ANALYSIS OF AN OSAGE LANGUAGE

CURRICULUM

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Native American languages are disappearing at an alarming rate. Slowing or

halting this trend presents a daunting challenge. It is a challenge that requires intentional

effort to teach Native American languages. It is a challenge that requires some

understanding of how languages are learned. It is a challenge that requires an

understanding of the unique histories and situations of Native Americans. This study,

accordingly, examined the issues involved in language learning, how Native Americans

have dealt with these issues, and specifically how one Osage language curriculum fits

into the picture.

One of the most important concerns for Native Americans is perspective.

Everything is seen as rooted in the past and to address any issue with integrity and

relevance, one must be aware of that context. It is thus appropriate to begin this study by

learning a little about the Osage people.

According to Osage tradition the Osage people descended to earth from the stars in three divisions and joined an indigenous division which had emerged from the ground and have always since inhabited North America (Matthews, 1961, p. 28). Some accounts assert that the Osage split from the Delaware Nation on the east coast; others have them migrating from the Ohio River valley (Liebert, 1987, p. 14) and splitting into northern and southern (Dhegian) Siouan peoples (Bailey, 1995, p. 27). Alternative accounts suggest that the Osage either descended from or at least were culturally derived from the Mound-builders that created the Cahokia Mounds and similar impressive structures and civilizations (Liebert, 1987, p. 14). Eventually the Osage were pushed westward as Rollings (1992) recounts:

> The Osage were...members of a large group of Dhegian-Siouan speaking people who lived in the forests along the lower Ohio River. Sometime in the early seventeenth century the Dhegians were pushed from the Ohio to the Mississippi Valley by aggressive eastern tribes, and they began migrating west. As the Dhegians moved across the Mississippi and up the Missouri River, bands broke away from the parent group and settled near the river, establishing new homes and, in time, separate tribal identities.... By the mid-seventeenth century the Dhegians were divided into five autonomous groups known as the Quapaw, Kansa, Omaha, Ponca, and Osage. The Osage settled in the region between the eastern forests and the western plains. (p. 5)

Whichever origin one posits, by the time of their first contact with Europeans, the Osage were firmly entrenched in America's heartland, ranging throughout what is now Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Kansas, and Oklahoma (Liebert, 1987).

Continuous European-Osage contact dates from the late seventeenth century (Rollings, 1992, p. 6). The Osage were concentrated in the Missouri River valley and constituted a formidable force. In fact, the Osage were the key to any European power exerting control over the mid-Mississippi valley (p. 7). Their reputed fierceness was given credence by the physical stature of the men. At a time when Europeans seldom reached much over five feet, Osage men were well over six feet tall (Wilson, 1988, p. 18). Through a series of treaties with the United States government, the Osage were forced to cede their lands in Arkansas, Illinois, Oklahoma, Kansas, and parts of Missouri. Finally, in 1825 they had to vacate their last villages in Missouri and move to a reservation in Kansas (p. 34). It was not long before white settlers pressed authorities to dispossess the Osage of their reservation (pp. 38, 43). Agreeing, finally, to sell the reservation, the money generated was used in 1873 to buy present-day Osage County, Oklahoma (p. 44).

A Dhegian-speaking people, the Osage are most closely related, linguistically and culturally, to the Kaw or Kansa and the Quapaw (Liebert, 1987, p. 14). Other close relatives are the Ponca and Omaha peoples (Wilson, 1988, p. 13). Some Osage consider the various northern Siouan tribes such as the Lakota, Santee, Dakota, and Winnebago (Hocak) to be their descendants (L. E. Logan, personal communication, November 18, 1975).

Though long noted as an adaptable people (Rollings, 1992, pp. 7-8), the Osage were caught unprepared by sudden wealth (Wilson, 1988, p. 75). Having selected Osage County for its rocky hills, streams, woods, and game, which characterized it (p. 47) and thus rendered it unattractive to the white hordes, what neither knew was that rich deposits of oil underlay the land.

The various moves had a negative impact on Osage culture and religion (Rollings, 1992, p. 11). They found themselves increasingly fragmented (Bailey, 1995, p.29). Each clan within each band had been responsible for some component of their religion (p.35). Without each small group to play its part, the whole became increasingly untenable. The circle had been broken. This process of religious and cultural change was to accelerate greatly after the vast pool of oil underlying the Osage reservation was discovered.

The ensuing oil boom brought material prosperity for which even the adaptable Osage were unprepared. In addition to profligacy, ostentation, and laziness, sudden wealth also turned out to mean merciless exploitation by unprincipled whites (Wilson, 1988, p.76). As if merchants, bankers, and even doctors charging separate higher prices for Indians (p.77) were not bad enough, almost any scheme to separate Osages from their wealth and their lands seemed acceptable. This tendency reached its zenith in the infamous "Reign of Terror" in which every means up to and including murder was employed in an effort to accumulate Osage headright shares (the right to share in the mineral income) and allotments (ownership of the surface land parcels)(p. 77). Recent books by Dennis McAuliffe, Jr. and Lawrence J. Hogan reveal the extent of this horrific tragedy. McAuliffe shares the perspective of an Osage victim, while Hogan, a former FBI agent, presents a law-enforcement perspective.

Under siege from unprincipled whites (as revealed in these recent books), overwhelmed by the onslaught of the dominant culture, and having been deprived of their traditional way of life, many Osage increasingly succumbed to the allure of alcohol and drugs (Wilson, 1988, p.83). Eventually most of an entire generation of males was wiped out by alcohol and drug related violence, accidents, and illness (R. A. Crawford, personal communication, spring 1978). Contact with Europeans and subsequent reduction of territories and removals reduced the population from at least five thousand people with at least one thousand warriors at their zenith (Rollings, 1992, p. 7), to around 2000 at the time of allotment in 1906 (Wilson, 1988, p.59).

The continuation of this trend along with inter-marriage has further reduced the tribe to where today there are only several hundred who are more than half Osage; moreover no more full-bloods will ever be born (F. M. Lookout, personal communication, December 21, 2000).

Today most recognizable Osages continue to reside in or near Osage County, primarily in three districts. Each district is associated with a village area of one quarter-section withheld from allotment for dwelling purposes only (34 Stat. 539. Chap. 3572, June 28, 1906, Act for the division of the lands and funds of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma Territory, and for other purposes). These three villages are known as Indian Camp, adjacent to Pawhuska, the county seat; Indian Village, adjacent to Hominy in the south; and Grayhorse, near Fairfax in the west. Each district continues to have ceremonial significance, especially with regard to the *In-lon-schka* or ceremonial dances. The drums for this dance were brought to Hominy and Fairfax by the Ponca and to Pawhuska by the Kaw.

A drumkeeper (always an oldest son) and his committee in each district organize the four-day event, each district hosting the other two in turn. For many years now these dances have been held in June, so they are also often referred to as the "June dances." Increasingly, Osages from all across the United States return each summer to participate in or watch these dances.

Language and Culture

An old Irish proverb states: "A country without its language is a country without a soul" (D. Lane, personal communication, January 3, 2000). This posits an organic connection between language and culture. Whether the structure of a language channels a people's Weltanschauung or the Weltanschauung is simply reflected in a language's structure is akin to the question of which came first, the chicken or the egg.

In any case, there is a close bond between language and culture. So much of a culture becomes embedded in a language that when the latter is lost, most of the former goes too. Without the constant reinforcement of concepts from the traditional language, those concepts are quickly lost. While ceremonies can be preserved, the perspective which underlies and informs them cannot survive divorced from the language which assisted in creating that perspective. Thus, the ceremonies lose their original meaning and are replaced by sentimentalism and the improbable hope of participants to regain their identity (Thorpe, 1996, p.5).

Another allusion to this relationship between language and culture is to be found in an observation by former Osage Assistant Chief Geoffrey Standingbear. It appeared in

the May 1994 issue of *Oklahoma Today*. "Osage is a pictographic language combining images and symbols to create a moving picture of your people, your environment, your thoughts and emotions." Ed Red Eagle, Jr., a leader in the Native American Church, sees language as an expression of culture. When it comes to expressing Osage culture: "English can't get you there. Osage can" (Personal communication, May 19, 2003).

Another Osage elder and leader, Mongrain Lookout, offered this illustration: "Say 'hoka' to our singers; they understand. Say it to a banker downtown, and he's going to ask what that means. We tell him 'singers', but what does the word 'singers' convey to him?" (personal communication, May 19, 2003)

All respondents to a recent survey of Osages "agreed the most important reason for language preservation is to maintain and preserve Osage culture, cultural identity, and heritage" (draft Osage Tribal Museum grant application intended for submission to Administration for Native Americans branch of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, hereinafter: "ANA", March 2003).

Juanita Perly, Maliseet, posits culture as that which provides us perspective and helps us understand our past and who we are. She states succinctly:

> Our language is what opens the doors to the past, to the knowledge of our
>
> ancient grandfathers and grandmothers. Language is the heart of our
>
> people (Thorpe, 1996, p.42). I always knew we had to have language. The
>
> language had to come back, because only in your own language can you
>
> talk from your heart, not your mind (Thorpe, 1996, p. 43).

Stephen Greymorning, Arapaho, concurs: "If we lose our language we will lose our ceremonies and ourselves because our life is our language, and it is our language that

makes us strong" (1999, p. 1). Richard Littlebear expresses a similar perspective as he states his hope. "I want all of our languages to last forever, to always be around to nurture our children, to bolster their identities, to perpetuate our cultures" (1997, p. 4). Chief Oren Lyons of the Onondaga Nation summed it up: "Language is the soul of a nation" (Collector's Guide Online, 2004).

Sac and Fox activist Dagmar Thorpe also asserts a relationship between language and culture when discussing Native traditions.

Practicing and teaching these traditions is vital to the survival of the Native nations, for in them are found the collective memory and knowledge of our ancestors, which form the essence of our identities and strength. Language and tradition form the foundation upon which all living culture is based. (p. 5)

Noted Blackfoot educator, Dr. Dorothy Still Smoking, develops this idea of the connection between language and culture still further. "Spirituality connected to language interpretations gave strength and meaning to life (Still Smoking, 1996, p. 9). She then observes that the Blackfeet had their own distinctive mindview, an observation that probably holds true for every Native nation. It is essentially this that allows a people to define itself as opposed to having definitions and characterizations imposed upon a group from outside forces (p. 9).

This fundamental insight of a tribal mindview or Weltanschauung helps one understand how essential language is to culture and how vital these are to a people's identity. Thus, it becomes critical for each Native nation to control the education and

socialization of its children. Whether these go on solely within a family context or also partly in the collectivized context of schools is much less important than that they foster a growing understanding of and facility with the traditional language and culture (p. 17).

When looking at Native languages, it is an "assumption that education provides a vital role in transmitting culture for future generations" (p. 17). It is furthered by "the additional vital assumption that tribal knowledge is transmitted through the language of the tribe" (Still Smoking, p. 17). Clearly, language and culture cannot be divorced if either is to have power and life.

The State of the Language

The outlook for Indian languages generally is dismaying. At the time of arrival of the first Europeans there were over 2000 languages extant in North America. Today less than a tenth of these survive (C. Quintero, personal communication, June 12, 2000).

According to a 1997 *New York Times* article, of the 175 Indian languages still spoken in the U.S., only 20 are still spoken by mothers to babies. In contrast, 70 languages are spoken only by grandparents, and 55 more are spoken by 10 or fewer tribal members. Use of Navajo among first-graders has dropped from 90% in 1968 to 20% today. 77% of Crow Indians over 65 years of age speak the language while only 13% of preschoolers do (C. Quintero, personal communication, June 12, 2000). Clearly the rate of loss has accelerated. This lends a sense of urgency to efforts to counter or reverse the trend.

In a class offered at Oklahoma State University by Blackfoot language activist Darryl Kipp, he afforded the following overview of the state of Native languages in the United States. The few tribal languages with a relatively positive prognosis include Navajo, Hopi, Cherokee, Blackfoot, and Sioux. These share a number of characteristics. They are larger tribes with numerous speakers. The language is spoken at home by a significant number of families. They also are actively pursuing language preservation programs. The Cherokee Nation's establishment of a Cherokee language immersion school in the fall of 2003 is indicative of such efforts ("Young Rescuers," 2003).

The languages of most other tribes could be classified as endangered species. The largest group of these is marked by declining numbers of speakers. The speakers are mostly elderly and in declining health. The languages are spoken as a first language in few, if any, homes.

A second group shares the situation of having few, if any, speakers. Their major resources may be a handful of semi-speakers along with written materials of varying value. Quapaw and Kaw (Kansa) are examples of languages which have recently lost their last fluent speakers and are for all practical purposes now extinct (C. Quintero, personal communication, June 12, 2000).

