

# The Struggle within Superimposing Worlds:

*A comparative case study of the Shoshone-Bannock and the  
Sámi on language shift and language maintenance*

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## Abstract

In this comparative case study, language shift and language maintenance are examined among Shoshoni speakers of the Shoshone-Bannock tribes in south eastern Idaho, and North Sámi speakers of Norway. In examining language shift, the following research questions are addressed: what are the mechanisms of language shift according to the members of these speech communities? What are the commonalities of language ideologies and language barriers promoting language shift?

To approach the research questions, a theoretical framework is applied where significant concepts of language shift and maintenance are examined: (1) Fishman's Reversing Language Shift, (2) macro mechanisms such as globalization, Americanization, Norwegianization and economic mobility, (3) micro mechanisms that include concepts such as diglossia and social capital, (4) language ideologies, and lastly (5) language policy and planning theory.

A research design using a comparative approach in the form of a multiple-case study was adopted. Primarily qualitative data collection techniques were used: semi-structured interviews, participant observations and one small scale survey. Conclusions were then drawn after the data was analyzed within thematic parameters.

This study shows that language shift is a multifactorial phenomenon often dependant on each group's own context. Yet it also shows that even two very different indigenous cultures have language shift commonalities. Language shift themes found in the study ranged from common assimilation hardships, code-switching norms, English as the lingua franca, and the close relationship between language, culture and identity. This study also shows how both communities can be affected by common barriers that hinder language maintenance: language sophistication or difficulty, language identity purism ideology, and language identity stigma. Moreover a causation model can be applied, depicting language shift in a different manner. This model reveals certain implications of language shift mechanisms and possible inherent language maintenance barriers of unity, numbers, funding, inspiration and time.

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# Table of Contents

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....</b>  | <b>II</b>   |
| <b>ABSTRACT .....</b>   | <b>III</b>  |
| <b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>   | <b>IV</b>   |
| <b>TABLE OF FIGURES .....</b>   | <b>VIII</b> |
| <b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>  | <b>1</b>    |
| 1.1 INTRODUCTION.....   | 1           |
| 1.2 PERSONAL SETTING.....   | 3           |
| 1.3 MAIN OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH.....                                     | 4           |
| 1.4 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS.....  | 4           |
| 1.5 LIMITATIONS .....   | 5           |
| <b>2. CONTEXTUALIZATION.....</b>  | <b>7</b>    |
| 2.1 THE SHOSHONE-BANNOCK TRIBES .....                                       | 7           |
| 2.1.1 <i>The Shoshoni Landscape</i> .....                                   | 8           |
| 2.1.2 <i>The Shoshoni Language</i> .....                                    | 9           |
| 2.1.3 <i>The Shoshone-Bannock Prior to Western Contact</i> .....            | 10          |
| 2.1.4 <i>The Shoshone-Bannock at the Beginning of Western Contact</i> ..... | 11          |
| 2.1.5 <i>Establishment of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation</i> .....        | 12          |
| 2.2 THE SÁMI .....  | 14          |
| 2.2.1 <i>The Sámi Landscape</i> .....                                       | 14          |
| 2.2.2 <i>The Sámi Language</i> .....  | 15          |
| 2.2.3 <i>The Sámi Prior to Major Western Contact</i> .....                  | 16          |
| 2.2.4 <i>The Sámi throughout Western Contact</i> .....                      | 16          |
| 2.3 CLOSING REMARKS .....   | 18          |

---

|           |  |           |
|-----------|--|-----------|
| <b>3.</b> | <b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>                      | <b>19</b> |
| 3.1       | DEFINING LANGUAGE SHIFT .....                          | 19        |
| 3.2       | LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE DEATH .....          | 20        |
| 3.3       | FISHMAN’S REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT .....               | 22        |
| 3.4       | EXTERNALLY CAUSED MECHANISMS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT .....   | 24        |
| 3.4.1     | <i>Globalization.....</i>                              | <i>25</i> |
| 3.4.2     | <i>Americanization.....</i>                            | <i>26</i> |
| 3.4.3     | <i>Norwegianization.....</i>                           | <i>28</i> |
| 3.4.4     | <i>Economic Mobility as External and Internal.....</i> | <i>29</i> |
| 3.5       | INTERNALLY CAUSED MECHANISMS OF LANGUAGE SHIFT .....   | 30        |
| 3.5.1     | <i>Mechanisms at Home .....</i>                        | <i>31</i> |
| 3.5.1.1   | <i>Diglossia .....</i>                                 | <i>31</i> |
| 3.5.1.2   | <i>Social Capital.....</i>                             | <i>36</i> |
| 3.5.2     | <i>Mechanisms of the Individual .....</i>              | <i>37</i> |
| 3.6       | LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES.....                               | 38        |
| 3.6.1     | <i>Language Ideology Variation .....</i>               | <i>40</i> |
| 3.6.2     | <i>Language Ideology Awareness .....</i>               | <i>42</i> |
| 3.7       | LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING.....                      | 44        |
| 3.7.1     | <i>LPP Types and Approaches .....</i>                  | <i>45</i> |
| 3.7.2     | <i>How LPP is Carried Out.....</i>                     | <i>46</i> |
| 3.8       | CLOSING REMARKS.....                                   | 48        |
| <b>4.</b> | <b>METHODOLOGY .....</b>                               | <b>49</b> |
| 4.1       | THE RESEARCHER .....                                   | 49        |
| 4.2       | THE RESEARCH DESIGN .....                              | 50        |

---

|           |   |           |
|-----------|---|-----------|
| 4.3       | SAMPLING APPROACH.....                                | 51        |
| 4.4       | INTERVIEWS .....                                      | 51        |
| 4.4.1     | <i>Interview Guide</i> .....                          | 52        |
| 4.4.2     | <i>Interviewee Dynamics</i> .....                     | 53        |
| 4.5       | SURVEY.....   | 53        |
| 4.6       | PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION .....                         | 55        |
| 4.7       | CHALLENGES.....                                       | 56        |
| 4.8       | TRUSTWORTHINESS.....                                  | 58        |
| 4.8.1     | <i>Credibility</i> .....                              | 58        |
| 4.8.2     | <i>Transferability</i> .....                          | 59        |
| 4.8.3     | <i>Dependability</i> .....                            | 60        |
| 4.8.4     | <i>Confirmability</i> .....                           | 61        |
| <b>5.</b> | <b>ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH.....</b>                  | <b>62</b> |
| 5.1       | CODING PROCESS AND RESULTS OVERVIEW .....             | 62        |
| 5.2       | THEMES FOUND WITHIN THE SHOSHONI AND SÁMI GROUPS..... | 63        |
| 5.2.1     | <i>Assimilation Hardships</i> .....                   | 64        |
| 5.2.2     | <i>Code-Switching</i> .....                           | 69        |
| 5.2.3     | <i>English as a Lingua Franca</i> .....               | 74        |
| 5.2.4     | <i>Language vs. Culture</i> .....                     | 80        |
| 5.3       | LANGUAGE BARRIERS AND CONFLICTS.....                  | 86        |
| 5.3.1     | <i>Language Sophistication and Difficulty</i> .....   | 86        |
| 5.3.2     | <i>Language Identity Purism Ideology</i> .....        | 88        |
| 5.3.3     | <i>Language Stigma/Shame</i> .....                    | 93        |
| 5.4       | APPLYING THE CAUSATION MODEL .....                    | 96        |

---

|           |  |            |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 5.4.1     | <i>Mechanism Interrelation and Without External Scenario</i> ..... | 96         |
| 5.4.2     | <i>Causation Model</i> .....                                       | 98         |
| 5.4.2.1   | External Input and Internal Output .....                           | 98         |
| 5.4.2.2   | Arenas, Players and Drives .....                                   | 101        |
| 5.4.2.3   | A Dual Effect of Drives .....                                      | 103        |
| 5.4.3     | <i>The Barriers within the Causation Model</i> .....               | 105        |
| 5.4.3.1   | Unity Barrier.....   | 105        |
| 5.4.3.2   | Numbers Barrier .....  | 107        |
| 5.4.3.3   | Funding Barrier.....   | 108        |
| 5.4.3.4   | Inspiration Barrier.....   | 110        |
| 5.4.3.5   | Time Barrier.....  | 112        |
| 5.5       | CONCLUDING REMARKS .....   | 113        |
| <b>6.</b> | <b>CONCLUSION</b> .....  | <b>114</b> |
| 6.1       | CONTEMPORARY SOLUTIONS AND EFFORTS .....                           | 114        |
| 6.1.1     | <i>Federal/National Efforts</i> .....                              | 114        |
| 6.1.2     | <i>Local Higher Education Efforts</i> .....                        | 116        |
| 6.2       | CURRENT SITUATION .....  | 118        |
| 6.3       | FUTURE RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS .....                              | 119        |
| 6.4       | RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION.....                              | 120        |
|           | <b>APPENDICES</b> .....  | <b>122</b> |
|           | APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SHOSHONI.....                      | 122        |
|           | APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SÁMI.....                          | 124        |
|           | APPENDIX 3: SHOSHONI SURVEY AND ANSWERS .....                      | 126        |
|           | <b>REFERENCES</b> .....  | <b>131</b> |

## Table of Figures

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Table 3.1 RLS Stages .....                               | 23  |
| Table 3.2 Shoshoni and Sámi diglossic possibilities..... | 33  |
| Figure 5.1 Causation Model .....                         | 99  |
| Figure 5.2 Arenas-Players-Drives .....                   | 102 |



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# 1. Introduction

There are two worlds that exist side by side, one superimposed on the other. We have our homeland *Newe Sogobia*...in that world there's another world: the American world that is super-imposed on top of it...We still exist. We exist in a world that is our world...Yet a lot of times we're invisible to the other world (Interview, QRD, 2008-10-20 Shoshoni).

