DITIDAHT ELDERS' STRATEGIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF IMMERSION PROGRAMS IN A FIRST NATION COMMUNITY

by

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explores the possibilities for immersion in a First Nation small community whose language survival hinges on the action by the 5% fluent speakers. Curriculum planning is needed at a time when First Nations do not have the resources or experience in teaching their language as a second language and very limited experience with curriculum development and school administration. The author is familiar with the deep emotional desire for effective language programs but the communities cannot find an effective means for truly successful results.

The occasional Native teacher searches for methods by learning linguistic strategies or modeling literate classroom lessons. Community leaders face surmounting obstacles while elders pass away with each crucial decade.

These obstacles and constraints are not only due to social ills but also to the attempt at developing curriculum with models which do not originate with the community, the culture, or the language itself. The thesis therefore attempts to find avenues for blending learning strategies of an oral culture and recognizing and validating the culture which embraces the cultural background to the language.

The avenues for language revitalization involve ethnographic research which is seen as practical to the community if these are steps toward cultural development. The social issues level is considered as Native language speakers are often adversely effected due to schooling in residential schools.
The thesis then concludes the specific needs for the Ditidaht context as concerns community process, as traditional protocol, and as the nature of an effective curriculum (received in generalized concepts from the community interviews).

Other First Nation Community strategies are reviewed from many nations throughout Canada and the United States. The Canadian French immersion experience provides a preview into immersion evolution. The research is found necessary for any First Nation community in search of the crucial need for effective second-language curriculum focus.
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

i. My connection to the study.

It is the purpose of this thesis to survey elders' views on the feasibility of implementing a First Nations' language revitalization program. I have interviewed the elders about language immersion for young children. The majority of elders live on the Malachan (balaacdt) reservation (#11) of the Ditidaht Nation. Malachan is a small community on the southwestern coast of Vancouver Island. This community speaks Ditidaht, a dialect of the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) language.

I selected this topic because I am a First Nation person of Ditidaht descent. I speak the Ditidaht dialect with some limitation in generating speech due to attendance at a residential school where Ditidaht language was not permitted. I am both an educator and a linguist who has spent many years participating in attempts to introduce language programs. Due to the absence of full-time employment in language programs, I have taught regular classes from K-6 on reservations and in one public school. I have participated in language programs in Canada and the United States as a manager and as a co-ordinator for program development. These programs generally lasted for only two years, which did not permit any substantial progress in instruction. As an alternative to teaching native as a second language (NSL), I taught regular primary instruction. Some introductory language lessons were offered in one public school and two reservation pre-schools.
ii. Purpose of the study.

A survey of Elders' views on language is needed in order to give this segment of the community a voice. Elders have knowledge based on experience which all too often has been excluded from the infrastructure and content of formal education. These elders are the last Ditidaht mother tongue speakers and this may be the last generation that will be able to offer experiential insights into the Ditidaht language. If second language acquisition is based on the same principles as first language acquisition, as stated in the literature, then their experiences as mother tongue learners should give some guidance as to the necessary conditions for immersion programs. The literature also points out that there is more involved in an immersion program than professional curriculum development. The programs cannot simply provide a general "how to" mandate they must also consider the specific effects of social and cultural breakdown. Several FN (First Nation) models have shown how a community process was involved in introducing language programs. The value and functional aspect of the culture has been identified in the literature (Cummins, 1986; Landry & Allard, 1988) as a necessary component for additive bilingualism. However, culture has become functionally weak for most Ditidaht, therefore some processes are necessary to ensure cultural continuity. FN communities need to know how their elders and the youth feel about language loss and from there, justify strategies for revitalizing their languages.

The area of (FN) cultural education does not merely involve re-evaluation of traditional curricula, as is found in literate cultures. The effort often involves
a process of self-analysis regarding the workings of the language as an oral
culture emerges into a new age. The Ditidaht have experienced a dwindling
population who still recall the authentic philosophies and histories. On most
reservations the tribal councils are so over-worked with other issues-at-hand that
they have little time for language programmes. Valuable information continues
to passe away with the Elders.

The topic of this thesis is also important because it focuses on a group
which, like the language, is disappearing. This is extremely important oral
history. Elders have experienced a community life as children and as young
adults when native language was primary and English was secondary. This
group alone can describe the sense of loss and change when the status of these
two languages was reversed. This study can contribute to an understanding of
the role which oral tradition plays in preserving the Ditidaht language.

The process suggested by the Elders will assist in determining the
procedures required in implementation methods needed for a new program,
such as language immersion. The thesis also takes into consideration the
literature regarding immersion experiences in other cultures and considers how
the cultural aspects of the Ditidaht experience might best be adapted in devising
a culturally appropriate strategy for immersion programs.

I feel this project is unique due to my particular skills. I am the only
native linguist in the Ditidaht area with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Linguistics
(University of Victoria, 1978). I have extensive experience with language
research and analysis, which provides a unique perspective on language
structure. I also have an academic background as well as teaching experience with First Nation students. I have researched, translated, and transcribed oral histories in the Ditidaht language. I have documented the oral histories of several communities over the last twenty years. The taped sessions have been done for language and historical reasons with very limited personal and linguistic analysis. My work with communities also involved archival research. Due to my experience within the community I feel I am familiar with the persons who can offer their skills in language teaching and language retention.

iii. Significance and justification for the study.

I conducted the study because I am a First Nation Linguist who believes that the strategies employed for FN second language acquisition in the schools are not resulting in conversational fluency outside of the classroom. The evaluative measure suggested repeatedly by elders as an outcome was the visible level of language fluency (Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council Language Committee meeting, D. Robinson, 1993). There is no evidence that direct instructional language lessons are effective in the Nuu-chah-nulth area. One problem is the elicitation of translations for a generic curriculum (Touchie, 1991) revealed that English concepts are not always appropriate or compatible when translated to Nuu-cha-nulth. Isolated phrases often used in structured lessons result in very clumsy translations into the Nuu-chah-nulth dialects. The request for translations of ready-made lesson plans in English can be a challenge and may be seen as a disrespectful demand for Elders. Narratives and histories provide
more natural texts, as opposed to phrases elicited out of context (Carlson, Touchie, 1977).

A second purpose of my study is to determine if immersion is a practical approach to effective language retention, and a third is to find the community conditions necessary for achieving this goal. The thesis outlines some of the components and conditions which are necessary for language retention as suggested by the Elders and demonstrated by other immersion programs. The significance of this work is to show that maintaining one’s language is closely linked to maintaining the world-view of a people. Embedded in my language is a world-view full of wisdom, humour, and spirituality. The language becomes the vehicle for the conveyance of love and understanding in the context of one’s own culture.

The study will also provide an avenue for consciousness-raising for the Ditidaht people as a possible starting point for a language program. Many FN desire language programs but have difficulties in finding any avenue for effective implementation. The reasons for this "stuckness" may be community cultural constraints, or simply the will for language action by small successes (Pirsig, 1974). Mezrow (1991), Friere (1970), and Brookfield (1986) have also been influential in their explanations of transformative learning, critical thinking, and consciousness raising. These studies are valuable for learning and thinking alternatives but they lack a cultural identity building component. The Ditidaht can best develop their own language curriculum. I have discovered this only after many years of attempting to use curriculum models which are based on the
concepts of non-indigenous languages. As noted by Ross (1992), one culture can best translate one's own culture. I believe that the Elders' views/suggestions for immersion and community programs are extremely important. Despite these unique language qualities the Elders are still frequently ignored or their intentions are misinterpreted by natives and non-natives. The marginalization of elders; and the misinterpretation of their suggestions is effected by a concentration on literacy materials. Many assumptions are also made due to the infrequency of studies in language usage and change. For this reason my focus is primarily on this group of Elders. A micro-ethnographic approach is justified for the Ditidaht as their culture has been interrupted or ignored by school systems and the emphasis in the literature and research on Nu-chah-nulth has favoured issues concerning the dominant languages.

iv. Preview of the Thesis

As a background for this study, it was hoped that immersion programs in British Columbia and Canada could be contacted but program reports were available only from Kitwanga (1991). Thus, the background will also include relevant programs throughout Canada and the United States in the form of a review of language models. Much of this research has to rely on government reports and language conferences. Relevant programs were assessed from other institutions, such as various applied linguistic programs at the University of Victoria. Those schools offering French immersion programs in Vancouver, B.C. and English immersion in Frankfurt, Germany were visited for a contemporary perspective.
The research incorporates an ethnographic component and a literature review of language issues which may effect First Nations language retention. I conducted individual interviews with Elders. I also organized a community workshop in order to elicit views on past language programs. This workshop was planned as informally as possible so that there was no expectation for language content but a discussion on any aspect influencing the culture and language. It was not possible to assess the total impact of the research on the community due to the limited time for the study.

The scope of the thesis involves the community situation, the community resources present, as well as how the elders' recommendations relate to the literature. The field research was entered into with every effort to ensure that a reciprocal effect would ensue by ensuring the study had a positive influence for language awareness in the community. Chapters 1. and 2. give some insight into the context of the Ditidaht nation language situation. This provides a sketch regarding the native initiative in the schools and the linguistic academic pursuits. The purpose of Chapter 3. is to provide First Nation (FN) educators with workable FN models and an overview of the French immersion experience.

For this reason Chapter 4, "First Nation community strategies," presents an overview of reciprocal research methodology, where the reality of dysfunctional community contexts might be considered. The research methodology provides options for research at a time when ethnographic research has become a contentious issue with FN people, if the intent is only academic and not for remediation of colonialist effects. For protocol reasons and for
insight into the culture and language it would be necessary to be involved with the tribe previous to the research.

Chapter 5. provides the statements made by the Elders, primarily regarding language, however, most feel it is also necessary to comment on the issues of community social disruption. In Chapter 6, the Elders give recommendations in a general manner by describing their experience in their language and leave the plan of action for further community consensus. Chapter 7. provides the Elders' recommendations which emphasizes that the unique Ditidaht cultural needs as traditionally practised and blended into the universal needs for pedagogy and language learning.

Some needs are stated by the author which may appear to be contradictory to the rejection of doctrinaire approach but statements are made out of personal experience with the culture and attempts at curriculum development over the last twenty years. Contradictions abound in FN culture when attempts are made to fuse traditional oral learning styles with institutional formal approaches which rely on literacy.

v. Limits of this study.

This study intends to present some aspects of the study of bilingualism for those First Nation educators who may be concerned about the effect of bilingualism on learning in general. The study also explores the processes which a specific community has experienced in learning their mother tongue. As complicated (yet wondrous) and controversial as language maintenance has been, this thesis cannot hope to determine a prescription for all communities.
This thesis cannot provide a complete syllabus for all methodologies, and it cannot present the underlying language concepts which may be vital for scope and sequence purposes. It may provide an avenue for dealing with some of the social-cultural issues which leave many First Nations in a bind. An analysis of Ditidaht specific social and language situations is primary and crucial while native speakers still exist.
CHAPTER 2. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Field-site research.

i. Community History

The Ditidaht First Nations are located in the south central area of the west coast of Vancouver Island. The Ditidaht are related linguistically to their southern neighbours, the Port Renfrew, Sooke Nation and the Makah of Neah Bay, Washington. The Ditidaht were culturally grouped as "Nootka" based on observations by F. Boaz, L.J. Frachtenberg, and J. Teit about the end of the 18th century. The Ditidaht are now politically and culturally affiliated with the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (NTC) which includes thirteen other tribal groups of similar size spanning the Westcoast of Vancouver Island. This region's aboriginal representation is 5.2% of the entire aboriginal population of British Columbia (B.C. Statistics, 1995). The Ditidaht language is further grouped linguistically in the Wakashan Language Family, historically connecting them to the Kwakiutl, Bella Bella, and Kitimat peoples to the North as well as to the Makah in the United States (Powell, 1991).

Early speculations by navigators or by missionaries doing immunizations of children place the population of the entire tribes of the Ditidaht at 8-10,000 at its prime. The total Nuu-chah-nulth group once boasted a population of 30,000, before contact. By the latter half of the eighteenth century (1780) the Nitinahts had the widest borders of any tribe on Vancouver Island with a high reputation as hunters, whalers, and warriors, "a powerful tribe with whom it did
not do to be off your guard" (Brown, 1896). The first historical accounts of Whyack, one of the main villages of the Ditidaht, were due to a survey of resources commissioned by A.E. Kennedy, then Governor of Vancouver Island. The accounts were kept in a journal and memoir of Dr. Robert Brown, commander of the expedition of 1864-1866. In June, 1864, he reported no more than "400 fighting men." Other population counts would have been made when the ocean was navigable in the spring or summer. One rare visit was made by the Superintendent of Missions in 1932 when the "twin villages" of Nitinaht and Clo-oose numbered only 155. Many members would have been absent at fishing stations or other seasonal rounds. The Ditidaht population had returned to an average Nuu-chah-nulth population of 450 in 1996.

Seventeen locations are designated as reservations for the Ditidaht. Prior to the move to the present community, called Malachan, the Ditidaht were concentrated in two communities on the coast called Clo-oose and Whyack. These communities experienced a day-school at the turn of the century. It was the Ditidaht (Nitinaht by other dialects) themselves in 1888 who approached Reverend Tate at the Fraser River salmon canneries to send a missionary teacher to Whyack by 1893 (Touchie, 1977). The schools of the Westcoast lasted when there was a need by the White population only, therefore the need for residential schooling (contact Bamfield Ohiaht member, 1996).

After 1871, following confederation, the Ditidaht language would face its biggest onslaught with the impetus of colonization, industrialization, and Indian Administration. By 1890 four residential schools were established in British
Columbia. These schools were sponsored by the government but overseen by the churches. The Ditidaht would therefore be influenced by both government and church. The denial of native language even in everyday conversation was bluntly stated by the department at this time (Department of Indian Affairs Report, 1906). From 1925-1971, the Ditidaht experienced five generations of students' separation from home and culture during their school years.

The Ditidaht enjoyed an area well supplied with fish and game and the large timbers necessary for canoe-building. With such coveted regions, the Ditidaht gained the reputation as warriors to be feared.

The dispersal and contact of the Ditidaht with external visitors began as early as 1877 when a steam ship was able to visit two or three times a year. Canoe trips to Victoria took two days. Some Ditidaht men contracted by sealers left for months, often reaching the Aleutian Islands. Further dispersal occurred to the Fraser River canneries and the United States canneries. During the last decade of the 19th century, telegraph and post office installations were made, as the first non-natives began to settle. The relative isolation also allowed the Ditidaht to continue the Potlatch customs made illegal at this time. The fishing economy was relatively sustained and many members were able to remain on the coast to work at a cannery established at Nitinat Lake. At the closure of this cannery by 1927, many Ditidaht continued in the fishing or logging industries.

The Ditidaht saw their traditional pursuits in fishing and forestry dwindle due to the practices of new commercial fisheries. Then a dispersal to urban areas began. One major relocation was made away from the coastal reserves in
order to accommodate the government budgets. Today, some Ditidaht continue fishing using age-old skills while others research new modern skills.

Today the reservation of Malachan, with a population of 270, has an independent elementary school, some adult programs, and a community gymnasium. Despite their relative isolation the Ditidaht can boast very progressive modern pursuits in their relationships with resource ministries, in forest and in fishery enhancement as well as in economic development in tourism. Modernization now involves telephone and television via satellite as well as administration and the groundwork for education by computer.

The Ditidaht history has obviously involved a great deal of change both socially and culturally. Society in general may have experienced a great deal of change but the Ditidaht however, have to face the major threat that their language may be close to extinction. The community elders seem to have lost a great deal of their ability to transfer teachings with continuity and effectiveness as their predecessors had done only half a century ago.

ii. The Independent School History

The Ditidaht school began in the 1970s to provide education from kindergarten to Grade 6. The school offered the provincial Core curriculum within S.D.#66 (Cowichan).

The students' formal education has been primarily provided by a non-native certified teacher. Language instruction has been provided by various band members who may teach daily for 1/2 hour or twice a week for the same amount of time. Due to the high change-over in native instructors, the language
curriculum has not been consistent. The Ditidaht language program is left pretty well on its own in program planning. There is no formal evaluation or set curricula or an annual budget according to need. The teachers have often experienced behavioral problems in the classroom during language time.

The language instructors, however, have been persistent and appeal to the students' awareness in the importance of the language as well as providing Ditidaht thought and philosophy during the lessons. Some teachers have taught songs along with the language and some include projects such as building a model longhouse. The non-native teacher has basically provided supervision for student behaviour only. Lessons have been presented orally. The basic alphabet system for writing, using the International phonetic system, has been introduced only occasionally.

In 1990, the students exhibited good skills in pronunciation but did not volunteer to respond in conversational Ditidaht. The population of the school averaged twelve students in Grades 1-6 with four pre-schoolers. The language instructors have primarily been men. One woman who taught would not continue due to the children not paying attention to lessons.

iii. Existing Linguistic Materials.

