do? Because we started by just helping kids and we realized, and it's almost like what I was saying earlier about teaching them about culture and language. If we can't, if they're not clean and sober. And we can't get those kids there because they're single parents. Why are they single parents, because you've got deadbeat dads doing drugs. Whatever, and it's like wow there's so much.” (female, 53 years old).

“And that sense of, anybody could disciplined us when we were out, you know, playing basketball, the courts or at school, or you know, going to powwow. Somebody saw us misbehaving, yelled at us and we were kinda snapped to, and we were like ‘ah man, ok I'll listen, but please don't tell mom and dad.’ Where

now it seems a shift of like, don't you dare say anything to my kid, you know, and that, that kind of the village raising the child mentality, of, of just being to able to say something to a child when they're there and I've always said to other parents, 'you see my child doing something they're not supposed to, say something to them, please.' Like, we're all in this together." (female, 38 yearsold)

"I'm lucky in that I have a family, and even a core group of friends that they pretty much know if my kids, they'll watch them. You know, and they know if they're doing something they shouldn't be, they'll correct them. It doesn't happen everywhere. I can't say I can go anywhere and someone's watching my kids. They may be watching them but they just turn their head when they do something they shouldn't, but I like that idea of us truly helping raise each others kids." (female, 39 years old)

An extension of these socialization practices can be seen in the exclusive nature of many cultural and familial practices observed throughout the community. Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals emphasize the need for a "healthy community", including healthy individuals and families. However, these same individuals often ignore their own practices of exclusion. Traditionally, the socialization of children was the responsibility of everyone, from the parents, to the extended family, and to the whole community. In the contemporary society, community involvement in childrearing is not common. Interviewees were asked what their biggest concerns were for the community and they responded as follows:

"I guess, maybe unification, being stronger as a group, and as a community. Becoming healthier, let's see. Parenting is like so important to me. So I love programs like the fatherhood program that was started on the reservation here. I think those are a huge need. Let me think. Just learning importance and how to raise yourself and your children." (male, 52 years old)

"My biggest concern for our community is just our health and wellbeing right, our immediate one, safety, health and well, wellbeing. I mean your physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual health. The environment, the health of the environment, that's I, it's hard to separate one from another. We are dependent on

the earth and there's only one and the health of that directly affects our health. We have contaminated water, we're gonna have contaminated bodies.” (female, 38 years old)

“Well, for the whole, is, to be together. Togetherness you know, just like I told you earlier that we are apart, you know. We don't do the things we used to do. Long time ago we used to hunt together, we used to fish together. We used to go to churches together. We used, to help each other. We used to be nice to each other. Today we're not. We have to be together. We have to work together...and praying together, laughing together, carrying on together.” (male, 73 years old)

“The community is very fractured and very impatient. Who can teach the language and culture, and how it is taught is very territorial. Unifying all the competing ideas and priorities in a unified direction so we can progress is key.” (male, 41 years old)

“The biggest challenge is...yeah it is the adults really, you know. Kids of today are products of dysfunction in the community. There's all kinds of dysfunction, it's not just, substance abuse, but it's there's like an anti-social component in there where people just have just the weirdest craziest behavior, I don't, can't explain it, meaning like some people say, yeah I'm all for language but I ain't working with you mother fucker and I'm like wow, that's crazy, you know. Another example is I never thought I'd be so controversial by saying, ‘hey, how do we all work together. How can I assist you,’ and that has ruffled a lot of feathers.” (male, 37 years old)

There tends to be a disconnect between the ideology of creating a positive, inclusive environment and actual practice. In §5.2.1 above, I discussed the issues that individuals raised about access to elders. Individuals often struggle with not only gaining access to elders with cultural and linguistic knowledge, but also to events and other cultural practices. Throughout my research, I observed that many events or activities were either spread through invitation or word of mouth. Consequently, possible interested attendees were not present at the event(s). The same individuals and families

were observed at the various cultural events and activities held throughout the year. One woman describes her own observations of this phenomena,

“There's ways to be involved in the community but you'll notice the same people, the same families in low numbers coming to jump dance or to dig camas or. The bitterroot dig is pretty populated but again it's the same people...So I guess it would be access to culture as well. And access to people who are willing to share it.” (female, 39 years old)

Individuals with the cultural capital (Bourdieu 1991) may assume community members do not want to learn, but novices may simply be apprehensive to approach traditional contexts to which they were never socialized.