## 1.1 Introduction

The above quote was taken from a Shoshone-Bannock informant explaining a situation that can universally be applied to many indigenous cultural groups who are under the same or similar circumstances. For instance, many indigenous groups are within these *superimposed worlds* as the above statement suggests where there is a dominant force imposing non-indigenous ideals and attitudes, non-indigenous infrastructures and ways of life, and more significant to this thesis, non-indigenous languages. Often when language contact takes place between two unequal cultures - unequal in terms of the numbers of its members, military power, etc. - the dominant language overrides the other and therefore causes a shift of language use from the heritage language to the dominant language. In many cases within these circumstances, the indigenous language comes to a point where new speakers of the language are dwindling and thus becomes endangered. In other words, the linguistic landscape has shifted where it is transforming or disappearing under the superimposed world and in the worse-case scenarios, it becomes forgotten and *invisible*.

Two such speech communities that can be deemed part of these indigenous groups under a dominant context are the Shoshoni speakers of the Shoshone-Bannock tribes in southeastern Idaho, and the North Sámi speakers of Norway in northern Europe. Both communities, although over five thousand miles away from each other and very different, have similar contexts; they are both indigenous minorities affected by language shift.

Within the U.S. context, much of the contemporary debates about language shift have been focused primarily within a Spanish/English context. Even on the international landscape, one can argue that the focus of this American linguistic battle seems to portray Spanish as the sole contender against the economic powerhouse and cultural dominator English. However there are other languages, namely the Native American languages, in the United States that are also in need of improvements in language sovereignty, sustainment and safeguards, and should be granted the needed attention from national educational policy makers and local

authorities alike. The Shoshoni language counts as one of the still living 175 or more Native American languages that have been imprinted on the American landscape since long before its existence as a western conception and western powerhouse. Native American languages, especially Shoshoni, and their linguistic struggles have been somewhat out of the spotlight of current international language policy and planning debates and they need to have a substantial presence, albeit the focus on other minority languages may be greater.

In regard to the Sámi case, the Sámi culture is one of the most studied cultures in the world for numerous reasons; one being the fact that the Sámi are the only recognized indigenous minority group in Europe. The Sámi situation can be deemed as a success in language revitalization, at least in the case of the Sámi speech communities within Norway, due to the Sámi language's political autonomy and status, as well as its media presence. However the question remains: to what extent is this success? It can be argued that the Sámi case is complex and its revitalization is not at all concrete<sup>1</sup>. The status of Sámi identity may perhaps be strong today, but the language still has weak points that are difficult or may never be amended. Taking Southern Sámi speakers of Norway as an example, there is an increasing presence of language shift where their language is in serious threat of endangerment<sup>2</sup>. Alternatively, taking North Sámi speakers of Norway (featured culture of this thesis) for example, the outside peripheries of the Kautokeino (*Guovdageaidnu*) and Karasjok (*Karasjohka*) Sámi cultural strongholds seemingly have a more difficult task in safeguarding the language. Moreover, language shift is especially frequent in the more urban-like areas like Oslo, which supposedly has one of the highest Sámi populations outside the traditional Sámi homeland. Hopefully this thesis will be able to shed light on some of these still existing language shift issues that the Sámi see today.

In this comparative case study, I will examine the concept of language shift and language maintenance within these two different yet similar speech communities. In examining language shift, the following research questions will be addressed: What are the mechanisms of language shift according to certain members of the Shoshone-Bannock speech community

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Hirvonen (2008) and Huss (2008: 125-126) explain that the results of the National Sámi Curriculum implemented into the Norwegian educational system remain unsatisfactory where language shift is still prominent and where too few Sámi students partake in such program/curriculum.

<sup>2</sup> Southern Sámi is one of the nine living Sámi languages (see 2.2.2).

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and Norwegian North Sámi? Also, more specifically, what are the commonalities and differences of language ideologies and language barriers that promote language shift within these two cultures?

## 1.2 Personal Setting

How did this topic arise and why these two specific cultures? The answer to these questions lies in the uniqueness of my current context, or personal setting.

I have gained an interest in this topic of language shift due to my academic background in linguistic anthropology, international studies and currently with comparative and international education. I have also been intrigued by this topic because of the unique cultural context within my hometown. I am originally from Pocatello, a mid-sized town in southeastern Idaho, which is imbedded within a rich Native American history<sup>3</sup>. In addition, about eight miles north of Pocatello is the Fort Hall Indian Reservation (see 2.1.5), home to the Shoshone and Bannock tribes<sup>4</sup>.

Also, the other half of this uniqueness is due to fact that I am currently living in Norway. Norway is one of the current homes (see 2.2 for “other” homes) to the Sámi culture; a culture that was unbeknownst up until my introduction to Norway, its culture and history, nearly five years ago. Thus, this setting creates a quite interesting and distinctive comparative opportunity.

It is also important to point out that throughout this thesis, references and examples from other Native American contexts are used. This is in consideration of the prominent commonalities other Native American cultures hold with the Shoshoni (and arguably Sámi), as well as the larger and more accessible literature-base that includes these similar Native American cultures. What can be found in the other Native American contexts can be deemed

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<sup>3</sup> In fact the name *Pocatello* is a Shoshoni name of the influential Shoshone Chief Pocatello of the 19th century who was notable for being a strong military leader and negotiator. He was also among those who were notably involved with allowing access of the railroad throughout the area.

<sup>4</sup> Much of Pocatello’s present location was in fact part of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation up until the late 19th century when it was ceded over to the federal government due to the increasing pressures of the railroad and white settlement.

valuable to this research as it gives a better perspective and general understanding of indigenous language issues.

### 1.3 Main Objective of the Research

Language shapes perception. Different languages incorporate different worldviews. Different worldviews lead to different human experiences and to different cultural solutions to the same problem. In a world that is creating problems faster than people and science can recognize them, it is good to have as many ways to approach problems as possible (Van der Elst, 2003: 72).

As the above statement suggests, language variation is essential to finding solutions to world problems. To apply this linguistic concept to language itself and the research of this thesis, one of these *world problems* is language shift, and having two *different worldviews* of the Shoshoni and Sámi speech communities can help approach and hopefully forestall these world problems of language shift. Therefore, the main objective of this thesis is to allow these two different worldviews to be known in order to encourage awareness of indigenous linguistic issues of language shift and maintenance. Hopefully this in turn will spark interest towards language policy and planning activism. In addition, this thesis hopes to contribute to the general knowledge and cultural understanding of the different indigenous cultures described within the research.

### 1.4 Outline of the Thesis

Aiming to answer the research questions in hope of reaching the main objectives as described above, the thesis research will be presented in the following outline: following this introductory chapter, chapter two describes both Shoshoni and Sámi cultures in depth in order to gain a solid knowledge base vital to the understanding of their language issues. In this chapter, each language, the landscape of each community, and the historical significance are presented.

Chapter three describes the significant theoretical concepts in order to understand language shift or language maintenance, and their ramifications. First, a definition of language shift, language maintenance and language death are presented, followed by a description of Reversing Language Shift. Then, examinations of the external and internal mechanisms of

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language shift are presented, followed by an examination of language ideology and its implications. Lastly, the chapter briefly looks into language policy and planning (LPP) designed to discourage language shift, where certain LPP types and approaches are described.

Chapter four reveals the qualitative-based methodology of the thesis research. First it describes who the researcher is, followed by a description of the research design and sampling approach. Next, the research methods are explained, where the processes and descriptions of the interviews, survey and participant observations are revealed. Lastly, the chapter discusses the challenges and trustworthiness of the research process.

Chapter five is the analysis of the results of the data and is divided in five main sections. The first section is a description of the coding process and a results overview, followed by a second section with an in-depth look at the common themes of the Shoshoni and Sámi groups. The third section examines the common language barriers and conflicts, followed by a fourth section which applies a general language shift causation model to the thesis findings. Lastly, the fifth section is the concluding remarks of the chapter.

The sixth and final chapter is the conclusion of the thesis. This chapter gives examples of the contemporary solutions and efforts in a broad fashion where national, local and higher education efforts are described, as well as the current situation and research recommendations. Then an overview of the research is given followed by the final concluding remarks.

## 1.5 Limitations

Certain elements likely to produce alienation among endangered-language community members may well be inherent in the discourse of “expert” linguistic advocates, since linguists must speak as what they usually are: non-members of the language communities in question and members of a Western scientific tradition which may be (and usually is) radically different from whatever indigenous knowledge and belief systems prevail locally. If they are outsiders to the community, there are sharp limits to what most linguists can reasonably claim. They cannot claim to speak from the most intimate form of personal knowledge, or experience, nor can they usually claim full familiarity with the traditions, lore, or even lexicon of a given language community (Dorian, 2002: 134).

Although its direction is towards linguists, this statement however stresses key points that should be addressed when dealing with any research within the same context as this thesis. There are limits to what I can claim as a researcher due to the fact that I am a member of a Western scientific tradition and a non-member of the speech communities in question.