The existing linguistic materials for Ditidaht vary from ethnographic accounts, texts and dictionaries, to language morphemic files. Language lessons for use in the school have been developed only after two members were trained in linguistics. These are only used if they are preferred by individual language teachers. Ethnographic studies in the early westcoast studies were only
mentioned in summaries as listed by Eldridge (1992), Sapir (1913), Koppart (1930), Drucker (1951), Inglis and Haggarty (1986), Haggarty and Inglis (1985), Arima (1983), Arima and Dewhirst (1990), and Bouchard and Kennedy (1990).

Throughout the years the Linguisists have researched Ditidaht language with the primary objective of linguistic analysis. After Sapir’s linguistic studies (with students Morris Swadesh and Mary Haas) in the 1920s and 1930s, Nootkan and Nitinaht studies came to a halt. In 1966, Terry J. Klokeid began field work and later drafted lessons on phonology for distribution among the Ditidaht. He also prepared reports from data held by the National Museums of Canada and Ottawa. Other linguistic work included the recording of Ditidaht place names by Arima (1965) and later the development of an orthography by Eugene Arima in 1970. Comparative studies were done by William H. Jacobson who worked mainly in Makah at Neah Bay (Washington State, USA). He also did comparative studies in the Vancouver Island Nuu-chah-nulth who are linguistically grouped as Nootka.

By 1974 the first Ditidaht began to train in applied linguistics. At this time many nations of British Columbia took the opportunity to work with their own languages at the University of Victoria (Drs. T. Hess and B. Carlson). Some students (Touchie, Thomas) continued from the one year diploma program in order to learn a writing system and basic second language teaching skills. The existing Ditidaht materials were the result of some lessons during the university programs, some research in summer employment and grant projects. The first
Ditidaht linguistics text by a Ditidaht was submitted to international journals by Touchie (Carlson, ed. 1977).

Touchie and Thomas carried their research skills into the Makah nation of Neah Bay Washington, where initiatives were based on five year grant projects for curriculum development. John Thomas, who had a repertoire of seven dialects of the Nuu-chah-nulth, as well as Chinook Jargon, was able to continue morphemic files and dictionaries which were started by Touchie. By 1978, Thomas, known as "kleshal", had mastered the ability to record using phonetic script. He and Dr. Hess collaborated on an impressive introductory manual on the Ditidaht language and culture (Thomas and Hess, 1978). Although the lessons were directed to post-secondary students, many concepts and cultural insights could be used with any age group. The lessons reflected Thomas's knowledge of weather and fishing terminology as well as implements no longer used by the Ditidaht. Thomas, along with other Ditidaht descendants, assisted with the compilation of a Ditidaht region ethnobotany in "Ethnobotany of the Nitinaht Indians of Vancouver Island" (Turner 1983). This project was only possible with John Thomas as a second author, Turner writes "his knowledge, his amazing recollective ability, and his diligence and conscientiousness both in providing information from this personal experience and in obtaining it....from others who knew it." (Turner, 1983, piii).

The compilation includes 170 plant names, as well as the Ditidaht terms in their use and preparation. In a similar research style to the early language researcher Alex Thomas, John Thomas also sent translations of previous
linguistic field notes to Eugene Arima, ethnologist at the Museum of Man, Ottawa.

Other reference sources have been developed for the Ditidaht in the form of a dictionary which lists approximately 250 native words by English-gloss dictionary of the 14 Nuu-chah-nulth dialects (Powell, 1991). This vocabulary list was used as a base for a set of Grade 7. generic lessons, revised by Bernice Touchie in 1991. The generic model in second languages curriculum was developed by the Ministry of Education. It had been field-tested at Vernon, B.C., and adapted initially into the Okanagan language by the En’owkin Centre. The lessons adapted from an Okanagan model include five units, complete with list of objectives and tests. The methodology emphasizes the functional/notional model which is an approach designed to meet communicative goals (Van Ek, 1976). The functional/notional approach can incorporate: the total physical response approach (TPR); the thematic approach; and the co-operative learning approach. The goals are for oral communication with written lessons used for guidance only. The lessons were tape-recorded in all fourteen dialects (Touchie, 1991). The Ditidaht along with four other tribes include transcriptions.

The remaining linguistic work in Ditidaht remain in museums or universities in the form of dictionary accounts or texts. The Ditidaht have private accounts of their family histories in the language but the most valuable tapes still remain with the few remaining Ditidaht who can still speak Ditidaht.
CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

i. The Canadian Minority Language Experience.

The Canadian minority language experience in the literature often refers to the minority language as concerns the official languages, i.e. Anglophones in Quebec or the French as a minority group in Canada. A review of minority group experience provides the FN with some insight as to the different focus required in smaller community contexts. The area might be labelled educational-linguistics, second languages (L2), or applied linguistics. The Ditidaht Nation would say ciig-ciigeyk’ag or, "that which is used for talking." The intent is for communication specifically. The variation of usage of the terms "linguistics" and "education" in itself could be deceptive and ambiguous in the literature as well as to First Nations. The term "linguistics" can be confusing due to its vast degrees of studies and "education" can be confusing due to its use primarily as formal education. This implies that education does not take place in any other form or culture.

The FN as minority language groups have embarked on teaching their native languages primarily without professional teachers (with job security) and with very little program resources. The only recourse has been to adapt established models for methodology. These models have used primarily a structure-based or grammar-based methodology, in the same vein as traditional teaching in formal education. Some FN, just as French speakers and English speakers, have had doubts about the benefits of bilingual education; therefore
there is a need to assess the effects of bilingualism. The literature has dealt largely with the issues within the official language groups and has concentrated on the effects of learning a second language on thinking ability known as cognitive development and bilingualism in general rather than in immersion contexts specifically. This review will therefore focus on the concern for finding the strengths of bilingualism and finding signposts which might be useful for FN bilingual strategies.

Many of the FN qualities and circumstances have been overlooked while attempting to fit FN culture within the parameters of the existing educational institution. The FN cannot simply copy those principles established by majority society contexts and still hope to obtain similar results.

a. Language Acquisition and theorists.

Spolsky (1972) states the premise for effective bilingualism includes: the time frame- birth to five years old, the method- without formality, the source- using innate abilities, the goal-language for communication, and the philosophy- that language is a central task of formal education.

The FN could compare their experiences with second language acquisition and determine if the various signposts suggested by theorists coincide with their specific needs. The literature has little to offer concerning acquisition of FN languages. Theorists have given more time to differences such as social class differences, rather than cultural differences (Engel, 1992). The FN can explore how their various cultural features influenced language acquisition. An example would be the influence of home-school differences and the homogenizing effect
of standardization (Spolsky, 1972) and the roles which the involvement of parents and community play (Fishman and Lovas, 1972, Calliou, 1992).

The FN need to access the various attitudes which acculturation has placed on them. The frustration lies not only in the confusion as to whose values to pursue in educational styles but also in the use of the English language. In the literature, for example, is the notion of being "professional" used to mean a profession or a degree of skill? The Ditidaht today experienced their education from grandparents who gave freely their time to teach. This role in the oral society was an obligation to the next generation.

The FN identity and community character had all but diminished during generations of residential schools. These institutions stripped the FN of their natural heritage in the name of ethnocentric education and Christianity. Where values concentrated on nation-building and assimilative processes the FN lost their pride and a great deal of their identity.

Often the FN are asked to describe their experience in residential schools but this has often been avoided due to the trauma of recalling the experience. I attended residential school throughout my entire school years, Grades 1 to 12. The degree of influence on cognitive development of this experience has yet to be determined, but one needs only to look at the signposts mentioned by Spolsky (1972) to see that many elements were lacking. It was only after observing immersion programs that I was made aware that I had also experienced immersion in English. The same classroom scene was evident, the almost whispered responses, the incomplete responses or hesitant responses, the
struggle to think about "how should I say this" because I know the answer. In residential school one was judged by one's progress in school, not the insights which one might have attained in one's own culture. Low self esteem in the school scenario was almost guaranteed while parents could not see that the overall schema would involve the loss of language and cultural insight. The government policies have left great gaps in the culture. These gaps will have to be considered when considering effective implementation of immersion programs.

b. The necessity for eclectism.

That part of culture which the FN stress is the need for holism. The Ditidaht as do all FN, speak about "connectedness" to the human constitution. Some of the literature reflects this attempt to reconnect the disciplines of study:

His (Trueba) conceptual and methodological armamentarium is from sociocultural anthropology, with a leavening mix ... from psychology, philosophy, and sociology, as well as from sociolinguistics. (Trueba, 1992, forward)

One gap caused by the establishment of residential schools was the opportunity for community socialization. How would I have fared had my education content involved those things which were emotionally relevant to me and had I been able to write or talk about my world? The focus of evaluation changes radically if one focuses on an objective that is not totally foreign to me.

Rather than focusing on the handicaps of the student the focus is on the contexts of experience. The perspective as a member, or emic perspective (Pike,
1954) changes the focus of evaluation. Trueba (1992) feels that the focus on linguistic differences isolated from cultural factors has not led to understanding the success or failure of minority students.

Varied achievement has its root in social and cultural contexts (Diaz et al., 1986). This approach is based on studies by Vygotsky and other Soviet scholars. Contrary to western psychologists, Vygotsky postulated the use of the mind was rooted in social interaction and inseparable from social development. A child could face a deficit if they are not given an opportunity to interact socially with adults or peers (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86).

As a First Nations person working with linguistic research I have found that the FN communicative systems of learning involve various subtleties. These subtleties could make a difference for such things as; emphasis, encouragement, and community affection. In the formal learning setting there is a tendency to reduce language to its utility only and in the process ignore the subtleties which develop by real life practice. Often research neglects this aspect of different "functioning of languages in different social settings" (Kalantzis, 1989).

Foundations for pedagogy of majority schools are often based on academic goals and communicative ability. FN pedagogy may include different cultural skills that could be considered academic. Gold and Tempes (1987) cite five pedagogical foundations involving:

1. Attainment of a minimum threshold of both languages in order to have good academic success.
2. The dimensions of language would include academic and communicative skills.

3. A common language established between teacher and student,

4. sufficient L2 inclusion and a supportive environment. ("Supportive" includes motivation to learn and the meaningful interchanges).

5. Considering issues beyond language or societal forces which may affect achievement.

The FN should consider professional development needs but more importantly, the community needs in order to ensure that a supportive environment exists. This determination cannot come from a prescriptive schema but should entail community participation and development. The community may need to determine to what extent past and present pressures have influenced their culture. For example, why is there only scepticism and suspicion for all programs? What can be beneficial to a minority situation rather than the majority status quo?

c. The French Canadian Experience

In Canada the first language ratios are: 67%-English 27%-French, and 6% aboriginal or other (ethnic) languages (Mcloughlin, 1985). Since the late 1960s government policy in Quebec has promoted French as the language of public education and by 1977 the Chartre de la Langue Francaise declared Quebec as a solely French-speaking province. The reasoning for French-only was based on the premise that even with bilingualism the French feared loss of their identity as long as English prevailed (Grosjean, 1982).
Immersion programs were established due to parents' dissatisfaction when students were not attaining fluency. (This was a complaint voiced at the FN conference, Vancouver, B.C., FPCF, 1995). The French programs have been exceptionally successful and have been thoroughly researched as concerns immersion effects (Porter, 1980, p. 109). The French immersion experience has led to the development of evaluation mechanisms through the combined efforts of a psychologist, W. Lambert, and linguist G.R. Tucker during the 1960s (report, 1965). Immersion involves systematic and careful planning and requires well-trained bilingual teachers. It is not simply "plunking" students into an unfamiliar language situation.

The few First Nations' bilingual programs have been done as part of multicultural initiatives but "it is impossible to speak of bilingual education as a monolithic structure because each North American community is different, the staff and aim of each project is different" (Evans & Clark, 1981). Unlike the motivation to learn a second language for economic or scholarly values the FN would look more closely at Porter's juncture that "language survival depends on when languages are clearly useful and in demand." The FN would be considering their cultural needs.

The FN, presently on the brink of treaty process, are establishing these demands. The treaty process provides an opportunity for community participation in long-term planning in, cultural retrieval, establishing a political will, and determining academic needs. Development in all these areas would consider the development of communicative native language as "useful." The
FN community is different and distinct due to the influences of an oral-based culture. The oralcy factor itself legitimizes the progression of the curriculum by the community itself. The need for localism is justified as one finds that the reliance on professionalism is only as good as the reliability of the research which formed that profession. With this consideration the reasoning when elders feel there is a need for expediency rather than certified teachers. Research and multicultural debates can offer some insight but can also cause confusion and delay the discovery of culturally unique needs. As one researcher states:

between-group comparisons are fraught with the ubiquitous error of unequal group comparisons which may mask important differences that could be useful in developing our understanding of second language acquisition in immersion programs. (Carey, 1991, p. 953)

Carey (1991) feels that since majority speakers have an advantage in social development, the emphasis for minority language development should be on communication, socialization, and affective interaction. This provides further emphasis on the need for socialization and emphasizes the student involvement in highly emotional activities. These can include personal or cultural motivation which would have occurred with the FN daily round in early days (i.e. socialization during fish preparation). What were the more effective times for conversation or with what age groups. For example, more recently, it has been learned that dynamic processes occur in the classroom, teacher-to-child or child-to-child (Trueba & Wright, 1992). The affective interaction requires that the curriculum objectives involve fewer structured courses (lessons) in schools.
Effective interaction also requires that the teacher or the entire school has intimate knowledge of the students so that her class represents activities which involve personal as well as classroom growth. There can exist a very close relationship between home and school. Where bilingual programs are analyzed within community contexts the parental involvement and positive social spin-offs become a curious unexpected effect (Arvizu et al, 1992). The literature speaks towards localized decision-making (Spolsky, 1974) and appropriate learning situations to ensure proper cognitive development (Singh, 1988). Even reading can be equitable despite low socio-economic status and little reading at home (Carlisle, 1989).

The concern for creating equality between minority and majority languages is a basic national concern as expressed by the French in Canada. The First Nations are faced not only with the prospect of language extinction but also with the fact that they must leap into curriculum development without previous evolutionary changes and intracultural standardization. They are faced with the need for a redefinition of education in this context while still providing academic grounding. The curricula of larger nations and other minorities are often taken as success stories and as educational psychologist, Stephen Carey has stated, "the experiment becomes complex due to the involvement of political, psychological, and educational dimensions."

Methodologies for bilingualism have been tested in the larger English and French societies in the context and values of academic inculcation, economics, and cultural propagation. Most FN may find limited value in foreign bilingual
programs involving the two related languages (English is 65% French).

Administration and some evolutionary methods may be useful. This legitimizes
the caution towards simply copying models and legitimizes the need for focusing
on the area of FN cultural enhancement.

ii. Theory of Language Acquisition

Language acquisition for First Nations does not mean finding the ideal
model, as there is no one best means to acquire a language. That is, no method
has yet been devised that will permit people over the age of 12 to learn a second
language (L2) as effortlessly as they did their native language (Steinberg, 1993).
Those areas important for program development relevant to FN communities'
language retention and cultural knowledge would appear to be the prime
concern.

"French Immersion, Process, Product, and Perspectives" compiled by
Rehorick and Edwards (1992) is a collection of articles which deal with the most
important aspects of French immersion education. The French research has
concerned itself with acquisition, academic achievement, and socio-psychological
impacts of the bilingual experiments. Periodic evaluation has revealed
consistently positive effects (Lapkin and Swain, 1984).

French immersion had been implemented without attention to the
"myriad" of aspects including: the role of the immersion teacher, use of the
curriculum, implementation behaviour of immersion, and its encounter with
institutional educational culture. The basic evolutionary traits and issues
involved with French immersion may be useful to the FN. Many FN have
already displayed a creative sense in designing and developing curriculum as they delivered their programs. This special sense of commitment is shown with French immersion teachers who often have to resort to their own initiative and improvisation of curriculum in order to accommodate the language level of a given classroom (observation at Hastings Elementary, Vancouver, B.C., 1996).

It is this skill in evaluation that the FN would determine the classroom standard for efficiency. Rehorick and Edwards summarize some areas for efficiency. Where communicative ability is the goal the balance in productive language skills along with receptive skills would be important. Dramatization, short stories, and games are suggested as improvisation but this might be considered the core program for an oral culture. The inclusion for cultural awareness involves community exchanges.

Exchange programs would be relevant within the tribal areas in order to make the most use of existing teachers and materials in a given language family area such as the "Nootkan" language family grouping. The FN consider language more closely aligned with culture than the French/English, whose prime concern is with bilingualism (Olson and Burns, 1983). French immersion experimentation has resulted with some effects in the realm of multi-cultural education; the FN can also find an avenue to acquire education through the synthesis of cultures.

Immersion efforts have provided an avenue for cross-cultural considerations not only for the expansion of pedagogical forms but also for integrative avenues. One example is that the greatest motivator is the display or
public presentations (such as dramatizations) through which the students acknowledge their new communication abilities in L2. This is similar to the FN value in public display by the potlatch. These successes, by display, occur despite one's social class or academic abilities. Integrative (traditional and non-traditional) educational reforms begin to happen on a greater scale as activities extend beyond the four walls of a classroom.