5.6 Conclusion

Language ideologies are diverse and can be implicit for many individuals, yet the beliefs about the Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture impact the socialization of children. Ideologies can also affect revitalization efforts by creating a disjuncture between the semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure, and actual practice (Meek 2010). Through the documentation and analysis of language ideologies, a more extensive insight into the socializing practices of daily interactions is established. Language ideologies play a large role in the development of children's cultural identity and knowledge. According to Riley (2012), ideologies are intrinsically implicated in all language socialization processes and vice versa. That is, ideologies affect the way caregivers socialize children, and children are socialized into specific ideologies. The formation of children's knowledge, identity, and language use are all influenced by the ideologies of those around them. By understanding how language

ideologies are formed and the contexts in which they occur, the effect of the socializers' influences on children and revitalization efforts in general is determined.

In this chapter I have analyzed the language ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. By examining current Salish language ideologies, we can establish the general attitudes about the Salish language, power and social inequalities, cultural identities, and the cultural beliefs and practices of the community. The connections between language ideologies and practice "play a significant role in determining whether or not a case of language obsolescence will ultimately end in language death. Ideology of language is a crucial consideration to the decline," (Garrett 2006:65). Using Irvine and Gal's (2000) framework, I demonstrated the ways that the semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure contribute to the continued shift away from Salish language use. These processes, often in conjunction with one another, can undermine revitalization goals and significantly affect how children and novices are socialized to the traditional language and culture. The goals of my analysis of community language ideologies is not to postulate that the community is comprised of homogenous perspectives regarding the Salish language and Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. Rather, the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community has diverse beliefs, feelings and emotions that influence socialization practices and communicative events. Thus, it is important to note the ideologies described above were found to be the dominant, expressed beliefs and practices of community members in this study. The identification of these dominant ideologies has the potential to aid the community revitalization efforts, as "revitalization almost always requires changing community attitudes about a language," (Grenoble & Whaley 2006:13). Also, if a "primary goal of revitalization is to

revalue a subordinate language and grant it prestige through promotion of ideologies,” (Friedman 2012:633) then identifying and encouraging positive aspects of the current ideologies or establishing new beliefs within the community value system can prove beneficial to Salish language revitalization efforts.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This dissertation analyzed the current language and cultural practices and ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, focusing on how children become socioculturally knowledgeable and active members of their community through language. This cultural group has become predominately monolingual in the non-traditional language, English; yet as my research demonstrates, the traditional language, Salish, continues to convey important epistemological perspectives valued in traditional society. Salish-Pend d'Oreille children are also socialized to the larger sociocultural norms of the Flathead Indian Reservation through Salish language use. Prior to this research, few anthropological studies examined the contemporary linguistic and cultural practices, ideologies and revitalization efforts among Native American tribes in the Northwestern United States and Canada. Utilizing a language socialization framework to understand language and cultural change among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, I analyzed the linguistic and cultural practices and ideologies of the community. These practices reveal that children are socialized to the larger sociocultural norms of English language use outside the formalized learning settings. Additionally, this study demonstrates that when Salish is used outside the school setting, the language indexes several important features about the context and speakers. These salient markers help children and others determine the appropriate sociocultural use of the Salish language. The language also points to the sociocultural identity and cultural capital of the individual. Although Salish language use is limited to specific contexts, the language continues to be used to pass on important

beliefs of this cultural group. Utilizing Irvine & Gal's (2000) language ideologies framework, I proposed that several factors that contribute to the continued shift of Salish to English, most significantly the notion that communal ideologies are rarely homogenous and are frequently at odds with revitalization efforts. In this chapter I summarize the central findings of this dissertation and the theoretical implications of those findings (§6.2-6.4). I also examine some of the broader implications of this study outside of the field of linguistic anthropology (§6.3). Finally, this chapter ends with a brief discussion of some issues for further research (§6.4).