Furthermore, adding to this “cultural baggage” are the personal language ideologies of my own that must be acknowledged before achieving the research goals and agendas of the thesis. This must be performed in order to better understand the issues that I aim to clarify, as well as for the overall integrity of the research. The following will illuminate the general cultural baggage and language ideologies I knowingly have:

I am a non-expert, but part of a Western scientific tradition and a non-member of the Shoshoni or Sámi.

I firmly believe in language variation and multilingualism as positive outcomes.

I believe each culture needs to safeguard what makes them unique, i.e., their language. This in turn makes me an advocate of language activism.

I believe in a certain language theory, or way of thinking, that describes languages as being equal in a linguistic context, that all languages evolve, that all spoken languages naturally adhere to variation, that effectiveness in grammar and effectiveness in communication are distinct and independent entities, and lastly that written and spoken language are distinct and independent entities<sup>5</sup>.

These ideologies may in fact limit what I research as they are biased towards language safeguarding, bilingualism, etc. However, as the methodology chapter will reveal, a holistic approach to the research has been sought, and I have aimed to seek the answers to the research questions within an emic context based on informants who are either members of the community in question, or those who are especially familiar.

With these limitations in mind, it is now appropriate for an in depth look at these indigenous speech communities in question. Thus the following contextualization chapter will describe the landscape, language and historical significance of the Shoshoni and Sámi speech communities.

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<sup>5</sup> See Lippi-Green (1997) for an in depth look at each of these concepts of language theory.

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## 2. Contextualization

This chapter describes the significant background information of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribe and the Shoshoni language, as well as the Sámi people and the Sámi language. The purpose of this chapter is to enlighten those who are not familiar with these two peoples and their languages. This cultural and historical elucidation can surely apply to those within the European or Norwegian community who are perhaps unfamiliar with the Shoshone-Bannock people, those within the American community who are perhaps unfamiliar with the Sámi people, as well as the American and European communities not familiar with their own respective minority groups. Moreover, and possibly most importantly, this cultural briefing aims to promote cultural awareness between the discussed minority cultures themselves, where mutual understandings of one another's culture can perhaps produce a higher awareness of language shift, and in turn possibly create a higher level of activism in language maintenance.

This chapter begins with the description of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes. Key descriptions of the Shoshoni landscape and language will be described followed by a brief history generally preceding the 20th century within three main contextual frames: the Shoshone-Bannock prior to western contact, a description of the initial western contact, followed by a description of the establishment of the Fort Hall Indian reservation. Then the next and final main section will describe the Sámi people in a similar fashion. First a brief description of the Sámi people is given, then a description of the Sámi landscape and language, followed by a brief history: Sámi before (major) western contact, and the Sámi throughout western contact up until the 20th century. Lastly, this conceptualization chapter will be concluded with a closing remarks section.

### 2.1 The Shoshone-Bannock Tribes

The Shoshone-Bannock Tribes primarily reside on the 544,000 acre Fort Hall Indian Reservation in southeastern Idaho in the United States. In reality, as its name hints, the Shoshone-Bannock actually comprise two tribes: the Shoshone and the Bannock, each having their own separate history, more or less, and language. However the focal point of discussion for this research is on the Shoshoni speech community of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, therefore Bannock references will be minimal to avoid complication.

The Name *Shoshoni*, (or often alternatively *Shoshone*), was first recorded in 1805 by Meriwether Lewis after he came across a group of people called by the Crow as “*Sosonees* or Snake Indians” (Gould and Loether, 2002). Furthermore many Shoshoni people today have embraced the term *sosoni*’ to refer to the language and groups of Shoshoni other than themselves along with the more commonly used term *newe*, or the “people” (Gould and Loether, 2002).

### **2.1.1 The Shoshoni Landscape**

Traditionally the Shoshone-Bannock homeland included all of south eastern Idaho, Yellowstone National Park, Northern Utah, and parts of Nevada, and California (Halliday and Chehak, 2000). Today, the majority of Shoshoni are dispersed on several reservations and several colonies (Loether, 2009) within present day Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Oregon and Wyoming. The Shoshoni are comprised of three main groups, distinguished by anthropologists, based on their general geographical locations: the Western Shoshoni (in Nevada and western Utah), the Northern Shoshoni (in Idaho and northern Utah) and the Eastern Shoshoni (in Wyoming). Thus the majority of the Northern Shoshoni reside in and around the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in Southern Idaho and Ninety percent of enrolled tribal members at Fort Hall are Shoshoni or part Shoshoni (Loether, 2009).

Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge or reiterate the ethnographic complexity of Fort Hall. An example of this “dramatic” heterogeneity can be seen with Campbell’s (2001) research on the Lemhi Shoshoni, a distinct (northern) Shoshoni band who traditionally lived north of the Snake River Plain before being forced onto the Lemhi Reservation, and who were eventually forced to relocate to the Fort Hall Reservation in 1907. Campbell demonstrates that the Lemhi Shoshoni has maintained a unique sociological and political identity as they have been “forcibly incorporated into alien societies”, and thus adding to ethnographic complexity of Fort Hall (Campbell, 2001: 567)<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> See Campbell (2001) for a further examination of this continuity of social identity, as well as for a thorough historical account of the societal changes of the Lemhi Shoshoni during the postcontact period.



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## 2.1.2 The Shoshoni Language

Shoshoni is a language from the Numic branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. Along with Shoshoni, this branch consists of the languages Comanche, Panamint, Ute, Southern Paiute, Kawaiisu, Mono and Northern Paiute languages (Campbell, 1997). The reconstructed ancestral protolanguage from which Shoshoni is derived is known as Proto-Numic (Gould and Loether, 2002), and is considered the mother language of all the Numic languages (see the following section 2.1.3 for further explanation).

There are twelve thousand Shoshoni people, of which an estimated five thousand are speakers of Shoshoni, according to Dr. Loether's personal estimates (Loether, 2009), while the 1990 census claims there are 2,284 speakers (Gordon, 2005). Among the three thousand Shoshoni who are currently living on the Fort Hall Indian Reservation, as many as a thousand are fluent Shoshoni speakers (Loether, 2009). Like most native languages, the majority of fluent Shoshoni speakers, however, are fifty years of age or older, and only a small percentage of children are learning it as their first language (Loether, 2009).

On the topic of orthography, multiple orthographies exist for Shoshoni, but there is no official orthography (Loether, 2009)<sup>7</sup>. However, it is safe to say that those orthographies that are most widely used are the orthography of ISU Gould/Loether, and the Wick Miller/Beverly Crum orthography.

A supremely vital linguistic attribute to mention here, before moving on to the historical background of the Shoshoni, is the dialect variance within the Shoshoni language. According to native members and Dr. Loether's assessments, it is estimated that there are twenty-four different dialects, or ways of speaking, that are recognizable to members, and predominantly attributed to original home territorial areas, or specific families (Loether, 2009). Loether (2009) further explains that this variance in dialect, via family and other socio-cultural factors, forms what are deemed recognizable "band centered" or "family-centered" dialects. This immense number of dialects is predominantly what is behind many language maintenance issues, which will be discussed later on in the thesis<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> In later chapters, one will see the ramifications of not having a single official orthography.

<sup>8</sup> For example, see 5.4.3 *Unity Barrier* for the implications of this extreme dialect variance with language maintenance.

### 2.1.3 The Shoshone-Bannock Prior to Western Contact

As confirmed by both Gould and Loether (2002) and Heaton (2005), the ancestral origin of the Shoshone and Bannock tribes is an exceedingly debated topic. Heaton states that:

According to the Numic-spread theory, a controversial but widely accepted linguistic model, the peoples known historically as Shoshones and Bannocks came from the southwest corner of the Great Basin. In this location, linguists found the greatest lexical diversity of peoples who spoke Numic languages derived from the Uto-Aztecan stock. If the passage of time informs linguistic diversity, then this locale represents the point of origin for Numic speakers who, perhaps as long as 4,000 years ago, began to spread out in a fan shape from the southwest corner of the basin throughout present-day Nevada, eastern Oregon, and western Utah and into the Snake River drainage of Idaho (Heaton, 2005: 21).

Shoshone-Bannock ancestors based their livelihood on key native sustenance areas, or *tebíwas*<sup>9</sup>, living in bands that predominantly followed seasonal hunter-gatherer patterns and embraced the Desert Culture (Heaton, 2005). The *Daigwahni*, or “headman” (from the verb root *daigwa*- “to speak” in Shoshoni) was the leader of the band, and was usually a “gifted speaker and his duties were prescribed by tradition” (Gould and Loether, 2002).

It is known that the Shoshoni people had crossed the Rocky Mountains and expanded into the northwestern Plains prior to the 16th century, and by the beginning of the 18th century a group of Shoshoni moved into the southern Plains and in time evolved into a distinct tribe of their own: the Comanche (Gould and Loether, 2002).

Also during the 18th century, a more equestrian lifestyle began to take place with the Shoshoni, while intermarriage and other forms of inter-group relations arose between the Shoshoni and the neighboring Northern Paiute speaking group, the Bannocks (Heaton, 2005).

Heaton best sums up the Shoshoni highlights prior to Western contact by stating the following:

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<sup>9</sup> According to Loether (personal communication 09-2009), the word *tebíwa* is from the Bannock language; where the Shoshoni word for this is actually *debia*.