The state of the Osage language is precarious. With only two or three fluent speakers remaining, extinction seems inevitable. Over the last two centuries, there have been sporadic efforts to reduce the language to the written word, but until recently, there has been quite limited success. The usefulness of existing written materials is hurt by poor orthography and lack of linguistic training (C. Quintero, personal communication,

March 13, 2002). Most valuable from a linguistic perspective, at least, are the efforts of James Dorsey and Francis LaFlesche, the latter an Omaha sociologist and linguist.

LaFlesche relied heavily on the unpublished notes of his predecessor and colleague, Dorsey, in developing his dictionary of the Osage language. The limitations of LaFlesche's dictionary mean that it continues to be largely inaccessible. Often its unintelligibility is acknowledged by Osages who characterize it as being more Omaha than Osage (C. Quintero, personal communication, March 13, 2000).

For centuries Osage was spoken in homes and each generation passed it on to the next. This pattern was broken when Osage children were shipped off to boarding schools to learn the White ways. Time and effort were devoted to converting the attitudes, looks, and thinking of Native children. "Much time was spent on the work of civilizing Indian children. It required painstaking indoctrination in the basic fundamentals of the white man's culture." (Ewers, 1958, p. 309). The children were punished if caught communicating with each other in their native tongue.

Rather than viewing Osage and English as complementary, the dominant society viewed Osage as at best a hindrance, if not a threat. This led to the foisting of a false "either-or" choice upon the Osage. The ridicule and suffering endured by many together with the desire to put discrimination and exploitation behind them led most Osage parents to decide not to have their children learn Osage (F. L. Holding, personal communication, Fall, 1999). While it is easy to comprehend their logic and appreciate the love which motivated them, they nevertheless contributed to the critical situation faced today.

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The suppression of the language has been effective. Early in the twentieth century, there were over a thousand speakers of Osage (ANA, p. 3). Three generations ago Osage was still spoken in nearly every Osage home and it was the first language of almost anyone who looked Osage (F. M. Lookout, personal communication, December 1999). The continued impact of boarding schools and the increasing impact of the other forces saw English supplant Osage as the primary language with Osage continuing to be heard only in religious and ceremonial contexts.

In 2000 six known speakers remained. All were of advanced years and generally in precarious health. Preston Morrell, Frances Holding, Lottie Pratt, Lucille Roubedeaux, and Laura Shannon all resided in Hominy, with the first two actively involved in Hominy Friends Meeting. Della Logan lives in Tulsa. Two other individuals were regarded as possible speakers, Gerard Blackbird of Fairfax, Oklahoma, (since deceased) and Woodrow Newalla of Miller, Missouri (west of Springfield). Four of the six, Morrell, Holding, Shannon and Pratt have subsequently also died.

An informal written survey conducted recently by the Osage Language and Cultural Preservation Committee shows that of those Osages responding: 11% have enough knowledge of Osage to understand and make some complete sentences, 16% understand spoken Osage, but cannot make sentences, 62% know some Osage words, and 21% have no knowledge of Osage. The willingness of respondents to invest time to improve their knowledge of Osage was also addressed with the following results: 32% are willing to invest time daily, 33% are willing to invest time weekly, 16% are willing to

invest time monthly, 12% are willing to invest time annually, 5% were not willing to invest any time (ANA, p. 3).

Today the Osage language is not the everyday language of interaction in even a single home. Complete sentences in Osage are seldom heard outside of occasional religious and ceremonial contexts. Even in Osage language classes the presentation of word lists has predominated. This bleak situation exists despite the interest revealed in the language survey and demonstrated over the years by Osages who have faithfully attended language classes in an effort to learn their language.

Definitions

"Linguists have a variety of grim-sounding terms for languages with few or no native speakers" (Redish, 2002, p.1). Nevertheless, it is important to be familiar with these terms and their definitions.

A language which has no native speakers (people who grew up speaking the language as a child) is called "dead" or "extinct." A language which has no native speakers in the youngest generation is called "moribund." A language which has very few native speakers is called "endangered" or "imperiled." Language revival is the resurrection of a "dead" language, one with no existing native speakers. Language revitalization is the rescue of a "dying" language. (Redish, 2001, p. 1)

The Osage language is on the brink of extinction. This is not a problem at all unique to the Osage. Many other Indian nations and tribes are facing the loss of their languages. Hundreds of languages have already disappeared and many more, like the Osage, have very few speakers left while most others are headed in that same direction. Relatively few Native languages are in a general state of good health. According to Greymorning, "...within the next 15 years we could witness the loss of as much as 85% of the Indian languages...presently spoken" (1999, p. 1). In Canada the picture is equally grim. "At the current rate of decline, only four of our original 60 Aboriginal languages in Canada have a reasonable chance of surviving the next century. Cree, Ojibwa, Inuktitut, and Dakota are the languages predicted to survive." (Kirkness, 2002, p. 17)

Native languages, with few exceptions, have not been written languages. Their reliance on oral tradition for their perpetuation has contributed to their vulnerability.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Languages and Learning

Before exploring second languages and how they are taught, it is appropriate to first examine what a language is. According to Daniels (Clark, Escholz & Rosa, p.21), "...all languages have three major components: a sound system, a vocabulary, and a system of grammar." This is consistent with the following dictionary definition: "The words, their pronunciation, and the methods of combining them" (Mish, 1994, p. 654). However, the dictionary goes on to provide a context: "used and understood within a community" (Mish, p. 654). It is this context that calls to mind the clear ties between language and culture.

To master a language one must be able to discern and reproduce sounds, build a vocabulary base, and achieve some familiarity with the grammar. According to Senghas (2004, ATC 9/16): "languages are made up of discrete little pieces...little building blocks that get built up into larger and larger forms." This is a fundamental element of grammar which has also been the traditional focus of language instruction.

The grammar of language includes phonology, which describes how to put

sounds together to form words; rules of syntax, which describe how to put

words together to form sentences; rules of semantics, which describe how

to interpret the meaning of words and sentences; and rules of pragmatics,

which describe how to anticipate the information needed by an

interlocutor. (Moskowitz, B. A., 1985, p. 47)

Indeed, traditional second language instruction has tended to focus on syntax and

semantics, while attention to phonology and pragmatics largely had to wait on the reform

movements of the twentieth century. With the traditional focus it is perhaps

understandable why there has been, as Hughes observes, a "tendency... to consider the

written language the 'correct' language, of which the spoken language is a deformation

which should be 'corrected' to agree with the writing" (Clark, Escholz, & Rosa, 1985, p.

701). It becomes even clearer when one recalls that for centuries the second language

was apt to be either Latin or classical Greek, both existing primarily only in written form.

Latin, indeed, is often referred to as a "dead" language for the very reason that it is not

spoken.

Within the general parameters of sound, words, and grammar, the differences

between languages can be tremendous. It is the cultural context that accounts for such

differences (Danesi, 2004, p. 21). "Each language is designed to encode concepts in

different ways." Thus "the more distant the cultural and historical relations between

languages, the greater the conceptual differences among them" (Danesi, 2004, p. 21).

These differences can be particularly daunting for the individual desiring to learn a

second language. This phenomenon along with the historic development of the United

States may explain the predominance of western European languages (Spanish, French, German, and Italian) in the second language classroom of our nation. Given our human proclivity to take the easiest route, it is useful to be reminded:

No language, no matter how strange and difficult it may seem to outsiders, is too hard for its native speakers to master. All languages are systematic, which makes their complexities intelligible to their native speakers, but each system is arbitrary in its own way, which makes it something of a closed book to others (Bolton in Clark, Escholz, & Rosa, 1985, pp. 14-15).

This observation along with the context portion of the dictionary definition of language "used and understood within a community" reveal that the purpose of a language is communication within a given group or community. The elements that distinguish and characterize such a community, especially beliefs, social forms, and material traits are commonly referred to as culture.

According to Allison and Vining (1999, p. 196): "Culture can be defined as how people interact with one another as well as their values and beliefs. A person's values and beliefs have both a deep and subtle impact on thought, behavior, decision making, expression (including show of emotion), time and interpretation of events."

Reyhner (1995, pp. 279-280) elaborates:

In addition to speech, each language carries with it an unspoken network of cultural values. Although these values generally operate on a subliminal level, they are, nonetheless, a major force in the shaping of each person's self-awareness, identity, and interpersonal relationships. These values are psychological imperatives that help generate and

maintain an individual's level of comfort and self-assurance, and, consequently, success in life. In the normal course of events these values are absorbed along with one's mother tongue in the first years of life.

"Joshua Fishman, a world renowned expert on sociolinguistics" (Reyhner, 1996, p. 280) points out: "A language long associated with the culture is best able to express most easily, most exactly, most richly, with more appropriate over-tones, the concerns, artifacts, values, and interests of that culture" (Fishman, 1991, p. 80). Still Smoking (1996) takes it a step further and asserts: "Language and culture are inseparable; therefore, language needs to be the medium for learning and acquiring tribal knowledge" (p. 16).

Language is obviously a part of this cultural picture. Ironically, culture continues to play a minor role in the second language classroom. It is much like the proverbial step-child in that attention to it is often paid only as an afterthought.

Despite this situation, the fact is that "culture and language are inextricably connected, and therefore, culture must be an integrated aspect of language learning" (Allen, 2001, p. 37, Central States Report). Lehmann and Jones assert the "necessity of learning a language in its social and cultural contexts, encompassing the ecology and the material, social, religious, and linguistic cultures of the language studied" (1987, p. 186).

Jarvis (1991, p. 32) explains:

We see the world through lenses that categorize all that comes through our senses or that we retrieve from memory. Although the category boundaries are sometimes fuzzy, we largely share these categories within a culture. We further label our categories with words.

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A language learner will thus encounter differences between concepts in different cultures (Jarvis, 1991, p. 35). Benson (2002, p. 79) states: "Culture and literature are not a part of language. Rather, language and literature are parts of a culture and of a larger context as well."

Since language is an embedded component of a culture, it follows that an essential question is: How can the second language program interrelate the new language to the conceptual system of the culture that speaks it? Danesi (2004, p. 21) confirms this when he states: "Learning a new language involves an interaction of linguistic, nonverbal and conceptual systems." According to him a valid pedagogical approach will interrelate "the new language and the culture-specific conceptual system it reflects in a direct fashion" (p.22). Turnbill, Bell and Lapkin have also spoken of the importance of culturally appropriate use of language (sociolinguistic competence), which "requires an understanding of how people interact in the target culture" (2002, p. 3). This includes such issues as patterns of silence, how close to stand, topical taboos, and appropriateness of eye contact. Byrnes (1998, p. 285) advocates an "emphasis on dynamic, creative, interpersonal, context-embedded, synchronically and diachronically variable aspects of language" which can only be understood within the context of the culture which produced the language. Even Hulstijn (2002, p. 215) who is mainly interested in issues of cognition acknowledges that the social aspects of second language acquisition are of equal importance.

The examination of the relationship between language and culture from a Native American perspective revealed an inextricable connection. Recent literature on linguistic and second language learning and pedagogy also makes a strong case for this connection. This fundamental insight and the above exploration of what a language is, provide the context and background essential to making some sense of the history of second language instruction in the United States.

Making sense of this history is no easy task. Hammerly (1985, p.13) observes: "The history of foreign language teaching is largely one of methods based on implicit partial theories that either follow wrong premises or emphasize only certain aspects of the process." Essentially there is no one comprehensive theory that has been generally accepted. Instead "the pursuit of excellence in the field of languistics [sic] is hindered by the confusion and faddism caused by this theoretical vacuum" (Hammerly, 1985, p. xi), which afflicts foreign language instruction. Each trend goes through a predictable process of:

(1) acceptance through untiring zeal of a group of pioneers

(2) distortion by many of the converts

(3) reaction against trend because of the results of distortion;

(4) rejection of the trend as a whole, leading back to

(5) business as usual (Hammerly, 1985, p. xi).

One dispute involved whether or not feedback and correction play a role in the acquisition of linguistic knowledge. Selinker (2004, p. 93) in noting that it has been

proven that it does play some role, i.e. that both ends of the spectrum on the issue were wrong, concludes: "We are back where we were with language transfer two decades ago: the what, when, how descriptive questions."

Hulstijn characterizes especially the recent history as a battle between linguists and cognitive scientists (Hulstijn, 2002, p. 215). After a meta-analytic review of recent research, he cautions:

> Linguists in the SLA field must accept that a theory of language such as generative grammar (in any of its forms), albeit successful in explaining the commonalities and differences of human languages, cannot as such be considered the best theory of the representation of linguistic knowledge in the mind of the language learner and user. Cognitive scientists, on the other hand, must accept that the jury is still out on the question of whether connectionist networks are capable of capturing all kinds of linguistic knowledge and language use. (2002, p. 215)

Hulstijn (2002, p. 213) is not alone in calling for further research to develop empirical evidence for the plethora of theories and approaches. Such calls are symptomatic of the general confusion in a field in which, as Hammerly observes, faddism seems to prevail (Hammerly, 1985, p. xi). One may wonder just how this confused situation came about.

