CULTURE AND EDUCATION AMONG THE DITIDAHT: 
REFLECTING ON SACREDNESS, ORIGINS, AND LANGUAGE.

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF 
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF 
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY 
IN 
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES 
(CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

November 2005

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ABSTRACT

The thesis explores how a small First Nation community (pop. 770) could find a means for implementing programs for Native language revitalization that engenders the strengths from the culture as a conducive and more effective learning environment. The investigation was done as a qualitative case study that respects Indigenous standards for reciprocity and responsibility as a research style. Through a research-as-participant method, the research reciprocated with language initiatives as action research. In order for the language to excel using second-language methodologies, this study concludes, it will be necessary to form a receptive environment based on cultural concerns with sacred origins and local epistemologies. There is also a need for local reconciliation and healing resulting from injustices inflicted by colonialist policies. Much work is demanded in the local level in cultural interpretation and reconstruction of Indigenous knowledge, while revitalizing the First Native language through methodologies conducive to intergenerational passage and through collaborative organizational style. The research also found that First Nations both professional and lay-persons may not be aware of the need to break away from many Eurocentric paradigms that interfere with the full appreciation and application of Indigenous group dynamics and socialization.
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AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For teachings and research for many years, my heartfelt tilekos (thank-yous) are extended respectfully to the hereditary Chiefs, Chief Charlie Jones, Kwiistux, Chief Richard Tate, Satiix.ab, and Chief Richar Atleo, Omeek, for their steadfast work and collaborative efforts in maintaining the Nuu-chah-nulth language/culture. Many Ditidaht Elders and other Nuu-chah-nulth Elders helped to make this research possible.

My appreciation is also extended to the Ts’kel program and First Nation Instructors, Dr. Verna Kirkness, Dr. Jo-ann Archibald, Dr. Sharilynn Calliou and Dr. Michael Marker whose presence and assistance was most inspirational. Tieko, tileko to the Ditidaht First Nation whose support has always been there for my journey. Thank-you to my Supervisor, Dr. John Willinsky, for his patience, support and understanding.
1.1 Background

This language case study involves a small, relatively isolated First Nation community. Despite the community's unanimous desire for the Ditidaht language to flourish and despite several decades in providing language education, there is very little language use outside the classroom. The loss of the language use becomes a premise for further investigation into societal issues and the cultural influences. Where continuity in culture at one time provided a firm foundation and provided an established means for knowledge transmission, the multicultural mix creates unforeseen complexities and more pervasive is the continuing prevalence of English language and therefore its values.

This study focuses primarily on the Ditidaht tribe who still reside partially on their ancestral land on the west coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia and partially in urban centers and other reservations throughout the Pacific Northwest. There is a need for a contextual case study for language revitalization not only due to the colonialist effects but also due to the critical need to begin to address the unique aspects of Indigenous language/knowledge in itself and to apply these through original philosophies and ceremonial foundations.

Colonialism has severely intruded on the Ditidaht natural intergenerational transmission of language and formal programs are often at a quandary, not only due to the

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1 Aboriginal nations in Canada include the Inuit, Metis and Indian. In Canadian political references the misnomer "Indian" has been replaced with a generic term “First Nation(s)” (FN). For the purpose of this paper, First Nations is used interchangeably to represent Natives or Aboriginal persons or Aboriginal nations other than Metis and Inuit.

2 Community is used here in reference to those who are members of the tribe according to a cultural-base and a political base that would influence the language programs.
primarily in receivership positions of other cultures, the need for reclaiming one’s language and culture becomes critical as many tribes are witnessing what could become the final decade of fluent speakers.

The new societies include not only the influences of modernity but also the new values in political systems and education that are not considering various local needs. A community once so rich in skills and resources, at one time stored their customs in respectful oralcy and traditional respect called “teachings.” These teachings on the most part have begun to diffuse due to many effects and changes in the modern scene.

As strong as the past teachings may have been, the influences both inside and outside the Ditidaht tribal borders contribute to the language drift and relegate its life as an entity without agency or accreditation. The Ditidaht have made many gallant attempts to deal with language retrieval using linguistic and daily instructional systems, but despite these efforts, the language continues to lose its vitality. Persons from small communities with minority status do not have the agency, the resources or the numbers to adequately analyze the impact of language loss and processes to remedy the loss. In order to study the needs for language revival it is necessary to review the culture (at least core values and recent status) and its connection to language revitalization.

The Ditidaht culture does not exist on its own, it is culturally connected to several nations, now separated through new political divisions. The Ditidaht cultural heritage extends throughout the Nuu-chah-nulth3 (Nootka) territory and is most closely related through culture and extended families to the Port Renfrew to the south and the Makah Nation of Washington. Before contact the Ditidaht Nation boasted a population of 8,000, now the

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2 Community is used here in reference to those who are members of the tribe according to a cultural-base and a political base that would influence the language programs.
heritage membership is about 700 with approximately half the population living away from the reservation.4

In this chapter, I will describe the conditions of the research as participant, the place of oralcy in relation to the dominant society, research and reclamation of Indigenous knowledge, community protocols and research, and as well I will describe the context of the study.

**Researcher as participant**

My part in the research of the Ditidaht language, which I speak semi-fluently, was one that I had to do with the integrity that respects Aboriginal research styles. That is with a clear conscience, which means that I had learned "by doing" and that I had actually taught the language and that I had approached the Elders with respect. As a linguist and a certified teacher, there were several professional borders to unravel in order to return to a semblance of local cultural awareness. Linguistic studies that entailed a largely scientific approach for data gathering and analysis without considering the condition of the people to be served, did not render a means for effective language revitalization. Mainstream formal second language (L2) education was not working for First Nation students and language programs were not producing fluent speakers even after twenty-five years of operating in various forms.5

The invisibility of successful language renewal efforts prompts one to return to the community to try to understand the dynamics involved with the local culture. The driving force for my work is derived from a personal experience as a young student with a

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3 The Nuu-chah-nulth previously Nootka, is the name of tribes living on the westcoast of Vancouver Island.
4 Canadian First Nations were allocated land reserves to prevent encroachment.
5 Several First Nation Schools in British Columbia including Public schools and SD # 52 report no visible use of the language after 20 years of inception beginning in 1980s.
grandmother, Matilda Edgar/Joseph, who was embittered at my losing my native language more and more as each year I returned from a residential school. I was not aware of the extent of my cultural loss until I had completed grade 12 at which time I realized that I needed to replace the loss.

The need for returning to the local setting also involved a need to find local meaning to the Indian education that were spoken in terms of "holism" "developing good self concepts" "learning by doing" or "redefinition." The attention given to our education was appreciated but the information was not being introduced or interpreted for local situations and cultures. The time is very limited and even as a former Ditidaht member, there are many hurdles to overcome in helping support the language and culture.

Although I might be considered an "insider" as a native who was partially raised, and therefore partially socialized in the culture due to twelve years in the infamous residential school, I still need to gain the trust of the native community. The descriptions of the Native community are in no way meant to be judgmental in comparison to other communities in different spaces. On the contrary, the Native communities are to be commended for surviving their multifaceted issues that they solve in local minority contexts. Similar issues would require the involvement of several specialists in the dominant context. In the minority contexts the First Nations are largely faced with issues

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6 Residential Schools were used as formal schooling where children were taken from their home and community at the age of seven. Many of the Ditidaht were relocated to Coqualeetza in the Fraser Valley on the BC mainland and to Port Alberni on Vancouver Island. The Canadian model simulated the successful form of assimilation from the models in New Zealand and the U.S.

7 The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, requires registered membership for each tribal group or bands. Membership for women (at one time) was automatically changed to the Band of marriage so that I became a member of the marriage-band.
not unlike those faced in the dominant society but are all escalated and further complicated with the weakened state of language and culture. These could include internal factions, which can fluctuate according to the ongoing political agendas, the competition for jobs, or with the potlatch ban, the often very emotional cultural uncertainties.

I am therefore "participant" in the culture as well as researcher, a teacher and as occasional consultant and volunteer in the communities. In Ditidaht territory, a community of 300 members lives "on reserve" and another 370 live in urban areas. I was raised in the Ditidaht territory and became involved with cultural and historical research with the Ditidaht since the 1970s. This involved personal interviews with extended family as well as archival research and later while pursuing a degree, gathered more linguistic data. Even as a former Native member, I have established researcher trust in what new applied linguistics considers commitment (Crystal, 2001; Battiste, 2000). After twenty-five years of applied linguistics and meetings with Elders, parents and teachers, I was able to realize that there existed various levels of cultural awareness and attitudes about culture and language that could influence language revitalization efforts.

Other Ditidaht realities were made clearer with an opportunity to be involved in a pilot pre-school immersion program as well as an opportunity to implement introductory lessons from kindergarten to grade six. Other participant observations were made thought participation in tribal meetings with other Nuu-chah-nulth tribes. These included adult literacy sessions in several tribes, Elder conferences for education or healing, as well as

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8 "Community" will be used in reference to the small local native village called reservations as well as transient populations who are Ditidaht members according to status and membership determined by the Indain Act.
9 Refers to living on reservation communities as lands reserved for aboriginal use by the Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (D.I.A.N.D.)
10 The name of the Band as registered with the (D.I.A.N.D), but retains its original name from historical movements.
designing cultural materials for tribes extending to Neah Bay Wa.

The need for a participant research approach became evident when I was aware that my assumptions were based on my previous professional training in education and linguistic disciplines. The research therefore becomes multifaceted and involves an attempt to give local definition to a culture still residing in oralcy, and towards which I attempt to understand the local "ways of learning/surviving." The strength or volume given to academic research discipline frameworks is dependent on whether one leans toward Eurocentric thought/frames or whether the study remains in local traditional boundaries and contexts. For researchers for minority groups, the state of the literature needs to be balanced with Aboriginal interests that provide a necessary grounding for this work.

1.2 The struggles of minority-status languages

As First Nation language is grounded in a specific local context at the border of contact with Europe, the study of language and Aboriginal society is not valued on par with dominant languages. Its status as an unwritten culture relegates it even further from empirical sociolinguistic research and if the value with the language itself is not appreciated when there has been a "problem oriented" focus (Fishman et al., 1968).

The concern for language loss is given less priority when on the whole people are extraordinarily unaware about language and that on the whole tend to "know why languages die and not why languages are maintained" (Crystal, 2000, p. 127). At the onset of my thesis research in 1998, the need for more research (in academia) for sociolinguistics was noted and the need for the term "educational linguistics" was being discussed and at the time when the first conference on language and diversity had only recently been held in 1995 in California.
The last decade, however, saw many international declarations and publications, which address the absence of Aboriginal literature. The most recent focus for English sociolinguistics and educational linguistics was the work of Rebecca Wheeler (1999). Other studies of Aboriginal language relate to Eurocentric perspectives and are included in modern languages studies. Native Studies, as an educational offer, has developed only recently in British Columbia and the condition of global Aboriginal languages can be realized primarily through graduate studies.

The visibility of Indigenous studies in 1995 was very minimal when the primary discussion around the state of global Indigenous Peoples appeared in the magazine, Cultural Survival (1995). Reviews of global Aboriginal experience often do not include Aboriginal histories of cultural and social development (Anderson (1993) while others as reported in GAIA Atlas, will not report the holistic nature of Aboriginals and their relation to land (Burger, 1990).

Given the minority status of First Nation languages and culture, the reference materials are concerned primarily with the processes involved with endangered languages rather than with the requirements for development towards language revitalization. Battiste (2000) however, provides a cogent Aboriginal research and cultural perspective for a proactive stand and Crystal (2000) provides a summation of the state of the struggle involved in language loss.

An example for the latent recognition for unwritten languages occurred at the beginning of 1997, when for the first time the Canadian courts were provided with a description of a local history and culture from the First Nation themselves (Gisday Wa and Delgam Uukw, 1992). Battiste (2000) brings together the voices of educators in support for
Aboriginal knowledge and substantiates it by bringing forth the recent Delgamuukw court decision in British Columbia:

Indigenous knowledge, including its oral modes of transmission, is a vital, integral, and significant process for Indigenous educators and scholars. The Supreme Court of Canada as a legitimate form for understanding and transmitting Indigenous knowledge, history, and consciousness has upheld it. The Supreme Court of Canada has ordered the legal profession, in Delgamuukw vs. The Queen (1997), to include and respect Indigenous oral traditions in standards of evidence, overruling centuries of development of the British rules of evidence (Battiste, 2000, p.xx.).

Unwritten languages lose their status primarily in the sense that the medium of literacy is legitimized in modern knowledge. The Supreme Court’s description and acceptance of oral traditions as a vital, integral, and significant process in First Nation cultures provides the recognition of the vital part which oracy plays with the First Nation cultures.

1.3 Research and Reclamation of Indigenous Knowledge

This thesis sets out to determine the views about language and cultural status of a representative sample of the Ditidaht community and the neighboring tribes of the Nuu-chah-nulth who share dialects of their language and concurrently their cultural stock. Such knowledge can provide a vital focus on the conversation on cultural changes, which has taken place primarily in conference situations and can contribute to future education planning.

The Aboriginals of Canada and the U.S. have witnessed that institutional proclamations alone do not save a culture, and that even the presence of policies are meaningless if created without clear intercultural definitions. There still exists the need for
local awareness and processes. When education in our day meant adhering to far-reaching objectives "out there," it was difficult to realize and appreciate our own culture and our own experiences. I was not aware that my socio-historical self was not documented until I saw a chronological history of the Ditidaht tribe. One of the most outstanding events was the devastating effects (in my experience) of the relocation of the Ditidaht from their location on the coast in the 1960s, there was no account that this move was traumatic and marked an end to a life with the ocean, the foods, the medicines and the language. The thoughts and feelings of the population were not validated and recorded but the DIAND political agenda was there. Due to these lapses of records, whether due to the oral culture or due to marginalization, the need to validate one's culture is always necessary. For this reason it is necessary for this research to reflect a bi-directional approach as Indigenous strengths and as academic groundings as a means to:

1. Discover the local uniqueness & insider effects in order to pursue the effectiveness that "language is culture" represents for the recent times and;

2. Validate the local understandings and find affirmations made by language specialists who have discovered and value diverse knowledges.

**Extinction of knowledge**

Perhaps the need and urgency for cultural validation may be prompted through the realization that cultural extinction is becoming a global threat. *Time Magazine* provides the occasional focus on the reality of global decline in Aboriginal knowledges. With a title

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12 Also very much absent were the stories and effects of devastating diseases such as the small pox and the flu epidemics.

13 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development’s rationale was for road access and parks.

14 Insider is “a person who is socialized from an early age as participants in particular culture” (Medicine, 2001, (p.277)).
page, "Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledges," Eugene Linden (1991) describes the case with the Papua New Guinea connections with language, knowledge and local ecology where the culprit lies not only with resource devastation and colonialism but also with the strong draw towards modernity for the youth. Enhancing the extinction is intergenerational change and there is a clear difficulty in recording the essence of a complete culture. While some knowledge can be gathered in interviews and tape-recorded, "much information is seamlessly interwoven with a way of life" (Linden, 1991, p. 54).

The knowledge's continuance is largely dependent on its connections with the natural environment. By 1997, Time Magazine made it blatantly clear and public that conflicts continue to contribute to the demise of Indigenous knowledge and several prominent language endangerment specialists proclaim how language loss is not so much a loss of something "obscure" but it also "diminishes our world" in the same vein as the extinction of any endangered species (Geary, 1997).

We need to be aware of the degree that cultural loss diminishes the quality of life for the Indigenous Peoples and diminishes the valuable local knowledge. Each culture maintains a special scientific knowledge and ecological sense. Included in some local knowledge, for example are incredible quantities in color ranges, in types of soil and in types of references for snow. Linguists believe that 3000 to 6000 languages could be extinct by the year 2100 and in North America alone 80% of the Native languages are not being learned by the children (Vancouver Sun, 2001) and Statistics Canada 2001 found that the ability to converse in an Aboriginal language declined over a five year period by 4% (Mahoney, 2001).

With the loss of language, therefore, lies the potential for loss of knowledges, loss of
cultural society and loss of spiritual realities (Yazzie, 1996; Smith, 2000; Battiste, 2000).

More and more it is stressed that the distractions of modernity\(^{15}\) and globalization are the major culprits, a collusion of the powerful towards the scattered enclaves of spiritual culture, as predicted by F. Alt'iisi:

> When the words of all people become one, then the world will come to an end. Our language is holy, and when it gone, the good in life will be gone with it. When the old ones said the world would end...the young people could not hear.... nor would they be able to pray (Cited in Parsons-Yazzie 1996, p.52).

The distribution and sharing of First Nation culture even within communities is further stigmatized to the point where families guard a great deal of their inherited histories for fear of misrepresentation or false appropriation of hereditary rights. Although past foreign contact mechanisms are not the focus of this thesis, the impact that the economic shift had with the Nuu-chah-nulth culture is relevant. For example, there are some suggestions that the beginnings of maritime trade had an immediate impact on the meaning of sacred ceremonial respect (Marshall, 1993, cited in Hoover, 2000). The disintegration of language and culture through space and time is described in the following summary of our modern state:

> In the past half-century, we have begun to become in some meaningful respects one world...We readily communicate across daunting distances and complex cultural and linguistic boundaries.... In the process, individuals' cultural-identities and senses of agency have been spread out across the various landscapes that we inhabit with no common understandings...(Lee & Mclaughlin, 2001, p.23).

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\(^{15}\) Modernity as the desire to be modern in all aspects of life represents not only new philosophies of survival in a new economy and new lifestyle but also a new culture in constant change both physically and emotionally.
1.4 Context of the Study

1.5 The Ditidaht cultural and Educational Experience

The Ditidaht Nation exists on the west coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Their population once dotted the southern portion of Vancouver Island, British Columbia and "in their early days of glory their seven villages totaled over eight thousand people," (Mahood, 1971, p.128). Today, 675 persons are listed under the Ditidaht membership. An impact of modernity has been the dispersal of the Ditidaht population. Not all members were originally born in the area and others that have been reared in the culture and language, relocate for jobs, for marriage, or for education.

The Ditidaht represent one of the most progressive tribes in terms of autonomous ventures on Vancouver Island. This has been achieved largely through daring economic initiatives in the forest industry and a cautious strategy for Treaty settlement and strategic planning. Although great resilience is evident in surviving despite the inconsistent economy in fishing and forestry, the throes of change still leave scars of resentment primarily leveled at issues around employment, housing and educational opportunities including the loss of the language. Further historical events will reflect Ditidaht assertiveness and determination for resources that are vital for a quality of life based on the Ditidaht history and context. An aggressive effort by the Ditidaht to maintain formal education standards as well as the coerced attendance in residential schools, has unwittingly left a weakening use of Ditidaht cultural-based philosophies. The absence of focus toward these philosophies described as "teachings" as epistemologies involve unwritten history and language has contributed to various forms of social dysfunction.
The Elders and fluent speakers, still hold a strong role as consultants for cultural interpretation for major social issues\textsuperscript{16} and for information pertinent to B.C. treaty processes. In a summary statement for culture and heritage for treaty, for example, the value for culture as education is evident:

The Elders today feel that the Ditidaht cannot accept part of their culture without the whole. This reflects the inclusive nature that the Ditidaht feel is their cultural reality. Their claims must connect the land, the resources, the education and the customs (Touchie, 1995).

Today, only a dozen Elders speak the language fluently and approximately a dozen “junior” Elders are semi-fluent in that they understand the dialect but do not speak it. The dialect is spoken during occasional speeches at potlatches or during dinners and ceremonies. In the community, the dialect may be used during incidental visiting or meetings among Elders. Since the 1960s the Ditidaht have offered elementary education in the community and further education was acquired after an 11/2-hour gravel-road bus ride to the city. In the past two decades, the Ditidaht have offered language programs in their local school. The program however, has not been consistent enough to result in conversational language. Structured curriculum design has been done for cultural content only, with major programs developing at a new daycare. Programs might continue dependent on provincial grants that is obtained under provincial tribal competition. The Band has hired several teachers to teach the language but there has been a lack of continuity of instructors due to lack of community and professional support or simply as Elders, the physical ability to endure.

The Ditidaht have gone through the linguistic route with little or no resources to

\textsuperscript{16} As a tribe under the umbrella of the political/cultural group the Nuu-chah-nulth, Tribal Council, the Ditidaht also benefit from various social programs in the areas of health and well being for families.
implement programs. The linguistic routes which began with my Bachelor degree in 1978, was followed by my uncle’s degree, Chief John Thomas, who continued my work with writing systems, language analysis and introductory language lessons. The continuity of local goals or programs is sporadic and many First Nations scramble to make an income dependent on an existing government funding. The language lessons are not a compulsory item in formal education but general band meetings reflect that the local population carries the guilt, the blame and the grief from the loss.

The community has only in the last two decades begun to take part more fully in their visible traditional ceremonies. The extent of spiritual quests is difficult to gauge, as the strength of one’s “quest” requires that it be done in private and without announcement. More distinctive boundaries were evidenced in the more exclusive membership in the Klukwalla society. The practice of the Klukwalla has waned but initiations still take place in order for members to dance with wolf (ritual) masks. Only the Elders understand the careful discipline and protocol necessary in carrying out a ceremony and only a few members, through family teachings, know the historical relevance of cultural symbols. A Ditidaht Elder, gifted as a song leader, describes how the language was healthy when it was a “happy time” a lighter spirit existed and language was a natural part of everyday living:

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 Nookwa) used to sing while she’s making basket, all the time (Elder Jimmy Chester, 1996 cited in Touchie, 1997).
The relevance, however, is only shallow if the community constantly has invasions of modern values, that confuse the issues. The veteran language teacher, singer and culturally mentored Elder, describes how the language is not given enough status or serious consideration in modern times, “When I taught it (culture and language) in the school they thought they only learned it in there, they didn’t take it out. They thought it was just a school thing” (Elder, Ernie Chester, 1996).

The Elder reflects how the school has become simply a passive event where lessons do not represent serious attention or meaning. The school is an institution accepted as the only means for occupational success and acquired only through professional instructors. The mindset that accepts a modern instructional role has taken precedence over the concept of a community-driven oral means of acquiring knowledge. Consensus and respect for community roles have also altered from the traditional customs of the past. Internally, like most First Nation communities, the Ditidaht are further stigmatized due to cultural interruptions that resulted in dialect variations, interrupted knowledge and new political divisions. Academia and treaty processes have assisted with language/cultural documentation but has also inadvertently left the Ditidaht language with three different writing systems (Eldridge, 1992).

The demise of the oral-centered Ditidaht culture was accelerated by government policies, which used education as a means to break cultural ties. One of the most devastating assimilative policies was the residential schools. The Ditidaht witnessed some attempts at day schools\footnote{Provincial Day schools were placed in communities when non-Native industry or settlement demands the need for one-room schoolhouses.} (the community felt they were there only as long as there were "white people" there) so the government schooling in the community represented:
.... not much chance to improve them.... The sooner we can close the day-schools and send the children to boarding schools, the sooner we will be able to do something with them (Canada, Debates of the House of Commons for 1841, 1891).

The education and religious institutions then presented their own culture:

The missionaries attacked traditional Native beliefs and embarked on zealous programs of enforced cultural change. They encouraged the Nuu-chah-nulth to abandon the large plank-clad houses that traditionally sheltered extended families and to reside in small, single-family, European-style houses (McMillan, 1999 p.215).

The First Nation culture, to many students, sank into an invisible status and relevancy:

Brabant confronted the chiefs and shamans, using the concept of Christian equality to erode their former power and appointing converts as police to enforce the new order (Moser, 1926, cited in McMillan, 1999, p.215).

The Ditidaht Elders remember the days when the potlatch was banned and the tribes had to resort to hiding their regalia. The following chronology gives an indication of the blatant government actions. In 1927 and 1951, revision to the Indian Act strengthened the authority of the Federal government. In 1951 it replaced existing authorities including the Chiefs, Band Councils, and missionaries and demanded integrated education. The federal government was then able to enter into agreements with the provinces as a Master Tuition Agreement where school boards were paid for each child registered. To this day, the natural and respectful adaptation of the local culture through formal schooling has not been possible (Touchie, 1995).

The unfortunate circumstances between First Nations and the Canadian founding nations, demands that community reconciliation processes include no less than the inclusion
of an analysis of colonial effects as well as an insistence on an autonomous research style.\textsuperscript{18} This also requires the understanding that languages cannot be revived simply as a component of our education but it must be granted the respect as a sensitive part of our traditional history. This multi-pronged approach considers not only the principle of holism for health and authenticity but also takes into consideration the need to finally permit the community to be the authors of their destiny. In the race for provincially established curricula, the First Nations have not experienced autonomy or legitimation of their own language and culture. Both First Nations and Modern Language literature espouse how identity is closely connected to language and yet the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs made disclaimers to our knowledges so the colonial inference was that "progress" was achieved by "the avoidance of the retarding and retrogressive influences of the home upon the pupils" (Superintendent Report, 1906). Somewhere within the disrupted culture (that has left at least 50\% of the people suffering from various forms of pathologies) there has to be a means to restore the strengths that formerly maintained such isolated civilizations.

For the Ditidaht, it is obvious that life in general was better at one time. The culture is often referred to in the past tense, "that's the way it used to be, down there" on the west coast (old village sites of Clooose and Whyack). Some ceremonial songs are used for special occasions such as dinners, cleansing, or for the occasional traditional wedding. The spiritual aspect of ceremony and lifestyle are only understood and experienced by the few mentors of the tribe. There still exists the skillful recall of traditional knowledge but the community has lapsed into family-centered ideologies so that not all members have the choice to experience the rich oral teachings. Until the past means of for teaching the culture

\textsuperscript{18} Due to widespread social dysfunction it is difficult to gauge the damage that has occurred due to the absence of recorded social science research.
is grasped in a proper manner, it appears that its effective implementation is not possible.

1.6 Statement of research Questions.

Where communities experience cultural interruption it becomes apparent that there is a need for reconsideration of the present social context and history of those persons that will receive the revitalization effort. For this reason the focus of this thesis will include the following questions.

1. Can a small community revitalize and define their contextual language goals as useful for the future?

2. Can the stakeholders of a small community find an avenue for a collaborative effort in interpreting the past meanings for contemporary use?

1.7 Community Protocols and Research

The research is a qualitative case study and considers methodologies as participant observer and entails aspects of action research. This is in consideration for the First Nations particular contexts and cultural needs. The interview style was done primarily with staff members who were accustomed to question and response meetings while the statements from other members were provided during Ditidaht community meetings. Attendance at intertribal meetings held in the Nuu-chah-nulth territories also provided confirmation of cultural insights. More important for the local context, I took part in many Ditidaht initiatives such as an adult literacy class, consultancy appointments, k-6 instruction and an immersion daycare pilot project that contributed to the research data. For more meaningful participation, I took community residence for approximately three years.

There still exists distrust for field research from the time when data was simply taken without any assistance for the local needs. Regardless of my experience as Native insider
and as a former tribal Ditidaht member (and possibly due to past appropriation of culture), it is still difficult to approach the Elders to explain why cultural information is required. My past experience with linguistic research has led me to pursue information through storytelling and informal narrative rather than through a direct interview. From my experience as a teacher and further substantiated as a special education consultant for First Nation bands, I found that many problems surfacing in the school systems stemmed from health issues. Elder’s conferences for band schools or for residential school healing projects also provided an insight into issues around traumatic experiences as well as insight into the cultural issues.

In the past, many Nuu-chah-nulth communities have accepted language research as a lucrative venture but many more have been dedicated but “unauthored” linguists. Two persons with great contributions are Alex Thomas with Sapir and Swadish (1955) and Chief John Thomas with Arima (1985). Because the value in scientific language analysis is not clearly understood, band members may reject the approaches by linguistic interest. This appears to have happened earlier in the U.S, where anthropologist work has been rejected since the 1960s (Medicine, 2001. p. 186).

**Local protocol sensitivities**

My community commitment involved not only my past cultural research and employment but also my actual residency and unconditional relationship with the entire community. I feel that only participant-action research provides an avenue for addressing the initial needs for language and cultural revitalization. This research approach (discussed in the literature review) considers a Friesian approach towards returning independent attitudes.