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The consolidation of two related Numic-speaking Shoshone and Bannock kin groups as well as equestrian bands into a new Snake country society during the eighteenth century was yet another culture redefinition in response to shifting conditions. Social fluidity, kinship, and economic flexibility, hallmarks of Snake country adaptations to Desert Culture, allowed for diverse subsistence orientations, patterns of production, and levels of organization within the Shoshone-Bannock community prior to contact (Heaton, 2005: 33).

### **2.1.4 The Shoshone-Bannock at the Beginning of Western Contact**

The first major western contact with the Shoshoni began in 1805 when the Lewis and Clark expedition was underway; when they were traveling through the Snake River country towards their west coast destination. This expedition represented one of the key components of the American westward expansion. It also marked the beginning of more economic based relations between the Shoshone-Bannock and Euroamericans where trading became stronger during the “after-shocks” of explorers and settlers who came through the Snake River country subsequent to the Lewis and Clark expedition.

During the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade era of roughly 1820-1840, The Shoshone and Bannocks were able to hold their own in spite of increasing Euroamerican hegemony and in fact, they were able to flourish from their involvement in the international market for furs (Heaton, 2005). However, this period of “good relations” soon dissolved as it was also the beginning stages of American expansionist and imperialistic agendas. Heaton best explains the situation with the following:

American policy makers recognized that creating dependency was a fundamental step in this process. Their strategy rested on their ability to tie Natives to exclusive exchange relations and undermine Native self-sufficiency and collectivism through the introduction of revolutionary market values and the extension of credit. Reduced to its simplest form east of the Mississippi and discounting local variables and responses, this process reached fruition after resource depletion left of an unbearable burden of debt and produced a material crisis among societies already reeling from disease, conflict, dwindling resources, and alcohol abuse. At that stage, the federal government repeatedly negotiated one-sided treaties to extinguish title to the Native estate (Heaton, 2005: 33).

The year 1840 marked the opening of the Oregon Trail which was the main starting point for the high numbers of white settlers traveling through Shoshone-Bannock territories. This also led to “increasing tensions between the Shoshone-Bannock and the westward migrating pioneers” (Gould and Loether, 2002: 8). Access to gold and farmland on the west coast were key reasons for western expansion; so naturally the water-ways of the Snake River and its

tributaries within the Shoshone-Bannock homelands were a popular camp or settlement area and route for getting to these desired places. This white-settler expansion in turn, “disrupted time-tested seasonal rhythms that sustained Native productivity and independence, and they challenged cultural values and identity” (Heaton, 2005: 37). Furthermore, during the mid-1860’s, “non-Indians had incorporated every key *tebíwa* in the Snake country, and few Shoshone-Bannock were unaffected by their burgeoning presence” (Heaton, 2005: 37).

Following this initial surge of western expansion, a series of wars and conflicts took place throughout the 1860’s. The most notable conflict within this timeframe was the Bear River Massacre of 1863, where over 200 Shoshoni men, women and children were killed in an attack led by Col. Patrick E. Connor and the 3rd California volunteer infantry (Keenan, 1997). This and all the other conflicts revealed the situation the Shoshone-Bannocks were faced with: an emerging shift towards compliancy and dependence of the Euroamerican ways. Thus, governmental treaty sessions emerged shortly thereafter between the US government and the various Shoshoni bands throughout the Great Basin area (Gould and Loether, 2002).

### **2.1.5 Establishment of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation**

One of these governmental treaties that had great significance was the Treaty of Fort Bridger of 1868. This treaty created the reservations of Fort Hall in Southern Idaho and Wind River in Wyoming. As stated earlier, the Shoshoni bands were largely defined by the predominant *tebíwa* where they spent most of their time. The Fort Bridger Treaty thus disrupted the communalism and regionalism of the bands by forcing Shoshoni people to divide and relocate, sustaining the Western conceptualization of organizational belonging. Adding to this acculturation of identity, Heaton states:

Treaty negotiations that arbitrarily excluded some members of Snake country society and privileged others reinforced the perception of ‘organized’ and ‘unorganized’ bands and fostered bad feelings among the Shoshone-Bannocks... Thus, in the final years before relocation at Fort Hall Reservation, the once-subtle differences in subsistence patterns and *tebíwa* locations faded as markers of identity and were replaced by membership in more static bands of consolidated kin groups (Heaton, 2005: 45).

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The initial stage of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation was not an ideal and pleasant transition, and a long string of conflicts began to arise. Gould and Loether best describe the initial situation of the reservation by stating that it:

...began a period of ethnic cleansing and hardship for the Shoshone-Bannock unlike anything they had ever experienced before. They were forcibly removed from their homes and sent to the reservation. On the reservation they found little food, no opportunities, and very little hope for the future (Gould and Loether, 2002: 7).

One of the major conflicts that arose from these initial hardships was the Bannock War of 1878. This war was mainly the result of the extremely poor living conditions, bad relations with government officials and broken treaty promises. Led by Chief Buffalo Horn, Shoshone-Bannock warriors rebelled against the U.S. authorities and as a result 205 Shoshone-Bannocks died, which was, seemingly, almost twelve percent of the total Fort Hall population (Heaton, 2005).

Following the aftermath of the Bannock War, the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 was passed, which, among other things, allotted land to individual Indian members. It would be safe to say that this act, once again, contradicted the traditional Shoshone-Bannock communalism by replacing it with government sanctioned land ownership on an individual basis. Between 1887 and 1934, the Dawes Severalty Act was implemented and over a thousand allotments were assigned to individual men at Fort Hall (Gould and Loether, 2002). This privatization of land was then reversed when the Wheeler-Howard Act, or the Indian Reorganization Act, was established in 1934. This Act secured native rights to the local and tribal self government where decision making authority was given to the locally based tribal council. This in turn gave the tribe more economic mobility as the Shoshone-Bannock people evolved into a more political and economical unit within the 20th century, most notably after the Shoshone-Bannock tribes of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation became a legal and sovereign entity on April 17th, 1937 (Gould and Loether, 2002).

Although the tribe may have been progressing economically and building an exceptional infrastructure for themselves, language and identity issues still prevailed and harsh assimilation strategies were still upheld during the 20th century. On the “other side of the pond”, a similar but very different indigenous group in northern Europe was in a similar but yet different situation. The next section will describe this group called the Sámi.

## 2.2 The Sámi

Within the European Union, only the Sámi are recognized as an aboriginal ethnic group (Lehtola, 2004), and they are a people who live as minorities within four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. My research is only within the context of one country, that of Norway and those who are North Sámi speakers (see 2.2.2). Thus, references made to the Sámi people in the other three countries as well as references of the other non-North Sámi languages will be minimal.

The word *Sámi* (as well as *samisk* in Norwegian) is in fact a current construction, coming into use only within 20th century literature among the majority languages, and where the term *sápmelaš*, which is the Sámi term for “Sámi”, began to appear relatively later as well (Lehtola, 2004). Moreover it is worth noting that the term “Lapp”, which was commonly used alternatively with Sámi, is in fact deemed derogatory and its usage to refer to Sámi by non-natives is looked down upon within the Sámi and international communities.

### 2.2.1 The Sámi Landscape

The traditional homeland of the Sámi, or what is called *Sápmi*, stretches from central Norway and Sweden, across northern Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. The Sámi are divided by four distinct nation-states, where currently the largest population of Sámi, 40-50,000, live in Norway, 15-25,000 live in Sweden, at least 7,000 live in Finland, and about 2,000 in Russia (Lehtola, 2004). Generally speaking, there are two main categories used to help recognize and distinguish groups amongst the Sámi besides location: language (see the next section 2.2.2), and occupation. For the occupation category there are the following general distinctions: the Mountain or Reindeer Sámi<sup>10</sup>, the Sea Sámi<sup>11</sup>, and the general Non-Reindeer Sámi. There were also historical distinctions made of the Sámi that are not commonly used anymore like that of the Forest Sámi, River Sámi, and Eastern Sámi, to name a few (Lehtola, 2004).

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<sup>10</sup> Contrary to popular belief, reindeer herding is not the only definitive occupation of the Sámi.

<sup>11</sup> The Sea Sámis were primarily on the coasts of Norway traditionally known for fishing, and who spoke a dialect of North Sámi.

## 2.2.2 The Sámi Language

The Sámi language is in the Sámi branch of the Uralic language family. The Uralic family also includes Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian and Mari languages to name a few (Gordon, 2005). It is commonly viewed that a common proto-language (Proto-Finnic) was spoken by the Sámi and Finnish ancestors 3,000-4,000 years ago (Lehtola 2004: 11), and it is commonly believed Proto-Sámi and Proto-Finnic separated between 1,000 B.C. and 500 B.C (Darnell and Hoëm, 1996)<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, Larsson mentions possible origins of the Sámi language, based from Korhonen (1981: 23f), where the Sámi language may have developed from a “hypothetical Early Proto-Finnish language stage” as perhaps stated above, or that the linguistic commonalities between Sámi and other Finnic languages are mostly based on Finnish influences on Sámi where “the original affinity of Sámi within the Finno-Ugric group cannot be ascertained” (Larsson, 2001: 241)<sup>13</sup>.