6.2 Salish Language and Indexicality

Salish language use is limited to specific interactions and contexts, yet the language continues to perpetuate important epistemological perspectives valued in the traditional society, and conveys broader sociocultural meaning. By analyzing instances of Salish language use and non-use, I defined some of the social factors that influence language use, as well as how children are socialized to use the language in culturally significant ways. When Salish is used, it not only marks the power dynamics within the sociolinguistic landscape, it also indexes some key components of the traditional practices and values of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community that continue in the current society.

I propose that the Salish language indexes (i) traditional contexts, (ii) epistemological views, (iii) affect and (iv) power dynamics of the sociocultural landscape. Most commonly, Salish language use indicates that an event is a traditional cultural practice. This provides language and cultural learners with a clear index to the

proper behaviors and norms of the event. My research also defines the Salish language indexes of epistemological perspectives and affect that define important Salish-Pend d'Oreille values, as well as kinship and social relationships of the communicative participants. The cultural worldview traditionally embodies a relationship of respect and connectedness with the environment. This belief system continues to be passed onto children through the Salish language. Regardless of the individual's or child's language proficiency, they use the Salish language to refer to the natural world, including plants, animals, and the landscape.

Kinship and social connections and values are indirectly indexed through affect with Salish language use. Traditionally, the family played a vital role in the social structure of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille and remnants can still be seen in the culture today. Children and adults with little or no knowledge of the Salish language refer to their relatives by the appropriate Salish terminology and speak with affect in their voices, further indexing their close relationship with their family.

Finally, Salish language use or non-use index the power relations of the sociocultural environment, determined by the domain or identity of the speaker. Despite the sovereignty held by the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, in many social situations, the power is controlled by the non-Native population which allows them to dictate the language in the interaction. The use of English by Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals in positions of power index the ideological (non-)valuing of the language, and can further contribute to the shift away from Salish. The indexing of social relations and status is also accomplished with Salish language use in public and private domains. The public domain and private domains also index the authority and gender roles of

speakers/hearers. In addition to the domain, Salish language use indexes speaker characteristics, and more specifically, their cultural identity and cultural capital.

Indexicality demonstrates to Salish language learners the salient characteristics of sociocultural contexts and of the relationships of communicative participants. This information is crucial to “becoming a speaker of culture” (Ochs 2002). Learners of the language and culture are socialized to draw upon indexical features of the language in order to use the Salish language competently in the appropriate contexts. As the language of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community continues to recede into more limited domains, linguistic features are no longer indexical of the sociocultural context; instead, I argue that the Salish language itself indexes the features described above. Through this approach, we can define the specific cultural values that novice learners are socialized to, as well as how language use signals characteristics about the speaker and context. Investigating indexicality in this manner may become more common, given the continued widespread shift of indigenous languages to dominant languages around the world. Communities that are no longer fluent or even semi-fluent in their traditional languages, may continue to index important dimensions of the communicative interaction through their traditional language. Despite the declining numbers of Salish speakers, the language continues to convey important cultural perspectives through its use by speakers. Individuals, including children, adolescents, and adults, are socialized to these indexes through Salish language use.