Classical Greek and Latin were the initial languages studied in North American schools (Hammerly, 1985, p. 14). The original aim was to achieve an "understanding [of] the high culture of great civilizations" (Bourn & Reid, 2003, p. 63). To this aim of being able to read classical and Biblical literature in the "original" languages, advocates

frequently also cited the advantages of mental discipline and intellectual development that resulted from foreign language study. These goals required only a reading knowledge of the language which was pursued through study of grammar and vocabulary.

> Children entering "grammar school" in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries...were initially given a rigorous introduction to Latin grammar, which was taught through rote learning of grammar rules, study of declensions and conjugations, translations, and practice in writing sample sentences (Richards and Rodgers, 2001, p. 3).

As Quakers and others who shared a more utilitarian approach to education began to promote the study of modern languages, e.g., French and German, in the second half of the seventeenth century, the methodology employed was the same as had been used for Latin and Greek. This method came to be known as the "Grammar-Translation Method," and by the nineteenth century, as the teaching of "modern" languages became more common, was the standard way of teaching foreign languages in schools (Richards & Rodgers, 2001, p. 4). GTM continued to dominate from the 1840's to the 1940's and continues even today in only slightly modified forms (2001, p. 6). Eventually opposition to this method arose in Europe since graduates were unable to communicate in the target languages and thus the Reform Movement was born in the late nineteenth century. (Hammerly, 1985, p. 14).

Each of the ensuing movements can be identified with one or more theoretical perspectives.

The Logico-Literary, Naturalistic, Structural-Behaviorist,

Generative-Cognitivist, Sociopyschological, Sociolinguistic

(Communicationist), and Acquisitionist (Neo-Naturalistic) theories have

in turn been important in our field during the last hundred years. All are

still in evidence. (Hammerly, 1985, p. 13).

The Grammar-Translation Method (GTM) and its emphasis on written texts, informed by the Logico-Literary Theory, simply did not produce students who could communicate in the language (Hammerly, 1985, p. 14). The reaction to this led to the Natural Method, the Series Method, and the Direct Method. "The reform movement which emerged victorious in the early twentieth century was essentially naturalistic." (Hammerly, 1985, p. 15) The chief flaw with a naturalistic approach is that the conditions that make natural language acquisition possible cannot be recreated. Even if it were possible, it "would be inefficient as it would fail to fully use the learners' knowledge and cognitive skills" (Hammerly, 1985, p.15).

A linguistic approach was initiated in the 1940's by structural linguists influenced by behavioral psychology. The first manifestation was the Army Method characterized by very long dialogues, little variety in grammatical drills, and no pronunciation drills. This evolved in the late 1950's into the Structural Method which had "much shorter dialogues, a greater variety of grammatical and pronunciation drills, and considerable emphasis on situations and conversation" (Hammerly, 1985, p. 16). It is often associated with the Foreign Service Institute. It was then adapted to schools and colleges and re-christened the Audio Lingual Method (ALM). It became distorted "into mindless mechanical drudgery without serious attempts at communication. Graduates could rattle

off dialogues and do drills, but could not converse" (p. 16). Structural- Behaviorist Theory remains the basis of much language teaching around the world.

The revolution in linguistics and psychology of the early 1960's saw the development of Generative-Cognitivist Theory and the Cognitive Approach with its emphasis on syntax and linguistic creativity. While it produced better results than prior approaches, it still suffered from being "too abstract and one-sided to ever produce an integrated, practical, balanced theory of language learning" (Hammerly, 1985, p. 18).

Sociolinguistic Theory contributed an emphasis on communication. The distortion that resulted was that communication is the only thing that matters. This "is an example of a good thing being taken to an undesirable extreme." (Hammerly, 1985, p. 19) Too much early emphasis on communication with too few tools causes the learner to internalize errors which can produce "atrocious 'pidgins'. The fact that error-laden speech interferes with communication and offends native speakers doesn't seem to bother communicationists very much" (Hammerly, 1985, p. 19).

Acquisitionist Theory propounded by Stephen Krashen and associates is an updated version of Naturalism in which errors in free classroom communication are not corrected (Hammerly, 1985, p. 23).

The Natural Approach focuses on getting students to the point where they can carry on a conversation in the language they are learning (Reyhner, 2004, p. 4). It is based on four principles:

1. "Comprehension Precedes Production"

   - The teacher always uses the language he or she is teaching;

- The lesson (what is talked about) is focused on a topic that the students are interested in; and

- The teacher works continuously to help students understand using gestures, visuals, and real objects.

2. Students learn new languages in stages, beginning with a "silent period" where they just listen and then by starting to speak single words, then a few words, then phrases, and finally moving to sentences and complex discourse. Errors in grammar and pronunciation that do not interfere with understanding should not be corrected.

3. The objective of learning a language is to be able to carry out a conversation in that language. Lessons should center on an activity rather than a grammatical structure.

4. Classroom activities need to lessen student anxiety. They need to focus on topics of interest and relevancy to the students and 'encourage them to express their ideas, opinions, desires, emotions, and feelings.' The teacher needs to create a warm, friendly, welcoming classroom to insure language learning. (Reyhner, 2004, p. 4)

Hammerly points out that "if naturalistic- communicative-acquisitionist approaches to second language learning in the classroom are valid, then the Immersion Approach should be very successful. Immersion programs represent the best chance such approaches will ever have" (Hammerly, 1985, p. 26). Yet Hammerly also levels some criticism (p. 26).

Reyhner (2004, p. 1) provides a succinct summary. Immersion teaching methods have shown a marked improvement over earlier language teaching approaches, such as grammar translation audiolingual methods of the 1960's. The central characteristic of immersion is the teaching of language, content, and culture in combination without the use of the child's first language. Students are taught a second language they initially don't understand through the use of a variety of context clues provided by the teacher.

Genesee (1994) concurs: "Immersion programs are regarded as highly successful by researchers, educators, and parents, despite evidence of certain linguistic shortcomings, because the academic achievement of immersion students is comparable to that of students educated through their native language." The key seems to be "instructional plans in which language objectives are systematically integrated with academic objectives" (Genesee, 1994)

French-speaking Canada has yielded significant research in this area. Genesee (1994) reports: "The success of immersion programs as an integrated approach to second language instruction is evident from research showing that the participating students acquire the second language skills they need to acquire academic skills and knowledge appropriate for their grade level." Thus the measure of success has tended to be achievement in the various subject areas as opposed to proficiency in the second language.

Genesee (1994) echoes Hammerly's criticism of immersion programs as he reports that the "available research evidence suggests that students in many immersion classes are given few chances to speak during class and even fewer opportunities to

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initiate the use of language. Most often, students use language in response to questions or comments initiated by the teacher. The end result is that "the productive language skills of immersion students are linguistically truncated, albeit functionally effective." (Genesee, 1994, p. 5)

The greater and earlier one's exposure to a second language is, the greater the proficiency in the second language might be expected to be. Research, however, does not bear this out (Genesee, 1994, p. 8). "The fact that late immersion students can attain the same levels of second language proficiency as early immersion students, despite significantly less exposure to the target language, attests to the general cognitive maturity and learning efficiency of older learners."

Immersion has to this point been used in two senses. As a general term it refers to continuous exposure to the second language. In its more technical sense it refers to a particular classroom approach: "Immersion is a specific type of integrated second language instruction - one that focuses on the acquisition of language skills for academic purposes. Immersion is also unique in its primary focus on academic instruction" (Genesee, 1994, p. 4).

Krashen and most language educators have praised the Immersion Approach and immersion programs continue to enjoy great popularity. Hammerly is less impressed: "Immersion programs do confer advanced comprehension skill; but then, who wouldn't understand a second language well after thousands of hours of active exposure? However, the Immersion Approach fails to produce linguistically competent speech and writing" (1985, p. 31). Hammerly's conclusion is based on the evidence, but it needs to be noted that the evidence is primarily derived from immersion classrooms rather than

immersion schools.

Modern adaptations of the best known naturalistic Direct Method include Total Physical Response (TPR) which "appeals to the learners' kinesthetic-sensory system" (Omaggio Hadley, 1993, p. 105), Total Physical Response Storytelling (TPR-S), and Suggestopedia which seeks to tap subconscious resources and "direct learning to both the left and right hemispheres of the brain" (Omaggio Hadley, 1993, p. 117).

Reyhner (2004, p. 2) notes:

One of the problems with TPR is getting past asking students to respond to simple 'commands'. To help teachers with more advanced instruction, Ray and Seely (1997)... developed what they call TPR Storytelling (TPR-S) that involves students acting out stories with written scripts.... TPR-S lessons utilize the vocabulary taught in the earlier [TPR] stage by incorporating it into stories that the learners hear, watch, act out, retell, revise, read, write, and rewrite.

American Association of Teachers of German (AATG) members who have adopted TPR-S in their classrooms practically gush in their enthusiasm for the method. In posts on the AATG Listserv, they claim incredible learner enthusiasm and a tremendous difference in learner willingness and ability to speak German compared to what they experienced under their former classroom approaches. German teacher Rob Williams recently wrote:

I don't do TPRS per se exclusively, but I do follow TPRS theory exclusively, which means teaching for acquisition: lots of comprehensible input, lots of input of grammar structure, lots of student participation and engagement, and teaching explicit grammar only after students start to acquire that grammar. (Post to AATG Listserv: 9/11/04 1:20 PM).

Since this methodology is so new, researchers are only now beginning to turn their attention to it. Thus the jury is still out on how well TPR-Storytelling does align syllabus design with what is known about the learning process. It does; however, seem to incorporate many of the elements recognized by practitioners as making for effective learning.

Hulstijn (2002, p. 194) observes:

Language pedagogy has always tried to reconcile the what and the how of language learning, trying to foster language as knowledge as well as language as skill, albeit with different degrees of emphasis on either dimension depending on the views on knowledge and learning underlying the adopted teaching and learning method.

Hulstijn (2002, p. 194) also acknowledges "how difficult it is to integrate the knowledge and skill perspectives in L2 [second language] teaching and syllabus design harmoniously." His main interest in the brain and cognitive processes, while directing attention to the learner, still represents a focus on input.

All of the competing theories and approaches have champions who tout their advantages over the old Grammar Translation Method. The one thing that all the various theories, approaches and methods seem to have in common is a focus on input.

Considering input forces attention on the learner and that may have as much as anything

to do with any increased success associated with any particular theory, approach or

method. This attention to the learner has intensified, but measuring success and

increasing accountability loom ever more important, as standardized testing increases and

as proficiency standards have come to claim the attention of language educators in the

US.

With the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL), an

alliance of the various foreign language teachers' associations, leading the charge, the

debate about input has become secondary to student achievements of proficiency.

ACTFL developed proficiency standards which have gained wide acceptance. They

include a rating scale of four steps within which are three subdivisions. This heightened

attention to learner outcomes does not mean, however, that input is ignored. Indeed, most

every foreign language teacher has heard of ACTFL's standards for foreign language

learning, the famous five C's: "communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and

communities" (Standards for Foreign language Learning, 1996, pages iv-v). Each

category includes two or three standards. These standards are defined operationally. For

example, Standard 1.1 reads: "Students engage in conversations, provide and obtain

information, express feelings and emotions, and exchange opinions" (p. iv). Implicit in

nearly every standard is the need for comprehensible input.

Lacking a unifying, overarching theory of second language acquisition, the

practitioners have compared notes and developed standards based on their successes in

the classroom. Stated as desired student outcomes, these standards imply a benefit from

attention to the learner. There are several general factors in addition to this that have also been proven by research to make a difference.

Cleary and Peacock, for instance, sum up their research: "The key to producing successful American Indian students in our modern educational system...is to first ground these students in their American Indian belief and value systems" (1998, p. 101). While they are discussing general academic success, presumably the principle holds true for each component, as well.

"Generally, books on Indian education call for...a constructivist and experiential approach that is both community- and environment-centered" (Jacobs & Reyhner, 2002). The emphasis on one's environment is certainly consistent with the Native American insistence on context and understanding where one fits into the broader picture both of what exists and how it came to be. The focus on community is something that would be expected of tribal peoples.

Indigenous Languages Preservation

Having encountered a long history of attempts to deprive American Indians of their languages, efforts to preserve the languages typically did not get underway until the last five decades. Only in the last decade has much begun to appear in print about the growing number of preservation efforts.

While an examination of Native American experience with language revitalization efforts reveals immersion to be the most effective approach, the term as used here denotes something different. Rather than one or more classes in a larger school

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being conducted in the second language, immersion is used here in its more general sense, i.e. in a broader context, that of a total immersion experience. In practice this has meant immersion schools conducted entirely in the second language, except for when English is introduced as a subject. However, it also extends beyond the school. Yupiaq language activist Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley explains:

> I think that we must once again speak the Native languages in the home a majority of the time. If we expect only the school to do it, it will surely fail. The school must become a reflection of a Native speaking family, home, and community. During the waking hours of the day, the children must hear the Native language being spoken-in the home and in the school. (Reyhner, et al, 2003, p. vii)

The Indigenous Language Institute has provided the following useful description of the different degrees of immersion (Linn, et.al., 2003, p. 126).