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19 Nuu-chah-nulth was at one time a political grouping, which still includes the group cultural boundaries.
20 The linguistic data that I collected in the 1970s was done only with immediate family and grandparents in order to avoid skepticism, even at this point I feel that a great deal of my past information is skewed due to the heavy reliance on members who were raised in hereditary family homes or from data from hereditary Chiefs.
and skills to communities experiencing colonialist affects. The Nuu-chah-nulth has participated well in the initial steps in striving for a return to a wholesome state through healing projects and through capacity-building projects. The local community despises a project, which benefits only a few and of course will be rejected if it is disrespectful of the culture. In fact an aunt trained by my grandmother Ida Jones, stated that cultural gifts such as doctoring and some ceremonial dances were not passed on to following generations unless the persons involved were spiritually strong and committed (Elder Flora Charles (Joseph), 1978). The skill involved in the research therefore involves not only the duty to know the historical cultural protocols expected including the need to know the distinctiveness involved with oral knowledge.

For example, the oral culture requires that questions or issues become a subject of discussion well in advance so that this area might be given time for reflection before interview-style meetings take place. This is in consideration for the wait-time, which many Elders need not only for oral recall ability but also for feeling confident for recording. Often the fluent speakers or Elders will have memory lapses due to the interruptions in language use. For this reason they will feel more comfortable with at least one other person present to validate their data or better still by respecting the cultural forms of achieving validity through local cultural process and protocol which entails work in the presence of witnesses.

Other cultural protocols include the need to initially approach the hereditary Chief and introduce one's plans by hosting a dinner. After the introduction the membership will suggest the person or person who can best contribute to the area of inquiry. In all roles, including the task as instructor, I still need to respect those who are considered more fluent and knowledgeable. There are still some Ditidaht who respect the cultural adherence to line
of descent, where there is a sense of "bowing out" to baabiiigs (person who is one’s senior) a protocol which Bates (1995) discusses briefly as an enduring form of family respect at that time.

In consideration for research with cultural respect, the emphasis of this study will follow naturalistic inquiry (Owens, 1982) and the holism used in judicial paradigms now finding use in evaluation (Guba, 1982). This type of inquiry is essentially based upon inductive thinking and is “associated with phenomenological views of knowing” and “understanding social and organizational phenomena” (Owens, 1982, p.3). The naturalistic inquiry will also follow through with a context-based analysis. Rather than data simply taken from the context, the naturalistic research can result in what Geertz (1973) calls “thick description” and that the analysis is not an experimental science in search of a universal law but an interpretive one in search of meaning, in this case, the Ditidaht meaning. For this reason, illumination will be made not only with facts, but also with the “quality and the power of context” (Owens, 1982, p8).

The stakeholders were aware that they would present various interests in the language program. The Elders would provide contextual experiences and story telling, whereas the youth and language teachers and other adult groups provided the history of the major shifts in population that affect language. After much informal presentation, conversations then led towards my specific “questions” at hand. The questions were directed to the attitude surrounding language or cultural experiences in the local community as well as any information about other language programs. The interview formats considered the informal conversational interview (Patton, 1990) and followed Ditidaht ethical protocol as well as other guidelines for Native research (Hoare, T. et al, 1993; Mithesuah D. A., 1993). During
the research the members living away from home\textsuperscript{21} were made aware that their participation was always welcome and most important.

In the First Nation context informality increases internal validity. The research considers at all times that English meanings may not correlate to holistic cultural meanings to the Ditidaht. The community understands that the research serves as an extension to my previous study concerning language immersion styles (Touchie, 1997) and the participants should feel that they are contributing to their local curricular planning that considers flexibility (Rigney, 1997).

The research was qualitative that employed the small community case-study approach. Various researches in First Nations contexts expound on the need for "respect" and "reciprocity" (Archibald, 1997; Haig-Brown, 1995). The "respect" can be interpreted as cultural conversations that are considered as natural inquiry with the local reality but also respectful toward the need for participatory processes (St. Denis, 1989). The greatest need was ensuring that an autonomous research style that considers local usefulness, participation and local development was considered so that the exercise would bring to the surface the items of culture and language that are vital and authentic (Smith, 1989).

1.8 Community participation in determining language aspirations

In a respectful manner, the research provided an avenue for conscientization for cultural meanings. As the community has endured cultural and demographic changes they were able to realize language strategies through a "Profile of Meanings" (see Table 1.) with community members. The Profile of Meanings reflects the position or understanding that groups of stakeholders hold about the language and culture (see table 1). In order to maintain

\textsuperscript{21} "living away from home" is preferred to living "off reserve" (as reservations, as land areas designated by government).
research rooted in a local world-view (Simpson, 2000) many parents, grandparents and staff stated their positions about the value of Ditidaht culture in relation to various language topics including awareness how new dialects have evolved and how they might be received. The variations found in cultural meaning or literal language meaning caused some of the uneasy environment that effects motivation.

**Topics discussed with the community**

When the community speaks about what is currently useful or enduring they begin with codes of conduct and the potlatch ceremonial quests and teachings. The fluent speakers contribute to the current projects on hand whether they are with the umbrella tribal council or with the local tribal management plans. The cultural tribal projects are primarily directed to inventories or other records such as dictionaries and other written reference materials that may over-ride the attention to active/communicative aspects of local culture.

For this reason the emphasis on the research is not whether the needs for culture are addressed but rather in determining how the entire community evaluates a program’s success and finds their place in the process. The community’s opinions focused on the condition of the dialects, speeches, ceremonies (song, dance, prayer, procedures) and local legends/history. The stakeholder’s groupings within the community included: the Elders, parents, administrators and relevant community services staff with further confirmation with related inter-tribal meetings.

**1.9 Profile of Meanings**

In order to achieve a profile of meanings for language revitalization approximately five Ditidaht per stakeholder group participated in the local interviews. Further supporting statements were taken from larger inter-tribal meetings that often included up to fourteen
tribes and their Elder consultants. The topics range from social issues, tradition and
discipline, the need for reality and experiential learning as well the impact of change and
modern life on the language's sustainability. The local Ditidaht interviews took place in
2001-2002 at the Malachan reservation on Nitinaht Lake and the participation in Elders'
gatherings and tape recording spanned twenty-five years from the 1980s to 2005.

Chapter two is a literature review that will highlight the dilemmas faced with
language revival efforts, the language research efforts and the place that endangered
languages hold in academia and instructional styles. Chapter three describes how motivation
can be rooted in the culture, in validation of the culture by Elders and by becoming aware of
program obstacles. Chapter four describes the Ditidaht meanings entailed in an oral culture
as a way of life as well as the inherent teachings in mythology that could have served as
significant socialization mechanisms. Chapter five also describes the essence involved in
culture that contributed to cultural maintenance and the variables involved in language
renewal including community situations and pedagogy that could influence cultural
maintenance. Chapter six determines how collaborative efforts and extended families at one
time contributed to cultural persistence and how new economic changes requires new
attention to the logistics in consciously planning for language retrieval.
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Table 1. The profile of meanings included local stakeholders combined with inter-tribal data that supported the principles of the local philosophy.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

The literature review will look at First Nation language needs, which are multi-faceted due to various colonialist experiences that require social reconstruction and cultural rediscovery as a resource and a foundation for learning methodologies. In this chapter I will discuss First Nations language and culture and the colonial legacy, First Nation cultural learning styles, sustainable change through contextual research, cultural dynamics as spiritual quests, sociolinguistics and language renewal, and the social and cultural environment of the language learner.

2.1 Dilemmas in First Nations' Languages

When language endangerment is the primary concern, there is a desire to find the cause, and consequently the context and history which caused this condition. For the First Nations in Canada, it prompts a realization of the degree of exclusion that still exists. For example, the extent to which colonialism has affected or not affected languages as objects of linguistic study is contentious (Kinkade, 1978; Fisher, 1987). The literature further reflects how First Nation languages have been subsumed and how full attention has only been given to languages with official status in Canada. Academic research in Aboriginal context situates academia in light of the potential for further research in language studies. There is a need for an evaluation of research results not only due to empirical interest, but also due to the need for language revitalization.

The government's use of assimilative policies left a wake of cultural demise and a piecemeal approach to language programs (Kirkness, 1998) and the continued attitude of exclusion of First Nations languages from the mainstream has been restated many times by
history relates a multifaceted struggle for the First Nations, including the confining nature of governments’ attitudes towards minority cultures (Lomawaima, 1999; Sotto, 1997) and yet many major issues prevail despite decades of valuing biculturalism (Attneave, 1977).

An Australian Aboriginal has noticed that the literature reflects the exclusion created by gaps in sociological discourse with regards to developing peoples (Rigney, 1997). However, despite the influence of the West on research and education styles, the First Nations are rediscovering the strengths and distinctiveness of their own cultures (Archibald, 1995; Bauman, 1980; Cummins, 1981; Green, 1986; Reyhnor, 1996; Swisher & Tippeconnic 111, 1999). Given the fact that much of the literature relates to the systematic annihilation of Aboriginal cultures, the First Nations need to give priority to success stories and models (AFN, 1990; Berg, 1998; Bauman, 1980; Brandt, 1990; Depuis, 1988; Ignace, 1998; Kirkness, 1998; Reyhnor, 1992). The literature reflects on native research as employing effective methodologies based on native cultural situations or storytelling strengths (Reyhnor, 1992; Archibald, 1997). However, the incorporation of natural parental intuition into the children’s learning style is often the missing element in institutional learning despite the fact that parental intuition has been closely aligned in research findings:

While parents and other community members usually cannot evoke professional terminology or cite the research literature, their sensibilities about how their own children learn best very often overlap with the research literature (Soto, 1999, p.x). These parental sensibilities, on how children learn, can assist with learning their language and culture. They offer legitimacy for a community-level means-and-ends approach, which could coincide with many ideal learning conditions for non-natives. These conditions have been encased in Eurocentric ideals of quality education and high expectations
that inherently reflect the Eurocentric identity. At one time, the literature reflected a great deal of negativity toward bilingualism. Soto (1999) states that the studies of the 1970s and 1980s often outlined the advantages of bilingualism for not only cognitive performance but also for meta-linguistic attributes and divergent thinking. The creative aspect, the new paradigms, and the interdisciplinary research (especially among educators and anthropologists) helped to alter the view of language and culture as related domains. Previously language was studied on its own and primarily for structural analysis. Research plays its role in defining the dominant society, which is quite aware of its identity and its specific goals, however, Aboriginal Peoples find themselves in a situation where their culture and language are still defined for them.

The First Nations' literature faces the same dilemma in its bilingual-bicultural education discourse, namely the dual personalities and conceptions involved with mixed cultures. In many Aboriginal situations, the communities accept institutional “education” as the source or the answer in addressing all the various local needs including language development. The mainstream education system has been responsible for enforcing Eurocentric curricula that result in a "duality" of worldviews for Aboriginals.

Many First Nations of British Columbia are still at a quandary as to which educational methods might work best for them. This may be partially due to the condition of colonized persons, who have never had their culture appropriately valued. At the local level, this results in split opinions on basic issues such as to who could become a bona fide language instructor. When foreign teaching styles are ineffective, many First Nations academics have presented their confidence in cultural interpretations as the source for methodology. These are groups that have overcome the institutional dependency syndrome typical in many Aboriginal
communities. Where this dependency has prevailed the culture becomes mere artefacts to the glorious past. Native education discourse has dwelled on descriptions using the Eurocentric frameworks as a base, however, little is known “about how Indigenous students are raised and socialized in their homes and communities” (Battiste & Henderson, 2000, p. 89). Despite this community socialization, most native parents are assimilated into formal institutional dependency. This dependency can be rerouted only by those communities that have carefully considered the sayings¹ of the Elders by considering the philosophy; that it is not only important to preserve the culture but also important to allow the culture to preserve us (Hampton, 1988).

At this conjecture of communities having taken the step to be “transformed” or “revalued” through their philosophy, the cultural confidence forces the questions “What are our traditions?” and “What does it represent or realistically mean to each community?” Given that “language is culture,” in order to study language there must be a review of one’s own culture in line with the cultural phenomena involved in First Nations theoretical foundations in education.

2.2 Cultural learning and learning styles

The literature reveals that cultural teachings only take on an authentic life and sustainability if they are accompanied by their cultural context. Hampton (1995) describes how culture must be sustained if it is to be used in transmitting knowledge. He describes the steps in a theory of “Indian”² Education and its “holism,” which includes spirituality, learning styles, dualities, cultural spaces, and servitude.

¹ “sayings” and “teachings” is a translation that Elders often use for oral transmission of Aboriginal knowledge.
² The term “Indian” or “Indians of the Americas” (sustained from a misnomer from Columbus) is still used in by some, in reference to Aboriginals in the United States.
In the area of learning styles and cultural spaces, First Nation and non-First Nation literature describe the values of experiential learning or "living experience and dialogical interaction" (Hampton, 1995, p18). When educators consider the real world of the minority, they consider the realities of oppression, which Hampton feels is a necessary step in understanding education today. In 1992, there were 100 First Nations-operated schools in British Columbia that developed and implemented their own curricula (Department, 1992). By the year 2005 over 50,000 First Nations children enrol in public schools that serve the mainstream. The use of First Nations' locally developed curricula is limited in public schools due to differences in philosophy (personal contact, Dr. J. Archibald). The public school systems specific goals are unable to fully accommodate Native oral language systems and belief systems.

These divergent philosophies are influenced by different worldviews understood only by a few in the dominant society, but First Nations continue to incorporate both worlds into one. This has evolved into a pattern of literacy and standardization (or at times just the latter).

In considering dualities of learning styles, a great deal of philosophical distance is due to cultures conditioned to either oralcy or literacy. Oralcy becomes a characteristic of First Nations' experience with many dynamic characteristics including its emphasis on subjectivity rather than information storage (Gill, 1982). The narrative styles and genres that evolved with First Nation local communicative styles are now appreciated in modern language studies, however the focus tends to be placed on interpersonal communication in contrast to cognitive use as found in formal education:

Communication competencies will be more related to the extent of interpersonal contacts than to media and schooling whereas cognitive academic linguistic
proficiency, as defined by Cummins (1979, 1981) will be more closely related to literacy activities experienced in the language either in the school or in the home (Carey & Landry, 1991).

Language learning based on oral culture includes several features considerably distanced from formal learning, formal communication, and formal design. The curricular design proposed by many First Nation educators is based on their particular local culture and spiritual strengths, which embody the unity of learning with one's emotions and personal self. When lessons involve measurable objectives from another culture, a great deal of contextual social aspects are left out “We learn very little about community values: Social or family interaction, the daily activities of woman and children, or subsistence behaviours” (Devine, as cited in Azak, 1991, p.13).

As a means of addressing the low Aboriginal language-culture status in formal education, the First Nation literature reflects many designs based on the oral culture and experiential learning. These might include community theme projects, local seasonal activities, or local storytelling, all of which place value on local narratives. The following statement sums up the native value in narratives: "Look to the stories of your own birthright and try to understand the lessons they teach you about your own life and the world around you" (Joseph Bruchec [Socap] cited in Azak, 1990, p. 1).

The language instructional methodologies are only one portion of the complex social development needed in communities experiencing interrupted cultures. Marginal communities require specific strategies for implementation and a concern for workable politics. The literature presents some First Nations’ processes for “implementation” in their particular contexts and cultures (Battiste, 1986; Biscaye & Pepper, 1990; Friesen, 1991).
Once the local autonomy has been established, the Aboriginal communities begin to notice and act on local characteristics such as the changing demographics, the need for resources, and the much needed political will. First Nation literature also warns about the need for an Indigenised political philosophy as the basis for self-government (Alfred, 1995; Adams, 1995).

The First Nation literature also describes the ideal conditions for cultural growth, including a need for foundational growth and a need for unity (Yinke, 1991; Mathew, 1990; Task Force, 1991; Jacobs, 1998). The "culture of poverty" and "development" is described but only in terms of their connotations and relation to modern sensibilities. More important to language development is the growing literature on the positive prospect of modern technology and language (Center, 2000; Brascoupe, 2000; Assembly, 1990; Kahtou, 2000).

2.3 Sustainable change through contextual language research

Just as language issues require a pragmatic approach rather than simply leading-edge empiricism, the research in a minority context also pursues integration of local cultures. The literature contains very little concentrated research on the Aboriginal community (Chrisjohn & Young, 1997) and, in fact, productivity which could result in interpreting local cultures is lost by following negative experiences in relation to expectations of non-contextual outcomes (Lafromboise & Plake, 1983).

In the last few decades, however, the literature has begun to include an action-oriented research style, which considers "processes" within cultures rather than simply being a compilation of data. These researchers have taken the concept of action research to a level where the "study" becomes a step towards growth and process within the community (St. Denis, 1989; Archibald, 1997; Stanley & Wise, 1983; Peters & Robinson, 1984).
The research-as-process approach also carries with it concepts of autonomy and cultural validation. Critical theory (St. Denis, 1989) in the academic arena supports this validation. For the First Nations, whose cultures and languages have been subverted, the literature may help to validate present and past meaning as social actions (Smith, 1983; Kushner & Norris, 1980). With a focus on social actions as symbolic of cultural philosophy, it could serve as a starting point for a community to see its own wisdom and knowledge (Bopp & Bopp, 1985). It also determines their distinct Indigenous needs (Wary, 1990).

Researchers have often studied Aboriginal Peoples for the sake of data collection with little or no reciprocal development or authorship. This has resulted in the resistance to and mistrust for all research, including linguistic disciplines. The literature presents considerations for research styles and ethics, which may be redefined by local cultures (Torbet, 1981; Archibald, 1995, 1997). The need for distinct strategies is highlighted for most areas, especially in the need to "design our own tools" (Smith, 1999) and design our own policies (Mohawk, 1985; Jackson et al., 1982). Perhaps the greatest and most critical requirement emerging in the literature is the need for a paradigm shift in research towards responsibility and productivity for Aboriginal interests (Bannerji, 1995; Cerron, 1998; Rigney, 1997).

As the languages are weakening and not receiving adequate attention, much of the First Nations' cultural developmental evaluation remains in future prospects. Many modern language studies highlight the importance of "ethnolinguistic vitality" (Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). The model below outlines the variables necessary for language survival:

1. The status of the language both within and outside the community;
2. The demographic profile of the language, including number of speakers and their
concentration and

3. The extent to which the language receives institutional support (Taylor et al., 1993, p. 197).

In order to begin to understand ethno-linguistic behaviour, one needs to take objective (actual) and subjective (perceived) assessments (Sachdev, 1998). The cause for the demise of Indigenous languages is placed on the status of local languages in relation to global powers and the departure from one's traditional culture (Fishman, 2001). In assessing these common offences, a great deal of the First Nation literature discusses the changes of valuing one's culture, the need for reaffirming it (Anderson, 1987) and the need for valuing our elders (Archibald, 1995). When First Nations discuss the "frustrations" encountered in language work, there are many promises broken and many internal social attitudes working in the background. Much research "suggests that language use and identity appear to be related reciprocally. Language use influences the formation of group identity, and group identity influences patterns of language attitudes and usage" (Sachdev, 1998 p.108).

In one study regarding Ditidaht and closely affiliated culture, the Makah, in the U.S., the issue around community factions was avoided out of respect for what is considered to be a form of social control (Bates, 1987). There are very few studies that focus on the impact and behaviours caused by interrupted societal spiritual base as exhibited and modelled by hereditary chieftainships. Research is also needed to examine the influence that age-seniority once played, when social actions were “articulated” by a leader who was born a “tayeey,”3 or eldest male sibling (Bates, 1987). There is a need for impact studies with regards to residual attitudes towards persons who carry the intergenerational status, as well as recent attitudes

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3 Status was carried by the entire extended family of a “tayeey” (“tyee” in coastal dialects).
towards respecting the language role for instructors-as-seniority.

Some factions occurring around language may be considered universal. Culturally, these universals may represent different perceptions. For example, "dysfunctions" or attitudes towards language and culture occur due to notions of ownership (LittleBear, 1999). The concept of ownership in the West Coast Nuu-chah-nulth varies depending on the inculcation of cultural notions or notions of modernity. Often such intercultural confusion is reliant on the vision of good leadership:

For successful community development in “Indian villages” it is important to bring into line traditional and modern concepts in order to cope with crisis situations caused by cultural confusion, in the Durkheimian sense, political factionalism, and economic immobilization. For this to occur, new types of Indian leaders are called for who are legitimized both in a traditional and in a modern way, and being capable and obliged to dealing on both levels. (Durr, Renner, & Oleschinski, 1995, p. 365)

Many First Nation communities are going through healing processes, such as residential school projects, which provide analysis of various traumatic symptoms (Ha-shilth-sa, Sept. 25, 2003). Where there have occurred many levels of genocide, the consensus is that there is a need for “collective grieving” which may represent parallels to individual grieving (Haagen, 1990, p120). The realization of life-needs is perhaps the most difficult struggle for the First Nations, who naturally wish to maintain their language as pure as possible. But alongside the purist struggle, there also exists a need for development across cultural groups as well as excellence in the lingua franca (Singh, 1988).

The purism demanded needs to include cultural principles, which underlay language. For example, when First Nations begin to define the source of their various attitudinal
dysfunctions, they could begin to appreciate the former tenets of collaboration (Hainsworth, 1993; Simpson, 2000; AFN, 1990) and begin to value education in context (Stairs, 1993) and to consider the real life at hand (Leavitt cited in Morris et al., 1993).

The collaborative effort is a more universal feature that has global models. The concept of "success stories" can be seen in the Puerto Rican example of Steel Town, where community collaboration brought a good self-concept through bilingualism: Families were actively involved in the educational needs of their children, providing them with enriching experiences and activities. The families saw a need for children to gain a sense of history and cultural knowledge in order to attain self-confidence in a social environment that shows little appreciation for children's linguistic and cultural gifts (Soto, 1997, p. 87).

Other success stories praise a supportive environment as important to program success for the Dene in the Yukon (St. Denis, 1993). Continuity in domain considers the fact that, "disruptive interactions can have a powerful negative effect on the novice's (child's) knowledge construction" (Sternberg and Wagner, 1994 p.187). The negative results due to disruption include, inhibited expression and "doodling." The positive environment needs to extend beyond the child and into the community. The recurring statements often dwell on the need for commitment and the realities of "the local native community language environment" (Green, 1986, p. 17).

The impact of dependency is so strong in Canada that often it is necessary to find literature that reflects autonomy and local imagination. For many First Nation communities, the onset of local initiatives creates the autonomy and motivation needed in language projects. This supports the juncture that being autonomous is being the origin of one's own actions
(Milbrath, 1989) or that "no language or culture can endure if it is dependent on another for its intergenerational transmission" (Janse, 2000, p. 189). Perhaps the small native communities cannot always be aware of the instances when modernity takes away their sense of autonomy, but the inclusion of local research can boost the awareness needed for language planning:

Surprisingly, with the exception of studies among the Inuit (Taylor, Wright, Ruggiero, & Aitchison, 1993), few social psychological studies have examined the inter-group dimensions of sociolinguistic phenomena among members of aboriginal communities in Canada (Sachdev, 1998, p.108).

As Aboriginal communities regain their cultural values, other useful aspects conducive for contextual language use can develop. However, community and cultural interruptions are often prevalent. Theories that have centred on inter-group instability state that, "social psychological processes mediating languages and inter-group communication needed to be situated in their appropriate socio-structural contexts" (Giles et al., 1977 cited by Sachdev, 1988, p. 108). The study by Taylor et al. (1993) determined that the local Native populations (despite the circumpolar loss of language) do not think that their Native language is in danger, but that the next generations will acquire the added skills of English and French. The circumpolar languages are threatened from all three dimensions of the ethno-linguistic vitality model. In many small communities, the Native language has status only at home and in traditional ceremonies, with new ways of life carrying the prestige:

Over the past 3 decades the traditional way of life has been replaced by a “southern” market economy. The result has been an upheaval of the traditional social structure and dramatic change in the community status-hierarchy. Traditional activities and the knowledge, skills, and language associated with them hold substantially less social
status than was accorded them in the past (Taylor et al., 1993, p. 198).

While determining those things which are intrusive First Nations also need to reject the state of dependency. One's subordinate position, economically and socially, is determined by conditions that predict language death (Janse, 2000; Crystal, 2000, Fishman, 2001). The critical elements always include the need to consolidate many language and cultural issues early in the revitalization plan as well as to retrieve control and autonomy (Crystal, 2000). In the modern world it is difficult for most persons to value a culture, which was previously subverted. The need for autonomy supersedes the illusive sense of educational authority to one of local transformative sense in that the First Nations are authors of their own culture:

Aboriginal people cannot know who they are through the structure of alien languages. They cannot read about themselves in books or reports written in alien languages. Since they do not know who they are, they remain trapped in another context and discourse that others have constructed on their presumed negative values. (Henderson, 2000, p. 252).

For the First Nations, settling issues involves more than clearing the local community’s misunderstandings. It also needs to include a realization of the obstacles, which have prevented the regenerative possibilities of local knowledge. Henderson (2000) cites Friere (1970), whose philosophy was grounded on the emancipation by critical consciousness of one's roots and on one’s communication with one's world. Restoration of Aboriginal languages and worldviews becomes essential for Aboriginal solidarity that has often been the impetus for success stories in language revitalization:

A language effort will usually fail if the focus is on language alone. It is much more likely to succeed if it is part of a greater societal movement. That is, if language
promotion is part of a nationalist movement or is perceived as an expression of solidarity or ethnicity, it has greater potential for success. (Reyhner et al., 1999, p. 1)

2.4 Cultural dynamics and spiritual quests

If the Ditidaht were to value their culture through local conscientization and social analysis, the culture-as-dynamic would become more evident. They would also be able to see how "a culturally responsive curriculum would build not only on culturally relevant content but also upon social and critical inquiry" (Irwin, 1993 p. 131).

When a small community realizes the sources of its various attitudes, it may be able to take part in what Owens (1982) describes as "methodological rigor" in naturalistic contextual research (Owens, 1982). This “rigor” can be observed on the days when meetings with the Elders involves the group discussing issues in their language and there exists a mood of congeniality and humour. With the language, and with an informal format the Elders enter a space of camaraderie in the same vein as one would in listening to the antics of the trickster stories. The researcher or listener can glean a sense of the First Nation oral recall when after several meetings an Elder will revert to an issue and will then elaborate on their memories. This condition relevant also to language acquisition has been referred to as “wait time” for speakers (Hampton, 1988, p. 53). Critical theory designates a great deal of research as “ideologically laden data” about Aboriginal people (Smith, 1999). First Nation language workers need to assess where any new ideologies are situated in relation to their research.

Naturalistic research is still possible for a Native person who understands the dynamics of the cultural protocol with minimal research methodology studies. Still, however, people on the whole are unaware of the nature of language, and even if one is living "inside" a language (as a fluent speaker) it still takes "effort" to realize its distinctiveness (Crystal, 2000,
Henderson (2000) however, feels that in Canada many Aboriginal thinkers are beginning to come to terms with the gap between Eurocentric and Aboriginal worldviews (Battiste & Barman, 1995; Bunnell & Atleo, 1995) and that many Aboriginal educators globally unfold curricula based on their own culture.

On the question of language revitalization needs, academics have been able to postulate stages of language loss, using such categories as Reversing Language Shift (RLS) (which is a model for conceptualizing language shift which outlines the work needed, in 8 steps\(^4\), to reverse language loss) and to gauge the stages in intergenerational loss as Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) as needed in language revitalization (Fishman, 1991). The RLS and GIDs model has been validated by work done in Navajo language and life contexts and re-affirm Fishman’s (1991) contention that key to revitalization is the need to focus on the intergenerational transmission (xish) or the dynamic “within family, neighbourhood and community contexts” (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001, p.24).

What remains crucial, for small community contexts, is the local conscientization (Friere, 1971) concerning the vulnerability of oral cultures. The people (Native and non-Native) on the whole are unaware of the nature of their language, and, in academia, areas such as sociolinguistics and educational linguistics have only just begun to address this lack of self-awareness (Crystal, 2000). Therefore, the need for such awareness within the context of First Nations is critical. In the Nuu-chah-nulth area, some desire to take action is brought forward when the last of the language speakers pass away, as was the case for the Makah, a culturally

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\(^4\) Summary of stages 1. adult program and cultural reconstruction 2. intergenerational cultural interaction 3. concentrated home-family community 4. L2 literacy not in lieu of compulsory education 5. "X" (local) control in schools 6. work between x and y-men (y=dominant) 7. local & regional media & government services 8. Education, work, media and government at government and higher levels. (Fishman, 1991).
related tribe in Washington. Very little immersion-style efforts are evident despite the
warnings about extinction by concerned linguists (Kammler & Behrend, 2003).