Currently, the Sámi Language is in fact divided among nine distinct living languages and two that are now extinct (Kemi and Akkala Sámi). These eleven languages in total are grouped into three branches: Eastern, Southern and Western (Gordon, 2005). The nine living languages within these branches are the following; North Sámi, Pite Sámi, Lule Sámi, and South Sámi of the western branch, Kildin Sámi, Ter Sámi, Inari/Aanaar Sámi, and Skolt Sámi of the Eastern Branch, and Ume Sámi of the Southern Branch (Kemi and Akkala Sámi were part of the Eastern Branch). Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that each group called their respective language *Sámi/sápmelaš* in various forms in contrast to the names for the different languages given by linguists (Lehtola, 2004).

About 50,000 people speak some form of Sámi, the majority speaking North Sámi, with roughly 17,000 speakers, of whom 10,000 live in Norway (Lehtola, 2004). In addition, every main Sámi language has its own orthography, and in 1979 a single standard orthography was established for North Sámi in all three of the countries that have speakers of North Sámi.

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<sup>12</sup> However according to Anttila (1972), the Proto Sámi split from Proto-Finnic was perhaps as late as 750 AD.

<sup>13</sup> He also mentions a third possibility of the “Proto-Lapp” theory which is based entirely on cultural anthropological differences, rather than linguistic evidence. Thus this third possibility is omitted here, as Larsson points out “I insist that no linguistic circumstance demands such a theory and that it is the task of linguistics to deal with linguistic matters” (Larsson, 2001: 241).

### 2.2.3 The Sámi Prior to Major Western Contact

Around 4,000 B.C, there was continuous settlement of the Finno-Ugrian peoples<sup>14</sup> within the area currently deemed as Finland according to the modern “theory of continuity” (Lehtola, 2004). This would thus indicate that the Finns and Sámi were not distinct ethnic groups at that time period. It is commonly believed among researchers that Sámi ethnicity was made distinct when it came into contact with an agricultural population sometime within the second millennium B.C. (Lehtola, 2004). Also by the first millennium B.C. northern Fennoscandia became predominantly Sámi according to archaeological evidence.

Even though there is minimal archaeological evidence and documentation of the Sámi pre-history, certain facts nevertheless can be revealed. What is known is that the initial way of life was primarily based on hunting for those inland, with an agricultural livelihood, as well as fishing on the coastal areas. The way of life of the Sámi ancestors seemed to have originally been more sedentary, followed by a transition to a more mobile way of life as ceramic and metal items were replaced by less burdensome items such as organic woods and bones (Lehtola, 2004). Moreover, dwelling types shifted to *gammi* type, a sod hut, from the earlier pit houses.

### 2.2.4 The Sámi throughout Western Contact

During most of Sámi prehistory, the Sámi had many influences from many differing cultures where western influence was particularly strong along the coastal regions (Lehtola, 2004). Therefore it is difficult to determine when and how the first contact with the ‘Western world’ took place. Nevertheless, the first official description of the Sámi came about around 98 A.D. in the Roman text of Cornelius Tacitus called *Germania* (Lehtola, 2004). Like most early writings of indigenous and foreign non-western cultures, this writing depicted the Sámi as a “primitive” and a “beastly” people. These tags and other clichés greatly contributed to the manifestation of atypical myths and stereotypes about the Sámi during that period. Approximately during this time as well, fur trading was in practice among the Sámi and with other cultures, predominantly with Romans. This fur-based culture continued throughout

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<sup>14</sup> Finno-Ugrian peoples were presumably speakers of Proto-Finno-Ugric.



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Sámi history and seemingly was part of the first stages of a western influenced Sámi social infrastructure and economy. Lehtola describes this aspect with the following:

By the time of the Vikings, at the latest, the growth of hunting for furs led to the birth of winter villages for large communities. That may have been related to the beginnings of large systems of pits for killing reindeer; digging the pits and putting them to use requires extensive organization. The largest winter villages became places where merchants could easily visit, and later, tax collectors and officials (Lehtola, 2004: 22).

As the northern European nation-states came into being, defined borders with Sápmi still remained ambiguous at the end of the 14th century. However, from the 16th century onwards, Nordic governments had the typical nation-building agenda and sought to gain more control of the Northern/Sápmi peripheries. Besides general colonization, Christianization was one way of national assimilation. For example, as early as the 12th century, churches were constructed on the coastal regions, and by the 16th century many Sámi, mostly Sea Sámi, were converted to Christianity (Lehtola, 2004). However it is worth noting that during this period, the newly introduced Christian customs did not completely overtake the still practiced older Sámi traditions; in addition, the spread of Christianity only reached as far north as Tromsø, and not the far north of Sápmi (Lehtola, 2004).

In 1613, the Knäred Peace Treaty was established which partitioned the coastline to Norway, and parts of the arctic ocean to Russia, all of which were originally under Swedish control under the Teusin Peace Treaty of 1595 (Lehtola, 2004). This marked the beginning of a more overwhelming impact on the Sámi culture due to the increase of colonization within the next century.

A more beneficial turn of events for the Sámi happened in 1751 when the Strömstad Border Treaty was established. This established Sámi reindeer nomadic rights between Norway and Sweden where one would only be taxed once in one country instead of the earlier governmental practice of double taxation from both countries. This also allowed Sámi freedom in the practice of traditional nomadic lifestyles regardless of border controls. Thus, this supported their rights to hunt, move reindeer herds and have trans-border economic flexibility. This treaty, more particularly its appendix, is commonly referred as the “Sámi Magna Carta”, as it was an important stepping stone for Sámi rights (Lehtola, 2004). However, this nomadic freedom was short-lived as the nations became more restrictive.

In the 19th century, borders became more defined by each nation-state, and therefore the Sápmi nation became divided into four parts. By 1852, the Strömstad Treaty was no longer valid due to the closure of the Norwegian-Finnish border as Finland came under the rule of the Russian Czar. This was a harsh blow for the traditional reindeer herding culture and disrupted their normal herding patterns. In turn, many Reindeer-based Sámi had to formally affiliate with one nation or the other as well (Lehtola, 2004). As Lehtola also points out, this exemplified the exceptional capability of the Sámi to adjust to such conditions:

The significance of the Sámi adaptation in this crisis must be emphasized. Sudden observance of the rules preventing migration would have destroyed the entire reindeer economy of that time. Nevertheless, the Sámi were able to preserve the pattern of their traditional life for some time longer. As time went by they either had to give up migrating or try to conceal it somehow (Lehtola, 2004: 37).

Regardless of these setbacks, one important aspect regarding the reindeer culture during the end of the 19th century was the emergence of the reindeer herding legislation. In 1883, this legislation gave Norwegian Sámi special status in herding where only Sámi could domesticate reindeer. This was one of the rare early Norwegian policies that can be deemed beneficial to the Sámi culture, as the situation for the Sámi became more repressive after Norwegianization policies took effect within the 19th century and remained active throughout most of the early and mid 20th century.

## 2.3 Closing Remarks

As this brief overview of the linguistic and historical significance of the Shoshoni and Sámi speech communities has been given, it is worth noting that this gives us only a small picture of the existing historical and linguistic context of each culture. Regarding more specifically the historical background, for example, the scale of each culture's history is so grand, that it is thus beyond the scope of this chapter for obvious reasons. What is important, however, is acknowledging the richness of the cultural significance of both Shoshoni and Sámi landscapes and languages described within this chapter, as well as acknowledging the historical background of each culture and how language contact and assimilation situations came into being. This brief overview provided the cultural knowledge base which is vital for understanding the mechanisms of language shift and other language issues, the topics discussed within the next chapter.

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### 3. Theoretical Framework

Having presented a sufficient description of the Shoshone-Bannock and Sámi, with particular attention to their historical and linguistic background, it is now time to approach the research topic within a more theoretical structuring. In this next chapter I discuss the important concepts of language shift and maintenance, with the intention of giving a clearer perspective that is crucial to the analysis of the two cultures in question. Moreover, to enhance this perspective I use primarily examples from other minority speech communities within a Native American context that have similar issues and experiences to the Shoshone and Sámi.

This chapter is divided into eight sections. In the first two sections I define and describe language shift and other related phenomena, such as language death and language maintenance. The third and next section briefly explains Fishman's Reversing Language Shift in relation to language maintenance and revitalization efforts. This is followed by the fourth section with an examination of the possible mechanisms of language shift, including the externally caused or macro mechanisms such as globalization, Americanization, Norwegianization and economic mobility (both external and internal). The following fifth section is a discussion on the internally caused or micro mechanisms, where mechanisms of the home (including diglossia and social capital) and mechanisms of the individual are explored. Then, in relation to this last concept of internally caused mechanisms, the sixth section describes language ideologies where ideology variation and awareness are explained, followed by the seventh section with an explanation of language policy and planning types and approaches. The eighth section contains brief closing remarks.

#### 3.1 Defining Language Shift

In a broad sense, the definition of language shift according to David Crystal is:

...the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another, either by an individual or by a group. It is particularly found among second- and third-generation immigrants, who often lose their attachment to their ancestral language faced with the pressure to communicate in the language of the host country (Crystal, 2003: 259).

As accurate as this definition is, it nonetheless needs an additional and rather obvious element that concerns the topic of this comparative case study. Besides the mentioned immigrants, Crystal, more than likely unintentionally, fails to acknowledge the indigenous groups who are just as affected by language shift as immigrants. Therefore, in the Shoshoni and Sámi contexts, one can further define language shift as playing a determinant role in language loss or extinction caused by the externally and internally “pushing out” phenomenon of the indigenous tribal/group languages with the English/Norwegian language, as each generation is born into an American/Norwegian context.