6.3 Salish Language Revitalization and Socialization

Revitalization efforts of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille have created the primary contexts in which socialization children and other novice learners to the Salish language and culture takes place. As postulated by Meek (2012), assessing a community's efforts in terms of successes or failures is not beneficial. Instead, the community should be analyzed in terms of how socialization practices are a reflection of the larger community. My research demonstrated that the community's revitalization efforts indirectly socialize children and other language learners to use language only in formal, institutionalized settings. The community ideologically puts the responsibility of Salish language socialization primarily on the school system, and as such, there remains a disconnect between socialization to the Salish language in the home and in the education settings. Many community members expressed awareness of the importance of moving language socialization back into the home, yet establishing Salish language learning in the home is challenging. Within education settings, children are frequently socialized to either devalue the language, as in the public schools, or are inadvertently socialized to use the language only during formal language lessons. However, these contexts allow for the teaching of cultural practices and values that may otherwise not be available to the students. These language classes provide learners with not only language instruction, but also cultural exposure through the Salish language, which is a key socializing environment for many individuals.

An important implication of this study of Salish language revitalization and socialization is its contribution to the methodological approach to understanding language revitalization efforts. During the time that I conducted fieldwork, language revitalization

efforts in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community underwent many changes, with both positive and negative impacts. There have been observed changes in positions of power that directly influence language valuing or devaluing. For instance, newly elected Tribal council members have demonstrated their dedication to the Salish language through their own efforts to learn the language. There have also been observed changes to the ideologies and practices of Native and non-Native community members on the Flathead Indian Reservation and within the state of Montana. Funding and staffing difficulties can also be problematic for continued revitalization efforts, often causing the termination of programs. Towards the end of my dissertation fieldwork I also noticed an increase in Salish language use throughout the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. That is, the Salish language was used more frequently, although still limited to the same contexts, and often by same individuals. These changes are significant for several reasons. First, this demonstrates the importance of conducting longitudinal ethnographic research (Garrett 2007; Kulick & Schieffelin 2006; Schieffelin & Ochs 1996), continuing to maintain relationships with individuals in specific field site. As cultural and linguistic situations are continually changing and evolving, even in a short amount of time, it is critical to conduct research over extended periods of time in order to note these differences and to gain a deeper understanding of the issues that may affect a given environment. If I had left the research site after only one year of fieldwork, I would not have observed the ongoing changes that have occurred with children's language socialization or the increase in the community's language revitalization efforts and Salish language use. The results of this study would have been very different if I had spent only a short time with the community. I would not have been able to observe multiple seasonal cultural events and

I would not have been privy to the many of the private interactions after the first year. Additionally, language revitalization is a long, generational process, and consequently, efforts and programs need to be given some degree of freedom to allow for socialization to occur.

6.4 Salish Language Ideologies

Salish language ideologies play a significant role in language socialization practices and continued use of the Salish language in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. These ideologies also significantly impact language revitalization efforts. Using Irvine and Gal's (2000) semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure, I demonstrated the ways that language embodies information about the larger macro processes, such as historical influences and power dynamics, and the micro processes of individual and group socialization practices and attitudes (Riley 2012). I propose that along with socialization practices, these semiotic processes, frequently overlapping one another, often undermine current revitalization goals and hinder the linguistic and cultural socialization of their disappearing language.

I demonstrated that iconicity ideologically links Salish language to elders, Salish-Pend d'Oreille identity, and institutional settings. The Salish language has become iconic of the elders. Individuals are prone to defer to these speakers to determine the language of conversation and children are then socialized to this ideology, leading them to believe that the language is not readily available to them for conversational use. I further demonstrated that iconic association of elders with Salish also results in (i) the assumption that all elders have linguistic capital; (ii) barriers of access to those with the

knowledge; and (iii) placing the burden of passing on linguistic and cultural knowledge on the elders. Salish language has also become iconic of Salish-Pend d'Oreille cultural identity. This ideology can encourage pride and the need for language revitalization efforts, but it can also alienate those individuals who do not have the cultural capital, or those who are searching for their Salish-Pend d'Oreille, and even more broadly Native, identity in the current society. I also showed that Salish language use is iconic of the institutional setting; Salish has come to be associated with only the domain of education.