This is not to discount the efforts made in First Nation communities. The
accomplishments made in cultural education to date have been proudly announced and
reported at Native conferences and leaders continue to stress that language issues need to be
addressed. However, few resources are at hand for the linguists, who classify local languages
as extremely endangered. They also sense that more effective community systems are
needed:

What is needed now is a very sober assessment of what went wrong so far. As was
known among experts already 25 years ago, it was an illusion that a school alone
would produce fluent speakers. Does this mean that native languages classes at the
school are altogether useless? By no means. But schooling can only complement what
is going on elsewhere in the community and only in this way it fulfills a vital function
(Kammler & Behrend, 2003, p.3).

The linguists, however, report that twenty-five years of Native/cultural language education
have resulted in a positive attitude towards language and culture. This positive effect has been
proven in many bilingual programs and stated in critical theory. For example, Sachdev
(1995) cites critical theorists Cummins (1986) and Haners and Blanc (1989) who state that
equal opportunity in non-Aboriginal surroundings is possible by “empowering students by
promoting and valorizing their linguistic and cultural talents” (Sachdev, 1995, p.119).

In light of the cultural losses and gains, more generally, cultural ceremonies and
traditional customs have created a certain level of individual and family healing. Recently
canoe building and canoe quests involve several tribes along the Pacific Northwest who travel
in concert as a spiritual challenge. These canoe quests have also provided some social reconciliation. The concept of holism is realized when spiritual strengthening (nashuksap thleemaqsti "strengthening our spirit") is involved (Martin, 2003, p. 11). People who attended this residential school conference said: "It was the best thing I have ever done for me" and "All topics were good, virtues, language, spirituality, medicines and creating balance" (Martin, 2003, p. 12). The language demise is still referenced by past native leaders as an entity on its own rather than stating a specific and more wholistic need to restore community balance (Wiwchar, 2003).

Provincial organizations such as the First Peoples’ Heritage Language and Culture Council (a provincial crown corporation set up in 1990) have stated that they "will continue to support community-based projects and artists through its language and arts programs with funding from the province and from the federal government" (Kahtou, 2003, p.14). In the year 2000, this council created a language foundation to develop opportunities for a sustainable approach to the revitalization of First Nations languages and culture in British Columbia. It is also developing Internet tools to archive and deliver teaching resources (http://www.firstvoices.com).

2.5 The connections between language and culture

Just as language awareness in general is weak as a global discourse (Crystal, 2000), so too is the connection between language and culture, especially when it comes to endangered languages. Specialists who focus on language issues find that language programs need to begin with the awareness of one's language and culture (Fishman, 1991; Reyhnor, 1999; Crystal, 2000) as well as settling the issues of autonomy (Crystal, 2000). The literature by First Nations authors on the Aboriginal experience has created a sense of cultural validation
for holistic design for education. The extent to which one's inclusion of language enhances academic goals has been understood only when "evolving paradigm shifts" provide for interdisciplinary studies (particularly those in education and anthropology). These have initiated methods for viewing issues of language and culture as related domains, which in turn provided an avenue for cross-cultural "understanding" and offered many insights into effective instruction (Soto, 1997).

Aboriginal elders have often stressed language is culture in community meetings. The literature has also taken to task the analysis of the connections between language and culture. In this short space, some aspects of holism, sociolinguistics, and learning environment will be discussed as areas, which "transduce" language and culture. In general education as applied to language instruction, the Aboriginal Peoples attempt to reintroduce holism into Western constructs of learning. One feature is the affective domain, or the aspects of emotions, that language and culture convey. The Aboriginal literary arena reflects insight into comparative analysis:

The symbolizing process that Western man have become so adept at (as in literary technology) is not true with tribal languages because tribal languages carry more feelings.... tribal linguistic thoughts as visual feelings (Vizenor, 1972, p. 74).

Rubin (1999) cites McCarty (1988) in describing this holism, in which there is a need to recognize the subtle emotional and personal aspects of language use as well as "the subconscious processes of making sense of language input, in purposeful communication, most influence oral language development in both first and second language situations" (Reyhner et al., 1999). Language acquisition is a much more complex process involving subconscious learning, where "conscious learning has a more limited role" (Rubin, 1999,
Rubin describes the most effective situations for language learning as communicative, natural, interactive, creative, subtle, powerful, and metaphorical. Rubin cites Ashton-Warner's (1963) instructional technique that sets out the need for drawing out the personal significance in vocabulary choice through question technique.

The prescriptive curricula become obsolete and irrelevant to language learning when the goal becomes learner-centered by creation of curricula around personal design. Personal experience and encounters with fluent speakers needs to be an area that is observed closely for learning strategies. Some of these details may be associated with sociolinguistic observation that considers how language relates to feelings, grandparent-effect and cultural location.

2.6 Socio-linguistics and language renewal

The fact that there is a need for autonomous action reflects the state of oppression felt by Indigenous peoples. Only recently have specialists determined that all language initiatives are complicated with a wide range of social aspects that need to be taken into account (Scovel, 2001). For this reason, integrated disciplines such as socio-linguistics can offer some insight into societal and linguistic aspects of language loss or renewal (Fishman et al., 1969; Fishman, 1991). One such area is an effective curriculum, which takes into account many cultural considerations (Stairs, 1995; Fishman, 1989; Brunn, 1994). The return to local values is validated by research which states that "rewards" can be achieved within the social web of the community itself and not outside of it (Brandt & Ayoungman, 1989; Brendto, 1990; Fleras, 1989).

One of the most useful aspects of the research literature on language is the socio-linguistic observation made with the First Nations. For example, Brunn (1994) presents the dynamic of personal life history and identity formation with regards to one's traditional
groundings or influences:

   Children’s identities are re-formed through the process of language socialization
within socio-cultural contexts... as individuals make shifts in their ways of ‘being’
brought about by changes in their referential frames through sociolinguistic interaction
and through reflection (Brunn, 1994, p.11).

   Other First Nations’ examples for historical connectivity might include the study of place
names (Basso, 1990; Thom, 1987) or even extending “primal motivation” (Yazzie, 1999) or
considering adaptability, and holistic features involved with oral culture and narratives
(Archipald, 1997; Atleo, 2001). A profound depth to family teaching, especially by
grandparents, is evident and reflects the honoured status given to respectful teachings:

   The communication was complete and unmistakable. Active listening was not only
with the ears but also with the whole body of the learner. Active listening required the
engagement of the learner in multiple senses at once, synergistic knowing borne in the
reciprocity of acceptance and trust (Atleo, 2001, p. 129).

   This example of the Nuu-chah-nulth culture represents the importance of the effects
that the immediate family context has on intergenerational transfer. The parental role, greatly
reduced due to residential schooling years, is important; as it is believed that parental belief
systems are critical to cognitive and social development for children (McLean, 1997). The
distinctive culture offers experiential learning where language occurs as personal conception
rather than as mere representations as one would find in standardized English (Witherspoon,
1977).

   Brunn (1994) provides an avenue for cultural socialization experiences. This helps to
ground a person’s identity and also provides an insight into “salient” or “reportable”
individual values. The memories of four young natives are presented in the study. The socio-linguistic experience can be brought forward through personal accounts or "life stories," as each young Native related his or her family experience. The stories provided an idea of the intensity of traditional influences or the lack thereof:

**Charlie's story:** I was really fortunate, though, growing up. My great-grandmother was really spiritually connected with the native philosophy…. My parents tried like crazy not to maintain this…. Has to do with this Western influence. (Brunn, 1994, p.23)

**Annelise's story:** In your grandparents home it's something that's known that you don't behave this way, you don't do things and you listen to what they say and what they tell you. Grandparents have a way of teaching non-verbally that, if you're not looking to see what's going on, you miss it (Brunn, 1994, p.14).

Brunn's summation emphasizes socialization through language, which is an integral aspect of affective domains. The story telling coincides with "careful listening," whereby one can situate oneself within the narrators and their feelings. The extension to cultural relevance considers the affective domain as well as the pragmatic one. Different cultures focus on different histories and connective aspects; such as the power of place names of the Western Apache, where place-names represent the epistemologies (or teachings) of moral and proper conduct (Basso, 1990). To the Nuu-chah-nulth student, place names are not merely representational but embody basic mythologies or poetically describe the features of the land. For an aboriginal student, place names could also represent their personal history and therefore their socialization. Curriculum development should revolve "around the life of the people and the environment" (Thom, 1987). Yazzie (1999) cites Quagley (1995) when elaborating on a philosophy that locates the primal motivation for survival actively occurring
on the home front of Native communities. Through careful listening the language instructor can discern the native buzzwords or concepts, which bring Native culture into the schools. Concurrent with the need of bringing culture to the school is the need to value the knowledge that the school has to offer (Trueba, 1988).

Students can realize their real local social constructions of reality by valuing their own experiences with understanding words or cultural events, which influenced their behaviour or understanding of concepts. The literature on valuing language repeats that "language is used to create realities," whereas Witherspoon (1977) focuses on how the natives see culture as the "mirror" of language. In his own description of cultural perspective, Witherspoon states:

Like language, culture is a symbolic code through which messages are transmitted and interpreted. But, more than a code, culture is a set of conceptions of and orientations to the world, embodied in symbols and symbolic forms... human beings actually create the worlds within which they live (Witherspoon, 1977, Introduction).

Other unique socio-linguistic aspects of language and culture may be observed in the occasional language evaluations, especially those with community comments (Hebert, 1984; Archibald, 1985; Green, 1986). The reports often provide short generalities without specifics about the participants. For example, they include observation that "language is culture."

The First Nations' language development cannot avoid the literacy or modern technology issues, which have various socio-linguistic effects (Bright, 1994; Fordham, 1998; Collis-Dermid, 1990; Brooks, 1996; Carey, 1991). Other user-based strategies provide the basis for the effective curriculum (Blondin, 1997) and adapt to new challenges through technology (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994; Stiles, 1997).

The process for language acquisition, as perceived by the literature from infancy
involves a natural progression of listening, babbling, single word usage, and then full sentence usage after much observation. Following this is the critical stage of social interaction which influences further development in both oralcy and literacy. This interaction is important between children or between teacher and student. The general good feeling within the contexts of the learning place will then determine the good learning which will take place whether this place is the teacher’s classroom or whether this place is the community which the child encounters each day.

2.7 The language students’ social and cultural environment

The learning environment has a profound effect on language learning and learning in general. The literature describes how First Nations are surrounded by many "disruptive interactions" or "negative interactions" present when a child’s values are dismissed (Sternberg & Wagner, 1994). Language learning programs also require a firm foundation, with a positive environment and community support (Yukon, 1993; Fishman, 2001). In an analysis of the Dene language by Blondin (1988), the factors influencing language success are as follows:

1. It is built on traditional values and ways, including spirituality in the elders’ role
2. There is a commitment on the part of the community through interest and involvement
3. The time and place are right for the program (as a critical stage for solidarity)
4. It is facilitated through consensual institutional and organizational policy
5. The program is useful and meets community needs; and
6. There is a range of resources developed for meeting language needs and goals.

The programs chosen considered traditional strengths of collaboration and planning by
consensus in order to create a positive environment. A useful credo for all First Nation communities considering language development would be: "It takes the spirit of the people, the support of the people, the wealth and resources of the government and the political will" (Blondin-Townsend, 1987, p. 15).

The literature reveals that it is critical in First Nation scenarios that communities support their members and each other. In 1999, methodology became a focus, when a review of research stated the five characteristics of a successful language revitalization program: group solidarity, immersion environment, literacy, use of mass media, and sufficient number of speakers (Reyhner et al., 1999).

Group solidarity is the distinctive hurdle required for minority languages. What is also prevalent with the Aboriginal synthesis of language loss is the competition with the dominant society and forces of change. In examining the Fisher Cree language of Manitoba, four factors contribute to language erosion:

1. Relocation of the band;
2. Proximity to large urban centers;
3. Increased technology and;
4. Refusal to allow people to speak the native language.
(Sinclaire, 1993, p.3).

The disruptive forms suggest how language programs cannot depend on models in different contexts but the power and quality of their program will depend on how seriously the community commit themselves and take to heart the directives of educators and linguists:

We must prepare ourselves to sustain generations-long, tribal-wide efforts if we hope
to restore our languages and maintain them at conversational usage levels, presuming that is what we want to do. We must capture and apply the knowledge about our languages and cultures so that they can survive the onslaughts of today's media, schools, religions, and misguided tirades from the "English-only" movement (Reyhner, 1989 p.4).

The reference to the need for a receptive environment for second language learners is a reminder that continuity of intent and use of past intergenerational learning synergy provides a base for language programs to exist and for language to truly reflect the culture like a mirror.

The literature review has taught me that language revitalisation is part of a larger picture both locally with the language itself, as well as part of the area in the literature called "beyond language" or social, economic and political influences. The discourse on the need for autonomy in research styles brings to attention the need for action, which is local and autonomous.

The literature review also reminds the Indigenous person the extent to which the local culture's survival techniques and language retention has not been given due attention by research or by pedagogical endeavours. Rather than upholding one's traditional means for regenerating knowledge the assimilative policies have relegated the small communities to various assimilated positions which force them to confront their issues in a disenfranchised state of confusion, resentment, and anger. These negative reactions can be directed to any issue in tribal organization, but it is primarily the fluent speakers who make negative comments toward the production of language. The source for open hostility can be found in several areas of pathology due to cultural erasure in residential schools but what is evident is
the need for restoration of cultural sense for the purpose of healing and restoring the cultural
socialisation which was taken away. Part of the intentions for residential schooling was an
experiment in losing one’s independence, losing one’s spirit and losing one’s imaginative
powers. The cultural affirmations overlapping areas such as soiciolinguistics, allow for the
basis for empowerment, which is greatly needed in order to reinstate a positive environment.
Chapter 3

Motivation as integral to language revitalisation

3.1 Understanding the colonialist conditionality

When Native parents and grandparents choose not speak their Native language to their offspring, or the children do not spontaneously learn their language, it appears that there is a lack of motivation in language revitalization. The lack of motivation of course is due to many conditions both within the Native community and outside the community. The most devastating effect, which continues today, is the colonialist agenda to relegate First Nation culture as subordinate to a Euro-centric culture legitimized by its written status and its own authors. In this chapter I will describe how the First Nation psychological and sociological condition is important in maintaining cultural motivation through the cultural resources, the need for discovering cultural realities, the need for rediscovering the real qo’as (Native) spirit, and the need for finding a means to use optimism for real goals for language retention.

When the community seems to hesitate to take action as one would “in the past,” a review of colonial issues is called for. Language revitalization efforts have taken place, but they are plagued with obstacles both at the jurisdictional and local community level. First Nations leaders at the national level have established that self-determination is a means to meet cultural, educational, and economic aspirations. Despite having won the long fight to establish the principle of First Nation control of education (Native Indian Brotherhood, 1972) the First Nation communities continue to be affected by curricula determined by government agendas and policies. Conferences and task forces continue to reflect the importance of these issues and needs, but governments still remain distant, and “it is clear that little has changed” (Task Force, Indian Nations at Risk, 1991).
Canadian development; while some First Nations have completed 10-year development programs, others have just begun (Mathew, 1990). A similar situation exists in the United States with Native American rights, where a legal right may be won, but the effective right, with effective infrastructure and cultural processes, lags behind. At the community level the establishment of political will is still bound by attitudinal problems, the need for parental support, and a confused cultural base (Mathew, 1990). By 1996, the need for effective means such as local processes and resources was still at hand (Reyhner, 1996). Finding this “effective means” has been left almost entirely in the hands of small communities. Although motivation is considered “the most important variable” in language learning, there have been no systematic studies done for the specific motivational factors involved for Aboriginal populations (Santos Rivera, 1996, p. 117).

A motivation for language program worth is that the compounding effect is that one program in one’s culture makes provision and motivation for language survival (Reyhner et al., 1999). The strong emphasis placed on global economic values by mainstream societies has already proven to be greater than a small community’s ability to sustain localisms. However, in a review of research on language revitalization, successful efforts shared five characteristics that also include work in social and resource development: 1. a sense of solidarity\(^1\) and other concerned methodologies 2. Use of immersion;\(^2\) 3. Availability of literacy materials; 4. Mass media support; and, 5. Sufficient number of speakers (Reyhner, 1999).

\(^1\) A language revitalization effort “is much more likely to succeed if it is part of a greater societal movement. That is, if language promotion is part of a nationalist movement or is perceived as an expression of solidarity or ethnicity, it has greater potential for success” (Reyhner et al., 1999, p.1).

\(^2\) Success had been achieved through “out stations” where a separate community is immersed in its culture and protected by boundaries such as religion. Examples are the Yiddish in New York or the Jews in Israel (Reyhner et al., 1999).
The five characteristics of course are naturally present in the dominant societies and more difficult for minority populations. Another hypothesis offered by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) on language revitalization was the poor understanding of the stage we are currently in (Assembly, 1990). The current stage might well include how fragile the language situation is or how much knowledge, holistic health, and leadership is being lost through the loss of language. A collection of letters and papers by the late Robert Thomas (of Native Ministries Consortium) expressed that where there is language loss and cross-purposes in education, the tribes not only lose their Native institutional structure but also “At minimum, language loss means that a tribal people does not have an appropriate conceptual vehicle by which to examine, analyze, and talk about their own life” (Thomas, 1990, p. 23).

Without a conceptual vehicle for personal expression the First Nations are destined to experience an existence of duality by succumbing to the call of dominant values while their local strengths diminish. Anderson (1990) blames these dual personalities for the difference in verbalized values and actual behaviour. An example given where behaviours and values are learned unconsciously from parents but verbalized in terms of public school slogans such as “get an education and make something of yourself” yet, when their children leave for work, these parents are “hurt to the core of their being” (Anderson, 1990, p. 22).

Native national forums such as the AFN, and the frontline First Nation educators have made statements and proposals around creating these conceptual frameworks but there is still no effective means for closure. Given the opportunity for cultural analysis, the First Nations might find a means to build conceptual frameworks for what is being lost and to estimate the impact of that loss. It may take listening to the experiences of fluent speakers and analyzing the environment that permitted the transmission of language. For example, what existed
before? What was a concern to the community and the extended family? What were the conditions for safety and nurturing? In order to balance the notion that there is only “loss,” we have unconsciously learned to show nurturance and respect to toddlers as new learners, and we applaud the cultural concepts that our parents and caregivers use. I will discuss how the west coast caregiver and parent use language and encouragement when first accomplishments are achieved at the home front.

Motivation in a local community context might include the local language/cultural means and extend possibilities through other language learning frameworks. Prior to the loss of language use in the home, the Ditidaht, as an adjunct to the Nuu-chah-nulth, used many forms of motivational psychology in child rearing and education known in that dialect as h.ah.uupa (Keitlah, 2000). The same term, known as x.ax.aptx. in the Ditidaht language, is a summation-word similar to “counsel” which amounts to a person teaching, guiding, and counselling a novice. Motivation, of course, is also found through inferences and subtleties in the language itself. The following are recalled, for example, in first steps in learning to walk, one could hear the term i-ha-haa, “way to go!” or “that is a cute thing!” In later years, when one does well, the term used is lthaxa’tlas (“you are doing well” or “you are doing a good thing”).

The cultural motivation in the cultural context was to reach an ideal state of holistic health that was ensured by extended family, especially through tutorship by the grandparents. The cultural behavioural ideals of respect, honour, and fulfillment of family expectations were impressed as most important from childhood. The past culture of daily life in community

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3 Nuu-chah-nulth means “those nations along the mountains” on the west coast of Vancouver Island. This term replaced the anthropological name “Nootka” and at one time consisted of 14 tribes as registered with the Department of Indian Affairs in 2001.

4 Known as hahuupa in the central Nuu-chah-nulth tribes, of more recently in treaty process as manulth.
(along with occasional potlatch gatherings) was grounded in an insurance system whereby all
good or generous acts were reciprocated by good fortune and health, while bad acts were
punished by bad fortune and disease. This is the solid foundation that fluent speakers
experienced whereas persons who were removed from their families were influenced by
intentional denigrations of their culture and language and forced to speak English.

In the study of language learning/teaching, motivation is only one of several variables
necessary for program success (Bourhis, 1984; Scovel, 2001). It is often attached to the
influence of attitude on learning the target language. The greatest motivational
movements among the First Nations are those connected to maintaining cultures first
(Reyhner, 1999; 2001; Brown, 1980). Theoretically, a great deal of motivation ensues if a
community independently develops its programs (Senese, 1991), but initially “a language
and a culture will survive only when a cultural community is sufficiently motivated to
preserve them” (Boldt, 1993, p. 188).

For many First Nations communities, finding sufficient motivation and creating an
environment conducive for language revitalization is the biggest hurdle. In many cases, the
process for empowering Aboriginal thought involves the use of social analysis to reverse the
process of colonial intent and “to dismantle the ideological in order to reveal the cultural”
(Battiste & Henderson, 2000, p. 235).

3.2 Motivation through culture that remains

Colonial agendas and modern change have left various imprints on original cultures
and often gives the appearance of apathy towards language involvement. The negative effects
of colonialism have been gallantly attacked through persons believing in cultural strength as a
means for dealing with healing and treaty processes. These cultural recollections are now
considered “residual” strengths, due to the colonial language interruption.

A fine example of valorization of one’s culture is the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council’s efforts in health development through publication of Aboriginal philosophies. The statements made by the elders of the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes reflect the fact that discipline and teaching philosophy originated from a “wise one.” This suggests specialization as well as universal philosophies that were inherent in Nuu-chah-nulth tribes:

And then there is a lot of ways to haahuupach’ak. Won’t they meet again sometime and talk about the different ways uc quu’as haahuupa?

Because it is all the same all along the coast, one haahuupachak, the way it is said to them here.... This is what was done to me, haahuupa, and when the people were gathered together, this was their way, this is what I saw growing up, when they gathered, when a Chief gave a feast, this is where they sat, the wise one sat there talking. They would not get to eat... talking to all the people (Elder, Hatsa, R. Peter in Keitlah, 2000, p. 192).

The elder speaks about the morality and discipline instilled in the past and remaining mostly hidden in the minds of the last Native philosophers and historians. In those days the motivation was directed to a strong loyalty to hiidap aq chaabat’ (the Above Chief or Creator), who is symbolized by the human chief. In the post-contact situation, many of these past haahuupa are present, but they are less and less sincere. In these days, the motivation to bolster change within First Nations communities often has a “problem” or “disaster origin.” Reactionism therefore becomes a prevailing characteristic of post-colonialist situatedness, and residual cultural motivation can only be discerned by observing the cultural events that have
been sustained or revived. An example in the Ditidaht research was evident when two options were faced concerning the possible expulsion of a young offender, the mood in the meeting changed as a concerned Grandmother to many Dititaht stated:

They never used to “boot out” our people for sickness, that is what this is, you have to approach the young people and tell them you are concerned for their health and the health of their children…you keep encouraging them (Elder Francis Edgar, 2001).

This is an example of a cultural clash where a form of corporal punishment begins to override the local sensibilities and nurturing stance.

This one incident represents a community resource, where one elder who should recall how she acquired this philosophy. A grandparent history can provide a sense of regenerative styles rather than merely considering the oppressive impacts of colonialism. The legacy of oppression however needs to be remembered time and again, until the community’s conditionality is realized and the blame for dysfunctions is correctly placed. For example, to consider the time depth involved in the subordination of colonized nations which began at the wake of industrialization in Europe, that frameworks for restoring First Nation languages occurred as early as 1977 in the USA (Atneave, 1977), and that grand efforts continue for bicultural education rather than the cultural loss of minority languages.

Given this movement towards just one language, it is no wonder that Dorian (1998) found that even during the early onset of endangerment of languages, non-specialists were convinced of the great precision and “rich elaboration in cognitive terms” inherent in oracy. Unprecedented pressures are placed on minority languages, because communication relies heavily on economy and language, while mass-produced media and economic factors are the
driving force behind language attrition (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998). With mass media operating in a “given few” languages, such as English, the First Nations are unwittingly submersed in foreign cultures.

3.3 Discovering realities for language/cultural revival

With a historical legacy of exclusion, Aboriginal Peoples are left to diagnose their situations and proceed with multifaceted projects at every turn. There is a need not only for self-assessments in the realities of the postcolonial state, but there is also a need for careful planning and establishing political will. An opinion stated during the research with Ditidaht members in 2002 reflects a position about how cultural transmission is no longer voluntary:

You see now our language is affected by budget cuts. My feeling towards that funding is that it should be immediate due to the age of the speakers now. I think that the people responsible for funding are the churches and governments for our language because that’s what we got into now is money in our stage of life now, before the fluent speakers could speak it without getting paid (Elder Stanley Chester, 2002).

The statement definitely reflects the condition of the language as a community project now requiring agency and funding in order to survive. There is an obvious “stage of life” to the language, which means that language has become more and more relegated to commodity status and is becoming transportable as a mere artefact of culture. The elder, one of a few very vocal members, also asked questions about the social situation beyond the language itself:

We mentioned the everyday use of our language, how much does it mean to the people? It may get the people hopping if we get some form of funding to have classes or me, maybe we should have one person
that understands the language fluently (Elder Stanley Chester, 2001).

There are reasons why the elders feel that there is no sufficient value attached to the language or that the language does not "mean" the same thing to the people or the community at large. There was also a suggestion made that a great deal of weight lay on the leadership concerning the continuity of language. The community consists of band members some of whom are new to the band and some who live "away from home" (not resident in the community). This contributes to a lack of cultural-historical depth and consensus within a community. To address this concern of cultural depth, one parent, treaty worker and graduate student states:

You need to be vocal...its going to take all our energy, I can see that, its going to take everything we've got. They (funding sources and band administration) won't understand it (culture) because it was never part of their world. You and I can see a world is disappearing, because our language is disappearing.... you can say that to them but they won't understand. I don't think they see it as important, like the school bus is important (Robert Joseph, 2002).

Other cultural factors that may not be visible but do exist include the power relations and eldership protocols involved with the level of fluency. This may be overcome through individual meetings or elders' meetings. A community dialogue addressing personal reasons for reluctance might assist with improving cultural participation. For example, this may reduce the number of persons who are "bowing out" or are insecure in front of baa-biiqs (persons who are senior by age). In most communities this respect is further extended to the

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5 Bates (1987) cites a thesis by Ortner (1984) in trying to discern "how cultural forms are articulated in social actions."
tayeey, or head of the hereditary system, who assumes a consultative role in the community. Before the reliance on the cash economy, cultural and social issues were brought to the hereditary chief and those recognized by the chief.

Many factors affect the continuity of language programs including a high turnover of language staff. The need for revitalizing the language is a concern but attendance in classes is low and eventually terminates due to lack of attendance. Interviews with adult parents and prospective students revealed that some elders with intimidating teaching styles, made them feel uncomfortable and stated that “I will quit as soon as someone laughs at me.” Also, statements are made regarding any variation to the authentic Ditidaht dialect that may discourage open participation.

The fact that discontent and controversy occurs more in First Nation communities may be due to the need for constant planning. Like the course of the canoe, there is a need for clear vision and stability. Those persons who work with language need to be aware that sudden appearance of attitudes may be simply a reaction to uncertainty as a coping mechanism (Bates, 1987). The sociological reasons for lack of motivation are not all clear and cannot be elaborated on at this point, but the fact remains that negativity and divisiveness seems to be a way of life for many First Nations. Some reject the new programs for being “the white way” of teaching; others, or accusations may be made that people “are trying to be chiefs.” One cultural modification took place during mourning ceremonies:

Chiefs only did the memorials at one time, only when a person passed away from their family. It was only the chief’s family that had elaborate regalia, and only the x akuub (daughters of chiefs) wore the
3.4 Discovering one's true *qo'as* (Native spirit) as motivation

Addressing the personal and administrative issues and attitudes apparent in the Ditidaht community could involve many initiatives. The community needs to be aware of Ditidaht's past language status, its present challenges, and its future possibilities (Kraus, 1980). The features of the "old world" need elaboration in order to realize the enormity of language loss (Thomas, 1990). In addition, the features of weak languages need scrutiny lest they be lost as well (Janse, 2000). In consideration for local content, the value can be summed in an ecological sense as follows:

To remove one language from the mix of languages existing today is to remove it from the world forever. With the passing of each voice, we lose a little more of who we were and are, and what we may become. If we strive toward a goal of preserving all the bits and pieces of our environment, we preserve at the same time as we maximize the opportunities for choices in the future (Blokländ & Hasselblatt, cited in Janse, 2000, p.199).