Flexibility in programs is the gauge if communication is the goal for bilingual programs. A natural approach for language teaching was proposed by Terrell by 1977. Terrell (1988) suggested these guidelines for implementing the natural approach: the focus of the interchange is on the message, 2. the message is understood, and 3. there is a low anxiety environment. This would definitely assist with focusing. Comments from personal experience also suggest that the content could also influence the environment:

You cease to think in the language when the exercises make you say things which are contradictory or do not apply to you. (Rivers, 1979)

The FN would have to find the most effective and natural means of communicative activities which are most conducive to thinking in the language.

The First Nations often refer to their acquisition or most experiential learning as one would "pick it up." This would appear to be the least stressful form of learning of the two forms of internalizing knowledge "learning" and "acquisition" (Krashen, 1977). Taylor (1978) and Bialystok (1978, 1979a, 1979b)
use the terms "implicit and explicit knowledge." "Learning" is the conscious cognitive-based study of grammar and the audio-lingual method often used in language by sessions of lessons. "Acquisition" is the unconscious formulation of grammatical principles. These forms of learning would have to occur most easily in one's own cultural surroundings in order to achieve low anxiety. Terrell suggests the students' personal involvement in order to ensure a low anxiety level and understanding is ensured by simplified speech.

The personal involvement could involve the socio-cultural role of second language learning. Rather than simply acquiring an inventory of grammatical skills such as, learning the past and present tense, the objectives involve the participation in an interactive process where the focus is the speaker's thoughts and attitudes. This would be aligned with the observation that the FN culture is concerned more with immediacy (Battiste, 1995) and also with interpersonal communication rather than concern for literate-cognitive orientations (Landry, 1991).

The need for socialization has also been recently emphasized by Carey (1991). This would take into consideration the conceptual-driven processing which is a feature of cultural perception (Wessels, 1982). Closer examination of the language by linguistic analysis (Touchie, 1977) reveals a variation of concepts relying on imagery and specific classification by shape and location. These conditions confirm the observations by Krashen (1981) that children experience less interference from L1 when they are conversing with peers rather than a teacher as they deal with their own conceptual levels.
The choice for natural acquisition for children considers many factors besides personal communication and natural motivation. It would also consider their age as well as their psychological readiness. The effect of residential schools on the child have now only begun to be realized. The condition for healthy acquisition rates vary due to disruptions of cultural transmission (Hogan, 1995). The FN have experienced many generations separated from their cultural parents.

In order to ensure effective FN acquisition the planners need to be aware of this need to return the ownership of processes to the parents and community. The culture might then be returned with functional value and not as a commodity as aptly described by a native educator:

> It is not important to preserve our traditions ... it is important to allow our traditions to preserve us. (Hampton, 1988)

Krashen, (1981) describes "affective filters" which prevent effective acquisition. The FN need to determine the areas where these filters diminish. The most affective learning may occur during enjoyable interaction. This could involve humourous activity, play, or entertainment. The persons who are conversant would have to concern themselves with underlying concepts and map out those areas accordingly. These may be the areas which involve the abilities which represent innate strengths which presented themselves in old theories such as recapitulation (Egan).

The FN could determine that the natural language acquisition as a child might involve similar strands as the core French. The new Core French involves
the acquisition basics, communicative concepts, acquisition before learning, and child centred methodologies (Manzer, K. & Scott, J. S., 1993). The literature suggests repeatedly how an immersion program cannot stand on its own. The 300,000 French immersion students’ progress had been complemented by Core French programs and of course the opportunities and support provided by the home.

The avenues for partnership would have to be created by the FN as there does not exist research to determine the ratio of L2 use to ensure acquisition. There is little cross-methodology immersion/non-immersion comparison (Carey, 1991) and most FN reports only describe negative effects in relation to non-natives (Chrisjohn, 1988). The occasional records regarding acquisition sequence done by linguists are available in a few FN languages but the most useful records are those made by personal observations while participating in language immersion. This process is well observed in the following statement:

Use your common sense and use your experience and don't listen too much to the scientists, unless you find that what they say is really of practical value of assistance in understanding the problems you face, as sometimes it truly is. (Chomsky, 1988, p. 1982)

An example of a useful perspective is one given by Nicholson (1990). He reported his experience with Maori adult immersion. Many features in his experience are valuable for students or teachers. Nicholson experienced initial scepticism but once he began he described the immersion lesson as stressful "you are too petrified to say anything." In immersion "you have to
throw your nets out and haul them in hoping that something is there that can keep you going." In a one-week course he found it took two or three courses before a commitment could be made for remaining for the full time. The decision for no English was self-imposed with the option that the week could end before seven days.

The program considered first the demands of the students and then began to consider progressive courses according to language structure. The courses at first were only offered annually but grew to include holidays. Each course built on the previous course. The early courses were a survival-type but are now "more tightly organized" with a greater variety of situations for learning. More structure was actually suggested by the elders who said, "we must have a well thought out program to make the best of limited time." This resulted in a course outline and a course timetable.

The courses were taught by a combination of elders and trained teachers with 12 students per class. The process was gruelling and was supplemented with written references. Evaluation was done by abilities or "jobs" after three years. Example: from being able to answer questions on tribal customs to taking part in debates, from learning tribal sung poetry to doing some teaching in our primary and secondary schools. After nine courses participants could organize their own courses for their tribe.

The teaching style considered both receptive and productive exercises by always aiming to have a balance of listening, talking, and doing. Interest was ensured by establishing a range of activities. Examples include, reading from the
Bible and discussions (one hour), moving to another hour of singing, moving to small discussion groups. News was also given in the dialect (one hour). There were breaks in the immersion for recreation when the language ban was lifted.

Survival techniques used in order to communicate involved body language. Surviving by speaking in their traditional language proved a positive social impact. The program estimate for acquisition was 25% increased understanding per year. Another spinoff was the closer relationships developed between young and old members. All sessions started and ended with traditional prayer.

The consideration of student needs was congruent with the concept that the culture can save the people rather than the people saving the culture. This includes ensuring that a healthy sociodynamic exists in the community (Gagne, 1979). The managers of the immersion program kept in mind the need for humility and the concepts of co-operation and consensus. The program organizers were aware of the sensitive nature of working with such a personal area of the culture. They carefully invited co-operation by explaining prior to each course that all are involved with an experiment and that all are still learning as the course proceeded. They also emphasized that they need all the students' support and that they were to work as a family.

The literature offers immersion acquisition guidelines and experiences for methodology. As the FN scrutinize their own cultural protocols and basis for respectful attitudes they can discover their own administrative potential. The
literature can also provide a positive description of the culture which appreciates its natural extensions of cultural phenomena.

One could place caution to science when there appears to be idealization of communicative strategies. These can be unravelled through the science of modern language studies. For example that a healthy sociodynamic is necessary for a community (Gagne, 1979). What are the communities' responsibilities to establish this? Which areas of education are profitable for FN when the literature states that psychology has too often traded on folk theories in its construction of a 'scientific' theory of mind (Gee, 1992). What other values of folk theory have been overlooked if it took the Chomskian revolution to fault behaviourist theory and consider creativity in language? Communicative strategies used in immersion involve creativity rather than behaviourist memorization. The flexibility in suffixing in Nuu-chah-nulth presents many opportunities for creativity (appendix 11).

A good sociodynamic involves restoring the pride in the cultural practices for the FN themselves as well as how they might relate to multicultural evolution in European cultures. The following quote is an example of discourse appreciation.

When things were said or sung within the native culture, explicit analysis in a meta-language was not needed. Performer and audience shared an implicit knowledge of language and ways of speaking. For us, there is no alternative to explicit analysis.

(Hymes, 1981. p.6).
Hymes (1981) refers to German scholar Ernst Cassirer, who was a pioneer in the integrated conception of human culture, an awareness for cultural depth rather than simply a surface image. This personality and depth represented an important aspect in the natural acquisition of First Nation language.

iii. Language Survival Models.

The literature for First Nation (FN) language programs varies from conference reports from native teachers to papers by language specialists and government reports. The existing materials as a whole reflect the social, technical, and political areas which may be relevant to the small community situation for immersion programs. The models presented therefore represent social action models, as immersion program models were not accessible in the literature.

One of the earliest reports by Wild and Rathjen (1975) reflects a state of "frustration" and "scepticism" as reported in 1974 with linguists and language teachers at Williams Lake, British Columbia. The discussions involved the existing problems with both English language and FN languages. The lessons suggested are based on structural (grammatical) lessons and use of English stories as a base. The questions surrounded the student experience, what the parents wanted, how language can be introduced in the schools and the question regarding the need to improve English. Linguists were suggesting teaching strategies largely based on teaching English as a Second Language (ESL). The workshops lacked a specific theme for concentration and lacked
summary conclusions. For example, how might the parental requests involve the community ownership?

"Language in Education among Canadian Native Peoples" by Barbara Burnaby (1982) reflects the extent to which Ontario considered the importance of language in the schools and general FN awareness for non-natives. Some ethnocentric bias still exists by blaming background and native language use as detrimental to English usage. The area of applied linguistics is lightly glossed over but one can sense that very little programming and documentation of languages exists in Canada.

More useful to FN Language is Burnaby's inclusion of language in the context of social theories. She refers to Labov's study (1973) of the Inner City where cultural and political conflict contribute to failure in reading and more specifically, in curriculum content, that all materials (including second language materials) should be adapted to the learning environment of the student. Labov's theories are in direct contradiction to the original ethnocentric view that FN language interferes with success.

Immersion is mentioned where successful models in French immersion were adapted for native use. The book is useful for a glimpse at the status of education and language, the policies which effect them, and the most recent efforts for local control. With the mention of Indian Control of Indian Education the focus then turns to identity and self concept and the need for more local action is hinted at by mentioning the positive effects which research brings to
the community. At this time, no formal evaluations of language programs were available.

M. Devine (1983) provides an analysis of the Dene situation in the Northwest Territories (NWT) including their political process for independence. The NWT has a Language Bureau which includes the Inuktitut and the Dene. Written materials for both nations had been used for a decade. The review was done to assess the Dene role in meeting Dene language needs. The variables included: extent of language usage (speech and literacy), preference for language lessons in the home or at school and the variance of language (Dene) retention by tribe, age and sex. The preference for communication by radio suggests a preference for oralcy. The survey provides some data (11 communities out of 25) but there is no report on the social impact of the study or if the communities were randomly chosen.

In the article "History of the Use of Dene Language in Education in the Northwest Territories" Howard (1983) presents a more practical review for FN political avenues in the control of education. Assimilationist ordinances are described until 1976 when the Eskimo language was included in the schools. Reports followed and it was predicted that language issues would be addressed as native leaders complete land claim agendas. Dene surveys provided the rationale for language programs due to the resulting social benefits. District Directors of Curriculum were the serious activists for language. Directors created committees and advisory groups and teacher handbooks described language philosophy and curriculum development. Implementation involved
teacher training and training in literacy. There is mention of much resistance to change. Aspects of bilingualism are described as well as the basic steps for a FN success story.

The article reflects the evolutionary struggle from being victims of unthinking assimilationists to the Dene emerging into an era of biculturalism where they could control their own destiny. The operative notion is that efforts must be Dene-driven, including the will to continue.

Jean Barman (1987) describes some situations in education twelve years after (by 1984), the Native Indian Brotherhood position paper, "Indian Control of Indian Education" (1972). Numerous obstacles to self control include inadequate government structure and funding arrangements. Once local control was obtained some communities were said to experience "role shock" or an unclear definition of roles. The Nisga’a describe an ideal progression for local education. They do not however, include the community reactions to change or the struggle involved when creating cultural curriculum. There is, however, an inclusion of acculturation strategies such as native philosophies, Eldership, cultural revitalization and teacher training. Some evaluation provides insight as to what works and what does not which reflects the much needed trial and error approach. The writers recognize that the communities need to realize the realities of their cultural context. Perhaps the inclusion of elders’ statements in the report may have provided wider analysis.

"Canada’s Aboriginal Languages: an overview of Current Activities in Language Retention" by Shkilnyk (1985) provides a provincial overview just
over a decade after the declaration of local control of education. All the
provinces revealed an accelerating decline in language use and an absence of
trained teachers, except in Quebec. The Governments of Canada and Quebec
have made substantial investment in language development needs both in
infrastructure and training. Quebec represents an important model in the
relationship possible for workable FN/Provincial cultural structures.

In Quebec, success has been achieved despite disparate populations
including ten distinct native cultures. The Cree and Kativik (Inuit) benefit from
the James Bay Agreement. The article does include the immersion programs
recently being implemented by the Mohawks and the Micmacs but describes the
processes involved with the spectrum of language situations in Quebec.

In British Columbia at this time several communities were realizing total
immersion was needed for elementary grades. This included the Cowichan
group, the Kwak'wala, and the Squamish. Pre-school immersion was
implemented at Adams Lake and the Okanagan Bands. Expansion to
elementary grades was not possible due to lack of materials and trained
personnel.

Some reference is made to Hawaii as an example of financial planning
with a ten year plan, and Navajo programs are mentioned as a model for
teaching methodologies. Alberta and Saskatchewan re-affirm the need for
culture to address social needs, the need for community commitment and the
need for politicians to look further than just control of education. No immersion
programs were happening and political fragmentation stymied language programs in the schools.

In native language advancement, Manitoba is second to Quebec in support of native language research. The Dakota-Sioux express the desire for immersion programs supplemented with T.V./Video programs. Cross Lake is an example of a ten year bilingual program where the K-3 immersion program was most successful.

In 1984, Ontario accepted native language as a second language (NSL) in principle, as well as a process for developing curriculum and NSL teacher training. One immersion program developed through the efforts of a cultural society. English as a second language (ESL) receives financial priority but Ontario takes pride in the high numbers of native teachers.

In the United States, diversity is dealt with through "magnet schools" which feature a specific language. These immersion programs broke the barriers usually associated with minority students so that "using class and ethnicity as independent variables there were no significant differences" (Genesse, 1985). It is noted that it takes six years of immersion in order to attain communicative skills. Those FN offering native languages only at the pre-school level would be almost fruitless if no follow-up programs exist.

The FN have not been given an avenue for second language research as has been accorded to French language programs; therefore the gradual evolution for second language strategies are not easily visible. By 1989, the Canadian Journal of Native Education still presents old language issues. This is reflective
of a lack of co-ordination and communication between native nations or amongst provinces so that the literature might reflect the particular questions posed and dealt with by each nation. Surely simply reporting successful programs is contributing to the intertribal malaise of divide and conquer.

An overview of current activities in language retention by the Office of the Under Secretary of State-Citizenship (1987) presents the accomplishments of major societies and only three major language family groups in British Columbia. The Halkomelem (begun 1974, Coqualeetza), still lacked the resources for adult training, trained teachers, and language curriculum. Shuswap (began in 1983, Secwepemc Society). Shuswap was taught in 11 of 17 communities and the children were reported speaking the language outside the classroom. The average assistance per language group reports at $7,000 per annum, from the Secretary of State. The Carrier, the largest tribal council in northern British Columbia (pop. 13,000) has some fluent speakers in some bands but receives the same funding and the twenty-minutes/twice-weekly formula. Despite their large numbers there is still a need in all areas of second language for leadership and administration. The provincial schools offer language only in the primary grades. Meetings in Alberta with officials of the government of School boards reflect the lack of programs due to the "key constraint" need for trained teachers as well as resource materials and district funding. The average native language teacher's wage was $700 a month and no program used native language as a medium of instruction.
The Saskatchewan overview was based on the symposium of various native institutions involved with any aspect of native education. One important model involves the La Ronge Indian Band Curriculum Resource Unit whose limited DIAND (Indian Affairs) budget was supplemented by Chief and Council priority for language retention. Technical assistance is provided for eighteen communities (seven band schools). Integration of various programs handled by different institutions has become the challenge for the Saskatchewan Language Institution. The rationale surrounding the basis for a national policy in language involved the following: 1. Retention of aboriginal languages in the context of aboriginal rights, 2. Retention of languages as part of the solution to social problems, 3. Research having demonstrated that education in general improves when including the mother tongue, and 4. Aboriginal languages are unique and can offer philosophical and religious contributions. The government's role would be to support community-driven objectives.

The Manitoba overview reflects the same obstacles. A conference called "Self Determination Through Traditional and Contemporary Education" reflected the need for traditional insight. The audience were told to "seek the truth, to take dreams and visions seriously, and to struggle for the survival of the language and culture." Billy Mills, (former Olympic long distance runner) felt the challenge was "to have discipline, to make a commitment, to walk in two worlds with one spirit...and to retain two sets of rights, the rights given in citizenship and the rights retained as aboriginal people."
The Ontario overview leans more towards methodology which is more congruent to immersion strengths with an interview with Basil Johnston, an ethnologist, researcher, and author. He is also a passionate advocate for language acquisition in a traditional way through tribal stories and songs transmitted orally. The proper approach to language learning is "through sound, meaning and context, not through rules of grammar, spelling or orthography" (p. 32). He takes issue with second language strategies based on the study of western languages. He describes how the native languages have subtle (but fundamental) differences especially in the vitality of words as they changed slightly in different contexts. Accuracy and truth extend so far and have limits according to one's experience, perception, and command of the language. (This concern for accuracy is evident in the ethnographic portion of this thesis).