Fractal Recursivity in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community is most apparent in the traditional-modern dichotomy. I demonstrated that Salish language, iconic of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille identity and traditional culture, is also considered by some community members to be outdated or irrelevant in the modern society. This ideology complicates issues of identity further, as the Salish language is linked with being Native; yet the majority of Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals cannot speak the language.

The third semiotic process, erasure, is evident throughout the Salish language ideological processes, yet the most salient occurrence involves the practice of overlooking parental socialization practices to fulfill the ideology of respect. Children are often blamed for their lack of respect for themselves, others and the environment but many individuals are not socialized to these beliefs and values about respect. Another instance of erasure concerns the ideology of creating a healthy community, while simultaneously ignoring the exclusive nature of many traditional events and practices. This study revealed that the same families participate in cultural events, which can further alienate other interested individuals, creating a divide between those with cultural capital and those without it. My analysis of Salish language ideologies is not meant to suggest

that the community is comprised of homogenous perspectives. The Salish language ideologies described were found to be the dominant, expressed beliefs and practices of community members in this study.

Analyzing language ideologies of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille using Irvine and Gal (2000)'s framework of semiotic processes, I have suggested that the practices and beliefs of the community often undermine revitalization goals. My research provides further evidence for the necessity of utilizing this framework to understand larger societal ideologies that influence everyday practices. My interpretation of iconicity broadens the process of sign relationship, from one that links linguistic features with a social group, to also include, as with indexicality, the entire language linked to activities and individuals. The ideology that Salish language use is indicative of the learning environment is further demonstrated in the language socialization practices outside the home. Expanding iconicity to include activities and contexts is necessary to account for why language is used in specific contexts and not others, particularly in shifting languages.

6.5 Broader Implications

This dissertation also has the potential to contribute to community efforts through engaged anthropology. That is, Salish language revitalization efforts may be aided through the continued fostering of relationships and the dissemination of my results with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. Additionally, these broader implications can encourage the practice of community engagement.

Language and cultural revitalization efforts are increasingly important as indigenous communities work to try to reclaim their cultural footholds in the increasingly

dominant society. Understanding these efforts is important to the fields of linguistics and anthropology as researchers try examine language revitalization from a theoretical and cross-linguistic/cross-cultural perspective and find meaningful ways to contribute to community efforts. An issue that commonly arises from both perspectives, however, is the absence of a theoretical framework to guide the numerous methodological approaches to reversing language shift (Penfield 2013). This dissertation demonstrates the complexities that revitalization programs face and how critical it is to define the larger sociocultural environment, including community practices and ideologies. Utilizing a language socialization framework, I analyzed these diverse characteristics of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community. These perspectives are important for programs trying to revalue traditional language and culture. Documenting these aspects across multiple sociolinguistic contexts will help establish a greater theoretical approach to understanding language revitalization and further develop methodological approaches that will be more culturally relevant and enduring. Establishing a theoretical and methodological approach can be beneficial to both academic and non-academic communities, as they both endeavor to understand and achieve lasting linguistic revitalization.

With numerous cultural groups around the world facing issues of language loss and cultural syncretism, it is important for anthropologists to understand how these individuals and cultures are dealing with these issues. As cultures are constantly changing to adapt to new circumstances that are necessary for the continuation of their worldview, so too do the ways that caregivers socialize their children and the ways that these children dynamically interact in this process. Through analysis of language socialization practices and ideologies, this study has demonstrated that the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community

continues to use the Salish language to convey important cultural ideologies and sociocultural practices, despite the considerable shift to English on the Flathead Indian Reservation. This research further reiterates the relevance of examining cultural and linguistic change through a language socialization framework, highlighting both the practices and ideologies of the community through ethnographic fieldwork. Focusing on language reveals both implicit and explicit practices of socialization and ideologies, and highlights the various social structures and power dynamics within a particular community (Kulick & Schieffelin 2006). The Salish-Pend d'Oreille cultural context provides new insight into the multiple dilemmas that affect children's socialization to traditional language and cultural practices. This cultural context also reiterates the importance of examining not only language socialization but also the language ideologies that influence everyday interactions of community members.