Program planners for Indigenous language should consider that there does exist intrinsic motivation for the L2 learners in saving a little of who we were and who we could be. The language design and learning should happen without problems if a community ensures that motivation level is high for adults who are given the power to make cultural decisions. The synergy involved in cultural programs will provide intrinsic motivation to the students in various ways. Cajete (2000) states that education equates to, who you are, where you are from, and how you are unique. One has only to find his or her heart to become motivated as proven in how, after the validation of knowledge, writing skills improve.
Santos Rivera (1996) also states that motivation is the most important variable in language learning. He says that 1. The capacity to learn is universal and, 2. One has to want to speak the language and therefore one must be exposed to real communication. This type of motivation is described as integrative (desire to be like the valued members who speak the language). It results in students who display commitment to the language studies and who reflect a positive behaviour in a classroom situation (Krashen, 1988). Personality and attitude are considered important for language acquisition (the subconscious level of learning grammar) and should be considered in materials development. For example, one method calls for a total physical response (TPR) method, whereby the instructor gives action directions to students, who are not expected to reply. There is greater acquisition and therefore better competence resulting from interactive learning.

Language learning is an innate ability according to Chomsky’s nativist theory. Nativists believe that language growth depends on maturation. In other words, as the child grows so does his or her language ability. The new patterns of language are absorbed subconsciously. The motivation is “inside” the children, as one elder stated when he relearned the Ditidaht language “it was inside me.” (Joe Edgar, 1996). Second language (L2) theorists and L2 models currently support this methodology. Haliday (1978) points out that the students gather traditional knowledge from their environment, thus combining innate knowledge with current cultural trends.

3.5 Community support and receptive family nests as motivation

The literature on successful Native languages mentions the need for community support including parental encouragement. The community needs to consider all of the

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6 Second language (learner).
potentially effective environments for second language learning. For example, the learning must take place in informal or real-life settings, where there is a need to know, the freedom to make mistakes, and the opportunity to interact with fluent speakers (Chaudron, 1988). All these characteristics are suggestive of, and would be reflected in mentorship programs being carried out in California, where a fluent speaker spends time with a student on a daily basis.

The Maori include family dynamics through the use of family nests. The students are able to experience skilled mentors or persons who emulate a positive upbringing. A greater cultural base is established and greater cultural loyalty and respect is created. Failing this situation results in anxiety and fear of making mistakes and the concurrent lack of motivation. An example of loyalty was made evident with the Ditidaht pilot immersion program when daycare children chose to pronounce the language only when they saw the attending supervisor use the language.

Positive directions through sharing, whether in schools or during community cultural events, provide the project motivation and cumulative synergy for other projects. It has been observed that visible use of the language does not result with students even after programs have operated for 25 years; however, a more positive cultural attitude is evident. Despite the fact that language programs do not produce the desired fluency, the more positive cultural attitude will assist students as well to accept goals according to the community and family support. The culture will also begin to reveal greater numbers of metaphors for the culture. For example, the Ditidaht way of describing group support as ?uwy (medicine) for the family or your help is like a, ta?thlab or walking-cane for us.

While discussing the issues surrounding Native language and its second language status, King (2003) observed that “language” becomes objectified as a metaphor. People
are urged to hold on and retain this "treasure" or the "gift" of language. The intergenerational metaphor implies: 1. That language is immutable and timeless and, 2. That language can be passed on like an heirloom. King (2003) also mentions that the Maori spoke of their "journey" or their "path." Congruently, the Nuu-chah-nulth often speak of "the right way" being "a bridge" or undertake a passage in a "canoe." To the Nuu-chah-nulth the canoe metaphor assists in focus on unity, on vision, or on discipline. It is difficult for many Natives to relate to old customs such as whale hunting, but the spiritual implications of the hunt could be made clear through story telling.

Qwagley (2003), in his opening speech at a conference, upholds his belief in First Nation learning as "nature mediated" and reiterates how rituals represent revival, regeneration, and revitalization. Song and dance entails a higher consciousness by concentration. In the year 2002, a Nuu-chah-nulth elders' meeting focusing on discipline\(^7\) emphasized that cultural expression through song, music, and art were encased in respect and discipline in a form different from that of conventional art for entertainment.

**3.6 Goals, usefulness, and scope of language retention**

The need to face real goals and to value language has become critical due to the damaged state of languages (Bauman, 1980). Many First Nations people have proceeded with such notions, but they often work as isolated communities. The First Nations need only to look at the decades wasted due to over-reliance on prescribed/structural language learning versus natural/communicative language learning (Touchie, 1997). Despite societal estrangement and professional fatigue, the First Nations educators and critical theorists prefer

\(^7\) The elders’ meeting was co-ordinated by the Ha-Ho-Payak Elementary School at Port Alberni, BC, the only school within the 14 Nuu-chah-nulth tribes offering elementary language and culture at this time.
authenticity over constructed agendas and need an "approach that builds on the strengths of Native languages and culture" (Swisher & Tippeconnic, 1999, p. 111).

Given the non-official status of Native languages, the various language programs are left without a standardized program-offer. Aboriginals invest greatest trust into programs that have worked in the past; so new models should consider their strengths. Other variables that promise success include the availability of funding, trained technicians, and community involvement. Community involvement represents the extensions to Aboriginal curricula and ways of knowing. Examples of community involvement include the Navajo Rough Rock, the Nisga’a of British Columbia, and the Maori language nests in New Zealand. Maori language, which was at one time marginalized, has been described as a language that has risen from its deathbed (Assembly, 1990). Practical strategies and variables gathered from international efforts are also inspirational. The variables involved in the famous Hebrew revival include: 1. Berlitz-type teaching in schools as well as evening and weekend classes; 2. Establishing societies; 3. Coining new words for modernization and 4. Establishing an academy for official terminology (Ignace, 1998. p. 34).

3.7 Workability and integrity at community levels

Gaining jurisdiction is only one hurdle; the next is the workability at the community level. Unlike the programs of established institutions of schooling, the First Nations’ new programs must overcome the problems of lack of political will and lack of local commitment before methodologies can even begin to have meaning. In many tribes this has meant major activist action that provides a catalyst for tribal unity. For example the catalyst for preventing cultural border crossing has only taken place primarily after burial invasions. Given the collective concern, the tribes are ready to ensure that the principles for program success are in

Many variables are necessary for establishing a healthy program that considers the individual as well as the collective. Many programs can simply replace a cultural learning system without analysis or orientation, but many may need to undo myths regarding second language programs. For example, Baron (1990) cites psychologist Kengi Hauta (1985) who "deflates the myth that children are sponges waiting to soak up language" (p. 225). He also cites Paulston (1981), who reminds the technicians that "language...is a function of complex social factors" (p. 476). The classroom is a very limited venue, so the greatest impact on language learning is outside the classroom, using holistic or thematic plans. Cultural spirituality-as-integrity sees programs through to fruition, but often the linear habit towards program process is required. An implementation process is described in Biscaye & Pepper (1990) cited by Friesen (1991).

Educators and the students' guardians need to take part in the dialogue of cultural change, and then the direction for the curricula will be clearer and more consensual. Although degrees of assimilative processes are not clear an analysis or awareness of conflicting issues may be a starting point. These conflicting or conflating features characteristic of re-emerging cultures include the philosophies around "cohesion" and "solidarity" (Alfred, 1999, p. 87), or "power" versus "control" (Haig-Brown, 1995, p. 233). Rather than work in isolation, the community needs to consider at all times the former human focus and framework for "peoplehood" (Thomas, 1980s, p. 25). Again and again there will

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8 The collected papers of R.K. Thomas, a First Nation minister, was compiled by Anderson (1990) which included papers sent in the 1980s to scholars describing "peoplehood" in which language survival characteristics of minorities included uniqueness as 1. language 2. religion 3.homeland ties 4.a sacred history.
be the temptation to elaborate on "instrumentalism" itself, but the distinct contexts prevents such generalizations.

First Nations need not feel that there has not been any energy spent on correcting specific social issues. Strategies towards maintaining peoplehood have persisted in many small ways. Many Aboriginals have unleashed great energies directed to curricular design especially for social needs encountered in modern change. Normal cultural change however, cannot be constantly seen as a demise. Humour is a prominent feature observed in First Nation communities, not only as a communicative feature but also used as a coping mechanism to deal with cultural ironies. The use of humour and subtle cynicism is also present in Ditidaht mythology and in fun-songs.

A Frierian cultural antithesis cited in Haig-Brown (1988) offers an example of historical opportunity in that the interruption of culture can be seen as an opportunity to look at its values and principles from the perspective of everyday living and creating curricula. For example, many First Nations people have discovered that their philosophies are bound in the sacred circle or the four directions and can be considered part of any conversation (Berg, 1998). For Aboriginal Peoples, the curricula-in-progress are possible as long as the project is shared and not merely relegated to formal school officials. Research into the reasons for the shortage of L2 (second language) Native teachers and the lack of ensuing motivation may reveal the lack of program-sharing mechanisms.

3.8 The changing demographics with no immediate action

The unique cultural base as described for peoplehood represents a feature that may complicate motivation. The unique cultural base means that small populations are more vulnerable to changing populations and, subsequently, to a population in a cultural "flux."
Currently, approximately 50% of status First Nations members have moved to urban areas (White, 2002) that make program-offer difficult. An issue with the modern revitalization of language is the need for resources, so that programs can hold a valued position. As previously described, funding for First Nations’ programs in Canada is allocated on piecemeal basis, a feature not conducive to revitalization.

3.9 Attitude to culture & language

Perhaps one of the most important issues facing minority groups is the frustration in their attempt to create programs amid indifference. The blatant absence of effective multilingualism has endured, with only a few programs continuing to evolve through the efforts of the Aboriginals themselves. Perhaps one can isolate more problematic issues engendered in second languages, like non-Native bilingual programs have done. These programs must work using hidden curricula and employing unsung heroes, which I observed at Vancouver Hastings Elementary immersion in 1999.

With regards to the issues of transportability of research to developing communities and the direction of language research, Grenoble and Whaley (Preface, 1988) state that linguistics have focused on “how language gains its prestige” but not on “how it is dismantled,” and they reiterate how communities need to address the full range of attitudes towards language learning (Preface, p. IV). Community commitment, for example, is seen as vital to the success of the Canadian Mohawk program (Jacobs, 1998). The Aboriginal generosity in accepting foreign concepts needs to change to critical observations in order to see how English power and prestige transfer to the power of language. It should also be noted that the dominant attitude directed towards minorities lasted several centuries that contribute to the task of retrieval.
There is no question that the Aboriginal situation and situatedness have increased the issues and challenges facing the First Nations. Small community language issues vary vastly from those of "global" languages. These differences include standardization and national status as well as the mixing or creolization of languages. As conscientization spills over into language issues, courses of action need to be found for sharing experiences during cultural catastrophes as well as for encouraging community-based research (Reyhner, 1996). The modern reality is that all languages enter into some form of useful creolization at one point or another. This can evolve with imaginative Native goal setting rather than simply accepting the erosive nature of modernization or the fact that only the three Canadian tribes the Cree, the Inuktitut and Ojibwe, have a chance for language survival (Norris, 2000).

3.10 The optimistic aspect of language revitalization and technology

It has been my experience that elders eagerly accept the use of technology and literacy to assist in revitalizing the language. However, there are many concepts that are difficult to express in English so that the Aboriginal oral memory does not carry over easily onto the written page. The oral nature is logically absent from literate technology, but can emerge in electronic technologies. Modern technology in the form of media and the Internet has offered a buffer zone to augment language, training, and system sharing across spaces. The same disparity in economics, however, still sustains colonial structures (Cisler, 1998). Issues such as developing conceptual frameworks in language issues can consider research agendas on a
national scale or offer groundbreaking seminars featuring computer adaptive features (Center, 2000). The national political body in Canada, the Assembly of First Nations, reports that language adaptation to modern services such as news reporting, broadcasting, and television could maintain the highest level of fluency (Assembly, 1990). Previously, the distance created through changing economies has made communication difficult. The Internet and electronic mail have provided a new way of distributing cultural information to tribal members as well as to mainstream society. The past 17 years have seen an increase in worldwide communication among Indigenous groups where all forms of media have provided a means of dialogue about vital issues (Greaves, 1994).

Indigenous communities are already utilizing sophisticated technology in their education system. In Australia, television shows are aired in Aboriginal languages, and since 1972 the Shuar Indians of Ecuador have been using radio for educational purposes. Yet, there is no room for complacency in developed countries. The language issues are maintained and broadcast through the media, but the "key to the survival...is self determination" (Deirdre, 1998). The Aboriginal Peoples interweave traditional knowledge with new technologies and new economies (Brascoupe, 2000; Leavitt, 1995) to survive. The insight of honourable people into language education must prevail as an extension of true holism. The elders concur with the Mohawk that the bottom line to their survival is educating their own children that they hold to be the most important and urgent priority (Rokwaho, Mohawk Council of Akwesasne (Burger, 1990).

3.11 Finding the effective means through cultural concepts

What has been shown is that motivation occurs once a program is in place, regardless of the instructional style. Given that a community realizes that their condition and frustration
is due to a colonialist past, there is less personal blame and more positive outlooks and greater creative planning. This appreciation will extend to the existing oral culture that survived years of non-usage as well as to the discussion around its value and characteristics as oralcy. For example, many people claim that as one reaches the retirement age many of the teachings “come back” and the legends and personal stories begin to acquire new meaning. Pride also exists in subtle nurturing and occasional stories told at an appropriate time. These have the effect of many lessons, but they are not fully realized or appreciated recently because they are not part of written discourse.

The Ditidaht, or any community of the Nuu-chah-nulth territory, are the living proof of a culture, which was at one time motivated to retain its distinctiveness, and a community that strove to remain on its traditional land. The longevity of these communities deserves applause because the ancestors utilized ingenious means to survive one of the greatest plunders of cultural space. The intercultural phenomena are mostly expressed by poetics or song in the culture. Meaningful motivation existed in planning and preparation for potlatches, which represented the volumes that preserved a way of life. The expectations for the transaction meant that “things were done with perfection” and that “quests were treated with respect and appreciation.” Events that proclaimed stringent discipline, honour, and respect were all reflected in one’s desire to live up to their family’s or chief’s lineage through the belief in the honour of reciprocal gift-giving. Those persons who have remained “above water” (most hereditary chiefs can testify to this recently due to strict teachings) need to expound on their recollections as young initiates. A Pomo-Kashaya of California states:

A Kashaya individual’s ethnicity or sense of identity as a Kashaya Pomo Indian then, is dependent on how the individual in personal and
social situations, consciously and unconsciously, negotiates a range of cultural and intercultural phenomena to establish and maintain a sense of self (Sarris, 1993 p.185).

The creative mode of languages and worldviews can be applied to new economic and social concepts (Leavitt, 1995). The Ditidaht sense of self appears to be greatly influenced by many new social concepts, especially one’s political affiliation more so than past cultural affiliations. The sense of self relies on family histories but documented data has not been established as higher education that would assist in socio-historical analysis. For example, the Ditidaht have had less concentration on linguistic analysis than other North American groups, the absence of linguistic comparative work may have contributed to a more accessible pan-Nootkan vocabulary.

3.12 Motivation through top-down initiatives

There is a paucity of material for First Nations to sense the grand efforts made towards retaining the language. This situation should provide motivation for our local leadership.

One prime example is that paternalistic governments have not offered a comparative national strategy for bicultural retention. A piecemeal approach is given legislatively. In Canada, the First Nations’ Confederacy of Cultural Education Centers (FNCCCEC) is pursuing legislation to recognize the rights of the Aboriginals to protect their languages. The Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP, 1996) represent the rights and values inherent in language and culture. Kirkness (1998) describes samples of legislative acts and that RCAP

9 Swadish did research in the early 1900s to be followed by his student Mary Haas known for the text “A Visit to Another World.” Terry Kiokeid and Eugene Arima did more linguistic research in the 1970s. My work began in the 1980s to be followed by my uncle, John Thomas who collaborated with Eugene Arima with rare texts from all West Coast dialects and with N. Turner with Ditidaht ethno-botany. A commitment to recording the Ditidaht resulted in a foundation for further studies in land use and treaty negotiations as accuracy in place-names and cultural use (Bouchard & Kennedy) had been documented through focused research with historians in common with extended families.
issued a rare call for Aboriginal unity where governmental injustice occurs. It calls to attack this assault on our languages (RCAP, 1996). The First Nations are beginning to express their concerns about their linguistic demise as well. They warn about the “enduring tenacity” of governments to establish policies as control mechanisms, and the discourse revolves around broken treaties and Aboriginal languages posing a threat to national “cultural fabric” (Lomawaima, 1999, p. 20).

In Canada, the National Indian Brotherhood published the Indian Control of Indian Education statement in 1973 after many years of work, but several decades later there still exists a piecemeal allocation of legislated status, province by province (Kirkness, 1998). This double standard in comparison to resources for English, results in little or no funds for First Nation communities. This glaring problem has only recently reached the legislature through a news release from the Auditor General of Canada stating that Indian and Northern Affairs Canada consistently “fails to meet education needs of Indian children living on reserves (Vancouver Sun, Feb.2003, p. 21).

As previously stated, the First Nations are not waiting for top-down initiatives. In Canada, many initiatives and research studies have been done but without great accolades or effective application. They include studies admonishing common sense approaches (Reyhnor, 1992), a revision of the Indian Act, initiatives for self-government, and Native survival schools (Berg, 1998). Reflecting hope are the insightful steps taken towards establishing a language act, provincial language policies, a national struggle for the correct interpretation of constitutional rights, treaty enactments, and the involvement of the United Nations.

Motivation in a small First Nation community context involves the need for various interventions, which develop awareness towards colonial situatedness before the language
programs can develop without local controversy. Although the overriding impression may be that apathy and chaos pervades all efforts, this is not the case. That some language speakers have persisted reflects not only the residual power of oralcy but also the holism and the fortitude of many individuals, especially hereditary chiefs (Atleo, 2001) to accept change with flexibility and creativity. Many small First Nation communities have not been socialized into appreciating their culture and taking part in the strong local philosophies held in the minds of Elders and the families of hereditary Chiefs. These principles related to one’s historical realities and the deep philosophical values around sustaining life require effective elaboration and distribution, in order to create transformational attitudes which foreground cultural motivation.
Chapter 4

*baaw quw x.ii*  What is meant by that, what are the meanings?

In order to establish a starting point for language goals it may be necessary to evaluate how cultural meanings have evolved differently among tribal members. I will provide a Ditidaht community profile that will reflect how the cultural meanings vary within generations as well as within the transient band membership. The key cultural points will be taken from concepts or inferences made in oral narrative. If any key points were not clear it was acceptable to politely ask, *baaw quw x.ii* or “what is meant by that?” In this chapter I will recall these points that are repeated in prominent legends and in speeches; i. Reflecting on what can be done when *iix.sithl* (catastrophe occurs) ii. Recollection of repeated and prominent core values iii. The importance of the Elders’ teachings iv. A discussion regarding what can be done to correct the situation or, “do things the right way” v. *duubee*, *dubisaatx.iik duubiitl’aswich yaachshitl* (All you people, you from all the tribes, you will all start walking, start the journey) vi. *baadukwitlquiyid hiidasiyix. Yaqict’aqad lthaakqwadk* (try to reach that which causes our poverty).

4.1 *t’aat’aapshtl baqsilthaawquy iix.silthquy* —Reflecting on what can be done when catastrophe occurs.

As the First Nations begin revitalizing language as an aspect of their culture, it is necessary to reflect on the place that authentic culture holds, and how meanings may be changing. Given that language is culture, serious consideration needs to be given to cultural interruptions that alter the meanings, not only with the language terms themselves, but also with meanings that are influenced through pressures of modernity.¹ Indigenous peoples

¹ One hypothesis of language loss is that a language shift also reflects a shift in values when influenced by
always knew about holistic dynamic and learning styles that effect learning language that has been only recently realized through socio-linguistics (Chambers, 1995: Fishman, 1989). In academia these various phenomena were discovered and realized only as a result of minority and modern language studies, through the study of multiculturalism, as well as through bilingualism. The First Nations themselves, however, need to reflect on the various meanings that are inherent in the local cultural context in order to once more recognize their importance and original function.

The local cultural influx requires careful consideration and appreciation for its distinctiveness, its flexibility, as well as for its restorative value. For example, the cultural distinctiveness is noted in the Yukon First Nations (as elsewhere where oralcy is commonplace) who are not always aware of its historic situatedness in that oral traditions are validated locally and reserved for a particular “time and place” (Cruikshank, 1991, p. 45). The validation occurs without consideration that those very things validated are vulnerable to new times. What appears to be commonplace however is a valuable resource that “can provide a Nuu-chah-nulth conceptual framework for learning that is adaptive and has survival value” (Atleo, 2001. p. 128). Such cultural values require positive attention and need to be given a place in the community reconciliation and also a place in local pedagogy.

The pride in cultural value is present among many First Nations individuals. They use these insights, but there still remains the need to validate the concepts openly with a respectful profile alongside the English concepts. There is a need therefore to encourage dialogue that is iix.ibs (important) and in the process, to empower local native speakers to voice these concerns for themselves and for their children (Tlen, 1986).

2 In the 1970s, the issues of bilingualism in official languages of French and English superseded research of heritage languages (Introduction, Cummins, (Ed.) 1984). Very little research was done on the impact of
Adaptive mechanisms have occurred through many modern media, but traditional forms of communication and education such as the potlatch and feasts represent a strong statement of place and integrity (Clutesi, 1969). When potlatches began to lose significance, the sustainability of the entire community was affected as well. This was an interruption of a system where $p$'achiil (potlatch) did not simply mean “distribution of goods” but represented a culmination of tribal members who validated protocols that sustained the local spirituality, belief systems, and a social economy. The system was encased in meaning, which was transferred from one generation to the next by the entire community. The community was a network of extended families that held various responsibilities for maintaining the oral culture. Oral inculcation served to sustain cultures for millennia. Many educators and language researchers have only just begun to describe the strengths inherent in oralcy; as speech and memory, as narrative and song, and as dramatization and dance.

New governments, new cultures and now modernity, have intruded into the potlatch practice, the once prominent extravaganza of integrity now demands attention for new generations. The members need to realize that the culture was taken for granted. There was little concern about keeping a cultural record as long as there were skilful historians in place and as long as the public potlatch validated the accurate facts. Following the government’s assault on the potlatch, the system that ensured stability and continuity was gone. There was a time when only designated historians were allowed to speak. Elder Ernie Chester (2003) recalls orator, Harry Joseph would stop a non-historian speaker’s attempts at local opinion, by simply saying “ee, ee, eee” and the person would have to sit.

Where cultural purpose and meaning were once commonplace, it is now necessary for some analysis and even interpretive ventures in order to find meaning and usefulness. For bilingualism on schools or inter-group relations.
example, has the community\(^3\) made an analysis of the role of past historians? Which parts of history are meant to remain as facts and which are flexible? Many community specialists and dynamic synergy kept history alive through narrative (Atleo, 2001). In the past, the young people were steeped in story and songs that consider incidents that impacted their lives. They range from sacred songs of inheritance (acquired through spiritual quests), to public fun-songs called *t’abaa* which celebrate any outstanding event. An example is a popular song *haaninaa*, that depicts the schooner trips when the Ditidaht went on sealing trips to the Bering Straits.

These songs that were used as *t’abaa* or fun-songs, reflect that songs not only recorded but also celebrated the new economic events. There is a contemporary need for reflection on the ownership of one’s cultural context and the effects of change. Given the fact that the First Nations’ culture has not been included in Western historical discourse (Marker, 2000), there is a great deal of focus needed in Aboriginal language and cultural situatedness. The analysis of cultural change may offer glimpses of shifting reality and may provide a starting point towards defining a local cultural situation.

Academia describes a mixing of culture and language which is unavoidable and could be seen as an “interweaving of cultures” which shapes a new situation, in which case “intellectuals manage local meaning at new levels of metacultural reflection” (Hannerz, 1992, p. 265). Meta-cultural reflection implies that each person comes from a varying appreciation of oral culture dependent on the concentration of tribal analysts, historians, or teachers. In modern literate times, an analyzed meaning as reflected in oralcy may be only discovered through focused study in First Nations’ oratory, First Nations’ narratives, or the

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\(^3\) “community” will be used in reference to the local community as those residing in the Ditidaht village and as well the Ditidaht as a community of cultural membership and commonality.
analysis of First Nations' literature.

In order for ritual meanings to be carried on as a foundation for First Nation holistic experiences, it is important that conditions be receptive for teachings and training in spiritual quests and also for realizing tolerance for diversity. Participation in ceremony has become an experience almost exclusive to the Elders and has become more distant to novices. These novices face further uneasiness as a mistake made in a ceremony invokes *dubaak* (a taboo) or a high price. Novices must heed the advice of the Hesquiaht Elder, and interpret the entire spiritual meanings behind ceremonial words and respect the perceptiveness of Elders when they state “Our language is the root of all so we can understand” (Pat Charleson, 2002).

In order to accept or stabilize various changes, the language, history and custom of such items as intermarriage and protocol requires clarification. A Ditidaht Community Services staff expressed concern, saying that a certain marriage ceremony was not their usual practice and therefore further participation was discouraged. This admission makes it obvious that some protocols are missing when intercultural knowledge and practices are introduced. Another example of cross-cultural misunderstanding is the courtesy given during a prayer chant, which is experiencing a cultural overlap from nearby tribes: “when one is *c’iiqaa* [performing a prayer chant] it is not necessary to stand, sit and be quiet” (Elder, Pat Charleson, Hesquiaht Tribe, 2002). A resolution for protocol in diversity needs to be established.

Many First Nations need to accept that there is still a need to consider the healing processes and to be aware of the intergenerational effect left by assimilative processes. Past traditions that deal with loss practiced during funerals are a psychological mindset that may remedy continuing states of oppression. Haagen cites Appel (1980) and argues that a
collective healing process can be achieved through an access to previously relevant meanings and purposes. She also claims that social change resembles an individual going through a grieving process and that the past is conceived of as "an important experience on which to build the future" (Haagen, 1980) p. 14. A precedent to healing socially and psychologically involves the need for cultural awareness, or what Battiste (2000) calls an analysis from one's own viewpoint.

The Elders and non-Native newcomers to Vancouver Island, validate that the Nuu-chah-nulth civilization was heavily steeped in spiritual observances:

Children were trained for their purpose in life or teetchmis (teachings about life), iih.stamis (things of importance), h.uh. tak shitl (to learn), lthaakshii (please). This was done through spiritual pleading. When one said lthaashii, it wasn't just please, it was pleading (Roy Hayupis, 1996).

The spiritual pleading reflects its importance as the basis for attaining the desired standard of life. iih.stamis "things of critical importance" or iix.ibs in Ditidaht dialect included dealing with issues or training for one's purpose in life. Before the contemporary community can embrace the language issue, it is first necessary to deal with local issues and contextual problems (Isajiw, 1984; Crystal, 2001). The literature on Aboriginal languages stresses the need for community support. This can be expressed in several ways, either through attendance of committee or parent meetings, volunteerism, or through visible encouragement and appreciation. This can only happen with parental and leadership support through an application of cultural teachings that ensures a positive environment.

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4 The presence of many witnesses ensured the reliability for oral cultures. Present from the West Coast tribes of Vancouver Island were: Archie Thompson, Robert Peters, Sam Johnson, Stanley Sam, Archie Thompson, Chief Richard Tate, Carl Edgar, Ramona Gus, Rose Thomas, Kathy Robinson, Bernice Touchie, Maima Charlson, Harry Lucas, Moses Smith, Tyler, Roy Hayupis, Reg Southerland, Caroline Little, Josephine Thompson, Mary
Often the primary language program issue (expressed only in innuendos by the community) is the justification of hiring language teachers and creating valid course content. The issues that might arise are envy towards persons in paid teaching positions or language/cultural purism and other cultural sensitivities. When cultural programs are being developed, the Elders and the school board need to ensure that traditional respect is recognized and applauded. With the children’s well being at stake, it is crucial that the building process of cultural programs proceeds with caution and recognizes strength in numbers.