The Woodland Indian Cultural Educational Centre in Brantford, Ontario has been given a strong mandate in language development by the governor of six communities. The Centre provides direction for the Mohawk and Cayuga immersion programs started in 1986. About 140 children are enrolled in Kindergarten and Grade 1. immersion in two programs.

The Walpole Island Language Project to Revive Ojibway involved two ten week courses for secondary schools and adults by the "Silent Way" teaching method. This method, which is based on association of colour and sound, was well attended and found greater success for fluency.
A number of Ontario bands wish to implement immersion programs but the DIAND cannot assist them due to lack of resources and absence of a commitment at headquarters for native language retention.

The Ojibwa/Cree represent a program with an emphasis on bridging the old and new by creating objectives that are relevant and functional for the twentieth century. The programs include native literacy, media training, and assistance in educational administration.

The efforts in Ontario have been directed to language curriculum guidelines with the postponement of language as a medium of instruction.

The Atikamekw speak their language fluently in their communities but are concerned about retaining its vitality. It was hoped that Atikamekw immersion could occur until Grade 3 when 50% French subjects would be included. Program effectiveness is threatened by DIAND funding cutbacks. The Atikamekw have active support of their council and have radio broadcasts and newspapers in their language. The Betsiamites band-controlled school has a Montagnais immersion program for Kindergarten to grade 4 which is a long term goal for all schools.

The Cree in Val d'Or were hired as immersion teachers without any training or materials development. This adversely affected the motivation of teachers and students. A Cree literacy program provided the evaluation and orthography standardization needed. Two periods a week are taught as immersion but there is strong emphasis for the need for contact with elders who still speak with descriptive power in relation to the land. The students
otherwise begin to mix their language with English. Videos, texts, and summer camps are suggested.

Georgina Blondin (1988) gives a case study of the Zhahti Koe, a community in the Northwest Territories located 72 Km. south of Great Slave Lake. The population is about 600 with a majority Dene speakers and some Metis speakers. The initiation, development and implementation is described in stages for analysis. Initially, the students were not learning either their native language or English in the public schools. The program it was felt was timely in that resource persons (elders and native writers) were available, the school administration were receptive, and there was support from senior bureaucrats (the Local Education Agreement (LEA) was in place). From the initial community meeting it was recognized that the academic success was greater for students learning in Slavey. The principal of the school was aware that "the cultural base is all tied into the Elders...certain ties and strengths could be identified that would assist in the enhancement and development of the aboriginal languages" (Townsend-Blondin, 1987).

Dene ways of life and values are stated in the recognition of methodology by G. Blondin when she states the culture:

...include connections between the spoken language and the transmission of culture and individual sense of Dene identity ....

(Blondin, 1988, p. 34)

The initial motivating factors for improved language education were developing self image, and reinstating the importance of the aboriginal language
rights. Components for successful program delivery involved co-operation in the initial application for funding, native political support, broad-based community support, as well as the support and commitment of a research team.

The development part of the process involved an intensive summer of curriculum development, training, and research. The goal was preparation of material for kindergarten immersion and 1/2 hour a day for Grade 1 to Grade 9 for September, 1981. Twenty one areas of cultural skill areas were researched with elders.

The implementation witnessed the original goal for Kindergarten immersion and 1/2 hour a day immersion (for higher grades) come into fruition. Some opposition occurred which led to a compulsory policy dependent on persons being part Slavey descent. More information was providing "unbrainwashing" of negative persons whose attitudes stemmed from residential schooling. Week-long evening courses were held for adult reading and writing in Slavey. As the programs progressed the attitudes of both students and parents improved with parents taking greater involvement. Another effective method was mentioned that students enjoyed music and "picked up" the language faster by contemporary composed positive-centred music. The community once had three levels of native language fluency; fluency, passive fluency, and non-fluent. The last category was soon eliminated and children took pride in speaking their language.

The analysis of the Slavey Language Program provides a workable model by extrapolating factors which affected success. These included that: it built on
traditional values and community needs, the people were committed (process),
organizational policy supported the programs, and a range of resources were
developed. Another important ingredient is the acceptance of new roles and
their subsequent accountabilities. A most important factor for First Nation novel
projects is the recognition of an equal participation philosophy rather than a top-
down philosophy.

The North West Territories serve as a model for comprehensive initiatives.
The catalyst was the inception of an official languages bill for French. The Dene
desired an equal footing for their language. A Task Force on language was
created in 1984 to research language needs and to make recommendations. This
research resulted in language awareness which was reflected in key principles
for policy development and would directly influence curriculum as principle
number one states:

Aboriginal languages and cultures are inseparably intertwined.

Language cannot adequately be taught or learned in isolation from
the culture which is its lifeblood. (Dene, 1986, p. 23)

The Dene goals would need to ensure ongoing development conditions with
aboriginal human resources, effective government action, and continuing use of
native language in the daily lives of the communities.

As the interviews of the Task Force expanded the reality of the
individualities of language unfolded. For example, for one it wasn’t just being
able to speak but, ‘it gives me a backbone, like something inside of me that
makes me very secure with me.’ And ‘Language is not just ‘out there’...it’s
coming from somewhere coming from within' (p. 17). And as the "lifeblood of a culture" the language view of the world "both forms the centre of one's own sense of self as well as the common social understanding of a group of people" and forms "a unique perception of the world and of the peoples and societies which hold these perceptions" (p. 18).

The Task Force (1984) curriculum process took into consideration the innovative nature of the education project. Specific recommendations made by the Task Force also included community-wide awareness in the area of bilingualism and the status of languages. This gave the people better grounds for choosing options. The aboriginal people were aware that contemporary skills in English were also needed but the English models were not always appropriate, as the following statement reflects:

... Native-language teaching material cannot be prepared by merely translating existing English material ... The structure, concepts, and expressions of English texts and teaching materials are very different from those that are natural to the Native languages ...

These courses might blend oral and written materials in new ways. Rather than textbooks. ... (Blondin, 1988, p.41)

Kirkness (1990) presents a cultural-based model as found in the Maori language nests of New Zealand, which use immersion. The Maori program relies on national solidarity and a willingness to volunteer. The progress of curriculum alteration and the student experiences, however, could be useful for determining possible adult immersion programs.
The Mohawks of Kahnawake are in the midst of a real life model in revitalizing their language. After twelve years in the program, Hoover (1992) of McGill University, Department of Educational Psychology, still uses the term "experiment." The efforts to teach the younger generation to speak Mohawk have been successful. The basic ingredients for language success were used to determine the state of the language in 1992. Differences across age groups in the four factors were revealed by a factor analysis-casual use, tendency to speak, cultural identity, and public promotion. Mohawks were essentially bilingual, using Mohawk for insiders and using French for outsiders, when English began to slowly encroach due to the language of the work-place. Children began to be raised exclusively in English (Kennikaronia, 1990). The Mohawk catalyst for action, like the NWT involved the French Language Charter in 1978. A recognized cultural institution was formed which housed 3,000 Mohawk documents and photos and eventually undertook the first aboriginal nursery immersion project in Canada. This was modelled on other French immersion programs in Quebec. Today more than half of the community's children study entirely in Mohawk immersion from Nursery to Grade 3, then 40% in Mohawk and 40% in English from Grades 4 to 6. Other children attend an English elementary school and receive a 1/2 hour a day of Mohawk immersion. Children at both schools learn French as a third language.

A heightened sense of community occurred when a stand off occurred at Oka in 1992 and an increased awareness of the language occurred. The 1992 study was undertaken to determine needs by investigating patterns of usage,
attitudes to the language, and levels of community support. This would assist in a series of initiatives to promote the use of Mohawk taking into consideration various typologies of language use. The Mohawk were able to isolate motivational origin by individual interests or a high cultural identity for example, those speaking at a Longhouse. Observations were also made on public and private usage, casual and formal usage. The most common factor was the feeling that the Mohawk language was important for cultural identity and spiritual expression.

Also notable was the preference for oralcy rather than literacy. "The interest in learning to speak and understand Mohawk is stronger than the interest in learning to read and write the language" (p. 280). One concern for bias in the study was that those residents most concerned for the language at Kahnawake would complete the sixteen-page questionnaire and respondents tended to be heads of households. As much of the hopes for continued Mohawk vitality rests on the young, further investigation was slated for this group. One causal research item mentioned was reasons for hesitancy in using speech, as it was noted that the young were reluctant to speak, out of respect for elder non-speakers.

The Kanien'kehaka Raotitiohkwa cultural centre proposed two strategies: 1. adult classes and 2. push for increased community usage wherever possible.

A community-based immersion program was proposed by the Okanagan in 1996, as an emergency measure for adults. The total population is 2,700 from seven bands. The 10% who are fluent in Okanagan are fifty years or older. The
En’owkin Centre, a language training centre opted for community based sessions as a time saving measure for research data required. The causes and effects of language loss were placed in inventories and a list of fluent speakers recorded as a resource pool for language.

Community sessions found that 85% wanted language education for children and adults. This could be achieved by community-based partial immersion. A second goal would be to raise the proficiency level of passive language levels by implementing beginners levels. The four objectives were: 1. to increase proficiency, 2. to increase family and community usage, 3. to replace negative ethnostress attitudes around language, and, 4. to promote a community/family natural process in language learning. The innovative planning would take into consideration the "usability" of programs without interruption of daily routines. Various instruments are described for the delivery of such learning strategies but the success depends on the co-operation and participation of various groups. This role is described as a committee of "activators." Other successful program models have not made such dramatic note of the need for highly motivated and committed committee members.

The 1987 report on the Hawaiian language immersion program in 1987, presents an evaluation model after one year of operation, rather than the cultural insights in the Canadian program reports. Slaughter (1981) presents qualitative evaluation and ethnographic methods as useful for innovative programs; that is, objectives and programs are being developed as the program is being implemented (Fetterman & Pitman, 1986; Erickson, 1986).
Suggested objectives were based on the early immersion program for Culver City and tended to be school-centred with a concern for maintaining English features, social and scholastic tasks related to "the domain of the school," maintaining elementary standard objectives, and maintaining normal progress of English language.

Several features of the program, however, are presented which contributed to the school's success. For example, by the end of the year several of the children were able to construct very complex sentences in Hawaiian in a wide range of communicative functions. Some students did reach a level of fluency in pre-school. The importance of program documentation was also mentioned as a tool for evaluation systems for innovative programs. These would include "the events that facilitate and hinder the accomplishments....and future reform efforts can be improved" (Clark, 1988, p. 21).

Two other important characteristics were the rapport between teachers and students and an authoritative learning style appropriate for Hawaiian children. Hawaiian learning styles were consistent with an authoritative disciplinary environment. Children were on task a high proportion of the time. There is little evidence that the program needs are community generated.

A decade of literature in the Journal of American Indian Education also includes research on the relation of language teaching on academic learning. The United States programs, except for Navajo, began primarily in the 1970s with the same structural methodology and lack of resources as the Canadian programs. Most studies measure the level of remediation by determining the effects of oral,
visual or textual learning or the variance of semantic structures. At this time there is no specific conclusive evidence for substantive effects.

Also included in research is the prevailing aspect of "silence" of First Nations. G.A. Plank (1994) notes how "silence" had not been studied in itself but studied in the context of its effect on schooling. More language effects and other socio-cultural effects are considered, with First Nation social alienation given least attention. Silence as communication and oratory as a fine art is best portrayed by Osborn. The cultural concept of "silence" is given power and continuity as is the "word" in the culture. The concept of language connection to spirituality is demonstrated by a quote from the Pulitzer Prize-winning Kiowa author, N. Scott Momaday,

A word has power in and of itself. It comes from nothing into sound and meaning: it gives origin to all things. By means of words can a man deal with the world on equal terms. And the word is sacred. (N. Scott Momaday)

Osborn also quotes Balgooyen, who for the most part could not find any evidence of formal trading in speaking; but the skill was given by supernatural powers (p18). The handing down of histories was at one point according to Grinnell a sacred duty and accuracy was paramount. It was noted that in this context the need for integrity was "so strong that unless a man feels he can be accurate, he prefers to keep silent."

Affirmations of true language origin as sacred and value as stated above may be an avenue for addressing some issues which were inherent in the
Curriculum Design by the Gitisonimx (1992). The FN literature is beginning to reflect developmental features such as the actual issues involved and the values on which the curriculum designs are based. The issues which the Gitisonimx present suggest that cultural and social realities are coming to the forefront of curriculum needs. Issues include the question of internal barriers to speak the language for some persons, oralcy verses literacy, biculturalism, native as a second language, and the inseparable nature of culture and language. The curriculum sharing involves a curriculum design based on learning by lived experience rather than linear plans and learning outcomes. The orientation and methodology carries with it the traditional style for learning as the curriculum is described:

The curriculum is organized around the activities and interactions of everyday Gitksan life so that learning is dynamic and directly connected to Gitksan worldviews and ways of being in the world.

(Gitwangak, 1991)

The model provides a work plan, the objectives, the content areas desired, and a sample theme unit. The curriculum offers a bridge between what may be considered "informal" learning and language learning by "ways of knowing" and provide meaning if they "must be guided by the subtle curricular processes that are already in place within the community and within the world of the children" (p. 22). The process is based on the principles of action research and considers phenomenology.
iv. First Nations Community Strategies

Many First Nation communities express the desire for language maintenance but the commitment and political will is not evident. With this situation the dynamics of community living need to be addressed and a strategy developed to remedy dysfunctional communities.

Many First Nations are attempting to deal with their social issues using a combination of both traditional and contemporary psychological avenues. This is often done through programs like language education. Changing economies and lifestyles however have also changed community habits and have led to a general malaise in problem-solving. First Nations people have attended many workshops for social and educational programs but are often without tools for implementation. The strength behind French immersion in Canada involved the sincerity and initiative of French parents. The FN "community" in the reservation situation could include membership on and off reserve and in public schools could include those parents involved with their children's education. Calliou, (1993), presents a cross-cultural exploration of the concept of community and looks at some features based on an analysis of 30 community education theorists. As FN schools are separate from the public schools they fit the categorization of Community Schools (CS) (Paquett, 1986).

Calliou reports very little native authorship in the area of native community dynamics but the features inherent in workable models can be pursued as possible avenues. For example, in the area of traditional tribal relations in education she quotes a Chippewa-Cree where education should
represent "a strong sense of community orientation and responsibility" (Wright, 1981, pp. 4, 7). The implication being the overlap of past FN philosophies to present pedagogy in order to "reinvent" healthy forms of local self-government. The concept of community is broken down to two common threads 1. needs (human) and 2. association (the trial in maintenance of community) and community sustenance as focus despite its fragmentation in an industrialized world (Minzey a LeTarte, 1979).

In defining the Community Concept, Calliou includes four components which provide the macro-situation in which language programs are situated. They are: 1. participants, 2. locality, 3. purpose, and 4. expected outcomes. Without any specific definition of any given community some features of these three areas might be a starting point for community awareness. For example, as participants Calliou states that "individuals may not even possess a consciousness of themselves as members of a particular collective, or they may be engaged in acts of passive or active resistance towards the collective" (1993, p. 4). Other barriers to collective structures include individual differences, mobility, and choice.

Dysfunctional communities could focus on those areas of fragmentation that are relevant in their contexts as micro-communities. These might include class, age, educational attainment (acculturation), cultural status, and power.

Locality represents an important aspect which might not be evident to FN who are not habitually transient namely a complete understanding of setting before action (an emphasis noted in all the writing reviewed by Calliou.)
Setting inventory based on Olsen, (1954), includes: the material (people and acquisitions), institutional (habits), and psychological (motivations, emotions). As the FN community can come to an understanding of setting inventory they may be able to work with a consensus.

In expected outcomes it is felt that the cultural signifier has leaned towards political ends such as self-determination and justice. Many First Nations have rediscovered their communal interests and unity through land claims endeavors. Calliou refers to spirituality (The Great Spirit) and its laws as the basis for self-determination and survival. These extend into unique customs which are accepted communal practices. On the West Coast (Nuu-chah-nulth) this would be represented by potlatch rights and practices and public protocol.

Calliou’s summary of self determination reflects the outstanding issues of social remediation which is at the crux of First Nation need before healthy social reconstruction can happen. This imposition of self-remediation is described as ironic in a democracy where FN are: "excluded from decision making" and are "forced to reassert their rights" in order "to retain their identity, their self-worth and their culture" (Calliou, 1993, p. 6). Major components for community education involve planned change created by the community members for common needs and the use of resources (Piotrowski, 1975, p. 14).

The need for community development would require a transformationist philosophy for FN education. A transactionist or transformationist orientation is described by Miller and Seller in 1990, as being a social change orientation, as presented by P. Friere (1972), A. Alschuler (1980), and Michael Apple (1977).
Frierian philosophy addresses local problems as the goals for community education and integration with social literacy training (Alschuler (1980)).