Type	Characteristics	Examples	Training	Parents	Planning
	Different Degrees of Immersion [Adopted and modified from Kenneth Hale's Lecture at the 20th Annual American Indian Language Development Institute (June 1999). The types are organized from the highest degree of immersion (Type 1) to the lowest degree of immersion (Type 5)]				
1	**Totally natural.** Doing things in the language all the time. Language abundant.	Home	No special training	Intensely involved	No need
2	**Somewhat natural.** Doing things in the language at planned times at planned places, mostly one-on-one. Language abundant for planned time/place.	Master-apprentice Language nest Language camp	Minimal training (no English)	Involved & supportive	Required as a team
3	**Somewhat artificial.** Doing things in the language at planned time at planned places, mostly one-on-many. Situational syllabus. Language abundant for planned purposes.	Immersion class	Intensive training in hands-on field experience	Maybe involved, all subject areas	Careful planning support necessary
4	**Artificial.** Doing language mostly in the language at planned time at planned places. Situational/grammar-based syllabus. Language for instructional purposes; selective.	Language class	Extensive training in linguistics, education, anthropology	Maybe involved, support useful	Careful planning
5	**Academic.** Teaching about language. Grammar-based syllabus. Language examples to illustrate characteristics of the language; highly selective and organized	Language class	Intensive training in linguistics	No	Careful planning

In narrowing the focus from second language acquisition to North American Indian language stabilization and revitalization, an always difficult challenge is intensified. Joshua Fishman explains the insight he gained into this phenomenon:

The question is why is re-vernacularization so hard? Much harder than either language teaching or language learning, that are hard enough. We are not very good at language teaching because vernaculars are inter-generational on informal, spontaneous bases, outside any formal institutional bases. That is what they are. I listened to what Damon Clarke, the Hualapai, was saying, and he was talking about informal life. All of his examples...were informal, daily life. Vernaculars are acquired in

infancy, in the family, which means in intimacy. They are handed on that way, in intimacy and in infancy. Schools teach and students learn, even languages sometimes, but schools are programmed and not generally inter-generational institutions.

Fishman further asserts:

Re-vernacularization requires not only inter-generational language transmission, but societal change....Re-vernacularization requires changes in established informal conventions and their reinforcement from various directions, from status-gain, from friendship-gain, from affection-gain. All of these are sources of support that endangered languages (and institutionalized languages) typically lack. (1996, p. 6)

Fishman effectively captures the immensity of the challenge by describing it as a catch-22:

Endangered languages become such because they lack informal inter-generational transmission and informal daily life support, but, in order to cease being endangered, they need exactly what they do not have and cannot easily get. (1996, p. 7)

Canadian Native Verna J. Kirkness expresses agreement with Fishman as she asserts:

Current approaches are basically ineffective because they are based on the old grammar teaching methods used to teach English, which is the only model available to many of our fluent speakers. Of greatest importance is the need to identify "best pedagogy" based on the traditions of our people.

It is only through passing on the language from parent to child that our

languages can truly survive....It cannot be left up to the schools; it must be

a family and community responsibility. (pp. 19-20)

It ought not be surprising that the greatest success stories for Native language

revitalization efforts have grown out of intimate, inter-generational settings involving

local communities (Stiles, 1997, p. 1). The Native American language immersion

movement actually had its inception (or should one say conception?) in the Maori

language nests in far away New Zealand.

These *kohanga* gave rise to total immersion schools, "Kura Kuapapa Maori, and

Waananga/Tribal Universities" (Robust, 2002, p. 3). The Maori trace their ancestry to

Polynesian migrants about 800 AD or earlier and followed by other waves of migration,

the last major influx at about 1300 AD.... The history of the Maori reads like the history

of the Native American tribes; land taken without treaties, slaughter, and subhuman

treatment. (Stiles, 1997, p. 5)

In 1981, the Department of Maori Affairs brought together Maori leaders

who conceptualized a grassroots or *whanau* movement designed to

revitalize the dying Maori language in language nests. In the nests,

children from birth to eight years of age would be exposed to the Maori

language in a homelike atmosphere. Part of this early childhood education

system [is] the te *kohnga reo*, a preschool where Maori children [are]

immersed in the native language. By 1991, 700 *kohanga* had been

established and 10,000 children had been enrolled in them.... As of 1994,

twenty-nine *kura kaupapa* Maori schools had been established or

approved for start up. It has been the goal of the program to reintroduce

and revitalize the Maori language, to reattach the language to the people at

the community level. (Stiles, 1997, p. 6)

Native Hawaiians were impressed by the success of this approach among their

New Zealand cousins and patterned their own efforts after them. Like the Maori, Native

Hawaiians descend from waves of Polynesian migration, the first around 400 AD and the

second some 700 years later (Stiles, 1997, p. 7). After several visited the Maori

preschools in New Zealand, they started two schools in 1985, Honolulu and Hilo (Stiles,

1997, p. 8).

The goals of the *Punana Leo* were to promote Hawaiian as a living

language and to create an educational program that produces bilingual,

biliterate children....Children have ten hour days, and on the school

grounds only Hawaiian is spoken. Visitors use interpreters even if English

is understood. Parental involvement in the program is essential to

reinforce the use of the language at home. Language classes must be

attended weekly by all parents....Other parental duties to the school

include paying tuition based on income..., eight hours per month of

in-kind service to the school..., and parents make up the governance of the

school. (Stiles, 1997, p. 8)

Requiring interpreters on campus seems to be part of the discipline which is

essential to the program's success. "People who know the language have to make a

commitment to speak it to each other, and not be tempted back to English by the presence

of English speakers.... Through such discipline, the language begins to make its way back into public again" (Hinton, 1997, p. 18).

> Remember, in 1983 there was a single Hawaiian-language preschool open, one that stumbled forward with the teachers and parents trying to make policy and curriculum as they went along, fumbling with their non-native Hawaiian. From those modest beginnings came this large and highly successful program that has affected a whole generation of Hawaiians. (Hinton, 1997, p. 22.)

The highly successful nature of the Hawaiian program has not gone unnoticed. As others have cast about for models they might adopt to save their languages many have looked to Hawaii. Among them were the founders of the Piegan Institute in Montana, Darryl Kipp and Dorothy Still Smoking. They traveled to Hawaii and learned all they could before returning to the Blackfoot reservation where they are replicating the Hawaiian success (Kipp, 2000, p. 8).

Another visitor to the Hawaiian schools is the champion of California Native Language preservation efforts, Leanne Hinton (1997, pp. 16-21). Success breeds hope and concerned members of other tribes have either traveled to Hawaii or visited the Blackfeet schools before launching their own efforts. Hinton echoes Kipp's best advice, "Just begin, and keep on striving..." (p. 22).

These successful experiences are predicated upon a cadre, however small, of native language speakers. Not every Native American community enjoys such an asset. Nancy Richardson-Riley (of Karuk-Yurok descent)

recommends the first step in community-initiated language programs

should be assessment of the current "state of health" of the language....The

relatively small number of fluent speakers is an indication that most local

Indian languages are in a state of "obsolescence" and approaching

"extinction." Given these states of health, the appropriate language

retention strategies are "restoration" and "revival" - both of which require

rigorous efforts to build up the number of fluent speakers. While language

classes in the public schools accomplish important goals related to cultural

enrichment...they rarely produce the new fluent speakers upon whom the

future of Indian languages depends. She recommends...a tribe...recruit and

select from among its youthful members students who will be supported in

the scholarly pursuit of native language and in the development of

speaking fluency. She envisions a three- to five-year scholarship program,

during which the chosen language scholar will work under the tutelage of

tribal elders....While some tribes may be able to draw upon their own

resources to support such scholarship programs, others will need external

support. (Burcell-Price, p. 20)

Whether due to issues of financial resources or other hurdles, Richardson-Riley's

model, if implemented anywhere, certainly has not caught on. Another approach to

immersion has proven effective, and is being pursued by numerous tribes, especially

where languages are threatened with extinction. The major force behind this program is

Leanne Hinton. She has pointed out the vast differences between the Hawaiian context

and the situation in California.

> Where Hawai'i has one language, California has dozens. Where the
>
> Hawaiian population numbers in the hundreds of thousands, California
>
> Indians have over a hundred different tribes, most numbering in the
>
> hundreds or less. Because of this diversity, the tremendous resources
>
> available to the Hawaiian program are not to be found here. But let this
>
> problem not be intimidating. (p. 22)

Hinton shares Richardson-Riley's vision of creating language experts and involving tribal

elders, but with a different twist. Hinton's solution has been to adapt the

master-apprentice model to an endangered language context. "The Master-Apprentice

Language Learning Method is a mentored learning approach, created for people who may

not have access to language classes but, instead, have access to a speaker" (Hinton, 2002,

p. xiii). This model pairs from one to three committed individuals with a Native speaker

of the language.

> "The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program was conceived and

developed in 1992 at the first language conference for Native Californians" (p. ix). It was

originally intended for the endangered languages of California (p. xiii). The model has

since been exported to other areas of the country, including Oklahoma (p. x).

> The master-apprentice program is designed so that a highly motivated
>
> team consisting of a speaker and a learner can go about language
>
> teaching/learning on their own, without outside help from experts. The
>
> teaching and learning are done through immersion: the team members
>
> commit themselves to spending ten to twenty hours per week together,
>
> speaking primarily in the [target] language. (Hinton, 2002, p. xiv)

The model draws heavily from "...Krashen's input hypothesis, which says that we learn a language simply by understanding what is said to us in that language" (Hinton, 2002, p. xiv). It diverges from Krashen in that the model asserts the importance of practice in speaking by the learner (p. xv). "The model incorporates some of the methods of total physical response (TPR).... By combining language with action, the learner focuses on the content of the message, rather than the words. This is how language learning really takes place" (p. xv).

Hinton summarizes "...our master-apprentice model combines approaches and theories of TPR, the input hypothesis, communicative competence, linguistic elicitation, ethnographic research, our own imagination, and a hefty dose of common sense" (p. xvi). In practical terms, team members spend hours together sharing each other's personal lives.

> Daily life usually means talking in cars, stores, and other modern surroundings and doing such nontraditional activities as going to the laundromat or cooking on an electric stove. Modern conversation may include sports, politics, and other topics of mainstream Western society. If the endangered language is to become functional again, it is essential for it to be spoken in these situations and about these topics. Thus the team members are forced to become linguistic pioneers - creating new speech acts and perhaps new vocabulary. (p. xvi)

Clearly an immersion approach of one sort or the other is the ideal if real progress in language preservation is to be achieved. Where this is not possible or practical, it becomes necessary to examine other options. Indeed, for endangered languages, a

multi-faceted approach is necessary (Hinton, 2002, p. xvii). Thus it is desirable to pursue as many options simultaneously as possible. In this way it becomes more likely that the goal of community involvement will be reached. Obviously, whenever a particular option is pursued, it should be made as effective as possible.

Stiles (1997) has compared the language programs of the Cree, Hualapai, Maori, and Hawaiians, each of which she characterizes as successful. These four "programs have been held up to the bilingual professional community as model programs for endangered indigenous languages" (p. 1). According to her these programs share the following common elements: "curriculum development, community support, parent involvement, and government support" (p. 1).

The Cree Way Project in Quebec was initiated by a school principal in 1973 (Stiles, 1997, p. 2).

> The goals of the project were to use Cree language in the schools to
> validate Cree culture and create a Cree tribal identity, to make reading and
> writing more important within their previously oral culture, to create a
> curriculum reflecting Cree culture and the Cree conceptual framework,
> and to implement that curriculum in the public schools. (Stiles, 1997, p.2)

While the project initiated a preschool immersion program in 1988 which was subsequently extended one grade level each year up through fourth grade, beginning in fourth grade half the subjects were taught in either French or English. In fifth grade through high school instruction is all in English or French, but "with Cree culture enrichment in regular doses, including reading and writing Cree syllabics" (Stiles, 1997, p. 2).

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The Hualapai (People of the Tall Pines) program, located on their reservation

along the rim of the Grand Canyon, shares this focus on the schools seen in the Cree

program. The Hualapai have developed what they call a

> new concurrent approach [involving] a balanced use of Hualapai and
>
> English, so that concepts and lexicon are formed and reinforced in both
>
> languages. In 1981 the school board adopted the Hualapai
>
> Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program (HBBEP) as the official district
>
> curriculum. (Stiles, 1997, p. 4)

The Maori and Hawaiian programs also involved curriculum development, but

had their primary focus on a total immersion experience. This is also the route adopted by

the Blackfoot in Montana. In fact, Darryl Kipp has stated: "It doesn't matter what is

taught, as long as it is done in the native language" (Oklahoma State University, HRAE

5010: Social policy & institutional change, April 5, 2000). In both the Cree and Hualapai

programs the focus is on the schools and the curriculum.