**ii. wik’ika yuyubseye?x. cha chabax.eeychitl’ (Don’t say anything to hurt feelings, always do the right thing).**

In order to honour a prominent Elder teaching to “never hurt feelings” and to be “cha chabax.” or “do the right thing” it may be necessary to untangle the foreign contradictions in meaning. In the search of reality-building and goal-centred programs, communities have a critical responsibility to provide cultural programs that are meaningful and which take advantage of personal, social, and intellectual resources “acquired in the homes and communities” (Genesee, 1994, p.11).

However, contradictions abound and only sensitive diplomacy and cultural feeling can offset opposition to new programs. In the local Ditidaht teachings,\(^5\) as with most indigenous groups, learning is steeped in ideals of kindness and appreciation for all living things that provide sustenance. In the space of this chapter, it is not possible to elaborate on all aspects of this complex culture, but there are some points which the Elders repeat and suggest their importance for “children to find meaning in life” (Swisher & Tippiconic, 1999,

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In order for cultural regeneration\(^6\) to include the community and for hereditary leadership to retain sincere value, the stories of respectful attitudes need to be told and the close affiliation between language and culture needs to be carefully examined. For example, Basso (1983) sees the values inherent in place names, personal names, and moral narratives as contingent on competency, whereby beliefs about the world occupy a central place:

If it is the meaning of things that we are after – the meanings of words, objects, events, and the claims people make about themselves – language and culture must be studied hand in hand. Our knowledge of one can only enhance our knowledge of the other (Basso, 1983, p. 51).

Examination of the meaning of words is just one method that provides an insight into the worldviews and experiences of fluent speakers. For example, the words still stated by orators at funerals still admonish the importance of standing in support of the bereaved: “oooshiyakshitlassoo tlawiichith siochilth” (“it is kind thing which you have done...that you have come beside us in support”). A great deal of reflection and reiteration is also done when grandparents are x.ax.aptx.t or counselling on ways-of-life. The rare orators can still do skilful summations in their language during potlatches or during political meetings.

At one time the entire community understood the inferences (through a millennia of speakers) when a spokesman stated that things be carried out “the right way.” This is especially true when it comes to ceremony such as puberty rites, when native philosophy, cha chachabax.a weechtl or “going the right way,” is important. Social services combined with parents, can contribute to unravelling chachabax aweenchl. One published example of

\(^5\)“Teachings” are used in reference to any culturally based understanding of cultural conduct.

\(^6\) Regeneration along with enculturation or whaanau occurs with language work (Hohepa, 1990).
cultural focus involves the Elders’ participation in child rearing (Keitlah, 1995).

If there is a focus given to communicative styles of old, it becomes clear why singing used to be one of the most effective means for communication and expression. Culture production can provide answers to many critical issues including community healing. Holism and the spiritual needs are critical when formal education or English-only programs fail in spiritual and emotional stability. Language programs designed with a holistic balance in mind include these two elements, which were present in pre-contact time. Emotional aspects were present in the language in the past, and therefore represent a core aspect for self-discovery and maintenance. This is in stark contrast to a small native community today where negative thinking prevails.

Persons of hereditary chieftain descent were told not to go where there was trouble (x.akuub, Edith Joseph, 2003) and were told to leave when controversy erupts (Chief, Richard Tate, 2003). When groups are able to learn their cultural t’abaa or common-owned songs, they may have learned to share their inherited gifts again. However, when t’abaa (happy songs) are learned without a history they are relegated to cultural distancing and only understood as a surface meaning. Those enjoying the t’abaa were steeped in the joys of the culture including their language and their mythology.

Another strong issue of contention is the changing role of hereditary leadership. Along with the change in values, the local economy, and communal energies, the usefulness for loyalty to one head-chief diminished. For example, cultural symbols to some persons are ambiguous if they ask “what do you think the hereditary chief’s curtain meant to the tribe in the past and does it still hold the same meaning?” Many members of the bona fide hereditary chief families felt that there existed backlashes or resentment towards them due to their
Conflicts concerning hierarchy and status are present in all cultures but at one time there was a system to maintain the peace. The attempts to diagnose the sources of dysfunctions are often bound by confidentiality in the clinical counselling sense. This isolating effect prevents the very important public "dialogue" (Short & Marconnit, 1968, p.39). Whether we speak of one word or of an entire concept in the native language, there is no question that it carries greater affective value equally important to singing in spirit. There is no question that the language spoken in a group was intended for teaching had serious emotional and spiritual components.

It is very rare for the Elders themselves to analyze the language as affective or as emotional but when First Nations describe true speeches as "coming from the heart" this extends to all counselling intentions. As a consultant for the Ditidaht, I met with the Elders formally as a group for a period of six months. The meetings had a common theme, the road to Ditidaht language/cultural recovery. The committee was put together as a means for the Elders to play a greater role in the authorship of language revitalization and to give their voice respectful consideration. With regards to the affective aspect of the learning, an Elder who is skilled in Ditidaht translation analysis stated:

Our language is distinct, our language comes from the heart, English comes from here [points to his head]. The language, which is from the heart, is being lost. The first thing was respect, long ago the old people picked up the garbage, there was respect for the woman, respect was given and taken. We have to know how outside influence

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7 In this context the family's curtain depicting their history or tupaat.
8 Hereditary status was displayed in wood carvings. In the age of cloth, the hosting chief placed designs of his major ceremonial rites and family revelations onto curtains that were hung on display. A great deal of caution, care, and protocol are involved in creating the curtains, ranked according to tayeey (eldest) status.
is there? Times changes...from Whyak [old coastal village] teachings to modern teaching (Ditidaht Elder Elmer Thompson, 2000).

The Elder noticed the loss of the affective aspects of the language, its traditional virtues, and the dangers inherent in changes. There is thus a clear recognition that concepts need to be clarified to all members of the community in order to assist them with cultural and education policy-building:

There are third generation dropouts from the residential schools. We lost the language, concentration is needed to make concepts clear. Everyone has different definitions. For example potlatch speeches...definition for language will help in determining...we don’t know the extent of damage (Elder Jimmy Chester, 2000).

The difficulty, however, could lie in finding a starting point and determine how attitudes vary. There was no assessment done within the culture to determine young people’s attitude towards language beyond the fact that it should be learned. As my brother, a middle-aged staff member who carries a graduate degree and a law degree note the need for cultural analysis:

We need to start at the bottom (and) have informal get together using different themes. Half the battle is wanting to learn. We need to value (and ask) what did we contribute? Defining our own culture is difficult, an example is the Education Board meeting (Robert Joseph, Ditidaht, 2000).

The question around the need to reflect on our own contributions suggests that these practices no longer hold central consideration. In an interview with Ditidaht staff it was suggested that the community look at models such as Hawaii, and special attention was directed to use prayer and discipline (Nona Thompson, 2000). The frustration concerning the lack of
recourse in understanding spirituality was observed by another staff member:

I'd like to understand the speeches and prayers at funerals. I'd like to know the places. We need to know Ditidaht protocol. They [Elders] tell us we are doing something wrong at the time [ceremonies], so it is discouraging. You still see the Salish Bighouse [ceremonies] still listening (Maureen Knighton, Ditidaht, 2000).

Along similar lines, another staff member also observes the disruptiveness of a cultural gap and the invisibility of spirituality:

There would be more respect for ceremonies if you understood. Another thing that came out “that’s not our way” when she told us what was wrong, (and wait) until we make a mistake. There is a lot of power behind it; the problem is the language is not heard everyday. Our spirituality was hidden, how was I supposed to do that?

Bickering over songs...there would more unity, more pride in our nation (Marylin Peter, Ditidaht, 2000).

My belief in spirituality was supported through observation of my grandparents in spiritual reverence, in private and in public. My parents' generation would have witnessed even more ceremonies and customs. Their ceremonial meaning respected the hereditary protocol that is not always understood:

These kids don’t know that you have to get permission to use my songs, they think that simply being related means they have the right to sing them in public. They are not considering the sacredness involved with the origin of the masks, the rattle, and the shawls. Those songs were given to the chiefs after many days of private uusibch (fasting, bathing quest) (Chief Richard Tate, 1998).

With fewer visible ceremonies and explicit storytelling, many members of the new
generation may have only retained the surface meanings, an explanation in English is not always sufficient. For example, in reference to culture-as-symbol and as understood in English, a native person’s sense of “symbol” and “interpretation” may be skewed. However, if the inquiry extends to the community, many experiences may still be found to exist. For example, if one learns-by-doing, then the focus on meaning occurs in the actions and events within the community. These distinct events, especially those that hold the greatest importance, represent the events that had the most influence and meaning for the First Nations’ communities.

4.2 iix.ibs a i ich?ad aq (It is important, the teachings of the Elders)

The teachings of Elders are important not only for retrieving a sense of what was considered ideal qualities or “good people.” When the community is engulfed in controversy, tribal council or staff members have always resorted to consultation with the Elders. The Elders have a reservoir of cultural tenets that they use as reminders of traditional philosophy.

For example, during a community meeting, one Ditidaht Elder expounded how George Gibbs, a grandfather of many members, had stated: “We shared everything, the beaches, the food, our culture” (Ditidaht Elder, Francis Edgar, 1972). In a question around the meaning connected to the Ditidaht term “to share” or hup’ee “to help” my mother responded that, dubiyaax.icyukid hup’ee (we help with everything) chachabax.id dubiyaax.iiyuq (we do the right thing to everything) (Edith Joseph, 2004). Another Elder, who extended these virtues, said in public and in a x.ax.apxt or counselling tone:

These generations have forgotten the Creator...to ask for guidance, to say the right thing to other people, it’s very touchy what we say about the creation...can’t have
jealousy, hatred, become gentle, sharing, always singing to the Creator, it’s (praying, acting this way) ever day, before things will get easy for us (Mike Thompson, 1972).

When there is a difficult issue at hand, the Elders speak about the common roots of the community as c’awisugaablidh ("we come from one root"). They also say that a sense of family history belongs to the grandchildren: “I’ve been among these old people, they never caused people to fight each other” (Elder Francis Edgar, 1972). And yet, while the Elders repeat time and again, the socially acceptable ideals of the school’s contribution to the community, the intergenerational trauma caused by residential schools still come through in some people’s anger (or worse, in the silent apathy and non-participation).

The school-as-agency, which does not have respectful cultural inclusion, is an example of intergenerational distancing. During an intertribal Elder’s meeting co-ordinated by the Ha-ho-peak School an Elder’s concern was for the student’s ties with professional teachers rather then the grandparents: “Teaching right in school...along with songs, our grandchildren are looking towards you (teachers and staff) instead of us” (Maime Charleson, Hesquiaht nobility, 2002). This once again highlights the importance of loyalties. I experienced this personally in a pilot language immersion daycare. It became clear on the onset of the program that the children needed to see the daycare supervisor speak the language before they would also co-operate with the native language teacher.

The respected members themselves, through a tribal authority, can form hypotheses as to the situations that greatly influenced effective traditional learning. One example might be the strong influence of intergenerational teachings. Many still recall the strong personal

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10 Stated in the dialect during a mourning potlatch was: “All of us Indians are one because we were created by one there in the sky” (Tom, 1922, p.287).
11 Ha-Ho-Payak School for many years was the only Nuu-chah-nulth Independent FN school offering language.
effects of Nuu-chah-nulth grandmothers’ stories (Atleo, 2001). The grandmothers’ stories and intimate situations in which they were told need to be appreciated as valuable living testaments. As an Elder recalls, grandparents “used to really show how they feel, especially sateex.” (Chief Richard Tate, 2002), and their teachings were especially directed to children, who were considered to be lineage carriers and so valuable as to be called “asab\textsuperscript{12}” (precious child, a treasure to the family). If this intergenerational closeness in teachings is interrupted, there arises a critical need to determine how it can be reintroduced through the family.

In resorting to language meanings, many communicative styles are recognized that consider all aspects of grandparental affection, patience, and respect for the sacred aspects of teaching. The strengths of communicative oralcy still thrive with many First Nations persons, but they often exist as the taken-for-granted aspect of life. The manner in which communication takes place in a small community context thus needs reflection, focus, and appreciation in order to give it proper recognition. For example, in the informal First Nations’ communities, ideas are not always discussed in public but are mulled over at home and are often left unresolved. The predictions that non-lineage persons will attempt to claim chiefs’ rights, is another unresolved issue (Elders Edith Joseph, Chief Richard Tate, 2004).

Traditional history lessons with witnesses can alleviate disagreements. As a legacy of the past, the accuracy of land and the ties to chieftainships represent an area that requires interpretation and detailed study. Place names not only depict the forms of the land, but they may also be the locations for spiritual quests or land points for mythology or navigation. The hereditary chief’s land and ceremonies are called tupaat, and these stories are depicted on

\textsuperscript{12} A term used in reference to a sibling of high status, asabaakidicx. would be translated as “you are our precious princess or person of high standing and vital to the family lineage” (Edith Joseph, x.akuub, or noblewoman, 2004).
ceremonial curtains, drums, and dancing shawls. Historians, philosophers, and warriors, who hold respectful positions, also keep the chief's lineage alive. Many of these skills are still passed from one generation to the next, in some cases in a very limited capacity. Those families who wish to uphold respectful traditional training represent a critical repository for future educational strategies.

Respectful traditional training includes accuracy in cultural protocol. Statements made at the occasional Elders' Nuu-chah-nulth intertribal gatherings reflect the importance of clarifying issues connected to ceremonies as expressed through song and dance. One such issue is the focus of another intertribal Nuu-chah-nulth Elders' meeting described below. An Ahousaht Elder and esteemed political spokesperson, focuses on family rites and the basic virtues expected of all persons:

I am bringing teaching of [my] grandfather. It's important to know songs and dances, put pieces into place. We have songs that are only for certain families and not to just use anybody's. It's important to know what songs mean...who they belong to. The power to understand [to be] caring, forgiving...the most important part of living, we need to communicate...forgive (Elder Archie Frank, 1996).

This statement strongly expresses the Elders' opinion that it is important to know the correct protocol for *tupaat* (hereditary rights) such as songs and dances. If brought forward in a dialogue, those issues could inspire reflection on the meaning of each song, its history, its holistic qualities, and its inspirational beauty. The dances are physical interpretations of historic songs described as "metaphors for the things that have meaning for us as indigenous people" (Cajete, 2000, p. 183). The presence of community functions such as potlatches

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13 Potlatch "birth, puberty, induction into society, marriage, childbearing, special achievements, and death are an abbreviated progression in a generic life career trajectory of Nuu-chah-nulth" (Atleo, 2000, p. 28).
and the Klukwalaa society had great significance in the past. If this practice returns, it is important to ensure that sacred origins and key concepts are learned through holistic practices.

The key concepts that I recall as outstanding concepts may have derived not only from my grandparent teachings but also from mythology. The meaning and impact of the mythology can only be appreciated in the narration of the text. I will therefore provide an example of a legend that I did with kwíístux Chief Charlie Jones Sr. in 1977. The legend describes a time when there was no daylight, no tides, and only continuous wind, the people were in a desolate condition and unable to venture out to the ocean to fish:

*C’awidukshťlaaw dubisaa?tx. aqad badukwitl quyid hiidasiix. yalth taqstluwis*

We will all get together, all who live here, if we try to reach, where it comes from

*Wiiqsee aq yaqic’t’aqad lthaakqwadk. Ayibshtluw c’aawidukshťl uucidaaqk*

The wind, reason for our, in poor condition, many times, got together, talking about,

*C’awaawitl’l t’at’aapt “hishu, yaachsh atl’eedicx.” yublth aq ch’abeyuq uduutl*

One began to think, “all right, let us start, it is impossible to, go by canoe, because

*dashukqa wiiqsii aadsas chabulth tlii akquy “duubee,dubisaatx.ik duubiitl’aswich*

it is strong, the wind, only possible to walk “ “all of you will all start walking.

*yaachshitl” Uu aa p’atulth duubquyid hidastl....sha aayashaa kwitl’l....”*

The best way would be if we could all arrive...then began to call names (Touchie 1977, p. 76).

This short text includes words that reflect an ability to collaborate and plan, the ability to reflect, with consensus, and to take action. At one time mythology provided the medium for introspection when it came to important community issues. This may have
contributed to maintaining the balance in concepts of leadership and group respect, and many other values that sustain a cordial trust in community.

The discussion around cultural meaning reflects the importance of the Elders as consultants who are not only familiar with experiential learning and but also can observe the differences in the new ways of learning. An example of their ability in oral memory can be reflected in interviews and more effectively in a group situation where consensus and contribution provides greater confidence for less frequently used cultural items.

The Elders also help to bridge the needs created by the movement away from oralcy. Another intertribal meeting of Elders observed the move from reality and experiential learning. Some Elders speak about the need for a written system, and others speak about the need to embrace reality: “Our young people will see it is real if we see it happen, we need reality, a lot of things are written” (Hilda Hanson, Kyuquet Band). Despite the relevance of spirituality as private and the secret for strength in the Nuu-chah-nulth culture, the Elders reminisce and say that prayers of thanks and appreciation to the Creator are no longer as common as in the past. They also remember that reverence for the Creator was commonplace in prayers of “uusimch” for every endeavour such as food gathering, bathing, or simply facing the east (Keitlah, 1995).

The Elders are also concerned about the aspects of culture that need to be clarified, “We have to go a long ways to see where things [family rites] belong” (Elder Kathy Robinson, 2002 Tseshaaht Band) and are concerned with recent social distancing, “I’m still learning the hardest thing to do was to forgive. I wonder what our medicine was...our

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14 The individual “uusibch” quest was done without an announcement, whereas the Kluukwalaa society was more exclusive, with membership requiring initiation.
15 Dialectal change from the Ditidaht uusibch.
language is the root of all so we can understand” (Elder Maime Charleson, *h.akum*, 2002).16

The statements made by the Elders are major concerns and yet in this meeting, only a handful of educators will take action with the concerns, there is no visible organized action for greater meaningful interpretation and action.

4.3 *baqsilθ eekid ax.ci cha chabax.ich atl’ xuux. takshitl (?)* (What will we do then, to make right, the learning?)

The Elders are the repository of experience and can act as the power in rescuing the culture (Rubin, 1999). The use of culture for defining place and time, is central and crucial for community survival. Stevick (1996) considers meanings relevant to language teaching as principally linguistic, but he also finds that there are personal meanings whereby “activities relate to each person’s immediate purposes, overall objectives, loyalties, self-image, emotions and the like” (Stevick, 1996, p. 53). It is obvious that the West Coast Nuu-chah-nulth people were forced into an economy that led to the alteration of annual rhythms as a means for survival. The Elders realize the incursion of economic realities such as commercial fishing into culture and they agree that there is a desire for the return to potlatch speeches of affirmation (Pat Charleson, 2002). The Elders are stating the importance of orators and during meetings are discerning the intrinsic qualities of discipline and the loyalty towards the chiefs. The extent of exclusivity, secrecy and discipline involved in the *klukwalaa* is described in a rare article directed to the centrality of life. It states that “our hereditary chiefs were the power behind our laws” held in connection with the Klukwanaa society (Hayupis, 1989, p. 13).

The Elders hold valuable information that delineates the areas reserved for societies,

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16 *H.akum* is central dialect, *x.akuub* in Dititdaht dialect, means “a high status daughter of a chief” in Ditidaht.
and due to its sacred aspects cannot be used out of context or with any intrusion. Along with the need for spirituality, the Nuu-chah-nulth analysts seem to be highlighting the need for the inclusion of the affective mode through socialization and intergenerational teachings rather than a piecemeal approach:

Non-natives should learn our ways of learning before they teach our children, my wife was fired because the reservation value foreign “mamalthni” ways. Emotion seems to be what matter to children they don’t like to go from person to person asking questions (Elder Roy Hayupis, Ahousaht, 1996).

The culture often surfaces at the Nuu-chah-nulth Healing Conferences, and the statements suggest that there exists a ways to correct social ills through song, through socialization and a balanced soul. For example one song, “chachaab’iy is a song for correcting” (Jimmy Chester, Ditidaht Elder and song leader, 2003). Through a socialization event, a youth shared his discovery in one word and “found out that saying ‘I love you’ translates literally as “I hurt for you” and he followed with the sentiment that “it is medicine when you sit with your people” (Hutch Sam, Ahousaht, 2003). A Ditidaht Elder Ernie Chester (2002) states that the native community cannot function or work properly until they have a tlulthii’t lthiibaqsti (to have a good spirit, soul, and psyche). To achieve good lthiibaqsti, there needs to be a balance between physical, emotional, and spiritual practices.

The language comes from the heart, therefore, the power which emanates from the language also contributes to intergenerational understanding. Most crucial for language planning is the need for emotional and personal support to ensure that a student can define meaningful outcomes in the real world (Rubin, 1999). In order to maintain this balance there needs to be

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17 Grandparents did not allow a kluukwalaa ceremony with a minister walking through the reservation.
a daily spiritual endeavour to maintain a positive outlook.\textsuperscript{18}

With the impending loss of Elders as authentic guides, it will be necessary for their skills to be passed on to new teachers or caring Elders.\textsuperscript{19} Leaders and managers need to address the needs inherent in the program to ensure its quality as well as to consider the need for recognizing language teachers as equal to certified teachers. The Elders and keepers of history, through no fault of their own, have not had the opportunity to deal with the processes of language awareness as barometers of change or as the impact of the language extinction (Crystal, 2001).

4.4 \textit{duubee, dubisaatx.iik duubiitl'asувiцh yaachshitl.} (All you people, you from all the tribes, you will all start walking, start the journey)

\textit{Duubiitl'asувiцh yaachshitl} (you will all begin walking) is stated in the legend by Charlie Jones (1977); this is a clear statement of community-action, which needs to occur with education for the future. Curricular planning only seems to appeal to an older generation. A need therefore arises to look at contemporary issues. Local issues addressed by communities involve intergenerational differences and ways in which new generations may fail to understand. The students can explore the purpose of the stories that apply today and speculate on the spiritual and physical readiness that their ancestors required.

Due to the long established separation from the education processes, the parents need to realize their place in the dynamics of holistic learning. Language program analysts have referred to the community dynamics inherent in language implementation as being beyond

\textsuperscript{18} A band councillor for several years, one parent felt that “negative feelings are present in the community every day” (C. Edgar, Jr. 2002).
\textsuperscript{19} Often the word “Elders” is given respected nominal recognition and capitalized in First Nations’ literature. One definition of Elder in this context is that of “a person who lives a good life, is kind, caring, wise, and respected in the community, and who shares his or her experiences and cultural knowledge.” Provincial Elders’ Gathering, Victoria, BC, 2000.
language. Meaning finds a place both within the community, and beyond it, in social acceptance. Skinner (1999) aptly sums up the sense of connectivity and meaning as place/environment. Where language programs exist, meaning becomes relevant to the environment and the maintenance of language and culture. This return to a semblance of traditional education provides a means for native people “to find meaning in life” grounded in the philosophy that “we are born into lives of service” (Skinner, 1999, p. 122).

When it comes to developing strategies of autonomy through strong, steadfast leadership, the Nisqa’a, who represent the largest and longest-standing Native-run school district in B.C., showed that the First Nations not only have the right to determine their children’s education, but they also gain respect from the non-native community (Hebert & McCaskill, 1987). Another example of reclaiming language and community is Soto’s (1997) report on Steeltown, U.S., where the partnerships of family, school, and community allowed for the development of good self-concepts, healthy socialization, and the needs of children as the forefront of all action.

The First Nations’ epistemology focused on life experience. All is contingent on how one defines one’s body, abilities, values, and place in society, all of which contribute to one’s motivations and actions (Spradley, 1969). In the local community context, accountability implies an overt display of skill. When the local tenets are steadfast and locally recognized, the educators can depend on unwritten policies, special education, evaluations, and portfolios in order to advance their agenda. Also, unwritten and mostly unnecessary is the analysis or reasoning behind cultural events. However, meaning exists in varying levels of analysis, such as meaning as instrumental-to-symbolic, multiple levels of meaning, visible and invisible culture, and meaning as metaphor or dance.
4.5 *baadukwitl quyid hiidasiyix. Yaqict’aqad lthaakqwadk* (try to reach that which causes our poverty)

In the time of the legend by Charlie Jones (1977) *baadukwitl hiidasiyix*, the primary goal is to try reach their goal, to find the source. It was meaningful at the time to establish an environment for fishing. The Ditidaht need to be aware of their environmental needs and the realities that represent what is meaningful to the child and to the community. The local language and culture are contextual groundings that assist in defining the meaning, and as such they could provide a means for identifying meaningful instructional styles. This instruction may focus on several local cultural contexts and values that influence the ability for the language to regenerate:

1. Meanings that are contextual social issues, possibly involving change;
2. Distinct meanings evident symbolically or through metaphors;
3. Meanings in reviewing and valuing one's ways of learning as meaningful interactions with reality and modernity.\(^{20}\)

The cultural context of the learner could have a very strong influence on the language-learning situation. The interrelationship of society and culture carries great importance for the acquisition of language that cannot be treated as an isolated subject. The recognition of this fact has compelled the need for pedagogical studies of the oral tradition in areas such as story-telling (Archibald, 1997; Cruikshank, 1991) the community's role in language practices and development (Santos-Rivera, 1970-1979), and in the role and potential technological development (Tlen, 1996).

The awareness of the complexity involved in teaching a language as a second

\(^{20}\) The three contexts recommended by Isajiiw (1984) are 1. context problems, 2. context of semiotics (language meaning), 3. context of inter-group relations (outside political policy).
language in its weakened state needs to be raised within the community. Scovel (2001) provides an analogy using nutrition as one component of total health, whereas grammar is only one aspect of acquisition affected by such variables as motivation, linguistic input, and the opportunity to interact socially with the language. The community needs to realize their part in ensuring that the language is "picked up" better when used in communication and becomes culturally useful again (Stern, 1979).

In this manner, meaning begins to reflect Aboriginal ways of life, or the "relationships and rhythms of existence" (Battiste, 2000, p. 202). By looking at their own cultural rhythms closely, the First Nations can begin to recognize the importance of maintaining their contextual psychology and "improvisational" anthropology (Bruner, 1983, p. 13). They can produce an "accurate model of the very things which the culture takes for granted" (Hall, 1989, p. 33). A cultural reconstruction can occur through projects for and by the First Nations, and like the Makah of Washington, U.S they can practice auto-archaeology (Erickson, Ward & Wachendorf, 2002).

Statements by Ditidaht Elders, parents, and administration reflect the need to clarify the culture and to convey accurate meanings to education planners. Without clarification of meaning, it appears that the community will continue to be torn apart by misconceptions not only about spiritual beginnings, but also about the value of language as oralcy. Therefore, greater value must be given to meanings that are preserved through the dynamics involved in each experience. The Ditidaht culture that has evolved primarily in oralcy could be validated through the philosophy that "method should be a servant of meaning and meaning depends on what happens inside and between people" (Stevick, 1996, p. 251).
Chapter 5

Language Maintenance/Renewal

In the apparent cultural anxiety (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) of the Nuu-chah-nulth cultural base, it has become apparent that language programs require attention to its cultural extension primarily as socio-political growth. For this reason, I am considering how fractured cultural meanings could serve as an evaluative beginning for language maintenance. With all due respect for autonomous research ethics (Smith, 1999) and finding internal creativity (Shirley Bear, UBC Research Seminar, 2000), language renewal must consider the cultural principles expressed by the Elders and by the community. In order that language maintenance supports a holistic philosophy it must begin with cultural renewal and assessment as an initial step (McCarty, 1988; Reyhner, 1999; Crystal, 2000). With a focus on the social aspects of language as linked to a cultural matrix (Holm et al, 2003) and according to the Nisqa'a educators and linguists, language sustains the “vitality of the culture” (McKay & McKay, 1987, p.66). In this chapter I will discuss how language maintenance implies the need for, i. identification of disruptive sources, ii. the need for creating clear vision, iii. the pursuit of culturally grounded maintenance and iv. the need to strive for social processes that support language maintenance.