Often the FN have used the success-rate of students as the barometer of success without looking at the eventual success of school objectives. The elders are aware that behaviour problems exist but the staff may not be aware where the problems originate from or how one can make a meaningful change for implementation. The community process would require an awareness of their experience in the past institution of education. Citing Olsen (1945), Calliou brings to attention the history of FN experience. The FN have gone through the stages of European schooling from book-centred, to interest-centred to community-centred. In FN schooling "a book-centred education is not always necessary because there has been an honouring of knowledge which can be encoded in other forms; for example, in storytelling, in the work, thought, and discourse of elder specialists and in symbol and rituals."

Calliou provides the features of the Community School Concept which has potential if school districts are involved with the process of honouring the knowledge of the FN. Given the opportunity to discover real goals for social development then the objectives for second language development would also be real and the time-honoured knowledge of the elders would continue.

The success rate of some reserve schools is evident in many cases where the dropout rates have reversed. The prime reason for this success is due to several features including the fact that education has been culturally-relevant, appropriate, and sensitive to the needs of students (Native Affairs, 1994). The
First Nations’ overt concern for native local control was also evident in political efforts through the efforts of Indian Control of Indian Education (1972).

The concept and need for community process was evident in other political actions such as the devolution processes (decentralization of control) where the president of the Assembly of First Nations, Ovide Mercredi, would not accept pilot project models as they would not be as applicable as a community-driven process. Leaders need to be aware of the local community cultural differences which do not always blend with regional initiatives.

The need for family and ethnonlinguistic ambience is a factor emphasized by recent socio-linguistic awareness which has much of its roots in Eastern U.S. and Europe (Strasbourg 1978). For the French in Canada, for example, Landry noted that scores were positively related to 1. personal belief in language and 2. ethnonlinguistic identity (Landry, Allard & Theberge, 1991).

The French-Canadian is an example where high French ambience and French use in the home presented less subtractive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism means there is no impact on cognition or academic success in English. There is even a question as to whether the socio-institutional milieu of the community would have to assist with counter-balancing the English dominance (Landry, p. 906).

Communities need to be aware that "schools reflect society more than they lead it" (Edwards, 1991), a sentiment which should allow communities to take a barometer of their responsibility in how the home and community are reflected in the problems or "excellence" in their particular schools. In French
immersion schools the home culture reflects enthusiasm and commitment which are evident at all annual meetings (Carey, 1991, p. 957).

In the native communities this crucial ingredient of home support was noted in one of the programs spear-headed in Canada by the Micmac:

Even if we speak Mi’kmaq correctly, here at the school, the kids are not going to be able to get it unless there is all kinds of motivation in their community that will enable them to do so too. (Batiste, 1993, p. 15.)

Batiste further comments how this motivation needs to be socio-politically based (rather than academic) so that one does not lose one’s culture while gaining another.

The Wetsuwet’en of central British Columbia reflect a community which has succeeded in the community process for language recovery. Community support was considered a means for saving time. The locale is Moricetown, with a population of 700. The Education Society consisted of traditional leaders, the impetus was the reported status of language extinction (the fluency rate was at 15%). Their process involved an initial survey by staff members, community meetings (initially with chiefs) by a language teacher, perseverance was required due to very little attendance for the first few meetings, and also there was a general need for flexibility for staff leave for research. The program represents much co-operative effort and time given by chiefs in creation of curriculum plans (about one year) and a determined effort to be as frugal as possible with resources and funding. The impact of the process was healthy with evidence of
summer camps described as a "healing process." The community is progressing to enhance further curriculum development.

The Dene, also one of the pioneer nations in bilingualism and language retention have experienced the community process which values research and cultural protocol (St.Denis 1989, Blondin 1988). The responsibility of the family for maintaining the language was echoed by the Dene at the University of British Columbia Story-telling conference in 1994. The message was made clear that it was a lot easier to dump (projects) on someone else than work at it ourselves. The literature reflects the notion that the process is considered an experiment in cultural change.

This process has been called a "real-life experiment in revitalizing language" in the Kahnawake Mohawk situation. The Mohawk process also involved a survey to determine existing status of language skills, use of language, and language attitudes as variables (Hoover, & Kamien'Kehoka Rao titiohkwa Cultural Centre, 1992). Catalysts for community action included the French Language Charter and the Kanasetake stand-off near Oka which solidified the sense of community.

Calliou also describes the community dynamics of revisiting collective interests during a crisis. But community as an essential arm to the child in the school is a factor which uses the native cultural capital (including the educational vernacular) of the child. Community planning with parents is described as "essential" before instituting the program where parents assist in developing the goals for the program. The strongest influence seems to be the home and the
home being most effective for values inculcation and the area providing the most cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979).

In the community of the larger society this process is well established but "community" involves people in educational circles and participating on PTA committees. The smaller reservation community needs to be aware, as Canon (1980) stated, that "divided loyalties" exist between parent and child if community support did not exist in the schools. These processes may be implemented as professional curriculum development processes but in small communities where teachers and curriculum originate from core curriculum training it may be difficult to see the same attention to a new program and apply theories such as "experiential emergent curriculum" to the language program as well.

Students were sufficiently "ready" in kindergarten (Atleo, 1990) although there existed a gap between administration values and the parental values. The students' readiness, based on kindergarten curricula (which is still largely social and emergent) supports the experiential and oral modality of communication and learning strategies. The Ahousaht school however, was based on a community-school model where the community used the facilities in the evening (Canon, 1990).

This concept of adult/child involvement is described by Calliou (1992) where involvement of all family members in programs is a feature of the "inter-generational emphasis" of communities committed to change. It is fine to look at the panacea of a past culture, such as Atleo mentioning parental awareness of
the child's developmental stages of the past and the total involvement of communities in past days. However, these were features in a time of homogenic economies, and consistent loyalties to cultural credos.

The literature presents community involvement as the much needed ingredient for multicultural policies as well as for language effectiveness. Realizing that the school experience does not lead to fluency, Shkilnyk in 1986 stated that when government prejudges the forms of language retention this represents an infraction of rights. The best it can do is:

to understand a "typology" of language retention approaches and to ensure that its investment meets particular needs as defined by particular communities at a certain moment in time. (Shkilnyk, 1986)

This process was identified by the Yukon language process as reported in 1993 where there is a "real need" for communities to develop collective wills and define the language fluency levels. The Yukon considered five identity cultural levels. The need for classifications of cultural levels was pointed out by Shkilnyk:

What is important, fundamentally, is that the community decides on the uses and purposes for which the language is to be retained.

(Shkilnyk, 1985)

The categories might include: maintenance for ritual use only, as a working language, or simply as a portable symbol of their aboriginal identity (not able to speak but know something about it).
Given that many FN communities have lost their original cultures including the dynamics of community living, one of their initial foundation routes would be rebuilding this strength and determining how community attitudes can once again be established (short of radical stand offs and century-long land claims). Calliou cites Halsey (1972, p. 5), who stated education can be used for social change if it is understood as a political activity and if the political will of the people exists.

A key concern stated by Spolsky (1974) was the need for educational linguistics (EL) to help with establishing language education policy. While final decisions are usually political rather than educational the (EL) can help clarify the nature of the language situation and the pressures of the community. Local flexibility is needed rather than a monolithic education policy for a whole ethnic group. This is in consideration of varying speech abilities dependent on locality, urban or non-urban.

FN need to be aware of the scope of their commitments. Community involvement cannot stop at the policy level only, it needs to involve the commitment to teaching the language in the home as the Yukon experience in 1993 reports that 91% of the excellent speakers learned their language at home. These included speakers under the age of 16 and over age 50. The data suggest that the best place for learning aboriginal language is the home. In 1993 the Yukon aboriginal language (YAL) assessment results clearly suggested that: the (YAL) is in an endangered state; the (YAL) have the greatest strength when
supported in the home; Yukon government resources should be directed specifically to language preservation rather than a broad range of initiatives.
CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

i. Ethnography-field interviews.

My research methodology involved flexibility in terms of the limited amount of materials and research participants. The research emphasized indepth detail and revision rather than quantity. Research strategies took into consideration those aspects of action research with the intent that a reciprocal intent will be positive and functional for the community in question. Research methodologies considered the implications for those other First Nations or marginalized groups.

ii. The social context.

The social context of a FN small community could involve many contradictions as the values of old clash with the new. The Ditidaht nation have recognized research as an exercise for non-native who wish to attain degrees. Researching as a native and former band member I found that these two values still existed and I was welcomed as a former researcher with genuine concern for maintaining the culture as a prime objective. When assisting with research the Elders have now realized the value of their knowledge as researchers have paid them honoraria. They do not however, understand how one researcher might not further share this information due to various copyrights. Previously, as the interviews reveal, the knowledgable persons were greatly respected and their role was taken not only seriously but also with sacred conviction. Their role
involved an unconditional responsibility to pass the teachings to responsible learners from the time they were very young.

The researcher in oral history is bound to run into contradictions in the culture as material value has emerged within the FN communities. By using pseudonyms for research anonymity, for example, I would be jeopardizing the accuracy of my research but by using actual names my statements can be validated by a follow up with the person or community. The persons who contributed were asked to sign their compliance with using their real names which is often considered an honour (appendix iii). The research scope presented some disrespect in that time and financial constraints prevented further research into the consensus planning as suggested by the elders. To return now I would find various affirmations and elaborations on the statements made at the first interviews as the notions discussed would be still on the elders' minds.

I made note that I had previous research experience and grew up in this community which places me in this particular context without any preliminary research. The researcher needs to be aware that history has greatly affected the former ideals of a FN community and all may be still applied in varying degrees or not at all. Perhaps very few civilizations have experienced social change as rapidly as the FN but they tend to blame themselves for their apparent disruption and loss of language and culture. The research process is a social activity which is located in a specific historical and social context. What knowledge we are able to reveal is related to where we stand in the world.
To research the FN one finds one’s unique methodologies, guided by respect for the people, the culture, and the impact of social change. Perhaps these complexities have been the experience with social work where research has been done with FN as observed in the following research statement:

The interaction with the social work is affected by such variables as gender, race, class, sexuality, age and physical ability. (Kirby & McKenna, 1989)

I locate myself in the research process as a middle-aged, female, a minority, First Nation, single mother with all the facilities of an acculturated Ditidaht.

iii. Relevance in research.

Ebor Hampton (1988) discovered the lack of a practical focus in research when he realized his embarrassment while asking theoretically-based questions. Often First Nations people find themselves researching in the realm of academia which address themselves to Non-First nation concerns and are articulated as academic theory. (LaFromboise & Plake, 1983; Trimble, 1977). His solution was to drop most of the questions from the interview schedule and to encourage the participant to elaborate by his active listening and co-participation (Spradley, 1979). According to the custom in the Nu-chah-nulth area, the questions were asked in the order of:

1) introduction/protocol questions,
2) the general concerns,
3) the value of language,
4) the recall of their own language acquisition,
5) specific areas pertinent to curriculum content,
6) reflection and addition to initial concepts.

The Introduction, protocol, and general concerns embody the respect given to the knowledgeable and respected speakers. The relevance also supports the notion of participatory or action research as research for the people rather than the impersonal objectivity being research about the people (St. Dennis, 1989). Also, as Stokes (1985) points out, theories point out the shortcomings of First Nations rather than the inadequacy of the social system in which they must survive. The most relevant characterization of action research would be the theory of Lewin (1952) which concerns itself with bridging the gap between the concrete and abstract, providing the potential for solving practical problems while aiming to discover general laws of life (Peters and Robinson, 1984). Not enough research exists which points to the strengths which could be put to use for FN survival (St. Dennis, p. 42). Many native communities have begun to do their own social (health) research but very little has been done for formal education. Part of my protocol involved not only the general issue of language loss but also the common sense need for answers to evolve at the community level.

The Ditidaht also have previous experience with action research features, which were used by recent resources studies in archaeology which culminated with economic management and heritage strategies for the Ditidaht (Eldridge, 1992). This still represents only an interest in the environment and physical surroundings and does not deal with the effect of social change or the effects of
colonialism. It has been noted by research specialists that "native communities need to develop the knowledge and skills required in carrying out social science research....Most Native communities do not have enough awareness of how research can work for the community (St. Denis, 1989 p. 42). Other action research samples include Bopp and Bopp (1985) with First Nations in the Northwest Territories and Murchie (1984) with Maori women in New Zealand.

iv. Insider member cultural advantage.

In my experience with research I have found the most respectful and culturally congruent method for receiving data was with entire texts rather than isolated words or questions. The group situation assists with clarity and consensus-making in meaning and items which are often difficult to recall. This process may not be necessary for interviewees who have done more language reflection by teaching or research. In this case an individual interview might be possible. The community process allowed for the awareness or conscientization necessary to realize the realities of language levels within one community.

The research was based on the holistic learning strands involved with oral culture, where I returned to previous questions asked at a meeting or provided by interview sheet. Time was then provided for reflection. The participants then elaborated on the items at hand. The oral culture had often posed the need for reflection (not as critical thinking) but "wait time" (Hampton, 1988) or the need to "affirm" our culture rather than impose it (Lightning, 1992). Or, if one is fortunate to interview an elder who was specifically trained as a historian, the text is almost spontaneous, once protocol and trust are established (Lightning,
1992; Touchie, 1977). The participants might also wish to see texts where other First Nations have stated their value in the language. The participants expressed the concern for cultural misinterpretation of language and culture. From this loss an aspect of language value can be realized by the FN community. Where participants discussed other items of history the question reverted to the subject in relation to the language situation at the time. Data were filed according to question focus, with a separate file for participant data and a separate file for the researcher's comments and suggestions for further research.

Research Design

The research involves a qualitative design involving 8-12 Ditidaht speakers with questions which are based on but do not follow exactly the interview sheet. The questionnaire was given to the interviewees at a protocol meeting. The questions (Appendix 1) followed the basic research question surrounding the possibility of immersion programs. The questions are grouped as aiming at "how" to do second language and the value or "why" the language is important. And while determining why and how there might emerge an estimate of the scope required for the Ditidaht objectives for the content areas. All materials were taped and transcribed.

The interviewees were approached according to their experience with language. No persons who were approached refused to take part in the meetings or interviews. Only one person inquired about the pay rate which would be provided as honorarium. Some participants simply fell into the category of community elder, a few had experience as former language teachers,
and others were considered because they were community singers (leaders) and storytellers.

The Ditidaht had recently contributed to clarification of oral histories for resource studies and treaty processes so that enthusiasm for this exercise was considered recent business or socializing for the day. It was determined by contact with two Ditidaht hereditary chiefs that interviews and research would assist with focusing on the weak state of the language program. This personal contact with the chiefs and letters to the administration constituted part of the protocol procedure which would be considered a first step in respect for both the cultural and administration authority.

From these different contexts it was hoped that first language experience would provide strategies towards natural acquisition as previously done by roles as a mother, roles as historians, or simply by experience in the community routine.

The qualitative sampling strategy is very limited. As previously stated, the only criteria for participants being fluency in Ditidaht. Other questions of logistics may concern age, fluency level, accessibility, and a careful questioning procedure so that the interviewees are at ease and feel that the questions are legitimate. The interview questions were posed in English but the interviewer’s knowledge of localism and humour assisted with the establishment of an atmosphere of relaxed humour and the use of language typologies.
Data analysis is an ongoing process with a journal for reflection and ideas for inductive research. Organization of the data is adapted from Kirby & McKenna, (1989 p. 130). Data management includes the following files:

1. **Identity file**- A coded file (by initial) was kept for identity of research participants. (None of the interviewees were concerned with confidentiality; therefore their real names are used.)

2. **Tape file**- All the interviews were tape recorded. The tapes were labelled by question and participant.

3. **Process file**-Contains all decisions made in the research process.

4. **Analysis file**-Contains multiple bits of information, ideas and notes. If informants elaborate in overlaps in areas of acquisition, content, and value, these were filed accordingly with cross-reference to a coded identity.

5. **"Reflection file"**-Contains all information obtained after initial sessions.
CHAPTER 5. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The interviews with the Ditidaht reflect how the language is connected not only to understanding culture but also in maintaining traditional status. Programs such as immersion remain at a concept level only as long as there are obstacles preventing band member communication. The inaccurate histories, the change in community activities, and the interruption by residential schools has greatly altered natural exposure to the language.

The loss of the language therefore represents a loss of that portion of tradition in which teachings were transferred from one generation to the next in a meaningful way. The original culture was steeped in controls to ensure that the truth regarding chieftainship was upheld. This connection was vital not only for the past culture but shows how misunderstandings have caused controversy and feuding among families. At one time there were mechanisms in place to correct any inaccuracies made in public as recalled by one elder:

Harry Joseph was the historian, anybody step out of line and say ... talk about chieftainship or anything, Harry Joseph used to be the one stand up and say "No you’re not" and then he would tell them their history, who they are, where they come from. I seen him do it once I was about fifteen years old I guess, in Clo-oose. It was a meeting. It was a meeting with the Indian Agent. There was Peter Dick, David Dick, George Tate, Henry Tate, Morris Dick. There was old people there I don’t know who they were. J.... started to talk,
and Harry Joseph said Kweelthi, "you better be quiet, Kweech-atl!