Currently, scientific investigations pertaining to language shift have been seemingly increasing where the general direction of inquiry is exemplified with the following statement made by Joshua Fishman (1964):

The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change and stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social and cultural processes, on the other, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other (Cited in Coulmas, 2005: 158).

## 3.2 Language Maintenance and Language Death

When defining language shift, it is important to acknowledge the other related linguistic occurrences when language contact is evident. Southerland and Katamba (1997) explain that besides language shift, two other events can happen when languages meet: language death, or language maintenance. They go on to explain that a language is maintained when there is a somewhat stable relationship between languages, and where the subdominant language is sustained and passed down to the next generation (Southerland and Katamba, 1997). In order to fulfill maintenance, usually a counterbalance of power towards the dominant language is needed. In the Native American context of the United States and Canada, examples of seemingly maintained Native American languages include Navajo, Ojibwe, Cree, and Inuktitut, whose number of speakers, according to Gordon (2005) and Valentine (1995), are

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over fifty thousand each<sup>15</sup> (Cited in Field and Kroskrity, 2009: 13). One of these groups in particular, the Navajo, has been relatively successful with Navajo language maintenance.

Navajo is primarily spoken within the Navajo reservation in Northeastern Arizona, Utah and New Mexico. The reservation consists of approximately 25,000 square miles and would take eight hours to drive from one end to the other (Lee and McLaughlin, 2001: 23). Out of all Native American indigenous languages, Navajo has the most native speakers, over 100,000<sup>16</sup>. It also has one of the best, and highly detailed dictionaries, as well as the creation of a successful bilingual education program ‘Rough Rock Demonstration School’ (Hale, 2001). Hale (2001) also notes that the Rough Rock Demonstration School has been a key symbol and example of effective mother-tongue instruction for indigenous language education (see 3.7.2 for other Navajo efforts).

The third language outcome Southerland and Katamba (1997) describe is language death, which can be caused by language shift or lack of language maintenance. They explain that if a language is continuously no longer being acquired and the number of speakers decline, the end result will be language death; or as they frankly put it, “[w]hen the last speaker of the language dies, the language becomes extinct” (Southerland and Katamba, 1997: 562). This has been the unfortunate case for hundreds of Native American languages, some of the most well-known cases being Mohican in Wisconsin, Yana in California, and Natchez in Louisiana, just to name a few. Furthermore, according to Krauss (1995), an alarmingly 89% of the 175 living Native American Languages are moribund and therefore will possibly reach this most unfortunate fate of extinction (Cited in Crawford, 2000: 52).

In the context of the Sámi, as stated earlier in Chapter 2, two of the Sámi languages are already extinct: Kemi and Akkala Sámi. In addition, Ter Sámi of the Russian Kola peninsula will more than likely follow suit as it allegedly has only six speakers left (Gordon, 2005).

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<sup>15</sup> The overall number of speakers of these four languages is increasing, however with Navajo, according to McCarty (2008b: 164), children under five are not learning Navajo as much as they did previously: in the 1970’s 95% of those under the age of five were fluent in Navajo, where as in the 1990’s less than 50% of those under five were fluent.

<sup>16</sup>Citing Benally and Viri, (2005) and Crawford (1995), McCarty (2008a: 216) states that although consensus is lacking on the number of speakers, a generally accepted range is 100,000–178,000.

As stated earlier, language death is often a result of language shift. One approach that promotes awareness of language shift is to apply Fishman's model of Reversing Language Shift, which is the topic of the next chapter section.

### 3.3 Fishman's Reversing Language Shift

One of the profound experts concerning language shift and language maintenance is Joshua Fishman. He developed a model describing eight stages of Reversing Language Shift, or RLS (see Table 3.1), which aims to provide insight into the struggle of linguistic minorities towards intergenerational continuity (Fishman, 1990).

Fishman's (1990: 93) RLS stages eight through five are what he describes as the most critical stages as they are "germane to RLS efforts at their earliest and weakest stages, when political conflict and power goals cannot be afforded, allies are few and far between, and self-help is, therefore, the only dependable approach". These stages range from fluent speakers no longer being available or second language speakers having uncertain fluency and requiring outside aid (stage 8), to the presence of "formal linguistic socialization" where there is a form of child and adult education but no compulsory schooling (stage 5). To re-emphasize these stages' implications, Fishman states:

Stages 8 to 5 constitute the 'programme minimum' of RLS. These stages do not involve major costs and they do not crucially depend on Yish [the dominant language speakers over the heritage language in question] cooperation. They are generally of the 'Do it yourself' variety and, as such, can be approximated in most types of political and economic climates. They are particularly appropriate for numerically and politically weak language-in-culture settings and are not restricted in applicability to permissive democratic settings, although the latter are always more facilitative in so far as overt organization efforts are concerned (1990: 97).

Table 3.1 RLS Stages

**Fishman's Stages of Reversing Language Shift: Severity of  
Intergenerational Dislocation [read from the bottom up]**

- 
1. Education, work sphere, mass media, and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels
  2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services
  3. The local/regional (i.e., nonneighborhood) work sphere, both among Xians and among Yians
  - 4b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control
  - 4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control
- II. RLS to Transcend Diglossia, Subsequent to Its Attainment*
5. Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education
  6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home/family/neighborhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission
  7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation
  8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL [X as a second language]
- I. RLS to Attain Diglossia (Assuming Prior Ideological Clarification)*
- 

*Note:* Adapted from Fishman 1991:395. "Xians," called "Xmen" in the original, are "members of the community . . . with which the language [X] has been historically associated" (Fishman 1991:11).

(Source: Henze and Davis, 1999: 6)

Stages four to one are the stages Fishman describes as the "strong side", where the government's or state's involvement with language revitalization is augmented and therefore naturally entails more funding and infrastructure from those who are in support of RLS (Fishman, 1990). These stages range from having RLS programming components in independent or centralized schools (stage 4) to absolute cultural autonomy and language use (stage 1). Particularly referring to stage four, Fishman warns:

...there is absolutely no reason to assume that schooling...is either a guarantee of or even a prop for successful RLS. We must guard against allowing our academic affiliations and general biases (which tend to make us view education as the universal panacea for any and all problems) to lead us prematurely to assume that schooling is 'the solution' to RLS problems more specifically (1990: 98).

This is an important notion to keep in mind as there is the presence of an occasional "rhetoric" based on the idea that education is the sole component of issue resolving, which many members within western based institutions falsely assume.

As it will soon be apparent within this comparative study, the issue of language shift within the Shoshone-Bannock and Sámi cultures is a multifaceted phenomenon that requires more than just education, and thus beyond step 4, to become a well-maintained or "healthy" language. Examining the RLS schema gives an important understanding of language revitalization and issues of language shift, but what *causes* these languages to shift? This question of course is difficult to answer as language shift can involve a plethora of factors. Nevertheless, this question will be examined as the main topic for the next section, the mechanisms of language shift.

### 3.4 Externally Caused Mechanisms of Language Shift

It is safe to say that the mechanisms of language shift can generally be categorized into two main divisions: internally and externally motivated agents. Coulmas points out this distinction while explaining language territories and domains:

Among the factors determining language shift and maintenance two have attracted special attention: (1) the micro-social arena of the family as the agent of spontaneous intergeneration language transmission; and (2) the macro-social arena of group settlement in a 'territory'. The absolute demographic strength of a group means little if its members are widely dispersed, providing few social settings for using its language outside the family. And if a language ceases to be transmitted domestically the bedrock of its continuing tradition is undermined. Micro- and macro-social factors interact in that families are influenced in their surrounding community. Family and concentrated minority-residence areas are domains and territories of language. Language-contact situations differ in terms of the separation, upholding and invasion of domains (Coulmas, 2005: 161-162).



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While the macro-social arena described above influences the community, this influence of the “territory”, however, can be affected by an even bigger social arena than the surrounding community; by the invasions of external mechanisms like globalization and nationalization which will be described shortly.

Besides the obvious horrific factors of early colonialism and nation building<sup>17</sup>, there are also the residual and contemporary external mechanisms involved with language shift upon indigenous minority languages. Two such external mechanisms are globalization and nationalization, or more specifically Americanization and Norwegianization. It is worth noting that external mechanism agents are inexhaustible and that these two external agents described are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, economic mobility can be argued as a component of both external mechanisms (globalization and nationalization)<sup>18</sup>.

### 3.4.1 Globalization

As much a cliché as it seems to say, the world is indeed becoming smaller due to globalization, and an increasing amount of people are acknowledging this process. To put it in Malcolm Waters’ (1995) words, globalization is “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (Cited in Morrow and Torres, 2003: 106). To add to this concept, it can be argued that the English language is a primary tool that helps these social constraints to recede.

English is the international *lingua franca* of the world today fueling globalization and is seemingly rated high, having economic and socio-economic advantages on an international scale. Therefore it is difficult for a minority language speaking community to maintain the usage of its language when there are demands to speak more powerful languages. This situation can surely apply to most developing countries currently under the comparative and international education spotlight, and it is important to note the nature and implications of globalization as well; that there is a good side and an ugly side. As Joshua Fishman states:

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<sup>17</sup> Examples of these horrific factors can be seen within the Native American context where the genocides and epidemics perpetrated by the Euroamericans throughout Native American history.