The results of this study have the potential to contribute to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community revitalization efforts in several ways. Current indexes of Salish language use could be expanded, along with possibly altering the socialization practices and ideologies that reiterate the use of English in traditional and family socialization practices. Revitalizing a language is an inherently complicated and lengthy process, as it involves navigating diverse sociocultural relationships, practices and beliefs about language use. These aspects are not confined to specific contexts or interactions, but shift according to the practice or individuals involved. By identifying the current uses and indexes of the Salish language, this research provides insight into the salient features that individuals draw upon in a given interaction. Expanding these salient features of the language to other domains or markers has the potential to create new socialization

contexts. For instance, this study reveals that Salish language use has become iconic of elders and institutional settings. Creating new environments in which the Salish language is ideologically and practically relevant for children and adults could expand these iconic associations of the language. The more Salish is viewed as important in the daily lives of individuals, the more likely the language will be spoken in a variety of contexts, particularly within the home setting. The home setting is a crucial environment for language revitalization to expand beyond the current iconic associations (Hinton 2013). Providing contexts in which the Salish language is practically relevant, such as providing economic capital is also critical, to the expansion of these iconic associations. The results of this study also reveal the cultural features that children are socialized to in formal and informal language learning contexts. Individuals involved in language revitalization planning could incorporate and expand on the practices seen as beneficial and limit those that contribute to the further shift away from Salish language use.

6.6 Future Research

This study raises several questions for further research including the relationship between gender, language and power and a cross-cultural comparison of language socialization practices and ideologies in other communities. I proposed that public domain and private domains determine the authority and gender roles of individuals, which are indexed through Salish language use. While I was able to draw preliminary conclusions regarding the roles that gender plays in the continued use of the Salish language, additional research is necessary. As stated by Ochs (1992), “the relations between language and gender is not a simple straightforward mapping of linguistic form

to social meaning of gender. Rather the relation of language to gender is constituted and mediated by the relation of language to stances, social acts, social activities, and other social constructs,” (337). To gain a deeper understanding of the shifting and dynamic influences on gendered language use, future research could investigate the following questions in the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community:

- 1) How does gender affect Salish language socialization and use?
- 2) How do the contexts, whether private or public, affect the use of language by males and females?
- 3) Does gender influence the construction of ideologies? If so, how might these ideologies affect language use and revitalization efforts?
- 4) What do gender roles and ideologies index about sociocultural norms of the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community?
- 5) How are gender attitudes and ideologies changing across generations?

Examining these issues across the Salish-Pend d’Oreille community could expand upon previous literature and the findings of this dissertation to further define the ways that gender can influence language use, particularly in societies undergoing language shift; as well, further research can explain the ways that gender ideologies are affecting language revitalization (Ahlers 2012; Cavanaugh 2006, 2012; Gal 1979; Kulick 1992; Leonard 2012; Ochs 1992; Smith-Hefner 2009). For instance, Ahlers (2012) examines the gendered use of language in the context of endangered Native California languages, analyzing how ideologies from traditional and the dominant society influence the socialization of young women into specific gendered roles. Ahlers demonstrates that in these speech communities, women are socialized into the use of “silence as one of the verbal means by which gendered identity is done in Native Californian communities.”

(312). Further research would also contribute to the perspective of gender and power dynamics within a Native American community, as gender practices and ideologies may have a substantial impact on the effectiveness of the community's current revitalization efforts. That is, investigating the relationship between motivating ideologies or socialization practices of language use and gender roles may influence the perpetuation of the Salish language.