Be quiet, chaadliqak chaabatga tee eyax ceeq ceeq. "Don't you see that there are chiefs here talking?" Wikaaqsteykas wik as otxuws tee. "you are not to be involved, you are not from here." (Carl Edgar, 1996)

This concern for accuracy was the main issue expressed by all the elders involved especially concerning the rightful chiefs and protocol (asking permission of the eldest) where the use of songs are concerned. Cecilia, a daughter of a chief and raised by an eldest princess was aware that many persons were trying to claim a story (kaakaapiya) which is held only by original dwellers in Nitinaht Lake (her maternal grandparents). For this reason a large segment of very original histories are kept from public knowledge.

Misunderstanding with family lineages it is felt is partly due to the speeches as stated by an elder:

Speeches aren't as deep....they'd go deep into the family, they get everyone to know where they stand, put them into their place of respect....other than the thanking. That's the problem, that's not brought out anymore. There's a lot of things, a lot of status was being given to people who didn't have....if a father or mother send them with a song, that goes, that's said in the ceremonies. (Stanley Chester, 1996)

There is also misinterpretation of rights of land. As stated by Stanley, that some persons not having "ba-uuws" or a hereditary land to build were
given land on condition that certain descendants might also live there. The impact of interruptions on traditional histories has had a devastating effect on the traditional accuracy for place and status in some cases.

This elder felt that part of the solution to this problem of misinterpretation was to meet as a group and compile the understandings of all concerned as a group (rather than pin-pointing one particular name) and that it is easier to "add onto information" as a "free way of expression."

The elders are attempting to convey the state of affairs which prevents cooperation within such a closely related community but the elders, even those most acculturated feel the need to revive a more full cultural base. The language is seen more as an instrument to convey the Ditidaht identity than as an end in itself; the desire is for a return of the culture which the former elders practised:

I’ll still say, I’ll still maintain today that the language is sort of a priority thing to have if we’re going to fight....for talkin’ to the government. I think our language is vital to know if we want to go back to the way.... if we want to take back what we had years ago even the potlatches, even though we have it now, and everything else our elders used to do years and years ago. This is what we’re after, not just the land. (Chief Joe Edgar, 1996)

Those interviewed learned Ditidaht during an era when many members spoke the language on a regular basis and learned Ditidaht as their mother tongue. The language was learned during days when more time was given to visiting and traditional feasts were given after the fishing season. The elders do
not elaborate on how a second language could be delivered in detail but they express how they learned the language in a comfortable environment. This is reflected by an elder who is very much involved with the culture today:

I came to know my language, my grandparents didn't know English very good, just a few, they talked only Indian. I grew up in the atmosphere of language, singing all the time, she used to sing while she's making basket all the time. (Jimmy Chester, 1996)

Jimmy expressed how the loss of traditional attitudes has affected the communal concern for children. He elaborated on how the children no longer take discipline from all relatives but parents are defensive if their children are corrected. The loss of "teaching" has permitted an atmosphere of grudge-matches to prevail rather than maintaining the old tradition of not extending disagreements. Members like Jimmy who are in their mid-fifties recall words which are no longer in use which identify historic customs as Ditidaht specific. For example, when a woman marries outside of the band or moves the term is sheetluuyaa-s. The loss of cultural knowledge has created an immediate family-oriented interest rather than one that is communal.

The interviews provided a chance for the elders to describe family lineages and enjoy a period of reminiscing but they also were reminded of the negative influence which the residential schools played in confusing the language and the culture. This they feel has created various mental blocks which prevent proper motivation and speech mechanisms:
I guess, like being.... when I was little I knew English and I'd try and talk Indian and when I went to residential school it was no more Indian around so when I came back home I had a hard time trying to talk Indian and I felt ashamed because I didn't really know how to talk anymore. And then today when you make mistakes people laugh instead of trying to correct. (Effie Derocher, 1996)

The impact of residential school, it is felt, leaves a person not as fulfilled when doing a performance, and the recall of sexual abuse causes one to break down with the need for some form of escape. Some Ditidaht have resorted to suicide in their confused states or have simply succumbed to a life of alcohol addiction.

The various pathologies resulting from separation from home and community need to be considered as issues for further research and awareness in the community. Historical awareness alone would enlighten the younger generations about their close ties through kinship and how the knowledge inherited by the most learned persons stemmed from a common lineage of grandparents. It is very evident that a community process is needed for social reconnecting before immersion can be implemented in a comfortable environment.

The Ditidaht have attempted to teach the language with the few resources and the little time given during school hours. The one elder, Ernie Chester, who had taken part in instruction at some point was able to discuss detailed language
acquisition. Language analysis was observable during informal learning as concerned the teachers’ children at home or during immersion camp.

The Ditidaht continue to try to develop their community in the modern pursuits yet can still grasp the teachings of grandparents to sustain the essence of past thinking. Theirs is a language unique in the Nuu-chah-nulth district, and due to their minority language status often operate independently. This places their language in a more precarious situation for eventual extinction.

It is a sign of hope that these elders begin to be recognized for their wisdom, their leadership, and their mentorship. It is our unique privilege to share the rare word, their thoughts, and the lives of these remaining speakers. It is hoped that by writing this paper in the spirit of communal concern and with the frankness of the grandmothers the stigmas might be lifted, and with government support a good language immersion program might happen.

The interview process revealed a vast emotional continuum, from natural composure to great intensity. The initial protocol meetings were done in a group, where all participants took part by recalling the events of their past. The discussion involving language brought back memories of the village situations previous to the 1970s, when they moved to the new location at Malachan. The group discussed their family experiences with humour, even joking about how liquor played a part in making spoken language in Ditidaht easier.

The interviewees displayed more nervousness and deep concentration when interviewed individually. Four of the eight interviewees were concerned with issues concerning language, culture, and the community situation on the
whole whereas four interviewees tended to be concerned with local misunderstanding of hereditary status as well as government injustices. The latter are men who have been heavily involved in modern careers for their entire lives, whereas the former were raised traditionally and used art as a means of living.

The literature presents many useful avenues for the Ditidaht to consider. The First Nation models reveal the community process necessary for program implementation to happen. The Ditidaht however, need to consider carefully their distinctness as concerns numbers of speakers and their willingness to work as a community. The elders' statements reflect an experience of learning-while-doing which the literature has recently reflected (Carey, 1991); this involves a socio-cultural component and must be conceptually-driven. The learning-by-doing description emphasizes the components in the literature which stress communication, socialization, and affective interaction as important (Wessels, 1991).

The immersion literature is helpful in maintaining a more natural approach to language acquisition so that acquisition or "picking up" language is possible rather than learning-by-lesson. The immersion literature also helps to see how doctrinaire observations about language cannot be applied in all cases. The literature or lack of literature on immersion procedures is suggestive of the oral nature of immersion, where teachers require skill and spontaneity in their double duty of presenting L2 as the language of instruction and teaching the core curriculum content. The First Nation literature reveals how immersion
could involve a distinct group objective (involving adults) rather than just the school scenario.

The literature does not say enough about the dynamics involved when the culture or target language involves a small community who have been influenced by colonialist agendas. The First Nations in their various microcosms (small communities) do not have centuries of experience with attempting to maintain their language in a new age. The culture, being basically oral, has insights in the minds of many speakers but these insights are not situated in syllabuses or research annals. The First Nation task is to unravel their language's development and their language's best means for acquisition. As small communities they do not have literacy, formal education, and globalization to assist them with their standardization. Their standardization must be community-specific and must recognize any socio-developmental needs. How to achieve this consensus with the Ditidaht is the operant question.

The Ditidaht in attempting to discover the route for language immersion also pose the question of recapitulation or inherent knowledge (Egan, 1995) as the Ditidaht repeatedly say "it (the language) was in me" (Edgar, 1996). Egan includes oralcy as a means for education but also sees the difficulty in combining the "what" (Plato) and the "how" (Rousseau). In spite of cultural interruption the elders know that part of "what" is their culture and the "how" involves natural and fun occasions like the immersion camp. It appears that while introducing language the Ditidaht will have to integrate their culture with the modern world and redefine modern terms in their own dialect and therefore
their world-view. The Ditidaht village and school will hopefully be able to use their inherited strengths in oralcy, their explicit will to survive, and their common sense ability to revive their culture and language. Their visions do not reside with politicians or educators but with their local collective needs.

The literature assists the second language teacher in discovering that one cannot always apply one set of rules for all programs (Douquette, 1988) and that one’s social world must come into play (Hymes, 1970, 1981) while considering what constitutes a healthy learning environment. The French immersion experience provides an avenue of focus including approaches which are communicative and natural, flexible, and eclectic.

When considering the literature the First Nations need to consider their difference in literacy development level. But literacy should not be juxtaposed to FN oral civilization. The FN need to take seriously the need to do self analysis in the hidden strengths of oralcy and discourses. The literature does not elaborate on how the changing political scene may influence the programs. For example, does the concept of self government entail exclusivity in involvement and research? Outsider observation has an advantage as insider (FN) researchers may not always be aware of the dynamics occurring in their own culture. In addition, the First Nation need to consider the fact that all language programs must carry with them an established support-system which they may have to deal with for every change that their programs may encounter.
CHAPTER 6. RECOMMENDATIONS BY ELDERS

The field-work with the Ditidaht has been divided into the three main categories around which the initial field questions were grouped. The major questions involved some of the insights which the elders recall in their own language acquisition, involving the how, what, and why of language renewal. That is "how to" deliver or what methodologies and processes to use, and "why" foreshadows "what value" the language has in connection with the Ditidaht, and "what curriculum" referring to what content.

i. How language was taught.

Mr. Joe Edgar, 78 years old, was most vocal in all areas. He left for residential school and remained in Vancouver during holiday breaks to work. During the eleven years of absence he forgot his language. On his return an elder relative spoke to him only in Ditidaht at all times including when hunting and fishing. He could not understand it but he says that "it was in me, the language was in me." Four other persons agreed they experienced near loss of language or found it very difficult to talk in the language after having only spoken English. This situation changes as the group explained that drinking alcohol "you can talk all you want."

The Ditidaht and Nuu-chah-nulth tribes on the whole regard their dance as sacred and do not take part publicly until the dance is right or cha-cha-bax. For example, in a discussion regarding dancing at a potlatch an elder, Edith Joseph, age 80 years, was very pensive and surprised when she was told that a
grandnephew was asked to dance at a potlatch without practice. Where dancing is concerned, elders had been traditionally asked if the boy in question "was ready" before a performance was done. In Nitinaht a person might be ready as early as 12 years old (Jimmy Chester, 1996).

The elders as well as younger generations wanted to stress the importance of encouraging the students. This may not have been as necessary in the days when learning to dance was incumbent on a young man due to cultural pressure. An elder confirms:

...that's a good part of like you teachin' somebody something, you don't just forget, you praise the person, encourage, you're doing good, alright, there...you want to get into it. (Joe Edgar, 1996)

The elders wanted to express how many members of the family need to contribute to language learning. Both grandparents can contribute according to their worldview or area of particular recall. One example was a grandson who wanted to know the name of a spear for fishing bilthis and recalled from his grandmother the same term which meant "flat level sand after the recession of the tide." In this case a synonym was found but the concepts from different grandparents involved different viewpoints, one as a noun and the other regarding locative suffixing (bilth = smooth, is=on the beach). In an acquisition exercise then, the students should be asking more "why" questions so that they are learning morphology and syntax.

A younger speaker, Effie Edgar, age 39, felt that she would have a wider learning field had she had the opportunity to learn from both worlds, that of the
land and also that of terminology of the past. Perhaps this is suggestive of the way to find relative concepts for learning to consider classification as relevant to roles. One younger informant on stating her admiration was told jokingly that her mother attended too much bingo. This could be taken inductively as a hint for possible language usage strategies involving the gambling interest.

Language learning in the past was also very dependant on the closeness of the extended family. "When Bobby was little he used to see Granny all the time." This boy who was 8 years old at the time, is a very promising singer. His mother is also interested in language preservation and was raised primarily by her grandmother. This has implications for making contact with elders more feasible and also for training language teachers so that they reflect the same qualities and closeness as exists in the extended family.

The concern for achieving rights to speech seemed to have been established to a point that there was an order of speaking:

Someone would get up and start talkin' in the language. Someone else would get up and speak ahead of this guy that's standin' there to ... lecturing, whatever it was talkin' about this and that. But this person that got up, stop him, and this second person would say, da-ee-ich xaxapxteessitasuw yaalth yaalthkwapilthaga go'saq "Sit down and listen you young people, to this young man that's gonna speak." And they only spoke in the language. They used to say da-aawxich, tladeelthi, da-aa. They used to say,"listen, sit still, listen." ciigciig-eesa go'sag, xaxaptxteessitasuw (the man is going to
speak, he is going to counsel you). That's what they used to say, stop this man first, then when he's finished telling the people what to do then, to listen to this man, then he tell him, go ahead now. (Joe Edgar, 1996)

The elder suggests that this was one mode of language learning and that all the members (close to his age) which were present learned in this manner. One elder made note of his language loss:

I spoke my language ten years before I went to school, again I was away from home another eleven. There, it (L1 language) was out just like that because I learned to speak the white language and forgot about my own. I was with my grandfather George Gibbs all the time and somehow he knew what was going on. While hunting and fishing he used to talk to me in the language, then I start to pick it up. He lived with him and went fishing and hunting with him. Then I start pickin' it up again while listening to the people down there (down the lake). Everybody, all the old people. (Joe Edgar, 1996)

Commenting on his relearning the language: "I guess the reason why it wasn't so hard was because I spoke it before, it just come back on me, I didn't learn it, I already knew it, only I forgot it."

The elder also noted the need for parental teaching in the home: I think it's a different thing for the kids today, they don't know.... starting from scratch. I don't think its workin' out for them because
the parents is the one, they don’t talk to them in their language. These kids today are not interested in learning the language. (Joe Edgar, 1996)

In the area of discipline many of the Ditidaht emphasized the entire community assisted in disciplining children. In regards to discipline for boys they remembered some elders as "mean old buggers" who shoved them into a cramped cupboard as punishment when they made mistakes. Three persons were mentioned who were also village policemen.

The introduction of new religion meant more time with grandmother for the younger interviewee, Effie Derocher who was raised primarily from her grandmother due to her parents being absent for Pentecostal ministry.

I learned (Ditidaht) by just talking everyday, she would tell us stories too, just history where we came from, how we moved from place to place and things like that. In number-learning I heard numbers being used counting, but only up to twenty. I think it was just everyday, when family was together. Then if they were talking I still knew what they were talking about. And we used to visit each other all the time. We only listened to a radio that faded (channel) in and out. (Effie Derocher, 1996)

Effie also noted that persons under 33 years old on the reservation did not understand the language. When asked if immersion might work she felt that this might work "as long as they (Ditidaht) do it before the elders die."

Concerning language use in the home: "they (elders) tried but I don’t think they
get enough encouragement (from the teachers). We (teachers) know that we can do it but they (students) need to know for themselves that they can do it." At a one-day immersion camp she said her children reported that they had fun.

The belief in former days also was instruction while eating. In early days when ooshabatc (telling about something). When kids are at the table (eating) That's what Harry Joseph and his wife Matilda used to do. This along with another cousin Jimmy Joseph. (Ernie Chester, 1996)

Elder Ernie Chester described those things of value in the modern day when his children were willing to speak Ditidaht and that in the past much learning was done during social events. Ernie completed formal schooling to grade 12 and when at home he spoke Ditidaht all the time. The elder explained some lessons he has experienced with his own children who learned: waasii _____? Where is ______? answer bakwilthsee-iy (to go to the store)

Another popular question was asking for money. uyees taalaa bakwilt. Give me money-store. He noted that they don't add the suffix for first person future tense bakwilth-see-is, and that discussion with money for them was a priority.

When inquiring about the best time to introduce language Ernie felt that pre-school would be best. He remembers fishing seasons when there would be feasts of fish and then singing sessions after. These were the home-brew days when he was 12-13 and he would sing with the adults. As concerns immediate siblings in language learning in the home Ernie noted that his own children listened but not the neighbours' children.
More structural learning, however, was observed during the one-day immersion camp: The day involved gathering mussels from the rocks at which time the adult said: "this is tluchaab" This is (called) mussels. When they went ashore he then said siqadaak tluchaab-ag (cook the mussels). No English was spoken. Ernie remembers a boy using the word axki for "here." An item of great humour was when they learned how to say the word for washroom and they would say in the dialect: "I am going to the toilet" which is shubulthag ucaaks. In this instance they were using first person present tense suffixing and discovering that the suffix "ulth" designates the "place of" or "building of." The item was humorous because the term "shub" in literal translation means "faeces." They also learned to ask the question: waascaakik? Where are you going? Answer by youth -shabulth, the bathroom. In this manner the separating of root word and suffixing was happening by the questioning interaction.

The elder observed that root words were used again for communication: They said sigadaak "cooking" when they meant sigadaak-ika to mean as a request "you do some cooking." When asked how many days might be needed to complete the suffixing Ernie was confident that they would do it in three days but with no English.