<sup>18</sup> Moreover, economic mobility can be argued as an *internal* mechanism as well; see 3.4.4.

But globalization is both a constructive and a destructive phenomenon both a unifying and a divisive one, and it is definitely not culturally neutral or impartial one. In our day and age, it is definitely the globalization of pan-Western culture...that is the motor of language shift (Fishman, 2001: 6).

To see the influence of globalization on language shift among Native American languages, one can look at the work of McCarty, Romero, and Zepeda with Navajo youth, as an example. McCarty et al. (2006), as part of the Native Language Shift and Retention Project, declare that even for Navajo, which, again, has the most indigenous language speakers in the U.S., there seems to be a decline in usage because of the loss of domains for the language brought on by globalization and English-language media. They exemplify this power of globalization by stating:

...neither youth nor adults are unconscious of or immune to the marginalization of the Navajo language and culture within larger regimes of power. 'The world speaks English,' a 43-year-old father of four stated, explaining his decision not to teach his children or his students Navajo. Samuel described English as a necessary 'business language'. And Jonathan reflected, 'English...that's always taking over...It's just kind of hard to have anything really of a Native thing going on' (McCarty et al., 2006: 102).

Globalization is an external mechanism that exists outside the individual. Therefore, it is seemingly something that cannot be readily avoided and is a continuous phenomenon on a macro-level. Another phenomenon within the Native American context that goes hand in hand with globalization on the macro level but on a lesser regional scale (nationalism) is Americanization.

### **3.4.2 Americanization**

Americanization, which is on a national level, is a process and/or form of assimilation by way of implementing attitudes of the idealized American. In regard to Native Americans, this process causes difficulty in safeguarding their un-official minority indigenous languages within an already English dominant country, like the U.S. The U.S. is a country where English has such an immense power within American culture, where there are English-only policies within schools and other institutions, as well as having a tremendous plethora of English-language/American media whose reach extends even onto the international landscape (including Norway).

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Americanization was at its strongest during the 19th and early 20th centuries, especially for the Native Americans, with repressive policies made by the government and English-only policies within educational contexts. As James Crawford points out, these policies were mostly “aimed at indigenous and conquered peoples, and their purpose was social control, not social integration” (Crawford, 2000: 2). The following official statement (Atkins, 1887) from the federal commissioner of Indian affairs J.D.C. Atkins between 1868 and 1887 best exemplifies this early Americanization sentiment:

The white and Indian must mingle together and jointly occupy the country, or one of them must abandon it...by educating the children of these tribes in English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once. Nothing then would have been left but the antipathy of race, and that, too is always softened in the beams of a higher civilization...through sameness of language is produced sameness in sentiment, and thoughts; customs and habits are molded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated...in the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble...schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialects should be blotted out and the English language substituted...The object of greatest solitude should be to break down the prejudices of tribe among the Indians; to blot out the boundary lines which divided them into distinct nations, and fuse them into one homogeneous mass. Uniformity in language will do this – nothing else will...There is not an Indian pupil whose tuition and maintenance is paid for by the United States Government who is permitted to study any other language than our own vernacular – the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities beneath the sun. The English language as taught in America is good enough for all her people of all races (as reproduced in Crawford, 1992: 48-49, Cited in Lippi-Green, 1997: 116).

Although Native American rights have greatly improved since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when this was written, there are negative remnants of Americanization that still continue however. For example, English-only legislation like Arizona’s Proposition 203, California’s Proposition 227 and the standardization implications of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, create hardships for minority language speakers<sup>19</sup>.

Americanization can be seen affecting Native American youths and their perceptions of English. These perceptions often portray English as the American “standard” and create a

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<sup>19</sup> For an examination of the empirical research on the impact the NCLB Act has on Native American students, see McCarty (2009). In conclusion, McCarty (2009) argues the NCLB Act negatively impacts Native language and culture instruction, creates an over-emphasis on standardized testing, is inadequately funded, compromises tribal sovereignty, and claims there is no consistent evidence that the NCLB Act improves academic achievement or socio-economic discrepancies.

stigma on those who do not conform to this standard. For example, when interviewing some Navajo youth, McCarty et al. (2006) received responses pertaining to this issue; statements like “English is important because it’s used a lot in America”, and “no one speaks Navajo. They only speak English now” (McCarty et al., 2006: 97-99). Also when interviewing a 16-year-old Navajo boy, they discovered that, “his Navajo elementary teacher had belittled him for his accented and ungrammatical English, making his early goal in school ‘just survival and how to cope in this colonial world’” (McCarty et al., 2006: 97-98). These examples just show how much prestige value standard English has, contributing to Americanization of Native Americans and forcing them to ‘cope in this colonial world’.

The external mechanisms on the macro level of language shift have been presented for the Native American context, and now I will apply these mechanisms to a Sámi context.

### 3.4.3 Norwegianization

Norwegianization is on the same theoretical plane as Americanization, dealing with a macro-manifestation of identity conformity perpetrated on the national level. In this case, the nation is Norway.

Norwegianization was at its strongest between the mid 19th and early 20th centuries. When the time of colonialism was at its highest<sup>20</sup>, so were the struggles for the Sámi to maintain their language and identity. As Lehtola (2004) points out, Norwegianization policies were carried out basically within two areas: settlement and economic policy, and language and education policy. In this second trend the Sámi language was forbidden in many schooling contexts in Norway, the goal being for the complete eradication of the language. Lehtola also describes two other trends of colonialism:

There were many trends in the Norwegianization policy. Through active colonialism: Sámi were clearly to be assimilated into Norwegian society and they were to obliterate the Sámi language. According to Johan Sverdrup “The only way to save the ‘Lapps’ is for them to merge into the Norwegian People”. Through *implied* colonialism: it was possible the Sámi could become civilized by converting to Christianity and by reading general refined literature in Sámi. By civilizing the Sámi it would be possible to direct them into the Norwegian language and culture (2004: 45).

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<sup>20</sup> Also, colonialism was marked by heightened national security which, as Todal (2003) mentions, resulted in full Norwegian governmental control of over the schools in the Sámi districts.

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In contrast, the current situation for the Sámi is significantly better. Beneficial legislative adjustments for the Sámi began to surface in the late 50's<sup>21</sup>, and late the pro-Sámi movements during the 1960's and 70's<sup>22</sup>. Nevertheless, some relics of Norwegianization still exist, perhaps not as evident 'on paper' or on a governmental/national level, but more on an individual level where anti-Sámi sentiments among non-native and native Sámi alike still prevail. These negative individual sentiments can then be internalized by others and consequently considered as internally caused mechanisms. I further examine these internally caused mechanisms in the next main chapter section, but first I will explore the quasi-external mechanism of economic mobility before moving on.

### 3.4.4 Economic Mobility as External and Internal

As mentioned earlier, economic mobility can be deemed as both an external and internal mechanism. It is an external mechanism because it is simply quasi-dependant on the external mechanism of globalization. In other words, it is deemed external because it is based most often on an economic value system created within an external western context, differentiated from aboriginal and traditional ways of life for many minority speech communities. On the other hand, it is still a personal choice whether to embrace these originally foreign economic values or not and therefore can be deemed an internal mechanism<sup>23</sup>. However one must first know what is meant by economic mobility and its relationship to language.

Looking at Gary S. Becker's economic approaches will help clarify the economic component in language choice<sup>24</sup>. While explaining the economic approach of human capital, Becker states:

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<sup>21</sup> One of the most notable of these beneficial legislative changes was the 1959 revocation of the Norwegian Language Statute of 1898 which forbade the use of Sámi language in schools in Sápmi.

<sup>22</sup> The Áltá conflict demonstrations, for example, can be deemed the most significant movement during this time.

<sup>23</sup> See the next section for further explanation of internal mechanisms, as well as chapter 5 for further analysis of this relation.

<sup>24</sup> Bourdieu's (1976, 1997) notion of *linguistic capital* can also be applied here. This related form of capital can be defined as "fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society" and which creates "better life chances" for those who possess or have access to such linguistic capital (cited in Talbot et al., 2003: 274).

Human capital analysis starts with the assumption that individuals decide on their education, training, medical care, and other additions to knowledge and health by weighing the benefits and costs. Benefits include cultural and other non-monetary gains along with improvement in earnings and occupations, while costs usually depend mainly on the foregone value of the time spent on these investments (Becker, 1992: 43).

To apply this human capital approach to the issue of language shift, another cost besides the mentioned value of time spent, would be the loss of usage of an indigenous language and thereby loss of an important aspect of cultural identity if one's goal is to learn English for economic mobility (the general sum of the benefits mentioned above). Moreover, this creates an intriguing value hierarchy one would have to consider before making decisions of language use: "English or Norwegian or Sámi?" or "English or Shoshoni?" To some minority speech communities, these language use decisions perhaps are associated (most often miss-associated) with decisions like "job or no job?", "more money or less money?" Or the unfortunate weighing question of "less effort or more effort?" This last internal question is directly related to the internally bound mechanisms of language shift, the next topic of discussion.