In addition to gender, power and language use, the results of this study raises several important issues, including intertribal communication, technology in language revitalization, and joke telling as a code-specific genre. These issues all focus on the role that language plays in identity formation and the socialization of cultural norms for indigenous groups of the Northwestern United States. More specifically, a cross-cultural comparison of language socialization practices across the Salish language family could provide further awareness of the cultural similarities and differences of the region. Further research on these topics can give insight into the specific ways that language as a whole, the traditional language or English, indexes group and individual identity and relationships. For instance, in analyzing other Salish communities, would we find similar indexical categories or would traditional language use mark additional characteristics of the context and speakers? Would the historical or current sociocultural contexts and socioeconomic status affect how language socialization occurs in other Salish language families? A cross-cultural analysis will also contribute to the development of a language revitalization theoretical and methodological perspective. As this dissertation demonstrates, further research, that takes into account the sociocultural environment,

including practices and ideologies, has the potential to help determine the most appropriate methodologies for revitalization programs in a specific cultural group.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Background Information

If you choose, your identity will remain anonymous. These interview questions are designed to help me gather information about the different beliefs and practices of Salish-Pend d'Oreille community members. More specifically, questions are related to your language and cultural practices, to better understand how culture is relayed to the younger generations. The questions in this section will provide me with background information about you, so as to better understand and situate your other responses.

1. What is your tribal affiliation?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
4. Where do you live now?
5. Do you have any children?
6. How often was Indian language used by yourself or others when you were a child?
7. How would you describe your fluency in the Indian language? Such as:
 - a) You feel comfortable conversing in the language.
 - b) You can understand others but have a hard time expressing yourself in the language.
 - c) Your language proficiency is limited (you can understand a few phrases)
 - d) You cannot speak or understand the language
8. Do you currently speak to others in the Indian language? If so, in what capacity?
9. Could you describe the extent of your participation in traditional cultural practices?
 - a) Could you give some examples of what these include or would involve?
10. Were you raised to understand traditional Indian cultural knowledge?
11. Do you teach your cultural understandings to others in your community?

Socialization / Child Rearing

The questions in this section are related to practices of child rearing. They involve how you may currently be involved in raising children or how you recall aspects of your childhood. Your responses will help me to understand general Indian practices related to childhood development.

1. As children are learning and growing, what do you feel is important for them to know about Indian culture?
2. Who is primarily responsible for teaching this information to children?
3. How do children learn this information?
4. At what age do you feel the learning process should or can begin?
5. What practices contribute to learning to be Indian?
6. How has raising children changed since you were a child?
7. Who was responsible for teaching you the traditional beliefs of your culture when you were growing up?

Language Socialization

These questions are related to your thoughts on language learning and practices. I hope to learn more about how you and/or your child learns to speak in a particular language. I also hope to determine the role culture has in this language learning process.

1. How is language learned?
2. Who is responsible for ensuring this language learning process is fulfilled?
3. What are some common situations for language learning?
4. Please describe an ideal learning environment for children.
5. Is Indian language used in your home?
 - a) (If so) To what extent and under what circumstances?
 - b) (If not) What are some reasons why it is not used?
6. What are some contexts in which Indian language is frequently spoken?
7. Can you think of any instances where both Indian and English are used in the same setting or even within the same sentence?
 - a) Could you describe some Indian words or phrases that are used more frequently than others?
 - b) Why do you believe these are used more often than others? (what does it mean when these phrases are used)

Ideologies

The goal of these particular questions is to find out more about your thoughts and feelings on language and culture, and what your concerns are about the future of the community. I am looking for your own opinion and not how you feel you should answer these questions.

1. What does it mean to be Indian?
2. What should the priorities of the tribal council and culture committee be?
 - a) How should resources best be allocated?
3. In general, what are your main concerns for the community?
4. What do you hope to see from the younger generations?
5. Who do you believe should be responsible for cultural revitalization?
6. Who do you believe should be responsible for language revitalization?
7. What do you feel is the biggest challenge facing the language and cultural development of children today?
 - a) What do you feel it would take to change this?
8. How important is Indian language to Indian culture?
9. Are there any differences between using English or Indian when teaching and learning about Indian culture?
 - a) (If so) Could you give some examples or contexts when there is a difference?

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