The children also went out cod fishing when they learned the phrase hishu, haa-ubaatx-ees-id "We are going to go fishing." They are learning a common term for designation of one action to another hishu, shu, and they are learning the future tense/plural -eesid. The young boys also sang a dinner song
without help from the adults. This was described in glad humour and pride by
elder Ernie Chester.

One of the questions regarding new learning is the area of correction.
Jimmy Chester recalled how any member of the extended family corrected a
child for behaviour or at gatherings they would be told outright. The correction
was graciously accepted and no further questions were asked. On being
corrected (in the past), Ernie said they constantly did that as young boys. Often
they would be told: hey, wikCASTlawaswUSich "you went the wrong way," or,
"you (plural) made a mistake." This was recollected also with humour and pride.
"We tried, then after being corrected they listened again and sang it over." This
information was also related with laughter.

Part of language of language renewal in political dealings which had great
value for community was the realization that some confusion had evolved with
the semantics of the few words which were surfacing during treaty discussions.
One word that was questioned by a grandchild was the word "ba-uus" which is
a designation of land ownership by traditional inheritance. The Ditidaht have
inherited land which signifies unquestioned original inhabitants for many
centuries. Another term tlulthiit tlheebaqstee was brought out at a very
emotional point in the discussion of spiritual loss at a band meeting. The term is
difficult to define but in general means, "to have a good character" which is
achieved not from teaching but the age-old rituals and spiritual quests. The
elder Ernie Chester suggested some methodology in order to come to consensus
about semantics "we should all work at it in a group."
The past teaching strategies involved story-telling and learning in context. The elders described the legend-time situation but did not elaborate on the effects of the stories. This area is sadly lacking with the Ditidaht. Legend-telling happened at any opportunity when one was sitting in a group in the past. In the classroom situation, in order to compensate the imagery present in onsite-learning the experienced language teacher said it was more effective to draw pictures of the objects being taught.

The language teacher also made note that all the speakers had different experiences even if the language had a good base as children. Language was used at all times, even in play but when they came back from residential school "we were all different." "Different" was elaborated on as no longer having pride in the language and also suffering conditions from sexual and physical abuse.

Strategies for second language acquisition were explored by asking how the elders recall learning English or learning another dialect. When asked what was difficult about learning English, Ernie’s reply was: "When they said a whole paragraph, sentences weren’t bad." Also in the area of learning another dialect, while in Ahousaht (a Nuu-chah-nulth dialect) two Ahousaht members taught him their dialect. Their reason for teaching him was their inability to understand Ditidaht. Ernie said it took one month to learn with the two taking turns teaching him.

In order to discuss more specific language differences the elder was also asked what he thought about Ditidaht translations. Do you think you could translate anything into English? "Yeah, a lot of English is backwards."
More specifically, questioned on how the Ditidaht should proceed in returning the language, the elder teacher replied:

I think we should, ah, be singing and talkin’ together, community dinners, let the old people know they’re going to talk the language, not English. They take turns, that’s the way the old people were. They stand up and talk to us young people, another person would stand up. One lady would speak to the girls eh? (E. Chester, 1996)

Regarding contemporary language instruction he stated:

When I taught it in the school they thought they only learned it in there, they didn’t take it out. They thought it was just a school system thing. (Ernie Chester, 1996)

Another culturally-taught singer, Jimmy Chester, noted the recall-strength of oral culture. Parental teaching happened in the home even though he didn’t seem to be listening.

I guess they knew in their heart that I’d remember what they say, cause I always notice people saying, ‘they’re not listening but up here (pointing to head) they’re recording it, they remember later as flashbacks. I grew up in the atmosphere of language, singing all the time, she (grandmother) used to sing while she’s making basket all the time ... I began to notice it (culture) seriously when I was 16-18 years old, then I started noticing parties (potlatches) then I start remembering what Nookwa and Tookbeek used to teach me.

(Jimmy Chester, 1996)
He remembers that he and his brother would be told to sit down and they would "talk and talk." Jimmy feels that the modern forms of recording are available to assist in learning and teaching and felt the greatest concern for the content of culture which has been lost. He is grateful for the availability of recording technology and feels that each family should put their songs on video. The students should learn the laws of shitl-uuyaa-s when a woman marries she can ask permission from the eldest man of the family to use songs.

Jimmy mentioned that his elder brother Ernie, literally lived with the masters of the past. But when questioned if all persons might want to do this he said:

...some could be singers, some could be dancers, or just support, all can't have the same gift, all have different offices, but a guy could work on it if he wants, is determined, to be a singer. (Jimmy Chester, 1966)

Jimmy gave examples of persons who represent an ideal learning situation. One example of a student who continued researching was a young man. "Ralph, I'm really proud that he listened, he lifts up our people, he searches and searches for more and more." Jimmy Chester also proudly reported that he has a four year old granddaughter who has no problem with speaking Ditidaht and who even makes her own songs.

The Ditidaht character in the past also involved much co-operation and sharing. Often persons were asked to sing and they would immediately reply
shu, shu, shu, "ok, ok, ok" or they would ask them to dance or "be their feet" (Jimmy referring to Harry Joseph).

The comments on an immersion strategy for the Ditidaht community were largely positive but with no elaboration. The question was asked: Do you think the speakers will be willing to go to the schools and speak only Ditidaht? The answer was "Yeah, at different levels."

ii. What to include as content.

The area that was least discussed was the actual inclusion for curriculum content. The Ditidaht community have been involved with cultural practices such as story-telling, lahul gambling games, and native dancing, with story-telling being least visible. All the practices have been done informally and only offered minimally in the independent school. The school's curriculum has been guided by the provincial core-curriculum, except when language was offered as a subject. The interviewees were asked what forms were most enjoyable to them in the informal arena, and the question was put to them if language-only as in immersion might work in Ditidaht.

Stan Chester feels the teens are only using the excuse that "they were laughing at us" and that they need to learn the language "every day in any area, in any function, even the office-workers, one day of no English...no one will speak it right away but they will pick it up." Lahal (native gambling game) used to be a big thing with the Ditidaht. They would be kwiisca-cheedlth (travelling in many directions).
Effie Derocher, the young interviewee stated: "She (her grandmother) would tell us stories too, just history, where we came from, how we moved from place to place, things like that." The cultural experience for many years for the younger Ditidaht (until the 1970s) involved lahal and church. At 14 the young informant learned songs through practice with the move to the new village where a cultural centre was opened. In regards to legends there was no specific training to become a story-teller but it was "just passed down." She heard the stories from her father or her uncle. The favourite stories were the ones about Mink. She feels maybe because they were so funny.

An elder interviewee Cecilia Charles, female, age 70, had one year of formal education and could only reply in short answers due to a stroke. She is 71 years old, xakuub (daughter of a chief), and was also raised by grandparents. She was not permitted to go to school due to their strictness, "my grandmother was strict to me, they didn’t want me to meet everybody they didn’t want me to meet a boyfriend."

Like what’s his name use to speak, Philip Joseph, he used to speak when it’s paalthaach (potlatch) time....and he used to song-lead too. He had a big voice. When they’re going to have paalthaach everybody used to gather, just the family, start singing their songs. ‘We’re going to sing this one first’ they used to say that. They have it all ready before they go to paalthaach. Grampa had real lotsa....when they sing before they eat. I know Carl’s father had one they used to sing just before they eat. Du-duuketls at guus ----.
"I will sing even when I am -------." They used to sing that
sometimes at guus ch'itlx "even while I am getting water or xee-
ichx "even while I am gathering seafood." Everything like like that.
(Cecelia Charles, 1996)

When asked if the actions mentioned in the song could be changed Cecelia was
reminded that:

Lots of things that people used to have, gadee....how do you say
it....when it’s their own song or, they try take it away, they start
doing that. I heard somebody tried to take away that big mountain
at Nininat, Kaakaapiya (Mt.Rosander). My grandmother (maternal)
used to tell me about Kaakaapiya, they had a daughter, and it
flooded and they stay up there. Haawilthin, used to come in, his
body would shine. That is how she got pregnant and in the day
time they used to only see his shadow. (Cecelia Charles,1966)

When asked if there were some people who were extra skillful with speeches or
stories she said:

Yeah, grampa was like that, he used to say, when he says
something, he used to say, 'that's my high-word' that's different
from our language. (Cecelia Charles,1996)

Cecelia mentioned that the two villages of Wyack and Clo-oose used to take
turns inviting each other for cultural events such as puberty rites or marriages
"they would have a big party." Puberty rites for woman involved a disciplined
isolation (lthitlagsuulth) for as long as ten days in former times. Cecilia's
isolation and fasting lasted four days. Cecilia was also asked if there was any training for speech-making? "George Gibbs said they went in the mountain for four days." Speech-making was done only by men "they were more understanding how to get along."

iii. How should Ditidaht language be taught?

Part of "how" would include the initial mental health of the speaker. Some Ditidaht members consider themselves as partially fluent or understand the language but do not speak it. It is felt that this is due to degradation of their language and culture. During the initial protocol meeting with 40-80 year old persons all those present claimed they had problems switching into Ditidaht speaking while they were away from their people. Two other Ditidaht men 49-51 years old understand the language but do not speak it on the reserve. They both attended residential school for at least 8 years. Members who are a few years younger have been heard to sing native songs only when under the influence of alcohol. New songs would be easily forgotten but sometimes "came back."

Joe Edgar recalled his first attempt to speak at a residential school (Coqualeetza). He was "appointed" to a relative who knew the rules of the residence (for his orientation). When he was caught speaking the language the elder student was punished. He was then brought to an office where he was told "we can't use our own language anymore." He questioned "why?" but the elder student did not know the reason why either. From then on for eleven
years he did not speak one word and in the summer breaks he worked in the non-native world in ship yards or farms.

A mental block was also evident with the younger speaker as she states:

I guess like being...when I was little I knew English and I’d try and talk Indian and when I went to residential school it was no more Indian around so when I came back home I had a hard time trying to talk Indian and I felt like...ashamed because I didn’t really know how to talk anymore, and then when you make mistakes people laugh instead of trying to correct. (Effie Derocher, 1996)

Ernie Chester said there was a drastic change for the period before residential school and after even when returning home for two months. Ditidaht was spoken at all times until seven years old when he and his cousin (who he was trained with) attended residential school where they were sexually and physically abused at the hands of an adult male supervisor. Ernie was asked if he noticed a change with children who were abused like that:

They’re kinda slow, they’re hesitant. They know what it is. It’s (culture) is not in them, cause they were told you’re not an Indian, you’re savages, it kinda hurt. It’s not all together.... when I sing, I think about what that guy did to me....I go to the bathroom and cry, hey, that guy did some terrible things to me, and your brother too (referring to a Ditidaht who committed suicide early in life). He (the abuser) ruined us when we come back out for two months, It wasn’t like it was before even when we were....it wasn’t full like it
used to....(qeqee-ad, grandfather of both who had trained them)
used to get mad at us, 'you don't know how to talk Indian
anymore' We couldn't talk for years, they just tore us apart, so I
used to get in a canoe and take off, me and Jimmy. Punishment for
speaking the language at residential school was a strapping or goin'
without meals. (Ernie Chester, 1996)

While teaching students at a nearby reservation Ernie noticed while teaching
Nitinahlt that a non-native girl "learned first, she was talkin' before the natives."

An elder also noted that they are less inhibited to speak the language:
"Sometimes there's two or three bottles (beer) in there you talk all you want."
Or the younger interviewee: "Like I see Uncle Stan, I try my best to answer him
in Indian when I am at the store but it's hard (to) just flip into it." (She also
pointed out humorously that her mother can flip her tongue sideways and she
can't).

iv. The Value of the Ditidaht language.

Joe Edgar was asked whether the language should be taught in the school
he answered: "Well, this is important, they should. I knew my language before
English. This Nitinaht is the first language, their own talk." When he returned
to the community after eleven years it took hearing the language "all the time"
for two years.

Joe Edgar gave a description of fishing where one located different species
of fish by lining up different points of land called "bidaalth." One point of
description describes the land change as looking like a ga'awc or an
"upsidedown pack-basket" if one knows the culture. He went further to explain how an octopus was located under a rock by spotting its "tubis." If one cannot translate "tubis" accurately they might come out with anything from "garbage" or "excrement" but the real meaning is "food remnants" such as bone or shell remains.

The need for respect for those in specialization is needed. The trained Ditidaht elder explained how a person would call to their attention that a speaker was about to speak. The announcement translated would state, "stay seated, listen, he is going to give counsel for you." The language suggests the importance of the occasion and the importance of the priority of speakers. This respect for speaker order is often lacking in modern speeches. This directness in requesting attention and choosing the speaker was evidence that there existed an authority and belief for the Ditidaht. This directness came from a grandmother as well when she stated to her grandson, "You’re not listening, you’re not using the way you should be...you’re using English, we’re not English" (grandmother nookwa). Importance was placed on directness rather than just retaining an opinion as: "she didn’t hold back and just think, she’d come right out and say so" (Jimmy Chester, 1996).

The need for language as a statement of continuity of land claims was stated emphatically by one of the elders:

I’ll still say, I’ll still maintain today that the language is sort of a priority thing to have if we’re going to fight what we’re fighting for takin’ to the government. I think our language is vital to know if
we want to go back to the way...if we want to take back what we had years ago, even the potlatches, even though we have it now, and everything else our elders used to do years and years ago. This is what we’re after, not just the land. (Chief Joe Edgar, 1996)

Joe also gave an example of how people need language understanding to be able to navigate by land points as done traditionally. He related how one of his sons misunderstood land terms which made reference to a word meaning "looks like an upsidedown basket." This one account of the misinterpretation led to a reminiscing opportunity and imagery for those present as they could relate to each cove or place name mentioned. This account was uniquely known only to the Ditidaht and only the persons who knew the land in that detail would understand the location and imagery. It is unlikely that they were able to express this incident as school activities.

When discussing returning to the values and resources of the past the feeling of the elders strongly stated the need for connectedness.

Why would we wanna go back to the way we were years ago, and leave our language out? If we’re going back to eating ca-iidow (seafood) I think the language is very, very important. (Chief Joe Edgar, 1996)

The importance for politics was also stressed as there is a need for consensus on meanings unique to particular tribes:

They say that now, up north that some of the tribes up there, didn’t include their languages, and now they’re having a problem.
It's a mix-up there, Inuit and all those places because the different tribes don't agree what one tribe says. It creates a bit of conflict between tribes. (Joe Edgar, 1996)

He emphasized that the Ditidaht negotiate due to their distinctness in language and that the Ditidaht retain their tribalness despite intermarriage with other bands.

When meeting informally about making correction in the past the elders described a situation of indirect suggestion and humour as forms of correcting. In the past those making a mistake were hoopitsagkwachtl meaning that they made a mistake because they were thinking as another tribe. Another expression which showed that all members mentioned were aware when a faux pas occurred was the term aaylishkwachtl as reference to making a mistake as an Irishman would. The expressions "refers to what they knew...it's not insinuation nothing, but its just to say 'you're wrong'" (Joe Edgar 1996).

The value which language holds is unquestionably important but this has not been received effectively by the students or the teachers. Various historical circumstances have created the vacuum in the value of language that the Ditidaht are now experiencing. Language as adult education has not worked with the Ditidaht as two fluent speakers offered to teach in the evenings and there was no attendance but the interest is there because they are questioned as to why there no longer exists a language evening. The emotional tie and concern for the language still exists as young people in a band meeting express remorse and guilt that they do not understand their language. Joe Edgar stated
that the Ditidaht wish to call their language the first language; although it does
not hold that status it is still "their own talk."

Jimmy Chester related how "My grandfather said that speeches in the
Ditidaht language presented more meaning and power." Jimmy Chester also said
that a person can excel in cultural skill if they are determined and research on
their own. Within this attitude is a reflection that one has been "taught" and
has listened to the counselling and therefore "disciplined like long ago and not
like the kids today."

It is only if the people (community) values the language then they
would be willing to volunteer to help with the language.

(Jimmy Chester, 1996)

Several approaches may be used based on former effective strategies in order to
teach the cultural content. Those areas considered most effective for language
were storytelling and humour. The young speaker recalled the legends that had
humour, specifically mink, a legend character that she thought she liked because
he was so funny. Often mink (qweeti) got into situations as he tried to avoid
proper procedure according to cultural credos. The value in legends involve the
skill in the story-teller using facial expression, skilful descriptions, and other
body language to tell the story. The informant noted that only men have been
telling the stories. Questioned what difference there would be if she heard the
legends in the language she said "it would mean more."
Also in respect to humour in the present situation she noted that: "when I'm talking with my Mom and Esther, we're always laughing and other persons (other dialects) are laughing while they talk."

v. Regarding the learning of values.

In the areas of learning values, grandparents, (including granduncles) taught children as they sat down to eat. They were told not to retaliate to persons who were bad. The most valued remembrance was of the elder woman who first showed the dancing techniques after they had not been done for a few decades. "This is how you do it" the present youngest speakers of Ditidaht were told when they were learning to dance. "You didn't see it, probably in school, that's how you missed a lot. They were pretty good."