5.1 Identification of disruptive sources and attitude changes

In this chapter, I will argue that in light of my interview findings and my past experience with language programs, the community needs to undergo an educative and emotional transformation in the area of situated social conditions created by colonialism. Even at this late stage of healing from residential schools, a prominent BC First Nations leader, Chief Edward John finds it necessary to remind residential school survivors that incarceration and drug abuse are due to past colonialist agendas (Ha-shilth-sa, 2004). The era of residential schools ushered in
achieving full intellectual healing and attitudinal change.

The community in question may not be aware of its unique situations of socialization and how it impacts the decisions and expectations made for everyday living. This extent of interrupted knowledge is difficult to gauge due to embarrassment and reluctance to reveal the losses. The Elders’ reminders that "we learned by living it" are indicative of the subjectivity of learning and that most of the information is forthcoming through personal accounts. It is primarily through narratives and stories that an interpretation of past principles can be determined. For certain, one effect of colonialism is that many Native traditions and principles have not been allowed to evolve to meet the needs of contemporary Aboriginal communities (Bolt, 1993). Despite the onslaught of new technologies, there still exists among the general populace and among Aboriginal leaders that, key to their survival is the conviction for restoration of past traditions and principles (RCAP, 1996; Simpson, 2000).

The literature review reflects how many Indigenous groups are resorting to their own cultural principles as the basis for education and small community dynamics. The First Nation leaders and educators have realized that educational success depends on commitment to find successful methodologies (Kirkness, 1998; Reyhner et al, 2003) and a resolution to consider cultural revitalization (RCAP, 1996; Crystal, 2002). At the community level there is a priority placed in modern survival and recreation while some cultural novices may be introduced to ceremony only on a surface level. This cultural fragmentation has reached an unprecedented scale and if not resolved, leaves the community vulnerable to assimilative forces (Battiste, 2000).

Often a strategy suggested to bolster the awareness in cultural loss is to ask, what will be lost when the language is lost? For the First Nations, cultural organization and respect originally centred on a hereditary system which relies on the language, family traditional naming, and the potlatch system to designate status and family affiliation. A disciplinary upbringing, especially
notable with hereditary chiefs, may form the socialization experience necessary for developing a First Nation personality that will endure societal change. For the purpose of cultural analysis for an educational foundation, this is also tenable for revival of cultural epistemologies and a wholesome attitude which spirituality entails (Atleo, 2001; Atleo, 2004).

The concept of attitude influencing learning is not new. Tyler (1969) summarizes the four primary means for attitude development. The most prominent is one's environment, including things taken for granted; the second is emotional experiences; the third is traumatic experiences; and the fourth is direct intellectual processes (Tyler, 1969). The extent to which frustration and anger (exhibited in subordinated communities) inhibit cognitive growth has often been discounted. Low self-esteem has been proposed as the biggest detrimental effect to Native development, but past traumatic events have also been shown to implant a non-committal or anti-social attitude. This attitude has resulted in many Native member’s ability to remain involved in community projects or worse, in frustration may leave the community altogether. By 2001, trauma therapy had partially replaced a focus on alcoholism in the Nuu-chah-nulth territories (Ha-shilth-sa 2002) but the desire to run away from traumatic effects had been evident since residential school years.¹

The Native population has also experienced a variety of racial, religious, and educational sites that have fragmented its strength. Native cultures and languages were lost, and also a happier time and a congenial community (Touchie, 1997). The prevalent case, however, is that there is a lack of focus on the strides taken in coping with new issues and a lack of focus on a positive (peripheral) common ground (R.Hunt, Communications Workshop, 2004).

¹ "He [the abuser] ruined us when we came back out for two months [for school breaks]. It wasn’t like it was before...it [language] wasn’t full like it used to be...we couldn’t talk for years...they just tore us apart, so I used to get in a canoe, me and Jimmy [Joseph]. Punishment for speaking the language at residential school was a strapping or goin’ without meals” (Elder Ernie Chester, 1996, cited in Touchie, 1997, p. 101).
For example, if an Aboriginal person’s motivation for change stems from “oppression,” there is a call for resistance, which can take many forms, such as, to dwell on reactionary stands or to heal and pursue isaak (respect) and revitalize one’s culture. At the forefront of language maintenance efforts are individuals supported by the Elders, the fluent speakers of the language. However, the Elders have never experienced the need to plan a curriculum for language instruction. The new communities need to reflect on the conditions existing in the past that facilitated effective language acquisition. Before populations dispersed for employment the native communities were close-knit and they shared lifestyle goals. The grandparents took pride in ensuring their offspring took part in community-based teaching which ushered them into specialized places such as hereditary chiefs, orators, historians, doctors, song leaders, and warriors.

Where culture has weakened in its important role in local survival, it is necessary to discern the value of the past culture, as well as to determine the effects of change. The extent to which maintenance is necessary depends on the rate of attrition, which is assumed to be critical or endangered when the number of fluent speakers drops to the 5% level (White, Maxim & Beavon, 2003).

The value of the past culture cannot be dealt with unless it is given the same space and standing as the established programs for English education. To a degree, small community members know each other’s life situations, but they may not be aware of each other’s particular language status or attitude towards language. For this reason, the community planner should consider not only personal profiling but also provide opportunities for in-depth community sharing around language experiences.

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2 "Oppression is the systemic processes in society that inhibits or prevents the oppressed from communication in contexts in which others can listen or prevents them from developing their human skills to resolve material deprivations" (Battiste, 2000, p.30).
First Nation people also need to be aware of the distinct Indigenous research styles and the need to share authorship (Shirley Bear, 2000). When any cultural project is planned there is a dinner or luncheon meeting involved with a general invitation. At these planning invitations the Elders repeat, “This (dinner) is the right way to do these things.” The right way is alluding not only to providing food but also to the open invitation as protocol and respect. I have found that in both education and cultural data research a great deal depended on my ability to provide an atmosphere of relaxation and socialization that determined the success in prompting natural cultural discussion.

An individual’s education-as-community was often so indirect that most First Nations members cannot define language and cultural teaching dynamics. They recall that they repeatedly heard stories (now called legends) imparting many social expectations through mythological characters such as tluksha (Raven) or qwei (Mink). When the potlatches were still intact, the values of cultural respect and order were also evident. Inter-generational teachings reflected salient values of personal growth and respect for the existing cultural system (Atleo, 2001).

Due to the interruption of the cultural-based knowledge transmission, it is now necessary to determine what conditions and what teachings ensured “renewal” and “maintenance.” The former oral culture used temporal guidance as well as x.axapx.t (counselling) and storying in order to form good character. Often the legends are now recalled only in short detail and are recalled only in small segments of a once lengthy narrative that I experienced in data gathering before the 1980s.4

Renewal also necessitates an evaluation of the tremendous energies of those who

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3 Fluent speakers are those who can spontaneously converse in a language spoken by less than 1% of the population.
4 Since the passing of grandparents Charlie Jones and Ida Jones who were both centenarians, I have not been able to find any person who can tell the legends that can last for several hours per session.
survived oppression and adapted to a rapidly changing world. Culture-as-living experienced by the Ditidaht Band creates a lifestyle similar to that of any other modern community, but with the exception that maintenance of the local native language is placed primarily with schools. The traditional potlatch still offers opportunities for holistic learning and could offer the affective change necessary to trigger an attitude change towards language learning.

Recordings of narratives or video tapings of potlatches could provide an avenue for cultural retrospection. Reviewing a memorial potlatch held in 1990 for my uncle, Chief John Thomas Sr. (also known as tl’eeshal) allowed for an opportunity to reflect on the values imparted to the new generations. During the potlatch, a young artist Ralph Edgar, now a spiritual leader, reported that John Thomas had advised him to “keep going the way you are going [on a spiritual quest] and you will be alright.” This sound advice prompted the youth to honour John Thomas with his song, dance, and p’atchiti (distribution of gifts). The rule of balance requires that those values, which are maintained through spiritual supplication, be sufficient to maintain the cultural needs of modern communities.

Chief John Thomas’ message is that spirituality is a key to a happy life. I had never heard a specific advice given for spirituality before the memorial potlatch. The Chief endeavoured to record the language and began to create useful resources such as language curricula and a Ditidaht dictionary. He also contributed thousands of pages of translation from the seven dialects in the Nuu-chah-nulth area to universities and the Canadian National Museum. Ironically, however, the local community or the general public may not appreciate Chief Thomas’ contribution to language maintenance until the language is extinct. Some day, when the Ditidaht have the means to consider a biliterate program, they will find these early efforts by the Chief extremely valuable. It is ironic, also, that various institutions own documented works with only restricted access allowed for the Native community.
In the memorial scenario, the local public gave Chief Thomas accolades for his fine "caring personality" (Carl Edgar Sr., 1992) and contribution so that the Bahai Community named an institution after him. This example reflects the unsung dedication inherent in the Nuu-chah-nulth area. The culture still has some skilful singers trained to preserve cultural knowledge for future generations. These carriers of past philosophy and history at times will often work with the same firm conviction and attitude as their grandparents. The principles that traditional Ditidaht Elders speak involves a collaborative unity of extended family, whereby priority is given to the well being and caring for other persons.

The Elders also reflect nurturing that inspires confidence due to the reservation-community that accommodates extended families. My mother recalls her grandparents saying "Duudubaawt’as, wik’eet’a tlaa uusas, wikeechitl’ yaaksvuqtl, asabaakidicx (You’re related to everyone; there is nobody that is different; don’t ever feel hurt; you are our precious child). For my mother, who is the Elder sister of Johnny Thomas, there was an expectation that the care provided by the extended family would continue into adulthood. However, Westernized immediate family interests have prevailed so that the closeness of the extended family has weakened and modernity has interrupted the intense cultural training. This means that the new generation needs to value cultural masters and appreciate the hereditary Chiefs as models in order to contribute to cultural renewal.

The new generations need to recognize and appreciate the efforts made by the few masters who attempt to transfer teachings to new generations. For example, Ernie Chester (1997), a respected orator and singer, gives credit for his training to his grandfathers who were master of ceremonies, orators, and artists (including hereditary chiefs). These people were not only members of his immediate family, but also his extended family and members of the community. Holistic growth results from hours of instruction and participation in gatherings
during which songs are heard and memorized. Along with professional tutelage, the singers learned the Nuu-chah-nulth values of generosity and humility, as well as the concept that all is one and equal in spirituality (Atleo, 2004). Today, however, the influence of Western thinking has ensured that the degree to which these concepts are applied is variable.

The arguments about attitudes suggest that there is a need to place a greater effort towards cultural healing in the area of psychological damage. The community should take part in regenerative efforts should be encouraged to share their findings openly. The contemporary community needs to value language and to understand that learning the ancestral language offers not only a cumulative effect of collaboration but also reinstates communicative understanding and identity.5

5.2 The need for clear vision and reality

The nature of the endangered language nearing extinction sets the critical need for a clear vision and a sense of reality. There is no time to simply experiment with programs that worked in other circumstances but there is a need to look at exploratory programs and not only look at ideal achievement (Soto, 1997). What is needed is a vision of the program’s benefits, both individual and communal. An individual and private accomplishment is in the area of spirituality. During an intertribal meeting an Opetchesaht Elder expressed that the new generations need to experience and observe the reality of spirituality (Jessie Hamilton, 1996).

After attitude changes are achieved and pride in one’s culture is restored, attention can then turn to the scope of the language learning program and the logistics of implementing it. In order to ensure confidence in the process and to maintain a clear understanding of local culture, educators should resort to the rare applied studies of language and culture. These are initiatives

5 Many Elders describe their loneliness caused by not having anyone to talk to in their language. They are also upset at not being able to find any persons of Nuu-chah-nulth hereditary chieftainship in their lineage, that diminishes the historical ownership of their identity (Atleo, 2004).
consciously created for the renewal of culture and language through which maintenance can find expression and focus.

Applied anthropology is one area where scientists look at combining theory with practice. When communities consider language revitalization, their cultural status becomes an important issue. Leap (1988) cites Nahir (1984), who notes that it is useful to distinguish between language maintenance in communities where the language is still spoken by a large number of people and language renewal in communities where the language has ceased to be spoken by the majority of people. Cultural enrichment becomes necessary in communities prior to and during language renewal. Despite the changed way of life and status of the language, “deliberately planned activities which result from conscious decision making about local language needs and possible ways to resolve them” are required (Leap, 1981, p. 211). Language revitalization efforts of the Makah of Neah Bay, WA serve as a good example, because they were reportedly 75 years ahead of their Canadian Native relatives in formal education (Bates, 1986). The Makah formal education was established in the 1800s, as compared to the Canadian Native formal education established in the 1920s. Yet, despite their English-based progress, the Makah found value in regenerating their culture through the assistance of Canadian relatives.

The condition of cultural loss in Neah Bay, WA was more obvious than in Canada, and so were the efforts to revive native traditions. Intercultural marriages and archaeological finds in the southern territory named Ozette proved to be a great catalyst towards cultural revival for the Makah Tribe, Neah Bay, WA. The Makah cultural renewal is now famous for its autonomous efforts in conducting applied anthropology (Leap, 1988) and auto-ethnography (Erikson, 2002). This, along with the observable culture, can serve as evidence of a nation’s vision and potential for transformative research styles that contribute to autonomy.

For those communities who cannot rely on a mudslide as a cultural awakening, it appears
that a local culture may need to rely on cultural renewal as a catalyst. A contemporary phenomenon is the return of the potlatch that embraces culture and which is handled with respect. The calibre of respect for one’s culture is reflected through the reaction to a mistake made during a ceremony. If a mistake occurs, special ceremonies take place, with speeches of apology and money and/or gifts are presented to the host. In the event of a child’s misbehaviour or disrespect for chaabat’ (hereditary chief), an apology potlatch may be due.

The acquisition of cultural knowledge simply through written systems, therefore, offers very little regenerative effect. It is the ability of the community to maintain its ceremonies and the integrity of the family-owned rites and protocol that will allow the continuance of authentic culture portrayed as reality. In the 1980s, when I was fortunate to serve as a temporary manager for the Makah Language Program, there was very active community participation in planning traditional marriages and memorial potlatches. These events were preceded by family meals, planned dinners for the entire community called k’uchkshitl. Potlatch preparation represented real cultural excitement and preparation, with extensive efforts and concentration expressed by the community in learning about the protocol, participation, procedures for cultural invitation, food, etc. This represents an aspect of traditional conscious planning (Leap, 1988), which is also needed to provide authenticity and respect into accepting classroom instruction.

The leaders of language implementation need to be aware of the overwhelming demands from the formal school system that concentrates on the achievement of specific objectives in lesson-style instruction. The planning committee can interpret and qualify the subjectivity of learning styles as well as learn-by-doing and valuing the effectiveness of social events as conductors of language acquisition. Attention therefore, should be paid to:

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6 "Handled" is placed as an English opposite to "mishandled" or the Ditidaht susudkw ("to mishandle" or "to abuse").
7 K’uchkshitl refers to getting together for feasting, a happy time; tl’ii ith means "a good time" (R.Tate, 2004).
1. Meaningful language acquisition over extended periods of time;
2. Face-to-face interaction;
3. Responding to the language; and
4. Reasons for learning and a desire to communicate. (Brandt & Ayoungman, 1989)

In establishing a clear cultural vision, the community needs to recognize the many types of bilingualism achievable in its particular context. The First Nations might want to consider looking at similar language situations, where Native language is learned abroad as a second language or where transience is high. Green (1986) suggests how reality building on the bilingual scale may consider four types of bilingual programs based on the degree of literacy:

1. Transitional bilingualism (where there is a transition to English);
2. Monoliterate bilingualism (where writing is only taught in English);
3. Biliterate bilingualism (where writing and oralcy are taught in certain subjects);
4. Full bilingualism (where all subjects are taught in both languages and where all band activities are bilingual).

The language program guide suggests that full bilingualism in Canada is virtually impossible due to the economic power of English so the best a community can hope for in maintenance efforts is biliterate bilingualism with sufficient teaching support services (Green, 1986).

Although Ditidaht language teachers have made great strides in their revitalization efforts as reflected in successful vocabulary building, songs, and dances, there is always room for more documentation of the language as well as content translation of cultural knowledge.\(^8\) As the case in many other communities in British Columbia, the efforts of various linguists have left the Ditidaht community with several writing systems. During the time when documentation was the

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\(^8\) The University of British Columbia Linguistic conference, 2004, speakers concluded that most languages in the Wakashan family grouping were slated for extinction and that it was unlikely that there were resources or time to even translate them as a recourse to complete documentation.
primary goal, one particular system was considered practical because it borrowed the English alphabet and could be used on a typewriter (Crystal, 2002). In this system, the word “good” was transcribed as $il +ulh= tlulh$ so in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) “good” was composed of the Greek, barred lambda $+ u +$ barred L. This allowed for one symbol to represent one sound. The result of this transcription method was the transformation of Aboriginal sounds such as the IPA sound “q” to the more easily pronounced sound “k” and so on. Eventually, all non-English sounds will be lost, and the only way to prevent this overwhelming occurrence is to create a distinct symbol for new sounds.

Several members of the Wakashan\(^9\) family or the Vancouver Island west coast linguistic group, maintained records in the IPA system. The Wakashan Linguistic Conference held in 2004\(^10\) reflected that several languages facing extinction resorted to documented linguistic materials for language recovery. The written curriculum and resources for the Ditidaht language include many projects associated with treaty preparation as possible sources for curricula, including the geographic imaging systems (GIS). The GIS provides the ideal basis for creating computer maps and has IPS place-name capability. My uncle Johnny Thomas and I, both linguists, created several written lessons arranged by level of difficulty, transcribed thousands of pages of Elders’ texts, conducted extensive linguistic analysis, and participated in the creation of dictionaries using the IPA system. The dictionaries are used not only for language instruction, but also to help fluent speakers recall specific words and phrases. The written systems used for transcription and dictionary creation are tolerated because language lessons for the young students are primarily oral and only a handful of adult speakers have learned the orthographies.

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\(^9\) Past linguists include the Nuu-chah-nulth, the Makah in the U.S and the Kwakuitl to the north as Wakashan family.

\(^10\) Descriptive linguistic conferences at UBC offer half-day sessions to discuss applied linguistics. This year, the community in question was the Squamish Nation, with session entitled “Reintegration of Aboriginal Languages into Our Everyday Lives,” August 11, 2004. The Spokane, USA, who lost their last fluent speaker in the 1970s, reported efforts to create stories in their language from linguistic and missionary documentation.
Currently, the Elders are patiently learning the two writing systems but at some point in the near future a need for writing consistency will arise. The Ditidaht language has welcomed most linguists with the interest in language documentation. They have witnessed the use of a combination of the IPA system and the practical alphabet with Eugene Arima and Klokeid in the 1960s, the IPA system with Touchie and Thomas in the 1970s to be followed by a new method of recording, using mostly the practical system but adding “7” for stops and underlining for glottalization with Bouchard & Kennedy in the 1990s.

The need for a collaborative effort that reflects traditional community input is a reality that is repeated in the literature on endangered languages. If a community operates with minimal resources, it must account for the added stress that plays its toll on all the staff involved with language development. A few “well chosen victories” and home-based volunteerism are advised for language programs in order to maintain independence from sporadic government funding (Janse, 2000, p. 189). However, it is worth mentioning here that while significant advances in language preservation were made in recent years, our work as specialist linguists are also shelved due to cultural uncertainty, lack of political will and the lack of adequate resources. In my experience, other than my immediate family, I did not feel I could elicit cultural data from Elders unless a respectful honorarium was available.

In order to ensure linguistic development, only the persons willing to commit themselves to long-term projects and persons who understand the local socio-economic needs of the community should be chosen for language instruction. Native communities need to realize the need for specific training for language teachers as specialists and language managers in order to survive (Wurm, 1991). The holistic manager or co-ordinator must stress the need for reformation of instructor-based programs for relevant thematic approaches and to encourage a community-based team-approach.
Most Ditidaht public service jobs are divided into roles (social workers, councillors, nurses, recreation workers, etc.), and public workers must accept the holistic needs of students and take an active role in language programs. Unfortunately with the present system, it has been estimated that any employee in the services sector of a First Nation community exhibits symptoms of burnout after six years. It is also true that non-Native linguistic consultants experience burnout after repeatedly facing social and political problems (Crystal, 2000). In fact, the situation which linguistic consultants face has been compared to that of Third World aid workers, for whom “a sense of poverty” is never far away (Rhydwen, 1998, p. 104). Yet, when a team of learners observes the positive results of their work, negative attitudes disappear. Rather than one specialist attempting to provide a process, community involvement becomes fundamental to the longevity of language needs (Vilinquette, 1998).

The community can also realize the advantage of contextual or theme (project) learning when the cost of culture documentation is considered. Three Ditidaht members under the auspices of the University of Victoria started the work of documenting local native culture. Crystal (2002) suggests that at the very least $56,000 per language per linguist needs to be allocated every two years to produce a basic grammar book and dictionary. Dixon (1997) estimates that $200,000 is actually required, when taking into account salary, consultants, travel, equipment, accommodation, publication, and basic facilities for cultural revitalization. Gerdts (1998) takes an even broader view, anticipating in-depth studies, the development of an audio-visual archive, and a wider range of publications and teaching materials. He concludes the cost per language to be $2 million over 15 years, which has not been feasible for any tribe in its present economic situation and under current government policies.

The real issue argued here is that linguists need to create avenues for local language revival that are workable in local cultures including advocating for community linguists. They
must be specific to each community and not fashioned according to the standards used in
different circumstances or social contexts. They must also not reflect a vision which is static, but
which has the ability to be “renegotiated” over time (Dauenhauer, 1998, p. 122).

5.3 Language maintenance strategies as cultural strategies

Until now, I have stressed the importance of identifying disruptive sources to linguistic
and cultural regeneration. It is now time to stress possible strategies when community healing
has begun. It has been repeated by the literature and through the Elders that formal education
alone cannot maintain language or culture. When the English language overwhelms local
languages, there is a critical need to profile community-wide projects that show “what is lost
when a language dies” (Crystal, 2002, p. 98) or more naturally, what values are maintained
despite language loss and what cultural ethics remain (Geertz, 2000) and included in language
projects to “maintain our way through language” (Hebert, 1983 cited in Green, 1986, p. 9). The
Ditidaht grandparents expressed their concern about the loss of language and communicative
ability due to residential schooling. Through the loss of traditional concepts found in the oral
language, the grandparents lost a great deal of their ability to influence the new generations with
their teachings and philosophies (Keitlah, 2000).

The rare Nuu-chah-nulth recordings where the Elders’ summarize their experiences and
philosophies can become a resource in rediscovering the culture. In order to truly appreciate the
affective influence, however, the youth need to experience each word with the feeling and
meanings in a contextual format. Through no fault of their own, the Elders are forced to describe
their nurturing in objective descriptive statements such as “one should have respect, called isaaak”
or the repeated warning in Ditidaht, that one is always cha cha bax. (doing the right thing/way).

The frustration and uncertainty about traditional ceremonies was central to the concerns
voiced during my interviews with the Ditidaht. A parent (and social worker) stated concern for
the spiritual distancing; "They [elders] tell us we are doing something wrong at the time [during ceremonies], so it is discouraging. You still see the Salish...still listening" (Interview, Maureen Knighton, 2000). Others say, "There is a lot of power behind it [ceremony]. The problem is the language... Our spirituality was hidden...bickering over songs" (Marylin Peter, Community Health Representative, 2000).

Linguists and school administrators have access to guidebooks, but these are descriptive and objectively organized rather than describing the English meanings with the experiences of other First Nations in initiating a cultural event. The actual ceremonies necessary to complete the experience are missing, and so is the ability to learn appropriate social protocol and respect for the Elders.

The west-coast potlatch provides a rich resource that provides a medium not only for cultural affirmation but also provides a venue for cultural purpose and ownership. The potlatch could proceed from informal showmanship and comedy to serious ceremonial events. The dynamics involved in the potlatch ceremony are not always apparent as an insider-participant, but by watching video recordings\textsuperscript{11} one can reflect on the procedures. Many aspects of the potlatch are different from everyday events. These include participation by all community members out of respect for the host and proceedings that occur to achieve the potlatch goal. There is a mood of caution at any potlatch, especially during ceremonies or speeches. This atmosphere is deepened as the Master of Ceremonies or the lead singers repeat cautionary terms such as \textit{?a?lthx.ich kee} (be careful) or \textit{chachabax.ich kee} (do things right). There is pride in participating in dances or singing and therefore a willingness to take part in the potlatch for the host family. Finally, the willingness to provide a feast for large numbers of people calls for

\textsuperscript{11} This is my personal video of my uncle's potlatch. Persons not related to the host must ask permission to record the ceremony in any manner, due to lineage ownership. Some videos may be made available on a family study basis with a unit I developed on potlatches for the new K-12 Ditidaht school.
sincerity and accuracy. Potlatch has historically been used for creating a sense of community, and it can still be used as such, but only if there is authenticity. The community needs to ensure that the potlatch, which traditionally carried a great deal of spiritual foundation, is not used inappropriately. This would contribute to community division rather than community cohesion.

The traditional culturally based opportunities for cultural affirmation are rare, but funerals and memorials represent one opportunity when a person's community involvement is appreciated. For example, at the John Thomas memorial, Ernie Chester, one of the present masters of the culture, embellished the grand character of the deceased chief. He also took the opportunity to give x.ax.apx.t (counselling) for the next hereditary chief in line, warning him to be serious and responsible. He also stated, "Don’t just know it [the ceremonies and protocol], do it" (Ernie Chester, 1991). This is a statement by the veteran Elder instructor, who is aware that the school is the place primarily for intellectual learning and not experiential learning.

The statements made during potlatches reflect a contemporary concern for the new generation. The potlatch involves each participant family presenting the hosts with a dance, a p'atchiti (giving gifts), and saying a few words in the area of family relationships. The mood varies from serious speeches and ceremony to relaxation and festivity, when ceremonies and c'iqaa (praying) is done the family socialization and sounds of babies crying resumes.

For myself, one of the most gratifying aspects of the memorial potlatch is the spontaneity of generosity and the willingness to participate and forget any past disagreements. The patience of the audience is commendable, as the program (except for the host's finale) is played by ear, with no prescribed plan of action or program sheet. Some Nuu-chah-nulth potlatches could last until morning hours. This commitment and family cohesion are also evident during potlatch preparation, as all family members assist with the preparation of gift giving and the planning for the family dance (Elder Ernie Chester). The potlatch is entirely cultural and only carries the
dynamics of intercultural transmission in the cultural context and on the cultural scale. The preparation is also cultural, with the public viewing playing a big motivational role. The preparation is family-centered and family-assisted as a cultural way of learning and participating.

It is apparent that a different attitude prevails when the setting changes from the traditional potlatch to the formal classroom. Place and purpose separate the virtues and strengths of ceremony and lineage from the formal school setting, disallowing the Ditidaht cultural capital from being adapted in schools. Traditional ceremonies may be introduced by the Ditidaht school instructors, but not on the same scale that occurs in cultural ceremonies. There is thus a vital need to join the values engendered for potlatch integrity with the goals of maintaining the language and learning in the school setting.

The concept of formal education implies a reliance on introduced concepts of learning. The renewal of language has been largely relegated to a formal setting, with very few connections between school and home (usually limited to research projects). In the community at large, it is rare for a person to be praised as a memorialized person or a person recently deceased. The attending instructors need to communicate that their committed time is dependent on the respect and assistance of the students’ extended family. Community handbooks for developing native programs distribute statements such as the following:

The issue of community involvement in Native language education is viewed as the single most important part of a successful Native language program by researchers in Native language education and by many participants at the Pacific Region Native Language Conference (PRNLC), yet it doesn’t get nearly the same amount of importance as other program aspects do (Green, 1986, p. 29).

Green (1986) also cites Fishman (1976), who has reiterated the need for contextual and
functional significance for language programs where schools offer primarily instructional power. The suggestions stemming from the insights of several tribes at the PRNLC conference could provide possible functional activities for the community to engage the language. For example, there could be established:

...one day per week (or month), when the total community speaks only the native language, a native language singing group including adults and various popular events done in mini-immersion style in church, art projects, sports, bingo, newsletters, or using media by dubbing the language and offering rewards for each accomplishment (Green, 1986, p.30).