The key to the success of these two programs would seem to lie in the community

involvement, just as is the case with the total immersion schools. The explanation for this

is that

> language is acquired most effectively when it is learned for
>
> communication in meaningful and significant social situations. In life at
>
> large, people use language to communicate what they know, what they
>
> want to know, and their feelings, and desires (Genesee, 1994, p. 3).

Genesee confirms Kipp's assertion when he writes: "The content of integrated

second language instruction need not be academic; it can include any topic, theme, or

non-language issue of interest or importance to the learners" (1994, p. 3). Genesee's main thrust is the necessity to integrate content and second language instruction.

> Integration of content and second language instruction provides a
> substantive basis for language learning. Important and interesting content,
> academic or otherwise, provides students with a meaningful basis for
> understanding and acquiring new language structures and patterns.
> Similarly, authentic classroom communication, about matters of academic
> or general interest to the students, provides a purposeful and motivating
> context for learning the communicative functions of the new language. In
> the absence of important content and authentic communication, language
> can be learned only as an abstraction devoid of conceptual or
> communicative substance. Few school-aged learners are interested in
> learning language that serves no meaningful function. (Genesee, p. 3)

The experience of the Blackfoot and others suggests that any second language curriculum is of secondary importance. "The best way towards achieving successful language renewal is to speak the language and nothing but the language,...no textbook, no school curriculum program is ever going to replace this" (de Reuse, 1997, p. 2).

Nevertheless, "if we are going to have second language curricula and second language textbooks, we should want to make them as efficient and attractive as we can" (de Reuse, 1997, p. 2).

Kirkness (2002) concurs. "It is only through passing on the language from parent to child that our languages can truly survive. It cannot be left up to the schools" (p. 20). Recognizing that curriculum is of secondary importance is not to disparage it.

"Curriculum development is necessary if we are to be successful in recreating an intergenerational transmission process' (p. 20).

In an effort to avoid the controversy over how useful a tool a textbook is, de Reuse states: "What I propose is that we start writing textbooks, knowing full well that they will only be useful to some learners, and only part of the time" (1997, p. 2).

He offers his White Mountain Apache introductory textbook as a model. A body of thirty lessons, it includes a pronunciation and spelling section, a glossary, an index, and a paradigms appendix. It relies heavily on TPR, but had to avoid some "touching and pointing activities, which are often culturally inappropriate for Apaches" (de Reuse, 1997, p. 9). In its general configuration, at least, it seems similar to "*First Course in Osage*".

Here in Oklahoma the Cherokee have initiated a pilot immersion school project for young children. The Comanche have turned to Leann Hinton and colleagues for training in and implementation of the master-apprentice approach.

Creating a rich curriculum and providing effective teaching are appropriate concerns, but must be part of a broader context if they are to be truly effective and relevant. Common elements of effective curricula that have emerged are that they should be: 1. intergenerational, 2. avoid English, 3. involve the community, 4. integrate content with instruction, 5. be reflective of the culture, 6. avoid culturally sensitive or politically inappropriate material (de Reuse, 1997, p. 10), and 7. employ effective instructional methodologies.

With the exception of California, Oklahoma has the most diversity of Native languages and peoples in the United States. Significantly, 40

communities represent 11 language families: Algonquian, Athapaskan, Caddoan, Iroquoian, Kiowa-Tanoan, Muskogean, Penutian, Siouan, Tonkawan, Uto-Aztecan, and Yuchean. The languages across these families can be as different as Chinese and English. They represent extreme cultural diversity as well. All of the Native languages in Oklahoma are threatened; most are severely endangered. (Linn, et.al., 2003, p. 112)

"Tribes in Oklahoma experience some unique conditions that affect their language" (Linn, et.al., 2003, p. 114). Most Oklahoma tribal people do not have a land base, live scattered amidst the larger white society, have to travel to special places for traditional cultural activities, do not have control of their schools, and their children are not a majority of the population of even a single public school (p. 114).

After surveying language programs in Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico, the Indigenous Language Institute (ILI) compiled a "list of characteristics that appear to be shared, partially or wholly, by successful language programs" (Linn, et.al., 2003, p. 116). They are as follows:

1) using teams 2) using immersion, speaking the language 3) being family oriented 4) setting goals 5) building up not out 6) balance in old and new 7) working through language variation issues 8) working through politics and 9) perseverance. (Linn, et.al., 2003, pp. 117-120)

The ILI also listed three things as not necessary for success: money, tribal support, and a large number of speakers (Linn, et.al., 2003, p. 120).

CHAPTER 3

APPROACHING THE STUDY

An Osage Response

Having examined issues in second language acquisition and tribal language preservation experience, the general parameters have been established. However, in order to better understand the challenges faced in Native American Language preservation efforts, it is helpful to examine how the issues play out in a specific context.

In chapter one we encountered the historical context of the Osage people and the desperate state of their language. Despite a fairly widespread desire to prevent the extinction of the Osage language, to date only one curriculum for the language has been developed.

This curriculum, *First Course in Osage* by Carolyn Quintero, consists of 34 lessons, four supplementary lessons, and three cultural lessons. Each regular lesson supplies grammar pertinent to a conversational context and relies heavily on the use of actual objects and pictures to illustrate the meaning of words, phrases, and sentences. A lesson plan replete with behavioral objectives, procedural outline, a homework sheet, and materials and vocabulary lists comprises the teacher's component. Student materials

included are a homework sheet and a vocabulary sheet for each lesson. "An earlier and much more limited version of this manual produced in 1986 was partially funded by NIBC" (Quintero, 1999, p. 2).

Quintero was born and raised in Hominy, Oklahoma, but is not herself Osage. She lived a number of years in Venezuela and is fluent in Spanish. Quintero owns her own business, *Inter Lingua, Inc.*, in Tulsa, OK, which specializes in language services, including translation, interpretation, and language instruction, primarily for various businesses and corporations. She holds a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Massachusetts.

Quintero began to study the Osage language about 30 years ago. From 1993-1995 she received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities through the Center for Study of Native Languages of the Plains and Southwest at the University of Colorado, Boulder, with the goal of producing a grammar and dictionary of the Osage language. She recently completed these works and they are now in the hands of the publisher, the University of Nebraska Press. While Quintero's perspective in authoring *First Course in Osage* is that of a linguist, it has been enriched by her considerable interaction with the Osage.

Type of Research

In order to ascertain the relevance and adequacy of this curriculum as a key element in the effort to extend the life of the Osage language, an appropriate methodology was needed. After considering the possibilities, a naturalistic content

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analysis was selected.

The terms qualitative research and naturalistic or interpretive inquiry are inter-changeable (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). Merriam defines this type of research as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit" (Merriam, 1988, p. 21). In contrast to quantitative methods, this approach is more holistic and comprehensive. Naturalistic inquiry is called for when one hopes to "illuminate social realities, human perceptions, and organizational realities [and] regard[s] gestures, language, and behavioral patterns of the subjects as significant descriptive data" (Owens, 1982, p. 7).

Case Study Research

"Case study can be seen to satisfy the three tenets of the qualitative method: describing, understanding, and explaining" (Tellis, 1997, p.3). The quintessential characteristic of case studies is that they strive towards a holistic understanding of cultural systems of action..., [i.e.] interrelated activities engaged in by the actors in a social situation.

Case studies are multi-perspectival analyses. This means that the researcher considers not just the voice and perspective of the actors, but also the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them (Tellis, 1997, p. 5).

Case study research typically involves multiple sources of evidence to address issues of construct validity (Tellis, 1997, p. 6). The focus is typically groups, organizations, or countries (p. 6). Documents, archival records, interviews, direct

observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts are the usual sources of evidence (p. 7). One approach has been "...coding the data and identifying the issues more clearly at the analysis stage" (p. 9). This last approach essentially describes content analysis.

Content Analysis

Naturalistic content analysis is primarily European in origin, having been developed in the 1980's. Its goal is to achieve an holistic description of symbolic phenomena. Capra and Krippendorff describe naturalistic content analysis as holistically examining the symbolic content of written or recorded works.

As a type of descriptive research, it points beyond words to their linguistic connotations (Weber, 1990, p. 12). It is a unique research method in that it uses written or recorded documents rather than human subjects to shed light on humans, their beliefs, and their actions (Forrest, 2002, p. 34).

While content analysis does not entirely conform to the definition of case study, in many regards it does resemble case study methodology and can serve similar purposes. "Innovative programs and practices are often the focus of descriptive case studies in education" (Merriam, 1998, p. 38). While perhaps written language curricula are plentiful, they constitute a recent innovation when it comes to hitherto unwritten Native American languages. *First Course in Osage* thus can be characterized as an innovative program setting forth innovative practices, particularly within an Osage context.

Krippendorf (1980, pp. 35-38) advises that content analysis research must

consider the context that gave rise to the document under examination. Thus understanding the environmental factors impinging upon a document's creator helps the researcher draw valid conclusions (Forrest, 2002, p. 34). A document must be broken into small pieces which "become the data with which the researcher works" (p. 34).

This step is followed by categorization, a two-step process. According to Weber (1990, p. 23) either deductive or inductive logic or both are used to formulate categories. The researcher then sorts or codes the pieces according to the various categories. "Either during or after the coding, the categories are reviewed to ensure that they adequately explain the data" (Forrest, 2002, p. 35). Subsequent revision of categories or of the procedures for coding may be undertaken, if required (p. 35). As with all qualitative research, content analysis is "... characterized by a flexible, emergent design and the use of small samples, and the use of the researcher as the primary instrument for inquiry" (p. 38).

Mayring (2000) distinguishes between deductive and inductive content analysis. The former is most useful for examining new material using a previously successful set of categories (Forrest, 2002, p. 38). The inductive approach employs a cursory examination of the literature to inform the category formulation process. These initial categories are quite tentative and must be reviewed in light of the data as it is processed (p. 39). Frequently some data will fit several categories. This may require revision of the list to achieve more appropriate categories. Forrest (2002, p. 40) explains that such thematic categories are not intended "to be self-contained, but rather to define and develop a theme that the researcher has not found." The resulting findings should be presented with a rich description that yields a strong sense of the data context (p. 40).

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There were several reasons for selecting inductive content analysis for this problem. Since the language is moribund and the few remaining speakers were elderly and in precarious health, time was of the essence. A content analysis was not just the quickest method, but also the only method to offer sound findings from data alone. Since there is no existing, prescribed set of criteria by which to evaluate a Native American language curriculum, a deductive approach was not appropriate. Only an inductive content analysis promised insight into the essential character of the document as opposed to simply identifying isolated references or elements which it might contain. Identifying this essential character was necessary if the study was to have significance.

The Researcher

In any qualitative study the researcher is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), the role of the researcher as instrument is to bring one's tacit knowledge to bear. Relying on one's experience to form judgments is a central feature of the process. Given that, it is incumbent upon the researcher to present an overview of his or her relevant experience. This enables the reader to form a context in which to situate the comments and conclusions of a study.

Having graduated from Earlham College in 1973 and recently returned from teaching elementary school in Jamaica, I arrived at Hominy, Oklahoma, in September of 1975. My task was to serve as the field staff person for the Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs to assist the Osage and more specifically, Hominy Friends Meeting, a mostly Osage church.

Despite a well-reasoned decision not to invest time in learning a language spoken by so few people, I found myself at the Tulsa Indian Youth Center the fall of 1977 for the first Osage language class session taught by Myrtle Oberly Jones. Word quickly spread of my effort to learn the language and I was surprised at the difference it seemed to make to many Osage as doors that had been closed began to open. Soon I had a vision of offering Osage language classes in Hominy and worked to implement that vision. There seemed to be considerable interest on the part of Osages of all ages. Speakers such as Frances Oberly Holding and Viola DeRoin enjoyed participating, often chuckling at our struggles with the language.

As I learned more, I was encouraged to pass along what I was learning and it was no longer felt necessary to bring in resource people (teachers) from Tulsa such as Myrtle Jones, Bob Bristow and Carolyn Quintero. Finally I had made the transition from facilitator to instructor. Even though my expertise was that of a language educator, my rudimentary knowledge of Osage made me most reluctant to accept this new role. Though my undergraduate major was history and German and my minor was education, I was young and white and it seemed presumptuous to me to assume a position of teaching the Osage language to Osages. No doubt many Osage shared that perspective. Nevertheless, the effort seemed important enough that my Osage friends would not let me give it up.

Close personal friendship with Hominy District Drumkeeper Michael Hopper and the efforts of Frances Holding and her sister Myrtle Jones led to my being able to participate in the Osage ceremonial dances. Dancing is for me a spiritual experience and that helped me overcome my fear of miss-stepping or otherwise messing up.