In the past there was always evidence of consensus. When completing an event "They used to say long ago, well I guess we got it all hey?" cha-chabaxa weechtl qwaabteeyik hu-eey-uy (going the right way, the way it was a long time ago). The elder speakers reflected their concern for correctness in speech and expressed their disappointment when the words were first said the wrong way.

The elder language teacher (interviewee) stated that concepts stated in speeches today may not be understood in the same way they were in days past. Those knowledgeable in history and story-telling were involved in the development of specific skills in language which are specific to oral cultures. Those particularly skilled in story-telling "put his emotions in it, he used his hands to explain" (Jimmy Chester, 1996).
Regarding a bilingual person Frank Knighton (related to the Cowichan Nation) who also gave speeches in Ditidaht, it was believed that his philosophical base was the same as Ditidaht.

Jimmy Chester, an artist and song-leader feels that he was trained differently from his brother Ernie who was taught "heavier things" and that in language loss "the greatest down-fall was that we never talked to children in the language."

Value in language meaning and understanding is required so that important cultural practices such as family rites are not mishandled. The community needs to be introduced to words which determine the passing of family rites. Jimmy Chester says that there has been misunderstanding when younger people do not realize the protocol shi-tluuqaa-s (getting permission) from the eldest in the family or when in marriages a woman might "bring a song with her" that can be used by the family she has married into. Misunderstanding rights has caused friction among families.

The pursuit of spiritual strength was necessary for achieving outstanding ability as speakers or songleaders. Skill and strength for speech-making involved going to the mountains for four days called uusibch where spiritual strength was traditionally acquired for great ventures (including whaling). Ernie Chester said he was brought out by his grandfather to pray (reference to the trees); he was also rubbed down (by branches and medicines) and ran the beach by age five. Jimmy Chester feels that the spiritual admonishment for directions is seriously lacking in the new generations. Our people are not aware of their right time,
"not to get greedy when it is not their time to have." He also noticed that language has been changing every decade. Ernie noticed that Ditidaht began to mix with English in the 1950s.

Another elder who was raised by extended family and attended residential school stated emphatically about language teaching:

Yeah, they're never gonna learn the way they teach' em; they been teachin' them right from the start and the only thing they know are words. One word here, one word there. Nobody talks in sentences. I would like the government and churches to compensate for language loss for immersion all day. Otherwise it's gonna be totally, lost, totally. Language loss began in the '40s and '50s when the Ditidaht responded in English when questioned in Ditidaht. (Carl Edgar, 1996)

Concerning the ways of learning from parents Carl stated:

Yeah, they lived it and it was a way of life and it was not something that had to be taught. (Carl Edgar, 1996)
Chapter 7. IMPLICATIONS OF ELDERS' RECOMMENDATIONS

The elders' recommendations encompass traditional influence, learning environment, and language strategies. Although all categories are included with tradition the category of learning environment and language strategies reflect similar strategies and observations made in the literature review.

i. Elders' recommendations with traditional emphasis.

Various remnants of tradition which determine the attitude of the elder generation may be misunderstood by the younger generation. These traditions may assist in finding the link between the oral culture and new strategies which will be more conducive to immersion programs.

For clues in the methodology or "how" questions the Ditidaht might speculate on how the programs could enhance that part of culture which assisted with teaching and learning. The traditional makeup of Ditidaht involved extended families and the entire community. Those closest to grandparents learned the culture best. The implications involved could mean more community-oriented courses and more family involvement as instructors in the schools. The curriculum model would be designed to include a learning style around experiential learning such as the actual field experiences suggested in the Gitwangok proposals.

The members who had forgotten their language retrieved it again by immersion in the entire community. This further enforces the need for the contributions of the entire speaking community. The design for immersion
would have to return to a family oriented structure. That the younger generation fears correction suggests that stronger cultural awareness programs, research, and conflict resolution needs to take place. Former Ditidaht philosophies and character-building are involved with the histories and legends of the tribes. In this manner greater trust may be developed.

Community dinners are repeatedly mentioned as a means for conveying speeches and learning while eating. The implication here is the need to impress the importance for community learning and cultural citizenship development. The Ditidaht do listen today when a speaker has the floor and translations are made. When translations are not made there is resentment felt by the young. The statement that "speech has more power" when in the Ditidaht language suggests the need to determine why the reception is stronger.

Another elder suggested that a woman might speak to women's groups. This might be extended to more specialization (streaming) groups based on divisions other than gender. As most women were not vocal in the research sessions it may be that the traditional strictures prevented women having their own voice.

Traditional teaching by legends had its values for teaching. This tradition involved learning in a group with a skilful story-teller from one's own family. The implications for legend use involve strategies for oral communication while learning the language. The implication is the loss of expression in a cultural mode and the need to revive this expression which may represent the weakness in voice and desire to take part in recreating the performing arts.
Traditional points of evaluation need to be reassessed where a person's performance is concerned. Dialect variations were accepted as long as they were understood. An elder felt that one is listening even though it does not appear that they were not seriously attending but later in life they have "flashbacks." Also, one will not speak right away in immersion but will "pick it up." The term "pick it up" suggests learning by observation more like acquisition than as learning. The years of training and teaching came to fruition by 16-18 years when traditional practice was taken seriously at potlatches. The implications in evaluation suggest a longer period for assessing results.

The factions which have evolved in the decay of culture need to be brought to the forefront before the entire community can function for immersion purposes. At one time tradition placed restriction on the mobility of women, especially women of status. If traditional status causes division in the community, this needs to be corrected by confirming family rights for song use and other protocols. The present day situations need to determine which traditional customs still have a place. Culture and language is needed to maintain seafood gathering as the elder alluded to the need for connectedness with navigation, language, and food. The implication here is that any aspect of cultural retrieval cannot stand in a vacuum.

The concept of connectedness is difficult to conceive for students taught through school-structured approaches to learning (that is, programs based on provincial core curriculum subjects). The elders need to stress what they have learned outside the formal systems. The inturruption of learning paths has
occurred not only by acculturation but also by various pathologies brought about by the negative image placed on the Ditidaht culture and language. Part of the process involves finding the original pride and value in the culture. Many persons mentioned mental blocks due to cultural prohibition during the residential school era. The implication for immersion programs is that a need for retraining the thinking so that the tribal customs are valued again. The effects of mental and physical abuse would have to be recognized and corrected.

ii. Comfortable environment for learning.

The recommendations made by the Ditidaht elders suggested that acquisition happened during enjoyable social meetings and while amongst those family members with whom they had closest bonds. More conversation happened in former days because there was more visiting. The implication is that a community effort needs to consider more positive engagements on a regular basis and to celebrate many events which would correlate to festivity during the various seasonal rounds of former days. For children, a comfortable environment might mean an outing or project such as the camp-out or other popular events. An example for youth would be similar to the "Rediscovery" program which emphasizes an intense experience with nature and one's own spirituality. The Ditidaht themselves would determine the procedures for spiritual experience as such experiences were private and personal in the Nuu-chah-nulth area.

In order to support any school lessons there is need for extension into the community and the home. The implication is the need for an altered perspective
from one that separates school-learning from home-learning. The Ditidaht school program can extend to the community once consensus is reached by including out of school activities as an extension of the school program. Some adult programs have offered adult credit courses which entail cultural learning. This concept would be congruent to a community-school recently being planned for the Ditidaht community. School learning is only used during school hours but the concept of community learning would provide an avenue for students who learn by doing. The implication is more involvement for parents either in the community, in the home, or as school staff.

The comfortable environment may need to go further than physical location but can involve sensitivity to cultural loss and the attitude which learner and teacher need in understanding the place of correction and evaluation. The teacher needs to establish the validity of one's native language and its unique place.

To learn by daily living experiences the Ditidaht are recommending that learning is best when the "filter" is not up and the best motivators are in place. The implication for the Ditidaht is that those experiences involving most positive emotion as found in the home, by going camping, or by telling stories will result in greater acquisition.

One of the most important conditions for cultural learning seems to involve the guarantee that cultural ownership by chiefs is respected and the students and teachers will understand all protocols involved. The implication here may be the community agreement for mission statements and cultural code
of ethics as demonstrated by the process taken by other successful language programs. The concepts engendered should use the Ditidaht dialect. This would give more "curriculum" ownership to the community as the trustees or overseers.

As the Ditidaht experience teaching strategies they will realize the blending of experiential learning and school learning which will be necessary. They are fortunate to have the elder Ernie Chester's language teaching experience who has established some teaching strategies. He was aware that the sequence for instruction would begin with simple phrases accompanied with pictures. The desire for learning sentences rather than just words suggests the desire to acquire a more communicative content.

Persons who have experienced a role as interpreter can also realize the complexities of structure when compared to English, Ernie stated that he noticed that English is backwards (appendix ii). This has implications for native-only immersion for extended periods of time without English interference. Ernie was able to notice the delayed use of suffixing in a one day immersion experience.

The elders mentioned the social nature of the past community events. In former days the Ditidaht found pride in visiting their own tribal communities of Whyack and Clo-oose. This extended the cultural witnessing done in potlatching and can be considered as instructional objectives for all cultural-content programs. The ultimate goals could include longer term planning to consider the past value in life-long learning.
This life-long-learning is possible in the unique situation of Native reservation systems where families often wish to remain in their extended family situations. This provides the opportunity for community-living-learning as well. All the fluent interviewees learned their language in the community setting. Ditidaht language was used at all times until the 1940s when English became the language of most conversations. They learned by "living it" and "as a way of life." This has implications for learning-by-doing or learning-by-discovery procedure. The elders are then suggesting that the path for language acquisition should follow the social and daily life of the Ditidaht people.

The elders provided enough information and data to suggest that the children will learn best from parents who role model their interest in the language and who reflect the language value in the home. The successful immersion venture suggests that they will learn the language best when they are having an enjoyable experience. The most effective role model has been the grandparents. The elders are saying that it is only the Ditidaht experience which could determine the direction for enjoyable learning. Ditidaht language curriculum could only be determined by the Ditidaht by Ditidaht concepts. But what should be considered according to elders, is the underlying guideline for all the implementation is the acceptance and procedure according to the Ditidaht unwritten cultural code of ethics.

iii. Language Acquisition strategies.

The Ditidaht traditional features and the more recent attempts at Ditidaht language teaching provide several ideas for language teaching strategies. Joe
Edgar said he could not understand but "it (the language) was in me." This may have implications for inherent language skills or sense from birth. The implications are for the need for early exposure to the language. The Elders experienced definite loss of language when English-only was stipulated. The implications are for bilingualism at all times if Ditidaht is to survive.

Immersion is considered possible only as long as speakers are alive. This has implications for all programs to consider effectiveness and co-operation as the critical guideline. The program strategy needs to include immediate recording sessions by the most visual forms of media such as video.

Language learning is not only being able to communicate, but accuracy in meaning and more importantly, historical accuracy is crucial. It was suggested that correct usage and meanings be addressed through group discussion. The need for group discussion is in consideration for cultural consensus planning and could be an implication for procedure in all areas concerning cultural correcting. Again, timing is critical as many native speakers may not be aware of the rate of loss and the dynamics of semantics of old and new culturally defined meaning.

The social nature of cultural dances and speeches could be considered as an ongoing feature of Ditidaht. In former days the Ditidaht found pride in visiting their own tribal communities of Whyack and Clo-oose even if they were all related. This provided the aspect of presenting ceremonies with their close community observing as witnesses. The implication for immersion is the aspect
of demonstration either within the cultural confines (community dinners, potlatches) or with other schools.

The elders discussed culture as they had felt they had taken all their training seriously as they reached young adulthood (16-18 years). This was when they actually applied their learning in potlatches. The implication here is for lifelong learning which would be recognized as a "profession" in the community or in contemporary contexts, as a choice for postsecondary study.

The acquisition of language has meant the acquisition of culture specific to the Ditidaht. That misunderstanding of Ditidaht has caused factions and political unrest may require a priority in content prioritizing such as family ownership and land claims issues.

The value of the language needs to be observed by participation in order to appreciate the cultural spinoffs discussed by the elders. These included an atmosphere of humour, being of good nature, forgiveness, learning discipline, and returning family values and spirituality.

It was the greatest pleasure to have been able to listen to the philosophy expressed by my grandfather who has long passed away in the late 1950s. The elders regard him as one of the greatest spokesmen and disciplinarian for the tribe. To be able to research with the last remaining elders provides this unique honour once again as fragments of the thoughts and insights of the ancestors can be revisited. As the elders discuss their early days, before cultural interruption, they reminisce about the days when they were truly family. The residential school stole my ability to understand all the meanings which my
grandfather tried to convey to me. For the obvious need, basic healing, many
more Ditidaht and other FN should be afforded every opportunity to experience
the discourse of their elders and reclaim their personal heritage.
iv. Speculative summary of need.

When educators ask "what can we do?" or "give us a plan of action" then
there is the danger that a program will revert to the linear style as progressive-
courses are offered in the formal setting. In the similar form that a community
process of adaptation is required for immersion implementation, the curricular
content must also involve a community process. The elders who were
interviewed left the actual use of their knowledge in the hands of capable
planners by giving indirect examples of their experience. When the interview
concerned issues the response was a suggestion for community consensus. One
example is from the word of elder

Ernie Chester who says "I think we should be singin' and talkin'
together, community dinners,....they take turns, that's the way the old people
were. They stand up and talk to us young people...." This illustrates how one
might have an idea of a plan of action but the consensus may lead to other
directions. It was also stated by elder Carl Edgar that Harry Joseph made it clear
that history (as any aspect of culture) is stated only by those taught the true
chieftain lineage. Therefore, as chitapkwey-utl (Bernice Touchie), granddaughter
to the great orator Harry Joseph, I would be disrespectful to prescribe for every
future moment. The elders have conveyed a time of community sharing in every
sense for survival and administration of the culture which they valued. They
have offered a concept of community leadership which provides an avenue for consensus-planning which allows for professionalism in education to take the back seat to teaching as an extension of the home. Their experience in the generations of rapid change with contact may hold the values critical and timely when cultures take on new experiences once more in the new-technology age.

In the spirit of suggestion I therefore humbly summarize the guidance given by the elders to me. These suggestions may resonate some commonalities with communities who endeavour to preserve their languages. They could be considered as guidelines for further research in the community.

1. Rekindling cultural pride and cultural utility.
2. Comparing acculturative values and awareness of personal loss.
3. Awareness of political affect on language.
4. Participation in education (planning and language use in the home.)
5. Training as role models and staff.
6. Attending and planning community dinners.
7. Understanding the dynamics of bilingualism, goals and objectives, and community evaluation.
8. Supporting established goals.
9. The Curriculum components:
   (i) Focus by student-centeredness as deemed effective by Elders.
   (ii) Community-based operation and spirit of contribution more than classroom-structured.
(iii) Effective use of resources.

(iv) Teacher training and acceptance of cultural standards as professional.

(v) Adequate support-systems, funding, space, and materials.


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APPENDIX I


Researcher- Bernice Touchie     speaker-______________age __

Date ______________

A.  QUESTIONS REGARDING THE AMOUNT OF LANGUAGE EXPOSURE.

1.  How many years before your schooling do you remember being around people who spoke Diitiida?

2.  Did you have an opportunity to make speeches, sing songs?

3.  If you learned a new dialect, how long did it take before you were able to speak it. What part was the hardest to learn?

4.  Do you recall some persons who seemed to know more words then others?

5.  Were there some persons who had problems with speaking?

B.  QUESTIONS REGARDING THE METHOD OF LEARNING DITIDAHT.

6.  Some persons were exceptional singers, storytellers or speech makers. Could you comment on the training for this?

7.  Do you remember some cute little sayings that were used with little children?

8.  Do you remember some of the first phrases you used?

9.  Do you feel you learned more at home or outdoors while doing chores, fishing etc.

10. What do you remember as the most enjoyable way for learning.

C.  QUESTIONS REGARDING THE VALUE OF LANGUAGE.

11. Are there some words that you feel as really important when people were being "taught".
12. Why do you feel that words or speeches in Ditidaht are more meaningful than in English?

13. What do you feel are the main words for teaching proper behavior. (xaxapxt)?

14. What do you feel we should do in the future for bringing the language back: concerning -how much to teach? where? who can help?
APPENDIX II

ORTHOGRAPHY KEY AND SAMPLE LANGUAGE ANALYSIS
OF DITIDAHT LANGUAGE.

Most of Ditidaht texts have been done in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

aa- double-lettering represents length (raised dot in IPA)
c- glottalized or non-glottalized "c".
ilitation lambda.
q- back "q".
x- back "x".
ch- c-wedge.
lth-barred "l".
hyphenation = pharyngeal stop.

Sample analysis 1. - p. 88.
xxaxapxtessitasuw yaalh = this person here is going to counsel you.
xxaxapxt ees sit asuw yaalh
to counsel future causitive plural locative

Sample analysis 2. - p. 88

da-aawxich, tlaedelthli = listen, sit still.
da-aawxich, tlaedelthli = listen, sit still.
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