The one-day a week suggests the isolating aspect of the classroom. It would be more functional to pursue the entertainment or competitive values entailed in cultural feasting or cultural theatre and song especially those shared in isolated communities. Instead the leaders need to accommodate a community transformation so that schedules for all fluent speakers can accommodate a community effort. The infrastructure of communities needs to accommodate culturally and economically useful programs. The suggested mini-immersions represent the common interests of many First Nations communities and would appeal to all ages, especially if directed to specific contemporary credit as well as cultural events such as potlatch planning.

5.4 Language maintenance as a social process

In this final section, having discovered a means for social conscientization, the community can begin to apply its regained social cohesiveness in order to accommodate the maintenance of cultural ethics and language. The required local processes appear to express the

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12 The inclusion of cultural materials receives widespread acceptance by non-Native staff only when they realize that an integrated subject matches the provincial curriculum guidelines.

13 It appears that language vitality waned due its distance from economic values. The Elders have expressed that many specialized skills such as doctoring were allowed to be lost due to insecurity in the person who was in line for it.
need for social change and to establish a comfortable and workable environment, while at the same time valuing culture. These could be found in the recent First Nation discourse about the need for a transformative attitude and praxis in community (Battiste, 2000).

Communities are bound by dual procedures, the sincerity and uplifting effect of the potlatch and of everyday (often crisis driven) community-life. Previous chapters spoke about the need for motivation and reality modeling. This cannot be taken seriously, however, if some Elders’ reputations are tainted due to their self-medicated states of alcoholism. This social interruption by alcohol placed stress on extended family ties and encourages a reliance on social agencies.

The reality of living completely in spirituality is an issue that needs to be understood by the community. For example, when a hereditary chief states, “We preach one thing and do another” (Elder Richard Tate, 2004) or when another respected Elder observed non-participation as apathy when he said, “Our people don’t give a damn about our Indian values” (Moses Smith, Ehattesaht, 1996). It is difficult to experience modeling when the same critics who bemoan the loss of culture have themselves wasted their lives in alcoholic habits. This state of oppression needs to be reversed to reflect the efforts of cultural survival and pride in traditional spirituality.

The Elders speak about a time when there existed a system that was in tune with the spiritual connectedness and actions. This system of isaak (respect) is the connection to spirituality (Atleo, 2004). When a community has only known confusion about its loyalties to religion and other foundations of good conduct, theoretical discourse about the reality of one’s ancestors as meaningful cultural descriptions is a welcome breath of fresh air. This is what hereditary Chief Dr. Atleo (2004) and others recognize as an appreciation of culture. The community needs to perform the ceremonies and not merely know them. There is an appeal for action, an appeal for retrieving the culture, and to bring to life the material now skeletized on
There is also a need for meaningful dialogue between generations in communities where the ceremonies ceased to be practiced. For these communities, ceremonies take on a mystique, and the distance created as the result, makes many youth reluctant to initiate them. All generations should be involved in ceremonies, including a leader who is authentically trained and who can clearly explain how modernity has interfered with original use and spiritual strength. It isn’t surprising that values of modernity have created a mixture of material interests, showcasing, and misinterpretation of spiritual ceremonies. For example, one young First Nations man (who shall remain anonymous) stated that dance groups needed to “show off” Native culture to the world.

The inactivity of First Nations ceremonies weakens many virtues including, a strong character, the ability to be caring and respectful, and the willingness to love and respect that are considered core Nuu-cha-nulth values (Atleo, 2004). A virtue, which seems to be reiterated by all the Ditidaht Elders and the Nuu-chah-nulth tribes in general (Keitlah, 2000), is the need for tlulth ltheebaqstii (a person with a good disposition and a good mind). Many of the words spoken and stressed by a caring leader slowly find their places in the hearts of community members. Thus, if a person with a “good disposition and a good mind” makes wise speeches, community members will eventually take them to heart and will listen.

A critical resource which has reflected longevity are the existing hereditary chiefs,14 who still carry with them the teachings and expectations passed to them as asab (vital offspring for regeneration of the chief’s family). In my experience I have noted that hereditary leaders, or their siblings consider traditional teachings far more seriously. There are stories and remnants of attitudes in nurturing, which reflect that hereditary chiefs were socialized far more harshly than
the norm. One model is Dr. Atleo, who has reflected the need for service to his people through his academic accomplishments and through his sharing of knowledge. The teachings of the Ditidaht and their relatives in Nuu-chah-nulth territories have had their spiritual beginnings for millennia, and they have been ingenuously portrayed in mythology. In myths, characters portray the most resented vices such as vanity and connectedness. The west coast Wild Woman personified a primary example:

> There was nothing that she would not do for herself. Ultimately, it resulted in her downfall, because the original design of creation demands beneficial reciprocity.

> Individual beings are designed to help one another in order to fulfill the requirements of wholeness, balance, harmony, interconnection, and interrelationality. Therefore, to practice vanity as a lifestyle can be destructive (Atleo, 2004, p. 35).

Due to concentration on English, the First Nations have had little opportunity or need to discuss the various teachings inherent in legends. The symbols are present and evident in art, ceremonies, and customs; they represent the original spiritual base (Atleo, 2004). The community needs to continue its past means of communication through legends and artistic-spiritual potlatch traditions in order to create cultural affirmations. It needs to be aware of mixing Western concepts that need clarification with self-obvious Native traditions, thus decolonizing the Eurocentric need for definitions and classifications (Battiste, 2000).

This is not to say that First Nations receive ideas without question. Often the artificiality of constructs is dismissed as *bablthadiic* (belonging to the white man). Therefore, a sense of resistance to irrelevance exists and is expressed in overt defiance or silent non-participation. Each elder has a legacy of teaching. This legacy is not to be measured in percentiles, but to be absorbed over one’s lifetime, *uyiitlas axki cabatsaa?*p (you will remember/know this later in life).

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14 Or the recollections made about past chiefs.
(Chief Richard Tate, 2004). The community, when reflecting on its particular context, does not always appreciate the dynamics involved in the legacy of extended family or the fact that many cultural values have been retained despite the introduction of foreign learning styles.

The remnants of the Elders’ memories need to be valued by indigenous educators. For example, Atleo (2000) describes the Nuu-chah-nulth learning ideology as acceptance of various archetypes encased in ritual-based and ancestral-based teachings and received only through a disciplinary quest. The quest implies an extraordinary desire to excel in hunting/gathering skills. This can be accomplished through oosibch or oosimch:

Oosimch may be best understood as a motivational model central to Nuu-chah-nulth learning in which synergies are cultivated and transformation is an ideal. This model is constructed through the pre-socialization process of tupswees (daily bathing in fresh or salt water) and a specific achievement orientation towards a goal. (Atleo, 2001, p.102)

The concept of transformation is prevalent in the Nuu-chah-nulth mythology and spiritual quests, so the need for transformative thinking, which would enable maintenance habits to excel, is critical. When considering language maintenance, the first recourse for a teacher would be appropriate instructional methodologies for language maintenance. Their steps and postulates are well documented in guidebooks and would contribute to teacher-training components. In the area of a language program development scale, the Ditidaht have progressed in all 19 areas. The first 10 areas include the beginnings of literacy, dictionaries, analysis, and lesson planning (Crystal, 2002), but the final nine, such as greater public language use, standardization, and curriculum development, require expanded use to satisfy the immersion situation.

As Aboriginal Peoples begin to actively assert equal representation, effective curricular planning will emerge. For example, the primary questions posed in a summary of leading aboriginal specialists are: “What processes accompany cultural renewal in a new context?
What is useful?" (Battiste, 1995, Introduction). Due to some disruption in cultural strength, it may be necessary to include reflections on theory in curriculum planning. Of course the theoretical enclaves and researchers’ perceptiveness provide the necessary positive avenues to discover how foreign constructs might affect local continuity.

For the Ditidaht, language maintenance now involves social initiative steps through transformation of attitudes while creating workable methods of language interaction (Brandt and Ayoungman, 1989). The degree that the Ditidaht achieve transformative attitudes depends on their desire to take part in the education of their past and to plan to influence their future. As the culture is reviewed the Ditidaht will find how the long-lived features of connectedness, going the right way, and even transformative ability, was part of the past culture and could be owned again and applied to language maintenance.
Chapter 6
Persistence of Language/Cultural Aspects

Within the context of this dissertation, persistence has to be viewed beyond an anthropological view as simply a society’s continued existence versus its extinction. For the purpose of language revitalization, persistence relates to the ability of language/culture to adapt to new socio-economic conditions and the ability of programs to persist once established in a sustainable process. In the context of the Ditidaht historical experience and the experience of other similar cultures, I will consider language and cultural persistence as, i. a variable necessary in the context of change, ii an applied culture, iii. retention of cultural identity and collaborative elements and iv. a pedagogical foundation for language.

6.1 Persistence as a variable of language/cultural change

Although each society can deal with its own revitalization according to its own will and context, all curricular projects should take into consideration the inherent values of sharing knowledge and synergistic systems that is so prevalent with Indigenous people. The value of sharing has already taken root through greater global access to the Internet, by which means the Indigenous people can now address their isolation. Yet, the need for persistence becomes acute when the effects of culture loss become a reality for small communities. For the post-colonial situation, academic writers both Native and non-Native are stressing that the ingredients required for persistence involves personal, tribal, national, and ecological considerations. The call for persistence is, in turn, dependent on the revitalization of cultural strengths and the pursuant structures that provide researchers and community members with a sense of security and perpetuity.
noted that traditions and principles have not been allowed to evolve for the First Nation on an appropriate scale to meet contemporary Aboriginal needs (Boldt, 1993; RCAP, 1996).

The disorienting effects of change have caused other interruptions to persistence. Since the First Nations have never been allowed self-governance, the notions of change and the need for persistence became very distanced. If change factors are not considered, the population is vulnerable to intrusions, with the decline of community and acceleration by members leaving home as a form of resistance but maintaining their sovereign connection (Boldt, 1993, p. 177).

The need to adapt to change as persistence is succinctly expressed in the following summary:

A people that endures … embodies the most important kind of social unit which men can create: a living cumulative interpretation and enactment of life … with collective purpose and destiny (which is achieved only by) indigenizing change, taming, and refashioning change, guarantees living potential (Spicer, 1980, p. 388).

The Ditidaht have demonstrated that they can revive the important practice of potlatch through a collective purpose relevant to family and community:

It was the combined effort of all my aunts (Henry Tate’s sisters) as well as your grandparents who knew about potlatch, who met continually with my Dad to plan the potlatch, once it was decided that a potlatch was going to happen. All the meetings took place in order to make sure that things were done right (Chief Richard Tate, 2003).

Potlatch planning reflects sincerity and authenticity, illustrating that some aspects of cultural endurance can be refashioned in substantial ways, for example the food types and materials used in regalia but the protocol and respect for the tupaaat or hereditary ownership must be maintained. At one time the Nuu-chah-nulth considered endurance and persistence to be survival priorities and a great deal of foresight went into such issues as construction and material
selection for building the big-house and for canoe building.\textsuperscript{1} The building flexibility also extended into flexibility in societal convergence. The Ditidaht have endured despite past incursions, as it is commonly known that the Makah of Washington state, at one time, occupied parts of their territory. Today the two nations still co-exist and continue to assist each other with their common heritage.

The convergence of cultures in the Nuu-chah-nulth territory occurred not only through wars but also through intertribal mixing especially through marriages. The Ditidaht maintained Makah place names such as \textit{waqatsaas} on the Nitinaht River and a popular legendary cliff called \textit{hiqatiqa?t} (Suicide Bluff), with root-words “frog” and “to jump” from the Makah dialect. Personal Native names and songs passed from generation to generation also persist and reflect contact with other dialects. This adaptability was useful for economic reasons, which is evident in the eventual acceptance of a trade language, which combined several Native dialects and French:

They used to talk Chinook Jargon, the \textit{Babithad} (white people), and the Ditidaht. When I was about 5 years old [1940s] a lot of people used to use it... even Philip Knighton and I knew quite a few words (Elder, Richard Tate, 2003).

There did not appear to be a strong rejection of learning the Chinook Jargon\textsuperscript{2} at the Clo-oose village school in the early 1920s. My mother stated: “They were teaching Chinook in the day-school and said that was the language we were going to speak” (Elder, Edith Joseph, 2003).

It is thus apparent that the Ditidaht were accepting of the Chinook Jargon for the purposes of external trade and made conscious efforts to learn the language. Today, however, in order for language revival to proceed without doubts and procrastination, community support

\textsuperscript{1} In recollection, the big-house was not repaired in its entirety, but in sections, and the wood technician was able to replace portions of the grand dugout canoe, such as the bow enabling it to withstand the power of the ocean.
and understanding of the program efforts are required. The general local community must appreciate the scale of the task at hand and therefore realize the need for teachers as specialists.

The difficulties on the road to language restoration are many. For example, there is a vast difference between language use that is doing well, compared to one that requires language planning, group initiative, and institutional organization (Ferguson, 1983). Where language is no longer learned through natural acquisition, it is necessary to determine where organized attention is needed to support persistence. Targets also need to be clearly defined. Kendall King cites Hornberger (1994) who defines a language-planning framework that integrates several key areas: status planning (uses of language), acquisition planning (users of language), and corpus planning (the language itself) as related to policy planning (form) and cultivation planning (function) (King, 1999).

The community needs to discuss not only the dynamics involved in language revival but also the status planning or uses of the language. For example, language changes necessitate a discussion about what attitude needs to prevail in order for the revival effort to survive. One of the most difficult realities is the fact that language revitalization is not simply replacing what is lost, but is rather "taking the language in an altogether different direction" (King, 1999, p. 124). To understand the dynamic involved, King (1999) requires that the status of the language and the corpus of changes caused by language death, needs to be recognized and further reports that although language loss finishes at home, it begins in the public and formal domains, and it is in those public domains that it can come back into use. This was already noticed with South American languages, where an attempt was made to undo the effects of language contact and to reinstate the authentic language. King (1999) warns that as in the Quichua language example, all local communities may not accept the reconstruction of a standard or a purified dialect at the

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2 A trade language that combined the Nuu-chah-nulth language with Salish and French.
national level. These unique features of language restoration turn it into a paradoxical endeavour that leans towards accepting the quality of the language shift as a reality.

A transformative approach has been suggested to lead to a new language “used in new contexts, and adopted by a new type of speaker” (Bentahila & Davies, 1993, p. 371). A transformative approach takes place in some instances with cultural resurgence in the arts and with a creative means to reinstate the potlatch. New vocabulary is introduced to a language, but at a very slow pace. For example, the Ditidaht grade 4 class experienced the play based on a myth called *i ish sulth* (gum woman) in English with a gradual insertion of new words like “coming out of the forest.” The concerted efforts of thematic-based immersions or “making opportunities … to use the language in an important way” have been made (Green, 1986, p. 28), with modified language preservation as its goal (Fishman, 1991).

Two levels of persistence have occurred in the case of the Ditidaht, one involving the informal everyday culture and one involving preservation of language and protocol maintained by the potlatch gathering. Inherent in the potlatch is the achievement of a natural flow or continuity in cultural ways-of-learning. The drive stems not only from the community efforts during potlatch preparation, but also from the fact that the potlatch offers an opportunity to validate one’s lineage through public display. Some guests are invited specifically as witnesses. The potlatch contributes the necessary ingredients of persistence in many areas of the culture. The public display through potlatch, and the desire to maintain a good standing with neighbouring nations has always been a Nuu-chah-nulth ideal. Not only does the potlatch provide an avenue for historical transmission but it also provides a model for collaborative effort and tribal loyalty.
The need for authentic tribal loyalty and the need for historical accuracy are mentioned due to the fact that many tupaat⁴ (chieftain property and ceremonial rites) have been appropriated or used without proper protocol. This has become a primary source of dissent in many communities. The Elders explain that family names were a form of tracing family so that any inappropriate use of names breaks this important record.

The degree that the insult is felt within the culture can be described by one hereditary Chief’s feelings. Charlie Jones, a Port Renfrew Chief expressed his hurt when a lineage name hayupanulth, a name intended for his grandson, was given to a foreign person. He stated, “wikaabitaks chachabx.guy, wiktaqshtl cii it’tl” which translates to “I am not aware that they did it properly, they did not ask” (Chief Charlie Jones, 1975).

The youth need to realize the generational depth, which accompany customs especially those involving family ownership. The term “ask” represents the chieftain protocol, which would involve many potlatches as Chief Charlie Jones explained that the reputation and worth of the name in question, involved concluding eight potlatches. The many years in which the potlatch practice has lapsed, has left a wake of confusion and insecurity for many when you are told “no you can’t dance...then just give up” (interview M. Knighton, 2004) and many are now too sensitive to be told they are making a mistake (Elder Ernie Chester, 2003).

Many sensitivities and forms of respect, with spiritual origin, were involved in the potlatch, sensitivities which are too complex to explain in this short space. The cultural epistemological dynamics, however, are valuable. In the days of the very powerful kluukwalaa, (sometimes referred by the misnomer, wolf society) is an exclusive society; it was necessary to

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⁴ Tupaati is also used in a broader sense for any hereditary privilege or any token of such a privilege, including territorial rights, songs, names, painted screens, carvings, which are the exclusive possession of a lineage and are inherited according to the customs of the tribe (Sapir & Swadish, 1955).
take part in a ceremonial initiation. The novice in the potlatch needs to be aware that the
potlatch has a larger underlying spiritual history which the ceremonial rites represent and cannot
be confused with modern concepts of simply making a presentation as one would do in
entertainment. The events of a potlatch cannot therefore be only described or understood on the
same conceptual level as the English concepts of “arts” and “theatre.”

The hereditary system and age-seniority at one time provided the basis for the
consultation and instruction of cultural curricula or cultural training. An example would be a
specialization, such as speakers, who would be designated by the hereditary chief, or a skilful
dancer might be told, “you will be my legs,4” The traditional names, songs and dances which are
used are restricted only to lineage privilege and only with permission from the tayeey or senior
chief. It is not possible therefore, to simply develop a class of ceremonial-language specialists in
the style of the American Jews (Thomas, 1990).

When a First Nation novice is unable to learn through ceremonial experience they can
approach the native colonialist conditionality and consider research into socio-cultural
persistence and change. For example, one case study of the Hopi discovered similarities about
how behaviour and material culture can be identified, described, and used to explain persistence
and change (Rushforth & Upham, 1992). In order to understand prehistory, the authors discuss
five areas of change occurring within five hundred years, which include: demographic,
economic, social, political, and religious change. They further argue that six variables affect the
persistence and change of any socio-cultural system, namely demography, environment, culture
contact, social structure, human agency, and action. Isolation from external influences,
continuity of scale (population retained), economic subsistence or infrastructure, religious

4 Elder Ernie Chester (2003) said that he recalls Harry Joseph asking him “to be his legs” or you will dance for me,
and this was an honour and recognition of a dancer’s competence and skill.
ideology, power of leadership, and Hopi cultural conservatism are all factors that “contributed to socio-cultural persistence through the period of 1680 to 1880” (Rushforth & Upham, 1992, p. 121).

When critically analysing Hopi culture and similar studies, one also needs to consider the gaps in self-analysis, which are valid not only for a specific time and a specific place but also for “limited claims about a general science of society” (Rushforth & Upham, 1992, p. 251). Excluding experiential socialization creates fragmentation of variables and favours scientific theory over the Nuu-chah-nulth theory of *tsawalk* (one), whereby all things are connected as a spiritual oneness (Atleo, 2004).

Where change occurs, therefore, there is a need to discern the connected philosophy of life and to focus on positive visions and attitudes. Atleo (2001) achieves a positive analysis of Elders’ contemporary narratives that validate Nuu-chah-nulth cultural ways-of-knowing and personal strategies that contribute to persistence through self-acceptance in a changing world:

Louie acknowledges the mental conflicts between existing beliefs and new information that challenges traditional values and ancestral teaching as barriers to learning. While such conflicts can put individuals in catch-22 situations, Louie maintains that to reclaim native beliefs, ideology, teachings, values, oral tradition, and the old ways, a bigger picture is needed that allows a vision of the old and new ways because the old ways cannot be eliminated. In his experience there is a need to pursue all aspect of “the self” to be able to live in history and in the present (Louie Frank cited in Atleo, 2001, p. 120).

This is one strategy that allows for a quantity of persistence in accepting reality. The attitude of self-acceptance and of functioning in two worlds, “mainstream and traditional,” gives hereditary
chiefs the ability to recognize that culture is seen as adapting and changing, where language is key to such changes (Atleo, 2001, p. 47).

6.2 Applied culture as a means of persistence and dealing with modernity

In order to ensure community persistence, there is a need to apply the knowledge about language and culture in the community (Reyhner, 1981). It is this degree of actual application that fluctuates and remains primarily in memory. Despite the intrusion of several cultures, the Ditidaht are still able to maintain their unique community and find the means to continue some cultural aspects of their life. This reflects persistence and a desire to maintain the Ditidaht identity. In this section of the chapter, several aspects of development and historical events will prove the staying power of the Ditidaht and will present some principles that support cultural persistence.

There are several important inherent features involved with being raised with endurance and spiritual strength within the Nuu-chah-nulth culture and therefore, also within the Ditidaht culture. This supports the persistence and personal perseverance that extends into learning situations. Without analyzing cultural strengths, there is a need for the community to realize the characteristics of its culture that bind community members to each other and to their ancestors. For example, some fluent speakers are able to retain their language, while a mental block caused by residential school trauma and parental separation affects the ability of some members to speak the Ditidaht language.

The persistence of the potlatch custom is evidence of its importance to the Ditidaht and their refusal to simply accept a government edict is evidence of the strength of a belief system. The Ditidaht describe an example of how they coped after the potlatch was outlawed. Chief George Tate (Boquilla) had his ceremonial regalia hidden in the forest, so the Ditidaht were able
to take part in ceremonies due to the chief's actions and also due to their relatively isolated geographical location. Some Nuu-chah-nulth went to the church under the pretence of attending service, but instead staged a potlatch, complete with distributions of boxes of fruit. In addition, while family *tupaat* (lineage rights) were once represented on planks, now they can be found on cloth curtains that provide for greater portability.

However, the strength and pride exhibited by past persistence may not be appreciated by the new generations. When the Ditidaht were still living in relatively isolated villages of Cloose and Whyack, on the Pacific Coast of Vancouver Island, they were able to converse in their language. The community also took part in collective hunting and fishing, which allowed for culture to be preserved in a traditional setting that demanded collaborative efforts (Touchie, 1997). The four generations of residential schools, and the ban on potlatches had a devastating effect on language usage and therefore on cultural social norms. However, the revival of cultural practices, including speaking the language, has provided a major avenue in programs for personal healing (Ha-shiilth-sa, 2003).

Small community dynamics are to be appreciated for persistence in several areas. The extended family dynamics assisted with local community survival, while collaborative effort in cultural persistence required knowledge and skill. Elders in many cases were the primary caregivers for many children when parents were absent or deceased. The elder educators have become the main resource for language research and instruction. Historical reliance on the extended family for most First Nations communities implies a communal responsibility for all youth. Grandparents today who have endured in their cultural beliefs, despite their experience with intrusions and abuse, play a critical role in cultural persistence:
Grandparents knew the blueprint for success, could model aspects of flow, and were considered the architects for childrearing. They were the repository of knowledge and care for the child. Often grandparents were the caretakers when the children were very young so that the mother could gather food or produce household goods (Atleo, 2001, p. 128).

The strength of the Nuu-chah-nulth includes a very close-knit family. Coupled with this value, which contributes to persistence and continuity, is another core value called *iisaak* (respect tied to spiritual grounding) (Atleo, 2004). It appears that hereditary chiefs held more stringent requirements and followed more serious training and protocol than the average member (Sewid-Smith, 1995; Atleo, 2001). The chief’s dedication to their inheritance and role has been instrumental in many cases to cultural persistence. In the days as hunters and gatherers, the chief was a model hunter and whaler. The success of hunter-gatherer was contingent on a strong spiritual preparation through a quest of discipline and fasting called *uusibch*.

The quest for power and strength through participation in a spiritual quest (*uusibch*) has persisted through the years, although on a smaller scale than before. The belief in the ancestors’ customs of humility and secrecy has allowed a lot of cultural and linguistic aspects to persist. For example, the Nuu-chah-nulth take great pride in being able “to bring out a mask” or “bring out a song” which has never been heard before and which has been preserved due to a strong oral tradition (Elder Ernie Chester, 2003).

The process in restoring certain aspects of culture does contributes not only to persistence, but also to validation of family authenticity, which encourages *iisaak* (spiritual respect). Contemporary healing methods, as reported in the Nuu-chah-nulth *Hashilthsa* (2003-2005), have realized the healing power of culture through many avenues including actual
participation in cultural ceremonies or teaching through the use of cultural metaphors. A
favourite cultural metaphor has been the traditional ch'apac (canoe) that uses the crew to
symbolize community roles, collaborative efforts, unity, and purpose. The spiritual aspect of
culture allows for authenticity of purpose and respect for culture as a means of attaining tlulthiit
ltiibaqsti (good spirit and mind). During the Ditidaht dances or ceremonies, it is evident that
accuracy is critical when the cultural warning ?a?alth x.ichka (take care [plural] not to make a
mistake) is heard.

As the tradition of the potlatch returned, families began to embrace the essence of former
ancestral practices. The public introduction of family during a potlatch or general feast, allowed
for greater historical awareness, which was not happening in any formal sense outside of the
culture. Many Ditidaht and other Nuu-chah-nulth report the power inherent in receiving a
traditional name (Atleo, 2001), or by taking part in puberty rites, or initiation into the tluukwalaa
society. Yet, the Elders believe that introduced foreign cultures still interfere with the Ditidahts' ability to learn their own culture.

It takes the contribution of many Ditidaht members with a very strong traditional
upbringing to revive the dynamics involved in traditional ceremonies. The Elders might be able
to report on the disciplinary aspects of spiritual society and on nurturing recollections (Keitlah,
1995), but the inherent strengths of society as a whole are also required. These include a
culmination of familial affection restated in language concepts as well as in the powerful and
influential presence of grandparents and other Elders.

With fewer opportunities to repeat Elders' teachings, the Ditidaht are looking for new
avenues to reinforce cultural concepts and ensure persistence. These strong efforts need to be
given focus as critical components for behavioural pedagogy. For example, some phrases or

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5 It is difficult to gauge the practice due to the fact that the strength of the quest depends on its secrecy.
statements made during potlatch speeches, such as *chachabaxawiichtl* (going the right way), *tlulhiit lhiibaqsti* (good person’s spirit and body), *yaayaqsabo* (all my relatives), *lthax.aq tlasu qwa suk* (it is a good thing you are doing), and *waabt’ee ik hu eey uy* (they used to say long ago) could be reinforced in the community. The Elders say: “Hear again the stories that are old; Traditions that our ancestors told. The laws they made are still with us. They are here and have not changed” (Clutesi, 1969, p. 35). These are a few keys to cultural and linguistic revitalization.

In order to determine the extent of the staying power of culture, or to what extent these laws are still with us, it may be necessary to realize how the knowledgeable generation can no longer communicate their teachings as accurate meanings due to the language loss. For example, the words of skilful orators uttered during potlatches represent a powerful source for persistence. The speaker’s presentation often qualifies or reinforces the historical display of *tupaat* (chieftain ownership), which has been respected and honoured for millennia.

The clarity for all attendees may require sincere attention. The speeches so eloquently presented, have meaning and influence with only a few fluent speakers. This reality in communicative gaps should allow for the extension of oralcy to new mediums. The staying power of oralcy allowed the recall even for the secret society known as the *klukwalaa* and prompted Natives to also commit the potlatch experience to paper. This form of transformational empowerment through literature that validates culture creates avenues for further persistence and also provides an important element of recognition by non-Natives (Giroux & McLaren, 1986).

A form of empowerment stands out, in my memory, with one student in my experience with regular k-6 instruction. The student continually responded to school work, no matter how well prepared with the question “so what?” This student, who had artistic skills, excelled when
given a project illustrating reading posters for the younger students. What is even more pronounced was the need for motivation towards working with, and acceptance for a local way of knowing. What was also important was the need for the vocabulary to connect with the student’s desire to produce relevant material and to respectfully negotiate with instructors.