After moving to Southeast Missouri in 1985 to teach high school German, I continued to return each summer to participate in the dances. During this absence from Oklahoma, I also earned a masters degree in teaching German at Murray State University, having prior to that taught German for four years at Perryville High School and one semester at Southeast Missouri State University.

Early in 1994 the new Drumkeeper approached Frances Holding and asked her if I would be willing to serve on his committee. She accepted on my behalf and began making arrangements for me to be given my Osage name. On May 14 at a special breakfast, Harry Red Eagle, Jr. named me *Ma^{n}ze-no^{n}pi^n*. Meaning iron necklace, the name refers to the peace medallions given by Presidents of the United States to prominent Osages that were worn around their necks. This is a special name in our clan and is not given out lightly. Thus I was deeply touched to be honored in this way.

These developments have helped me to identify closer with the Osage language and to inspire greater efforts on its behalf. I participated in a study group at the home of Mongrain Lookout, attended more formal Osage language classes at the Whitehair Memorial west of Hominy, at the Osage Tribal Museum in Pawhuska, and in the homes of Carolyn Quintero and Priscilla Iba in Tulsa. I also taught conversational Osage at the Friends Meetinghouse in Hominy, often with an elder present (but never more than a phone call away). Students came from as far away as Pawhuska (20 miles) and Bartlesville (45 miles), though all had ties with the Hominy District.

Both Priscilla Iba and I field-tested *First Course in Osage* and were able to provide the author with feed-back which informed her revised edition. I have also participated in Oklahoma Native Languages Association conferences in Preston, OK, and

attended workshops on Native language instruction and curricular development at various times and locations including the Creek Nation complex in Okmulgee and OSU-Tulsa.

Researcher as Instrument

This information of my personal involvement in Native American language preservation efforts should help the reader evaluate this study by anticipating my inclinations. I may be viewed as a culturally sensitive stakeholder (Ciborowski, 1980; Cole & Scribner, 1974) who is also committed to the goal of preserving Native American languages and Osage in particular, as opposed to being a "hit and run researcher" with no stake in the process and being unwilling to pay back for the knowledge and experience derived from the research (Powdermaker, 1966).

My partial insider status did pose some risk. My subjectivity had to be managed so as not to compromise my interpretations, especially resisting the tendency to over-identify with the subject. As LeCompte (1987) recommends, I had to acknowledge my biases at the outset. Chief among these was my desire to see the Osage language continue. My personal acquaintance with the author of *First Course in Osage* could also have predisposed me to want to view it favorably.

Overall, my use of cultural and experiential knowledge in conducting the study contributes to an increase in the external validity or fit of the study to the local contexts (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Especially, my involvement with a variety of Osage language classes and experiences with *First Course in Osage* constitute rich resources which enabled me to make informed and hopefully sound judgments throughout the study.

The Process

To assist the reader in visualizing the process, a general overview is appropriate. More detailed examples are intended to augment the overview without burdening the reader with minutia.

A naturalistic content analysis is not a purely inductive exercise. Forrest (2002, p. 39) states that a cursory review of the literature is the first step. Whether cursory or in greater depth, as was the case here, the process of developing initial categories is essentially deductive in nature. This first step does not, however, characterize the process. The categories are quite tentative. The idea is not to try to force the data into these categories, but to revise and reformulate as required by the data.

The initial categories generated were: interactive, learner-centered, class conducted in target language, feedback/evaluation, intergenerational, community involvement, integrates content with instruction, written versus oral issues, cultural appropriateness, variations, and avoidance of English.

Going through the curriculum, a smaller number of broader categories seemed to emerge. For instance, nothing seemed to fall exclusively under "community involvement," so this category was dropped.

"Conducting class in the target language," derived from the second language instruction literature, seemed essentially the same as the idea of "generally avoiding English," part of effective tribal language revival efforts. Thus these were combined under the heading "avoiding English."

It seemed important to keep the unique aspects of dealing with a Native American language as the focus and to maintain a primarily inductive approach. Thus initially categories derived from the second language literature were collapsed under the heading methodology. Included were interactive, learner-centered, feedback, evaluation, and integrates content with instruction. Not surprisingly this category proved to be the largest, surpassing even culture.

After the initial analysis, the items collected under the methodology heading were re-examined. A primarily inductive approach was again followed as the review of the items led to tentative categories. Each item was then coded according to one of these categories. A "P" was used for pronunciation, an "L" for learner-centered, an "S" for sequencing, a "V" for vocabulary, and an "F" for feedback.

The most obvious example of elements related to pronunciation is Chapter 1. The focus of this first lesson is pronunciation and how to depict the sounds in writing (i.e. orthography). Some other examples include a presentation on the importance of nasal vowel versions and aspiration (p. 105). Osage utilizes both normal vowel sounds (the same as used in German and Spanish) and nasal versions of each. For instance "hta" means deer or meat and "hta[n]" means large. The "h" at the beginning of each is an example of aspiration, a small puff of air that often sounds like a brief pause after the previous word (when words with such pre-aspiration are used in sentences).

Another example of an element from the pronunciation category is found on page 103. Here the teacher is advised that it is acceptable to exaggerate intonation. Since there is a natural inclination towards brevity, it is unlikely that a learner would persist in imitating the exaggeration.

Yet another example is the emphasis on marking stress in words of more than one syllable (p. 15). These stress marks together with the appropriate sounds enable anyone to accurately reproduce the words. This was a lesson learned by this researcher first-hand. When inquiring of a native speaker as to the meaning of a word, my stress on the wrong syllable often rendered the word foreign enough to preclude recognition of it by the speaker. This was also the case with failure on my part to incorporate aspiration, especially for those words with pre-aspiration.

Examples of the sequencing category are also common. Sequencing is effective because it allows the learner to build upon prior knowledge. In Lesson 6 the first verb conjugation pattern "brush verbs" (br, sh) is presented after the learner is familiar with it from working with the verb "to have." First person singular is "a-<u>bri</u>^{n}" (I have) and second person singular is "a-<u>shci</u>^{n}" (you have).

In another example of sequencing, a base word is learned and then another element is added. Fruits, for instance are presented first as a base noun (the word for apple/fruit) and then as compounded varieties, e.g. apple with a nose = pear, apple/yellow/sour = lemon (pp. 27-28). Another example is compounds involving colors (p. 162). Yet another involves adding a negation suffix to build new words (p. 110).

The examples just cited for sequencing are also examples from the vocabulary category. Other approaches to vocabulary learning are also present. In one instance a short story in Osage is used in Lesson 28 to introduce new vocabulary. In another case, the teacher acts out a sentence to present the new vocabulary (p. 207). Props and gestures are also used to introduce new vocabulary (p. 35). These techniques allow the Osage word to be associated with an object or concept rather than with English words.

These additional examples of vocabulary presentation techniques also reveal the consistent effort to avoid English during the lessons. Indeed, most of the items in the avoiding English category are also examples of presentation of new vocabulary.

Finally, examples from the learner-centered category include the admonition: "Get everyone to speak" (p. 22), chain drill (p. 87), dividing the class into groups and having each group act out a scenario to the others (p. 215), Total Physical Response (p. 125), and having the students converse with each other in Osage (p. 109).

The examples cited above are largely random examples from throughout *First Course in Osage*. Anyone interested in seeing how such elements are combined into a unified entity is invited to examine Lesson 5, one of the briefer lessons. A copy has been attached as Appendix C.

Prospects for the Future

This chapter has introduced the object of the study and the approach selected. We learned why a naturalistic content analysis was best suited to the conditions existing within the Osage context. Information on both the researcher and the author of the document examined was presented. These offerings of biographical information were intended to help the reader evaluate the actual research process described. Finally, an overview of the process was provided along with some specific examples as illustrations to assist the reader in gaining insight into the nature of this kind of research.

CHAPTER 4

FIRST COURSE IN OSAGE: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter will present the findings of the content analysis of Carolyn

Quintero's *First Course in Osage*. Consistency of approach requires that the presentation

of the analysis include the broader contexts of which this curriculum is but one slice. It

cannot be properly understood apart from the wider experience of Native American

language preservation efforts.

Progress in reversing language loss among native peoples has long been a

struggle with little success. In recent years the greatest impact has been made by total

immersion programs. Even these have engendered much controversy and have had to

overcome many obstacles. One of the larger issues has been opposition to adopting a

uniform orthography or even writing of any sort for what has been an oral tradition

(Cowell, 2002, p. 24).

Overcoming the mindsets resulting from a long history of official attempts by the

dominant culture to suppress native languages has also not been easy. Add to these a lack

of material resources, a lack of linguists from within the indigenous communities, the

transitory and sometimes exploitive efforts of outside linguists and sociologists, a lack of native speakers who are also trained teachers, the great number and variety of native languages and dialects and differences within each language, and the continuing opposition or at best indifference from the dominant society, it is a wonder that there are any success stories at all. But there are. Dogged determination and persistent efforts to hang onto culture and language have begun to pay off. As tribes have begun to share their experiences, the pool of resources has increased and it is becoming easier to avoid pitfalls.

Hallmarks of Successful Programs

Successful indigenous language programs share a number of hallmarks. The greater the community involvement, the more intergenerational, and the more use of English has been avoided, the more effective have been the programs. Every organized program includes a curriculum (de Reuse, 1997, p. 10). The general principles just enumerated should also be reflected in a given curriculum.

In addition to these principles, an effective curriculum incorporates content with instruction, avoids inappropriate material, is culturally appropriate, and is based on sound instructional methodologies (de Reuse, 1997, p. 10). It is through this lens that the book *First Course in Osage* was examined.

Concerns

Blackfoot immersion schools co-founder Darryl Kipp is famous for saying: "Just do it." The author of *First Course in Osage*, Carolyn Quintero, exemplifies this advice. Reyhner advises: "Any outsiders seeking to offer advice or help to maintain native languages need to be aware that their efforts will not be met uncritically" (1995, p. 17). Quintero's gender and the fact that she is non-Indian posed significant hurdles. Concerns about possible exploitation and misrepresentation of Osage language and culture fed a caution and reserve not easily overcome. The relatively late stage in her life and the manner in which Quintero began to study the Osage language also evoked some opposition and suspicion among some within the tribe. Quintero simply plowed ahead, lending credence to Kipp's slogan.

Dialects and Variations

The issues of dialects and variations within the broader Osage context were minimized by the small number of speakers available. The most significant difference documented by Quintero was one of pronunciation. Where Pawhuska district speakers used a "ts" (as in bats) the Hominy district speakers preferred a "ch" (as in check) anytime a "c" comes after an "s" (p. 14). Another significant example was the tendency to interchange the "kx" and "tx" sound combinations ("x" in Osage represents a sound similar to a German "ch"). What some perceived as regional differences more often proved to be differences between formal and less formal speech. Other supposed

instances were simply examples of the tendency to shorten words in compounds. Nevertheless, Quintero found it necessary to include a disclaimer in her introduction (p. 1).

A more significant issue for many Osage was alleged differences in the ways men and women spoke. A reluctance to speak at all could result from a fear of sounding like a speaker of the opposite sex. Quintero was unable to document any general differences between how women and men spoke with the exception of the word "yes" and more significantly, kinship terms. The importance of kinship terms and the desire to use them correctly may explain the often-voiced concern about language differences for men and women (p. 1).

Orthography

Orthography has also been an issue for the Osage. Quintero addresses this in her introduction.

One of the problems with past attempts to learn the language has been the lack of a standardized orthography (writing system). Each person was encouraged to write the language whatever way he or she wanted to. Of course, everyone wrote it a different way and hardly anyone was able to recall later what sounds the letters were meant to represent. Also, a number of very important distinctions between sounds were overlooked, because English speakers were not used to listening for such distinctions. With a standardized writing system, Osage will be much easier to learn

than before, and spelling will be much easier than in English. (Quintero, p. 9)

For speakers and semi-speakers, the problems stemming from a lack of a standardized way of writing have not been as apparent since whatever clues they had on paper were usually sufficient to help them recall the words or sounds they wanted to reproduce. The pending publication of Quintero's dictionary and also her grammar of the Osage language may provide additional incentive for the Osage to become more comfortable with her orthography.

<center>*Intergenerational*</center>

Quintero and Iba recognize that language learning should be an intergenerational effort. At least they assert that the curriculum "is adaptable for use in grades K-12 and adult classes" (Quintero, p. 1) and that while the directives to illustrate are aimed at children, they are also appropriate for adults (Quintero, p. 5). Later they advise that parents should learn with their kids and should also help them at home (Quintero, p. 6).

While aiming curricula at multiple generations is not a common thought in educational circles, it has been identified as one of the keys to successful Native American language programs. The perspective is a cultural one even if the benefits of an intergenerational approach may be obvious. Indeed, one of the reasons for this approach is so that the culture can be passed along with the language. The point has also been made that the language cannot be divorced from the culture and still have meaning (Still Smoking, 1996, p. 16). One would therefore expect that an effective curriculum would

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entail considerable cultural components. Thus, it was not surprising that cultural elements play a major role in *First Course in Osage*.

Cultural Content

While Quintero is a linguist and a non-Indian, by relying on her research, she could not avoid a cultural context even if she had wanted to. Beyond that practical consideration, her course is targeted at Osages interested in learning their language and so she has deliberately sought to provide a cultural context and rich cultural components. Three optional cultural lessons are provided at the end of the book. The first deals with the Osage creation story, the second with dance traditions, and the third with treaties.

These "Cultural Lessons" are preceded by four supplementary lessons, one of which is also focused on Osage culture. It deals with the various items worn by males and females participating in the ceremonial dances.

The main body of lessons is also culturally rich. Each lesson contains a "Conversation" box. Each box includes a small but useful text, which, according to Quintero, is easy to memorize (p. 9).

> If this bit of Osage is memorized each lesson, by the end of the *First Course in Osage* students will have a good knowledge of some phrases to use for greeting, inviting, singing, praying, and beginning a speech in Osage. (p. 9)

Other examples of culturally appropriate content include the use of feathers as props in lesson 5 (p. 42), illustrations on pages 93 and 94 depicting Osage attire, and the Osage perception of the color spectrum (p. 162). Lesson 10 introduces the "we dual" and

"we plural" forms, which while not unique to Osage, are a significant difference from Euro-American perspective. The longest lesson is 7 which deals with Osage kinship terms. "Many Native Americans believe it is more polite and respectful to use kinship terms" when addressing one's relatives (p. 56). "Students should begin to use these terms even when not in class" (p. 56).

While many other examples of cultural tie-ins could be referenced, such as the use of beads as props (p. 101) and an Osage meatpie making scenario in Lesson 31, vocabulary and grammatical structures in and of themselves can convey much culture. The Osage terms for colors and fruits provide examples for the former and an example of the latter can be seen in the various perspectives requiring three different words in place of the English word "to" (p. 125). Here the usage is dependent upon whether the destination is perceived as something tall, something flat, or a collection of items whether flat or upright in character (p. 125).

Potential for Improvement

Concluding that the course is culturally rich is not to say that there is not room for improvement. Indeed, this area is arguably the most vulnerable to criticism. For instance, European rather than Osage names or kinship terms are used on pages 65 and 197. The preoccupation with numbers and counting in Lessons 2 to 5 and Supplementary Lesson 3 is not consistent with traditional perspective. However, this same weakness on the cultural front does represent a practical strength in today's world.

Illustrations are perhaps the most glaring missed opportunity in the course. They are neither by an Osage or other Indian artist, nor are they always Osage or Indian specific. Several examples can be seen on pages 77 to 81 where at least some of the items depicted could have been presented in an Indian version. While Osage attire is depicted on pages 93 and 94, it is not on pages 95 and 96. The illustrations on pages 128 and 129 could have been specific to Osage County (the Osage Reservation), but are not. Quintero approached a willing Osage artist, but due to time constraints, had to settle for a non-Indian.

Another area where greater cultural relevance could have been achieved is that of the songs presented in the "Conversation" boxes. *Happy Birthday* and *Kum Bah Yah*, the first an Anglo melody and tradition and the second an African song, while perhaps useful, could have been replaced by traditional Osage songs with equally easy to learn lyrics.

Weakness as Strength

In acknowledging the utilitarian nature of some of the less culturally rich material, we are reminded of another characteristic of successful Indian language preservation programs. The material and contexts should be meaningful and utilitarian. If the vocabulary and grammar are divorced from practical usefulness in the environment of the learner, then the resulting perception of irrelevancy is apt to diminish the motivation for learning.

In acknowledging this phenomenon, Quintero writes that the words selected "seem to be what students want to learn, and they are useful in modern life on a daily basis, so they are easy to practice" (p. 9). For instance, the animals presented are ones likely to be encountered today (p. 162), real items are used as props (p. 99), and in general the vocabulary presented does seem to be useful for interacting with the wider world (p. 73).

Not only is the vocabulary presented of practical value, the grammar is also. It lends itself to creating simple, everyday dialogues (p. 41) in which useful information can be exchanged. It was this quality that led one speaker and Osage elder (since deceased) to recommend a class utilizing this curriculum. In her words, "They can speak the language, they make sentences" (L. Pratt, personal communication, Feb. 1999, reception opening exhibit- Symbols of Faith and Belief: The art of the Native American Church, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, OK).

Avoiding English

Having a practical vocabulary is crucial when one is seeking to avoid utilization of English, another element identified in the literature as characteristic of successful programs. It is also a relative strength of *First Course in Osage*. In the opening Notes to the Teachers section teachers are told: "We encourage you to get your adult students used to relating Osage to pictures (and real objects and situations) rather than to words in English" (p. 5).

Elsewhere in the same section it is noted: "It is important to use the language as often as possible" (p. 5), and 'students' time in class should be spent speaking and reading Osage as much as possible" (p. 5). The lesson plans also reflect this philosophy. For instance, negation is presented with only pictures and gestures, and no English (p. 103). The directions on page 109 read: "Present new vocabulary visually and orally without using English." A similar directive is found on page 113: "always saying the Osage sound and not the English name of the letters." Lesson 25 on the colors stipulates "No English" (p. 175). Many more examples could be cited from nearly every lesson.

Only a few inconsistencies with this approach were noted. In one instance English to Osage translation is mandated (p. 39). The first lesson and much of the second are envisioned as being presented in English. While violating the no English injunction, this is pedagogically sound, especially in helping the learners to feel at ease.

Effective Pedagogy

Having identified relevance to the learner (a utilitarian character) as one aspect of successful Native language programs, it is appropriate to note that this and the companion characteristic of avoiding English usage are also key elements of effective pedagogy. Other characteristics that make for success are a learner- centered approach, variety of instructional technique, opportunities for practice, sequential presentation, digestible chunks, and feedback.

Edited by an educator and field tested by educators, *First Course in Osage* clearly benefits from such expertise. Each lesson is laid out in a logical progression. A 30 to 60

minute time frame is envisioned. A materials list is included along with a list of new

vocabulary, behavioral objectives, a brief text for memorization, and often a student

worksheet. Procedures are clearly spelled out.

<p style="text-align: center;">*Sequencing*</p>

Most lessons involve sequencing of material and variety of instructional

technique. Examples of sequencing include a presentation where the noun for fruit or

apple serves as the base for compounds denoting other fruits (pp. 27-28). A similar

example is the use of the word for metal which then becomes the base of compound

nouns such as money, purse, radio and television.

Another example is utilization of a negation suffix to build new words (p. 110).

Yet another example involves plugging new verbs into previously used sentences (p. 99).

After learning the first verb pattern, other verbs following that pattern are introduced (p.

99). Eventually two more patterns are presented, each initially involving only one verb

and eventually several more.

Generally speaking, grammatical explanations are not presented until learners

have worked with the material (p.85). For instance, learners have made frequent usage of

the seated position markers before they are discussed in conjunction with a review of

several verbs (p. 85). By the time the moving position markers are introduced in Lesson

15, learners are well acquainted with the seated position markers. Standing position

markers are not presented until lesson 30 (pp. 207-210) after learners have had

opportunity to master the moving and seated position markers. At this point they would

<p style="text-align: center;">69</p>

also have already memorized text with examples of the standing position markers (p. 143). Initial presentation of the verb "to give" involves only first and second person singular forms (p. 29).

Variety in Presentation

Variety in how materials are presented and practiced helps learners to maintain interest and retain the material presented. Examples falling in this category include Total Physical Response (p. 125), chain drills (p. 87), props such as beads and dollar bills (p. 35), learner notebooks (p. 7), memorization texts, using a mini-story (p. 198), learners copying from a chalkboard (p. 207), pictures (p. 169), question and answer technique (p. 169), small group activity (p. 215), and the teacher acting out sentences.

Learner Centered

Within any given lesson learners are the focus. They are required to be actively involved in the learning process. Often the teacher or stronger students will model the behavior before others emulate it. In other instances the students are expected to make presentations and engage one another using the language.

Practice

Ample provision for practice is incorporated. In the first instance, homework is expected following each lesson. Since behavioral objectives are utilized, it is expected that the teacher will re-teach or provide for sufficient practice to allow each learner to achieve the stipulated degree of success. To this end many lessons include student worksheets. A review lesson is incorporated after several new lessons, and teachers are admonished: "Give lots of praise. Get everyone to speak" (p. 22).

Each review lesson consists of a multiple section test. Lesson 8, for instance, covers the first seven chapters. In one section the teacher reads an Osage sentence while the learners write it out and then provide an English translation. Another involves writing out verb forms. Yet another asks learners to draw simple pictures to illustrate various Osage words. Learners are also shown an object and then asked to write the Osage word for it. Fill in the blank and math problems in Osage are other components (pp. 68-71). Answer keys are provided for the teacher (pp. 65-67).

Teacher Requirements

The directions for each lesson are so detailed and clear that anyone with a modicum of teaching experience could effectively present the curriculum. However, some prior familiarity with the Osage language is advantageous. Learners invariably will ask questions outside the scope of the curriculum. While a simple response such as "I don't know" suffices, it is admittedly more satisfying for the learner and the teacher when

the latter can answer with the requested information.

Conversational Speech

In discussing documentation of Native American languages, Hinton (2002) observes:

> Recordings of natural conversation, rules of address, politeness, turn-taking, and other discourse aspects of endangered languages are few and far between. Yet it is conversation, and the ability to converse in the language, that modern language activists seek to re-establish in their communities. (p. 46)

Osage elder Mongrain Lookout, director of the Osage Tribal Language Program, confirmed the lack of this type of recordings within an Osage context after sharing a recording of a formal speech by his grandfather, Chief Fred Lookout, October 24, 2004, at a public gathering in Norman, Oklahoma. Lookout characterized his grandfather as a gifted orator and stated that there is extant a wealth of recordings of such oratory. What is lacking are recordings of such fluent speakers of "the old language" engaged in ordinary, everyday conversation (Intertribal Wordpath Society annual celebration of Indian language and culture).

Key Finding

       First Course in Osage with its focus on everyday conversation and proper address thus has as its core strength an effort to mitigate the area of greatest need for Osage and other moribund languages.

CHAPTER 5

CLOSING THE CIRCLE

This chapter summarizes the research findings, what they contribute to the study of Native American language preservation efforts, and what they suggest in terms of recommendations for future practice and the need for further research. Finally, future prospects and possibilities for Native American language preservation efforts are explored.

Conclusions

First Course in Osage embodies characteristics associated with more modern, interactive, learner-centered theories. With its goal of enabling learners to carry on meaningful conversation in Osage, it shares the focus of the Natural Approach and of updated versions such as Acquisitionist Theory. Systematic inclusion of Total Physical Response elements is yet further evidence.

First Course in Osage also encompasses major characteristics of successful Native American language preservation programs. One such characteristic is an

intergenerational approach. The curriculum is explicit in its adaptability for all age groups and the author advocates families learning together.

Another characteristic is avoidance of English. Here again, the curriculum is explicit in reminding both instructor and student to use Osage and to minimize any use of English. Specific directions for introducing new material by using props and acting out concepts instead of explanations in English are incorporated in most lessons. Learners need to associate Osage words with the objects and concepts they represent, rather than with English words.

An effective orthography assists the learner in achieving correct and consistent pronunciation and syllabic emphasis as well as enabling language literacy. However, even an excellent orthography cannot assist with cadence and rhythm in speaking. For these aspects of the language, supplemental recordings of fluent speakers would be necessary.

Not only is inappropriate material avoided, the use of culturally appropriate material is evident throughout the curriculum. Probably most important in this regard are the lessons dealing with kinship terms and the ceremonial dances. Examples of ways to extend this basic strength of culturally appropriate material were also presented.

While the curriculum's author is not explicit as to ways of achieving community involvement, because the curriculum embodies other hallmarks of successful indigenous language programs, it can serve as the cornerstone, or possibly the foundation, of a larger effort to involve the general Osage community. In short, it is a solid curriculum with much potential for playing a positive role in Osage language preservation efforts.

To realize this potential, however, the curriculum needs to be part of a total immersion project, such as the language nests pioneered by the Maori in New Zealand, refined by the Hawaiian Islanders, and more recently pursued by the Piegan Institute and others as immersion schools. Given the lack of Osage speakers, a necessary preliminary step for the Osage would be a Master Apprenticeship effort as advocated by Leanne Hinton. The resulting speakers or semi-speakers could then serve as the instructors in immersion schools which begin with three-year olds and could be built incrementally. These are the efforts that have shown the most dramatic results.

Learner motivation seems to go a long way toward overcoming any curricular shortcomings. Highly motivated individuals tend to make the most of even limited opportunities. This is a lesson seen in the experience with school consolidation programs. Providing additional curricular offerings and resources has not proven to be a panacea. Challenging, motivating and developing students is not an issue of large versus small, though factors such as facilities and resources can, and do, play a role.