For this reason, I can recognize that intergenerational gap in cultural appreciation through experiential learning or as Elders say, “by doing.” The need for a means for intergenerational interpretations and ceremonial experience grows more critical with the prospect that fluent acquisition of the language is unlikely. This disconnected aspect is observable in the Nuu-chah-nulth area where there was “a lack of sustained interest in learning languages” (Ha-shilth-sa, 2002, p. 9). Several language programs in British Columbia however, reported that while the language goals in themselves, were not always achieved, the important support of students’ parents and community in their language efforts had been achieved. The sustained interest, and involvement, therefore, improves congruently with the recognition that the formal school gives to the culture.

The cultural tenets inherent in the Ditidaht culture need be honoured and learned with respect to the predictions of language extinction. UNESCO’s (1996) rating of an endangered language states that if a language is not learned by at least 30% of the children in a community it will face extinction within the next generation. In fact, even if a language is rated as viable, the problem of continuity always looms (Norris & MacCon, 2003).

6.3 The human collaborative element

Where community members still live in close proximity to their extended family, there exists a better chance for an intergenerational transfer of cultural teachings. For example, in such close communities:
.... the most essential learning has taken place, learning that is reflected in the children's voluntary and enthusiastic participation in the program and in the commitment of the elders and the teacher to their work with the Tachi [language] (Britsch-Devany, 1988, p. 297).

In a relatively isolated location and with strengthened identity, a community can take its cultural boundaries more seriously. According to the Nuu-chah-nulth custom, the boundaries of the spiritual quest are maintained through exclusivity and secrecy of intent, both within the community and from the eyes of non-members.

In the past, secrecy about language assisted in keeping important areas of life hidden from imperialistic eyes and contributed to group survival (Thomas, 1990). The small size of communities also offered an opportunity for participation in experiential learning, instead of learning words mechanically, as with textbook learning (Battiste, 2000). Today, the maintenance of exclusivity is still possible due to the distinctiveness of small Native communities.

As persons connected to the land both physically and spiritually, the Aboriginal people have demonstrated a desire for pragmatism as well as concern for the environment. These cultural concerns for life validate the need for local persistence. An avenue suggested to prevent the phenomenon of language death is for the population to realize that language loss carries with it many other losses. One can argue with the Whorfian hypothesis which postulates that the very thinking of group is embedded in language structure. This hypothesis has yet to be proven or disproved by research. However, most scholars have agreed that a great deal of the unique culture of any people is contained in the concepts of their language. There is no doubt that language is a primary cultural vehicle so that loss of a native language means a significant cultural loss (Thomas, 1990, p. 63).
Those unique aspects of the culture that are not always immediately apparent to the Ditidaht speaker, includes words which express emotion, in child-rearing there are words of endearment, in speeches there are words of good disposition and spirit, or in the myths, words that are humorous. Most importantly such creativity and flexibility in deliverance is not only a means for creating personal identity but also represents an effective means to connect the senses and ways of learning with the past grandparents.

6.4 Persistence through reinforced identity

The persistence of cultural concepts as virtues that are adaptable is common with the Nuu-chah-nulth. This has become the focus for discussion by Native leaders in the residential school healing projects (Ha-shilth-sa, 2001-2004), health initiatives (Keitlah, 2000), and ongoing eldership consultations. This is not suggesting that the entire population requires counselling, many successful college students still reflect a strong sense of personal and group identity (Sachdev, 1998).

The strong sense of group identity appears to be important for the healthy social growth of the younger population. The dauntless attempts of the Ditidaht to preserve their belief systems are evident in their ability to continue conducting ceremonies and to potlatch. Documentation of the breakdown of potlatches is still rare. However, a member of the Kwakiutl nobility expressed that continuing with the potlatches seemed useless at one time, due to the misunderstanding of reciprocal processes involved in the ceremony. However, as the potlatch custom became clearer, its practice has now flourished with the Kwakiutl First Nation.

However, the need for clarification of language concepts in order to alleviate the “social

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6 In the West Coast culture, generosity of character is an espoused trait. At the same time, an act of generosity is never forgotten and is through some means, reciprocated to the family.
breakdown, and the very personal identity struggles of the younger generation” is still necessary because it “holds the keys to our past” (Sewid-Smith, 1997, p. 602).

Spirituality encases the cultural identity of the First Nations and seems to inspire the greatest concern when it comes to wrongful interpretation or loss. In order for Natives to consider their identity, it may be necessary to see the bigger picture and dynamics involved in other minority groups. Smolitz (1992), for example, considers how different parts of a culture accommodate change. He concludes that such an analysis can identify the core values of a cultural group. These core values cannot be transmitted from generation to generation through textbooks or simple explanations; instead, active transmission must be utilized to ensure cultural continuity.

The Ditidaht Elders have often complained that the new generation is practicing the culture incorrectly both in protocol and in the type of ceremonies performed. When the Elders make a conscious decision to focus on core cultural values (Leap, 1988) in an effort to present the culture from the viewpoint of the participants, the culture may begin to regain its firm foundation (Sewid-Smith, 1997; Smolicz, 1992) and to strengthen languages by dealing with “long ongoing departures from the traditional culture” (Fishman, 2001, p. 21).

The Ditidaht need to find comfort in the strong features still present in their oral culture. Often the Elders spontaneously recall an event, a word, a name, or a visual image, claiming that they have not heard or witnessed it for many years. Chief Richard Tate, as well as many other Ditidaht Elders, say that early instruction took into account memory and lifelong learning by claiming uyiiitlas ax.ki kab’at’p (you will realize this much later in life). The flexibility of memory is apparent in recall as well, as in the case of the Ditidaht language students in the 1980s who reflected a good grasp of Ditidaht vocabulary despite the lack of visible use.
Language students also need to keep in mind that their potential for speaking with confidence and competence is not as far away as they think. The patience and encouragement by the Elders can aid a person’s psychological ability to learn language and shorten the time required for language acquisition. The fluent speakers need to take to heart an understanding and acceptance that needs to be woven into useful meaning through social practices and discourses, where language students can feel at home (Gee, 1992).

An analysis of learner personality styles may also assist educators to find learning styles that will lead to greater language commitment. If at one time the language was widely used for communication, researchers need to investigate what conditions and what personalities created this situation. For example, in the small community context, a child may be quickly socialized into learner typologies as primarily listener/observer learner, whereas others are gifted as the storyteller (Atleo, 2001). Smolitz (1992) describes a conceptualization of cultures in terms of shared meanings, or group systems of values, out of which personal systems are formed. These personal systems can operate at two levels: one as an attitude whereby language systems are constructed and one as a tendency to activate when circumstances allow it.

In order for these circumstances to grow when governments refuse bicultural programs, the community must be willing to work toward resurrecting cultural core values for the future generations. For example, one chief suggested that an organization similar to the Kinsmen, which elevates the concept of volunteerism as a past virtue, should be established. In many communities this volunteerism is proudly present in areas such as leaders for song and dance or as coaches in youth and sports.

Another area constantly stressed by specialists is the need for improving a small community’s ability to dispute issues in a productive manner. The cultural history that is

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7 Elders often mention how facts suddenly return but are soon gone if there are no means of recording them.
accepted in recent times is no longer restricted to specialized speakers and many young people receive information without public consensus. This may result in what Nausbaum (1997) describes as small victories, where lack of critical thinking produces a democracy without genuine dialogue, and where bad arguments masquerade as small victories.

The need for critical thinking and the need for dialogue (Short & Marconnit, 1968) rest heavier on a community that has not found its core values (Smolitzcz, 1992). Such a community must establish its identity and a cultural base (Sarris, 1993). Similar core values to the Nuu-chah-nulth exist across Canada, extending as far as the Micmac of Nova Scotia. These shared indigenous core values that ensured persistence include; pride in living in an ecologically sensitive way, a reputation for mutual concern and sharing, and a need for identity building and economic stability (Battiste, 2000; Time, 2003).

6.5 Cultural persistence as a pedagogical foundation for Language.

Persistence often describes the degree of a cultural state due to intercultural effects, but in a language program it also refers to a need for program mechanisms that allow for persistence, commitment, and time. Those familiar with language programs know that many inconsistencies can occur in absence of support mechanisms. The need to stress consensus building has been emphasized only due to the fact that language planning is now a necessity. It is therefore critical that the Ditidaht determine the strengths inherent in conceptual development for purposes of survival and implement them as the cultural rationale for Ditidaht as a second language (DL2). Traditionally, students’ curricula were selected according to innate talents or, in the case of chief’s families, through inheritance. Students would then be placed under strict mentorship of knowledgeable persons (Ernie Chester, 2003). Atleo (2001) provides a fine example of a
disciplined hereditary chief's socialization, with knowledge passed on through narrative and song.

For millennia, Native cultures have relied on committed specialists who interacted with the community through the dynamics of local spirituality. The unwritten culture relied on the skilful orchestration of legends and spiritual quests, which persisted through chieftain lineages and were instilled in memory through countless repetitions. Cultural persistence relied on current social protocol. For some families this meant that basic principles critical for *chachabax awiichtl* (going the right way) were intact and accessible. Pedagogical changes range between distancing from spirituality to the influence of several influential mentors who act as designated historians.⁹

My Grandmother was socialized early in life as a cultural historian. This role was deemed important enough that she was purposely withheld from attendance at residential schools. Today, some persons have successfully adapted the strengths of cultural socialization, whereas others can interpret the embedded concepts only through cultural experiences or cultural reflections. Once methodologies are realized, language planners should be aware that the new curriculum development effort would be encased in the aftermath of change and hybridization of tribal customs. It is at this point that persistence also involves accepting some changed meanings which modernity has directed to former loyalties and ties.

Where economic change is described as particularly important, factors change meanings and cash economy replaces land and ceremonies. This diminishes "lineage solidarity" (Rushforth & Upham, 1992, p.168). Rushforth and Upham (1992) describe many other

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⁸ At the opening ceremonies held for the new Ditidaht K-12 school, a language co-ordinator addressed this issue when she asked: "Do you quit when there is attitude? No." The program reports real transformation in behaviour due to students' spiritual involvement (Jessie Stevens, Ha-ho-payak School, 2004).

⁹ My grandmother, Ida Jones, was kept from formal education to ensure her role as a historian.
influencing powers of modernity (including the metropolis), which invade cultural strengths. The factors significant in the analyses of socio-cultural persistence and change are conflict, contradiction, and scale. These are presented in many schools of anthropological thought, and the role of variables may change depending on circumstances. The study cites Boudon (1986), saying that "there is currently no general acceptable theory of socio-cultural persistence and change" and "that history will not be deducible or predictable" (Boudon, 1986, p. 251).

First Nations need to be aware that the goals need to be defined according to a given state or definition of persistence. The areas of Anthropology (Stevenson, 1997) and ethno-linguistics (Fishman, 1991) offer analyses of continuity and persistence, where persistence represents cultural traits. Peters (1995) explains continuity as separate from persistence and cites Spicer (1971), who explains that identity systems adapt to contrasting environments. Differentiation seems to assist in defining the scope to which persistence implies maintaining originality, whereas continuity represents adaptability. Adaptability invokes choices to maintain the important core values inherent in culture and language:

We must prepare ourselves to sustain generation-long, tribal-wide efforts if we hope to restore our languages and maintain them at conversational usage levels, presuming that is what we want to do. We must capture and apply the knowledge about our languages and cultures so that they can survive the onslaughts [of modernity, including the English only movement] (Reyhner, 1989, p. 4).

This statement was made as a keynote address at the 9th Annual International Native American Language Issues (NALI) Institute in Oklahoma. Reyhner (1989) emphasizes the need to apply language knowledge and places emphasis on the need for leaders who can articulate this vision
to the tribal members and turn it into constructive action that will benefit the First Nations in all areas.

Having acknowledged the need for unique curriculum styles, persistence and effective cultural fit will depend on the curricula’s ability to accommodate features compatible with First Nations learning styles. For example, communal learning, personal meaning, use of time, and a holistic worldview need to be taken into consideration (Kasten, 1992). In addition, each community’s ability to apply local curricula using new technology needs to be addressed (Reyhner et al., 1999; Moll, 1992). Also, new national institutions offering opportunities for professional growth for language instructors need to be accounted for (Blaire et al., 2003). For now, the Ditidaht need to stress optimism and find comfort in the fact that their conflicts and struggles do not always represent disintegration, but instead are part of the necessary process of change (Geertz, 2000).

The issues presented around persistence cannot be presented to First Nations in the knowledge format of this chapter, but must be presented in a culturally sensitive manner. For example, to introduce a transformative approach where important themes produce the integration of key planning areas, in usefulness, in scope, as language features, as policy and as cultivation or function (King, 1999), it is important that the meaning of the key features are owned through local stories or legends. For authentic persistence to prevail it is also critical that the communities find the enclaves of authentic teachings such as those held by many hereditary chiefs, who have found a means to balance the introduced cultures with the original world. The overarching principles of the Nuu-chah-nulth, and therefore the Ditidaht include the collaborative element, identity encased in spirituality, the spirit of sharing which will logically
emerge with culturally selected themes or experiences and which will contribute to the effective persistence of the Ditidaht language and culture.
Chapter 7

Conclusion

qwa?uksiwakwisikid duub udaak tluthcabs
(by what means might we all have good things/events?
Elder, Chief Charlie Jones, 1977)

The means that this thesis has approached the various First Nation language dilemmas was through a critique of the tools at hand, the means for research methodology and the means for formal education. Indigenous literature describes their various cultures as models for education. However, when one attempts to find answers to cultural changes associated with indigenous local contexts, one enters an arena of extreme complexity involving not only applied linguistics but also a range of other disciplinary theories (Sealey & Carter, 2004). Since any analysis of a cultural way of life would remain incomplete or fragmented if it remains within one disciplinary framework, it is necessary to begin this analytical chapter with research statements from more than one discipline. Language revitalization efforts become complex only if approached from the many disciplines rather than simply observing the traditional skills that are to be emulated. The staff made reference to the difficulty in defining culture. For the purpose of explaining program direction and program definition it becomes necessary to consider language in terms of the variables of meaning-making processes and maintenance strategies. Where oral mechanisms accommodated this at one time, it is now necessary to reluctantly approach a one time spontaneous culture through descriptive or objective manner. The exercise in literature research as well as the time to concentrate on cultural research reflection amounts to a realization that answers to the questions are stated but
often as insiders we do not realize the intensity and immediacy that is required to deal with social and education issues stated in previous chapters.

The inclusion of decolonisation themes in this thesis considers social realities and therefore demands that I consider the cause and effect that emerges as conflict. Processes include the conscientization of local members that chaos is a result of change and that the cultural resilience has allowed Indigenous survival despite the chaos. The faith in the culture and its part in maintenance and especially through identity building, provides the greatest impetus for language revitalization.

For this reason, I treat the enterprise of language/cultural revitalization as an analysis of community and curriculum growth through theoretical and experiential research. I then provide a summary and analysis of the thesis questions as a descriptive guide for strategies for communities involved in regenerative language goals.

7.1 Theoretical and local-experiential research analysis

When First Nation members embark on their own language research by going to their own community as I have done in this thesis, it becomes necessary to consider many aspects about the context in which the language operates. The advantage for the Native researcher lies within the ability to consider many subtle aspects of the data that may be taken for granted. For example, these subtle aspects may include the countless nonverbal messages present in the culture as a way of life. When I think of my personal experience with language and grandparents, as I indicated earlier in this work, images of stern faces marked with sincerity and concern come to mind.

When educational constructs are accepted as the norm and distant from the community, it is difficult for First Nations programs to realize the need for inclusion of a
social conditionality assessment. For this reason a profile of meaning becomes a necessary preliminary step. The interviews reflect a variation in cultural direction and confidence as well as a variation in family nurturing. It is critical that further research determine the actual residential schooling effects in personal sensitivities and pathologies.

The study of Indigenous language revitalization demands an interdisciplinary approach not only because holistic education is needed, but also because new approaches are needed for social healing. The rationale for local healing is found through local interpretation and focus. The literature revue reflects that Eurocentric language research analyzes primarily the outcomes of healthy languages and not the impacts of endangered languages. The local motivational factor is further compounded through the lack of local evolving educational roles and also due to the local distractions such as novelty, modernity, and a preoccupation with making a living. Work is needed in culture when cultural capital is the foundation for language goals and when dialogue and attention to cultural concepts promotes affirmation of traditional ways.

Any attempt at bicultural education has become complex without the inclusion of traditional education as a necessary construct or without its natural enculturation and without giving it priority and prominence. The loss of the language is a very critical level when the culture has degenerated to a surface level and the Elders have no choice but to describe the culture in reduced descriptive terms.

On the local level, historical archives and popular literature and analysis on First Nations' phenomena is not the normal state of knowledge. As cultural mythology lost its prominence, the Elders and most community members did not have an opportunity to
analyze their individual recollections regarded as nurturance and life-long learning. Through cultural validation these experiences can be appreciated as socialization-by-doing or through a recent realization in psychology, that while there is a need to consider variables there is also a need to consider process (Munro, Schumaker & Carr, 1997). First Nation education activists have achieved this as action research or participant research but the analysis and recording that is done privately needs exploration.

7.2 Answer to Question 1: Can a local community define a range of language goals around themes of language revitalization?

7.2.1. Language as a potent agent for cultural activism

In the Ditidaht community, the trust for Native language renewal has been primarily placed on the school and not in a communal way of life. When there is a lack of commitment for active community-wide language revitalization, there is a need to determine why the community has lost its connection to common goals. At one time the language was the binding force that held the commonalities of world-view over a large population. Disagreements have been attributed to loss of connection to spirituality, disrupted oral histories and the need to heal psychologically.

An inductive question at this point would consider if actual application of the culture and use of the language is required for all stakeholders in order to set goals in language revitalization. I will provide a few examples of situations in which language knowledge is related to personal development, based on my observations presented in previous chapters.

The desire to retain the language is evident when the First Nations reflect on their language as an embodiment of their history, their speaking-with-feeling, and their
communal treasure. The desire to utilize and develop the language is timely, based on the idea of language as a history and as identity, as opposed to language as nationalism and racialism (Willinsky, 1999). According to Sapir (1949), “in spite of the fact that language acts as a socializing and informing force, it is at the same time the most potent single known factor for the growth of individuality” (in Mandelbaum, 1985, p. 17). I observed in an adult classes how participants eventually began to use their language with ease and with an air of humour as the exercise provided a rare opportunity to socialize.

7.2.2 Healing priority: Self-realization

When the Ditidaht analyze their personal attempts at cultural usage they face more local scrutiny than ever before and, as the intertribal Elders stated and as Indigenist analysts reiterate, they need to confront the reality of culture (Deloria & Wildcat, 2002). The reality is often expressed as fragmented histories and acculturated thinking. Applied linguistic methods are also beginning to reflect the need for second language learning to correspond with the content. The First Nation cultural reality, therefore, needs to consider the changing reality that corresponds to a new hybridized language.

This reality also needs to extend to the appreciation for the generosity and skills involved in being a language teacher. The community needs to decide, in the modern context, what constitutes the language elite, what qualities are required of a historian/linguist/mentor, and how can the community support this philosophy.

The former Ditidaht mentors reflected vigilance that maintained the culture through early training of specialists. The cultural teacher’s curriculum was determined by the number mentors and the skills and status that they carried. The number of tutors therefore determined the scope of the curriculum. One’s socialization is not always
evident, but there once existed a clear delineation of family members chosen as future mentors and role models and they were disciplined as such.

Without the means to use collective knowledge and ensuing spiritual strength, community members will find difficulty in setting goals. It is apparent that currently, concern is heightened only during funerals or gross misconduct. This tendency to act with caring during can be considered an ember of assurance that the virtue of caring and sharing still exists. The postcolonial condition becomes a focus and catalyst for local reconciliation. If defiant attitudes override the important goals, there may be a need to increase instructional and management styles that consider autonomy.

The Ditidaht Elders reflected how school-based teaching was not conducive to serious use outside the school and another stressed the need for worthwhile pay for cultural work. There is a need to compensate for years of silence and segregation of fluent speakers, so that communities can rekindle concepts that meet modern-day goals that consider independence and sustainability (Kenny & Savage, 1997).

Many Nuu-chah-nulth already display how they can enculturate modern needs through past customs. For example, there is a need to combine the dynamics of potlatch systems with contemporary popular communicative systems. A system of communicative education is required not only for applied linguistics at the school level, but also for a connection with the development and ownership as Indigenisation, with leadership, and with management.

7.2.3. The communicative variable

If the communication gap prevents effective establishment of goals, then the community needs to look not only at the transformation-in-healing, but also at
communication and formation of effective management structures. Given that any cultural representation at school engenders synergy for cultural inclusion, the community needs to extend healing and cultural knowledge to serve as the base for healthy transformations. Aboriginal educators are also stressing that effective community communications represents a critical element in Aboriginal transformative energy (Henderson, 2000; Baquedano-Lopez, 2001). As previously discussed, effective communicative goals can also be reached during feasts and entertainment as well as through the arts and technology.

For cultural revitalization, the communication system will need an infrastructure that addresses the connectedness between school, management, and funding sources. A cultural system is necessary to facilitate a sharing spirit, whereby all members participate in a culture of communication and collaboration.

At one time, community effort was the norm, now new family-centred activities are the norm. This appears to cause feelings of resentment and feelings of rejection when one family excels. The sharing spirit however, is evident in the potlatch system that carries with it the willingness to participate for many reasons that include; pride in one’s family, belief in one’s tribal traditions, and the motivation to achieve a lifetime goal.

Along with the potlatch, there is a need to also reflect on the dynamics of mythology. The inherent usefulness of past processes may not be immediately evident if considered merely as a way of life rather than a construct for education. The power of mythology may be reinforced through an examination of the place mythology holds around the world. The virtues represent archetypes found in world culture and reflect its former usefulness. Mythology provides inferences for work culture (Lotze, 2004) and
vigilance, for example, the sub-title of this chapter; qwa?uktaawakwiskid duub udaak tluthcabs (by what means might we all have good things/events?).

The Ditidaht Elders who teach the culture, lead the songs and carve the canoes have attempted to share their experiences and teachings. They model their pride in being Ditidaht rather then simply describing it. Hourigan (2003) cites Edwards (1985) in encapsulating the fact that ancestral language is important as a unifier of a group's sense of cultural capital:

The symbolic value of language, the historical and cultural associations that it accumulates and the "natural semantic of remembrance" all add to the basic message a rich underpinning of shared connotations.... Only those who grow up within a community can, perhaps, participate fully in this expanded communicative interaction (Edwards, 1985, p. 17).

Those who grew up in oralcy share the group connotations and own the orientation of job completion. The community needs to respect and respond to the rich underpinnings of those who grew up in oralcy by giving them attention, rewarding them in meaningful ways. Linguistic specialists repeat how social interaction is vital for language acquisition. Where grandparents are unable to be in close contact with family members, it is vital for fluent speakers to find a means for communicative interaction. This interaction can be supported through the co-ordination of recordings, reports, and media development. Many Ditidaht have used computer programs, the internet, and satellite technology for their language but greater commitment and development is needed.
It has been said that the many First Nation cultures have not been given the opportunity to evolve with modern conceptions and needs. In addition, there is a marked lack of participation in major social initiatives, including the development of an instructional “elite” of language speakers dedicated to teaching and mentoring others in acquiring the language. With little opportunity to dialogue and observe the intercultural efforts of other tribes, the elders can only describe their own experiences. The next generation need core values and a better historical basis to also become interpreters of culture. Language goals need to be created in a process that involves the entire community as a planning forum.

With regards to cultures in conflict, Holliday (1994) explains that the interpretation of the present state requires curriculum developers and teachers to become ethnographers and to see beyond the surface, and appreciate how peripheral or marginal players (including non-permanent members) in the local culture are usually extremely creative. The answer to the question in the ability to define language goals, therefore, is that while efforts have been made, it is an area requiring more serious attention through communal personal-work that will lead to cultural commitment and vision.

7.3. **Answer to Question 2: Can collaborative efforts among the Ditidaht help interpret and recover elements of meaning from traditional uses of the language and culture?**

7.3.1. **Strategy: Language Acquisition or Cultural Validation?**

It is difficult to forgo the paradigm of education as standard methodologies and discontinue the focus on acquisition or second language learning methods as a critical component for learning languages. When cultural interpretation for learning/teaching
and a common cultural experience is acquired or experienced, experiential methodologies are realized and accepted, resulting in collaborative ownership. The maintenance chapter in this thesis discusses the need for local realization that a great deal is lost when language is lost. Perhaps when communicative efforts can re-establish ceremony and cultural activism, the dynamics for collaboration as a critical need will be evident and the motivation to potlatch will be considered as tribal prestige.

Inherent in the potlatch and isolated life is the desire to share and help. Community planners could adopt the cultural belief in *hup-ee* (helping) for present-day life where host volunteers could include a cultural immersion theme as a focus. The collaborative effort also needs to extend beyond their borders as far as the Makah in Wa. USA. Given the proper resources and support, a movement towards identity-building, or *cha-chabax.awiichtl* (going the right way, doing the right thing), the Ditidaht collective can achieve the roots of rationality found in everyday communication (Habermas, 2001).

7.4. **What cultural functions are considered crucial for the realization of local cultural values?**

7.4.1. **Intergenerational transmission**

Today's cultural functions include those concerned with a way of life or those planned as potlatches or modern celebrations. The fishing and other marine resources supported a very social communal way of life. Parent-teacher committees along with historians, community developers and social workers could review contemporary cultural functions that are popular and that reflect similar social dynamics.

The chapter on motivation reflects how the teachings at one time depended on the extended family. In the meanings chapter, it is noted that formal education settings
remove the close relationship and respect for grandparents. It is apparent that motivation is strongest with grandparent mentorship and extended family settings. Language nests with a set scope and theme, with family camps, represent an apprenticeship-style learning that should be accepted as a chance to experience the reality of sacred beginnings.

7.4.2 Cultural interpretation as organizational change

A supportive organizational structure is important for any program. The prevailing cultural functions could provide a guide for language content and scope but a supportive board forms the boundaries. The curriculum developer may feel overwhelmed due to the changing way of life. There is a need to find ways of expounding on the skills and dynamics of the orators whose choice of speech represent the scope, the pragmatism as well the critical elements at a given time.

7.5 How can the current Ditidaht cultural base provide an avenue for implementing pedagogy that is true to traditional Ditidaht meanings in the language?

The previous chapters reflect how the community reality is one of dispersal and distance from the cultural land base. The present initiatives reflect an adaptive effort that solves the dispersal issues. The use of technology assists with the interpretation of cassette tapes and videotapes provide the tools that intercept and deal with change. They also provide a means to rekindle cultural passion and spiritual connections. The local trustees or the language elite should be passionate about the value held by culture. It is crucial that this passion and cultural affirmation include the cultural bearers, who can use descriptive conversations along with the surface actions. Examples include, the leadership hereditary model or the speech-maker model.
In chapter four, on language maintenance, I focused on the need to strengthen the cultural foundation as meaning and as well as for curriculum planning. Indigenous educators, applied linguistics, and social context methodologies are recommended for experiential learning. This has implications for effective planning and implementation processes. Therefore, the actual application of cultural traditions such as feasting, fishing, or creative arts should be incorporated not only into school as play but also fit into real life goals.

7.6 Strategy of respect and trust: Entering the critical door with the elders

The priority for any cultural endeavour is to establish rapport and trust with the Elders. Respect for what the Elders bring to an understanding of language and culture leads me to stress the need for positive learning environments or language ecologies (Mahlhausler, 1992). In order to encourage intergenerational communication, a plan to encourage opportunities for family nests and community reconciliation is a critical step.

Despite the difficulty in describing a way of life, this thesis has aimed at exploring how ideas about the Ditidaht culture could better serve as a source and foundation of the language curriculum. It has found that the curriculum needs to be more closely related to a sense of life-training with community involvement and is largely dependent on reconciliation and healing. A student’s opportunity to valorize his/her culture is part of that process.

The Ditidaht community is to be applauded for their efforts in bilingual work that relies heavily on the natural teaching intuition of Elders. To date, a great deal of the cultural interpretation, delivery, and instruction of the Ditidaht language has been carried on the shoulders of the Elders. The past Grandparents will celebrate in tlekos (thank-
yous) when we are able stand and speak in our language and when we can display our real mask that reflects the living definition of the variables of motivation and maintenance as meaning. This is possible when influential leaders both Ditidaht and Canada, ensure that concentrated efforts are placed in community-wide interpretive dialogue so that future generations will have the opportunity to grasp the resilience of the language and more importantly, begin to share greater commonalities in holistic knowledge.
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