The key to the success of the language nests and total immersion programs seems to lie in the motivation produced by family and community involvement and the sense of cultural pride and identity which such efforts foster. All other factors seem secondary.

Relegating other factors to secondary importance does not mean that they should be ignored. Optimal programs will be achieved only by pursuing excellence on every level. Implementing effective pedagogy and developing sound curricula will enhance any language preservation or renewal effort.

Since parents, relatives, and neighbors of children learning Osage, or any other Native language, need to learn along with the children, tribal sponsored or other community-based classes and public school classes also have a valuable role to play in the mix. It is on these levels that a solid curriculum such as *First Course in Osage* assumes greater importance. For the Osage, having this curricular resource available is creating hope and excitement despite the looming threat of extinction.

The United States has a rich heritage of languages and cultures virtually unknown to the general populace. Humanity has already been greatly diminished by the demise of many languages. Many more, such as Osage, are moribund. Virtually all other Native American languages are threatened.

Native Americans lament the loss of their languages and many have been concerned to try to counter the trend. Nevertheless, until the 1990's few resources were available to try to stay or reverse the process. Usually despite any official sanction or support, valiant individuals have pursued efforts to document and teach their languages.

Since English increasingly is supplanting the tribal language as the language of the home, newer generations are growing up with English as their first and often sole language.

Thus efforts to renew Indian languages face the same challenges as are encountered by all second language learning programs. Tribal nations face additional challenges arising from their unique histories and current situations. They remain largely the invisible Americans. The pressures toward assimilation are relentless. Overall the prospect for Native American languages continues to be quite gloomy.

This study has drawn together the many strands of the problem. Acknowledging the Native American value of examining everything in context, this study has presented the Osage story, examined issues of second language learning, and considered the broader experience of Native American language efforts.

Insight into these historical contexts is a prerequisite to a well-rounded evaluation of the language curriculum, *First Course in Osage*. While a naturalistic content analysis reveals the essential character of the document, the relationship to the need cannot be understood without those broader contexts.

This study suggests that there is hope, that moribund tribal languages can be steered away from extinction. The Osage situation and possible remedies such as immersion programs and sound curricular materials, provide an example for other Indian nations. It is no easy task to apply insights into what makes for effective second language learning and for effective tribal language revitalization programs to a particular Indian nation.

That language and culture cannot be separated is a fundamental insight which underscores the difficulty of the task. With such a rich smorgasbord of cultures and languages, it is not possible to create one language learning template easily applicable to each individual language.

For instance, Southwest images of pottery-making and weaving are not relevant to plains or woodland tribes. Yet those tribes with common heritage could cooperate to develop curricular templates and materials which could be shared among themselves.

Indeed, in October of 2004, members of an Osage language class spent a weekend in Macy, Nebraska, as guests of their Omaha relatives. Class members wanted an

opportunity to try out what they had learned on others who might understand what they were saying.

The Ponca live much closer, just across the Arkansas River to the west of the Osage. There is much interchange and contact, but not when it comes to language preservation efforts. The focus on differences has prevented any significant cooperation.

As Indian peoples increasingly recognize the urgency of their situations and the implications of loss of language for their identity as tribal nations, prospects for cooperation are improving. Organizations such as the Intertribal Wordpath Society, The Oklahoma Native Languages Association, and the Indigenous Language Institute foster not just sharing of materials and approaches, but bring hope and encouragement to language activists by helping them to realize they are not alone.

By providing perspective, this study has identified priorities. When languages are in such precarious circumstances, it is essential to focus on the most effective approaches. This study points to the value of comprehensive efforts, bringing together master-apprentice and immersion school models with sound curricula. These must be the priorities. As these elements are brought together to form the foundation, it then becomes possible and desirable to add additional elements, which by themselves are less significant.

Examples of such elements are technology, distance- learning programs, and language visibility efforts. Many of these require a fair amount of money. The growth of tribal gambling operations and related economic development is generating funds which could be applied to such efforts.

Developing interactive DVD's and CD's, using digital technology to make historical audio recordings, pictures and other artifacts accessible, developing on-line language courses for scattered tribal members, and providing scholarships for tribal members to become linguists are just some of the exciting prospects. Tribally controlled colleges, though terribly under-funded, have proven a tremendous asset. With additional resources they could cooperate in developing language institutes. There is interest among the Osage in developing their own tribally controlled community college. The prospect for Native communities to control their own languages and not to be dependent on outsiders is also exciting.

However, it is our larger perspective that helps us see that such efforts must not be allowed to eclipse or distract us from the fundamental tasks of training speakers and establishing language immersion schools. Maintaining perspective may thus be the key to avoiding the extinction of many Native American languages.

Summary

Imminent availability of an Osage grammar and an Osage dictionary offer opportunities for development of further curricular materials in Osage. Further research in second language acquisition may help these efforts and other Native American language programs become more effective. Can new methods such as Uwe Kind's "Sing-ling" (which utilizes familiar songs, rap, and dance) be adapted to an Osage or other Native American language context? Kind has expressed interest in this possibility (U. Kind, personal communication, December 2, 2004).

Gaining insight into the physiology of the brain and what actually happens there as we learn a language holds some promise of helping us to develop new approaches and to hone and target our current practices for maximum efficiency and effectiveness. There is always the possibility that such research will do more to explain why certain approaches are effective than to suggest new or better approaches. Increased understanding of the process of learning a language should move us closer to a comprehensive theory of second language learning.

Technological innovations such as interactive CD's and DVD's, web-based instruction, and digital photography and video also offer hope for helping our languages compete in the modern world. These developments and new instructional techniques such as "Sing-ling" may face a hurdle of being viewed as antagonistic to Native American cultures. Such issues must be worked out within each tribe.

Increased attention to the need for Native American language preservation efforts, a growing body of experience, the advent of clearinghouses and greater collaboration across tribal lines along with increasing financial support within Indian Country also offer some glimmers of hope, where until recent years, there had been little or none.

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Appendix A

Status of Indian Languages in Oklahoma 2004

STATUS OF INDIAN LANGUAGES IN OKLAHOMA, 2004

Language	Language Family	Maximum Est Speakers In O
Arapaho	Algonkian	100
Caddo	Caddoan	20
Cherokee	Iroquoian	9,000
Cheyenne	Algonkian	400
Chickasaw	Muskogean	600
Chiricahua Apache	Na-Dene	1
Choctaw	Muskogean	4,000
Comanche	Uto-Aztecan	100
Euchee	(Isolate)	10
Iowa	Siouan	30
Kickapoo	Algonkian	400
Kiowa	Tanoan	400
Mesquakie (Sauk and Fox)	Algonkian	10
Muskogee (Creek and Seminole)	Muskogean	6,000
Osage	Siouan	1
Otoe	Siouan	4
Ottawa	Algonkian	3
Pawnee	Caddoan	7
Plains Apache	Na-Dene	3
Ponca	Siouan	33
Potawatomi	Algonkian	20
Quapaw	Siouan	2
Seneca	Iroquoian	10
Shawnee	Algonkian	200
Wichita	Caddoan	5

OTHER OKLAHOMA TRIBES WITH LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

Delaware (Lenape)	**Algonkian**
Kaw (Kansa)	**Siouan**
Miami	**Algonkian**
Wyandotte	**Iroquoian**

Appendix B

Status of Indian Languages in Oklahoma 2004

<u>OKLAHOMA INDIAN LANGUAGES STILL SPOKEN BY CHILDREN (2004):</u>

Cherokee

Choctaw

Kickapoo

Chickasaw?

Creek?

<u>OKLAHOMA INDIAN LANGUAGES WITH NO MORE FLUENT SPEAKERS (2004):</u>

Alabama*

Cayuga*

Delaware (Lenape)

Hitchiti, Mikasuki (may or may not be the same language)*

Kaw (Kansa)

Kitsai

Koasati*

Miami, Peoria

Modoc

Natchez

Seneca*

Tonkawa

Wyandotte*

  * these languages have speakers in other states or Canada

Appendix C

Lesson 5 of *First Course in Osage*

LESSON PLAN FOR LESSON 5

OBJECTIVES

1. Recognize and respond verbally to the question **Táatą?** 'What?' with 80% accuracy.
2. Make sentences with the first person and second person singular forms of 'to have' with 80% accuracy.
3. Use the position markers **mįkšé** and **nįkšé** with 50% accuracy.
4. Conduct simple question and answer dialogues with each other, using nouns, numbers, and the verb 'to have', incorporating **táatą** with 80% accuracy.

PROCEDURES

1. The teacher will present this lesson's vocabulary, which was introduced in the last lesson, by repeating it with illustrative gestures and visual aids. These words are **táatą, abrį, ašcį, mį kšé, nįkšé.**
2. The teacher may choose to explain this presentation in English, if necessary.
3. The students will practice dialogues with each other while holding objects or pictures of objects.

MATERIALS AND PREPARATION

Pictures of groups of 1-10 (from previous lessons)
20 one-dollar bills
Objects from previous lessons
20 feathers, similar to eagle or e.g. macaw, pheasant
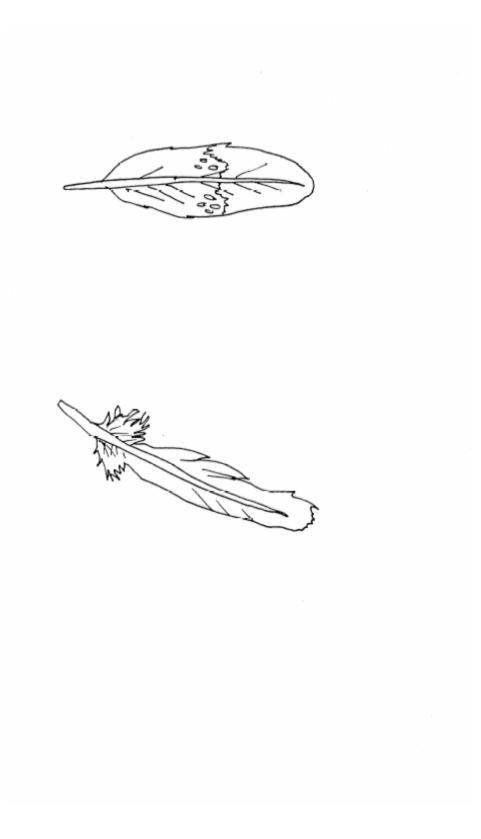20 chicken feathers
Write on the board   **táatą, abrį, ašcį, mįkšé, nįkšé**

EVALUATION: Students will write ten sentences using vocabulary and grammatical constructions learned so far with 75% accuracy. This can be done either as a homework assignment or in class.

VOCABULARY

móšǫ   feather of hawks, eagles, or other special birds
hį   feather of chickens, whiskers, fur, fuzz, other outgrowths

LESSON 5

REVIEW
Go over the worksheet from last lesson

POSITION MARKERS - sitting

As we have learned, **mįkšé** signals a continuing state, telling us that 'I', the person speaking, have the object right now, and that I am sitting while speaking. We call **mįkšé** a position marker. **Nįkšé** tells us that <u>you</u> have the object right now (a continuing state) and that you are sitting. These also signal a continuing state in the past, but we'll use only present for the time being.

PRONUNCIATION EXERCISE

In Osage, when there is an accented 'i' or 'į' at the end of a word, some speakers "glide it off" with an 'e' sound. For example: **ašcį** becomes **ašcįe**. This e is a remnant of ðe, a kind of emphatic element, in which the first sound dropped out.

If the 'i' or 'į' is followed immediately by a position marker, they do not usually add the 'e' sound. For example: **ašcį nįkšé**

'HOW MANY?' - Táatą

What do I have?	**abrį?**
What do you have?	**Táatą ašcį?**
I have a feather.	**Móšo wį abrį mįkšé.**

Introduce the two vocabulary words for feathers and have students repeat them several times. Distribute a horse, lemon, apple and feather to the students. Ask "**Táata ašcį?**" Have them answer, "<u>**(the object)** abrį mįkšé.</u>" After the students can answer the teacher's questions, have them ask each other. Exchange objects and go around the class as many times as possible.

HOMEWORK

The students will write 10 sentences in Osage, using the following sentence structure: **Noun + number + first or second person form of aðį + position marker.** Use many different nouns and numbers. Remind them to always say the sentences as they write them.

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STUDENT VOCABULARY SHEET – LESSON 5

What do I have?	Táatą abrį?
What do you have?	Táatą ašcį?
I have a feather.	Mǫ́šǫ wį abrį mįkšé.

CONVERSATION: Guests comment after eating

After they've finished with the meal, while still at the table, the guests say:

híįceežį ąðáštape (We're through using the dishes.)

An individual guest might also say:

bráaštą (I'm sated. I've finished eating.)

VITA

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