### 3.5 Internally Caused Mechanisms of Language Shift

The internal factors can be just as determining as the external factors. These are the factors that are deemed determinants of the individual, familial and local settings. James Crawford best explains these internal factors in general:

Language usage frequently changes in response to external pressures...such factors can surely weaken the bonds that hold communities together, yet ultimately it is the speakers themselves who are responsible, through their attitudes and choices, for what happens to their native language. Families choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they don't. Elders remember to speak the language on certain important occasions and insist on its use in certain important domains, or they don't. Tribal leaders resolve to promote the language and accommodate its speakers in government functions, social services, and community schools, or they don't (Crawford, 2000: 71).

Crawford emphasizes that the tribal or local speech community members have a choice; in order to successfully engage in language use and increase its usage, the tribal or local speech

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community members themselves need to act accordingly. Of course this is easier said than done, however, successful language maintenance usually needs to start at the home.

### 3.5.1 Mechanisms at Home

Throughout his work, Fishman has reserved a special place for the family domain, saying that: ‘Multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not protection’ (Fishman, 1972: 82). And much later, when he proposes his model for Reversing Language Shift, Fishman (1991: 113) declares: ‘Without intergenerational mother tongue transmission, no language maintenance is possible. That which is not transmitted cannot be maintained’ [cited in Garcia et. al., 2006: 19].

A variety of internal mechanisms are situated within the “home” context where parents, family members, and children all have a role in language choice. This choice consequently takes place in the conscious or unconscious pressures of language shift. Just as Fishman (1972; 1991) argues above, no language maintenance is possible if the language is not transmitted within the family domain.

McCarty et al. (2006) described examples of this issue of transmission within the Navajo home. For example, when interviewing a Navajo high school student, the student explained that:

[T]here’s a lot of people that aren’t even being taught. Their parents can speak Navajo, but they don’t do it inside the home. They would do it inside the chapter house...but they wouldn’t even teach their children (McCarty et al., 2006: 97).

This shows some of the attitudes Navajo youth have, and how some perceive their parents as lacking the responsibility to teach Navajo to their children<sup>25</sup>.

#### 3.5.1.1 Diglossia

This Navajo example perhaps suggests that there are shifting roles in the community’s *diglossia*, specifically within the family domain/home arena. Ferguson (1959) proposed the

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<sup>25</sup> However, McCarty et al. (2006) discover that there is often an intergenerational misunderstanding and miscommunication that conflict with accurately gauging the caring, interest and responsibility characteristics of parents and youth alike.

concept of diglossia as the situation where society uses a high (H) variety of language for certain domains, e.g., education, religion, higher work spheres, and other formal contexts, and a low (L) variety mainly for vernacular purposes such as in the home, on the street, and other informal contexts (Garcia et. al., 2006; Coulmas, 2005).

Diglossic possibilities within both the Sámi and Shoshoni cases can be very dynamic when other languages, dialects or variants are involved. One can see these dynamics, by plugging in possible diglossic situations with the Shoshoni and N. Sámi speech communities using Coulmas' (2005: 134) four types of conventional domain separations, as presented in Table 3.2.

As described by Coulmas (2005), Cells 1 and 2 represent two different types of linguistically related or endogenetic diglossia. Cell 1 differs from 2 in that cell 1 varieties have been developed within the same or similar cultural contexts (or monocultural sphere) and cell 2 are the varieties that came into existence, primarily by colonialism which brought two differing cultures (bicultural) together. Cell 3 shows diglossia where both unrelated codes share a monocultural sphere (As one can see, Shoshoni and Sámi seemingly do not have a possible diglossia within this domain separation). Lastly cell 4 is where the H and L are unrelated linguistically and culturally, but “conventionally allocated to complementary domains in much the same way as in the other three cases” (Coulmas, 2005: 134).



Table 3.2 Shoshoni and Sámi diglossic possibilities

|             | monocultural  | bicultural  |
|-------------|---|---|
| endogenetic | Outside Classical Arabic H (1)<br>Example: Vernacular Arabic L<br>N. Sámi H (Shoshoni H)<br>*S. Sami L (Bannock L)<br>Kautokeino N. Sámi H N. Shoshoni? H<br>**other N. Sámi L **other Shoshoni L | Outside French H (2)<br>Example: Haitian Creole L<br>***bokmål Norwegian H<br>Sámi Norwegian? L<br>American Standard English H<br>Shoshoni Indian English L |
| exogenetic  | Outside Hebrew H (3)<br>Example: Yiddish L  | Outside Spanish H (4)<br>Example: Guarani L<br>English H English H<br>Sámi L Shoshoni L<br>Norwegian H<br>Sámi L  |

- \* This can include the other 8 Sámi languages besides North Sámi.  
 \*\* This can include the other dialects of the language in question.  
 \*\*\* This can include other dominant regional Norwegian dialects.  
 ? Indicates an unknown, but probable variety or dialect.  
 (...) Arguably endogenetic as both are Numic languages.

Outside Examples taken from Coulmas (2005:134)

(Source: based on Table 8.4 from Coulmas, 2005: 134)

For cell 1, I have assigned two endogenetic-monocultural diglossic possibilities for Sámi<sup>26</sup>. Firstly, perhaps the North Sámi language variety is seen as the H and the other eight Sámi varieties, e.g., South Sámi, can perhaps be the L variety. This particular diglossia is envisioned with the assumption that the other non-North Sámi language varieties are under the same “general Sámi cultural umbrella”, and are thus assigned to a *monocultural* cell. The

<sup>26</sup> Keep in mind that the possible Sámi and Shoshoni diglossic applications are not limited to their assigned cells, that the assigned H and L varieties are not irreversible, nor do they necessarily mirror reality. These diglossic applications are therefore implicit and “in theory”. Moreover, with the H and L assignments, they are based primarily on assumptions, where it is presumed the assigned H variety may have the tag of “more prestige”. However, this is not necessarily always the case.

other possible Sámi diglossia is the dialectal varieties of Kautokeino North Sámi dialect as H<sup>27</sup> and the other dialects as L.

With Shoshoni, I have assigned two possible cell 1 endogenetic-monocultural diglossic possibilities. One proposed diglossia is Shoshoni as the H and Bannock as the L. This is under the assumption that both Bannock and Shoshoni, although separate languages, can be argued as endogenetic as they are both similar Numic languages, as well as having mutual cultural attributes. The other proposed diglossia is a North Shoshoni dialect as the H variety<sup>28</sup>, and where other dialects can be the L variety. However, this is only speculation where this particular diglossia may in fact be very unlikely as Loether (2009: 242) argues, “the situation of Shoshoni is extreme in terms of Shoshoni rejection of any prestige forms or of efforts to impose one particular form to be used universally as a standard among all speakers”<sup>29</sup>.

Both Sámi and Shoshoni have possible bicultural-endogenetic diglossic situations in Cell 2. For the Sámi, it is proposed that the bokmål dialect of Norwegian is the H and a hypothetical but probable Sámi Norwegian dialect is the L. This diglossia is based on the assumption that there is a Sámi dialectal form of Norwegian, but I have not yet come across any literature or data that suggest this. For the Shoshoni, a possible diglossic formation can be with Standard American English H, and a probable Shoshoni Indian English L. This probable Shoshoni Indian English is based on the following arguments:

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<sup>27</sup> This dialect distinction has been confirmed at least with one informant where validity in his claim can be based on his background of linguistic studies (Interview, SS, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

<sup>28</sup> The H variety “North Shoshoni” can perhaps represent a dialect group that includes the Lemhi dialect, a dialect confirmed by Gould and Loether (2002) and Loether (2009). In addition, the “other dialects” as the L variety dialect may include the Fort Washakie/Wind River dialect, a dialect also confirmed by Gould and Loether (2002) and Loether (2009).

<sup>29</sup> Crapo and Spykerman (1979) confirm the absence of a prestige form of Shoshoni as well. They explain: “the family-based Shoshoni society contained no stable cultural prestige centers from which prestige-laden cultural configurations (including dialect characteristics) flowed outward to surrounding regions, thereby fostering the development of stable dialect areas (Crapo and Spykerman, 1979: 329-330).

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The language issue for Native Americans has become complicated by the development of distinct varieties of *English*, distinct both from tribal languages and the English of non-Native Americans. Thus, much like Mexican Americans, Native Americans are confronted with educational challenges of two types: bilingualism, and bidialectalism. Leap (1992) makes the salient point that for each Native American tribal language there is a distinct and functioning variety of English with phonological, morphological, syntactic, and discourse features specific to it (Lippi-Green 1997: 116).

Therefore, it is safe to say that Shoshoni speech community members would then have this distinct variety of English<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, there does not seem to be any reason to believe that the above argument could not be applied to Sámi and Norwegian as well, where the Sámi would have a unique variety of Norwegian.

Lastly, as stated earlier, cell 3 seemingly does not have any particular exogenetic-monocultural cases that could be applied with the Sámi and Shoshoni. The exogenetic-bicultural cell 4 on the other hand, is the cell that arguably has the highest probable diglossic possibilities, as well as containing the diglossic situations that are most vulnerable to language shift<sup>31</sup>. These diglossic distinctions (English/Norwegian as the H and Shoshoni/Sámi as the L) are where the bulk of the current research has been done. The findings of these diglossic distinctions will be discussed later on in the analysis of chapter five.

When looking at how these cell 4 diglossic situations are sustained or severed, Fishman's (1964) interpretations of diglossia come into play. Fishman (1964) further expanded the concept of diglossia to societal bilingualism by looking at how diglossia is maintained or broken (Garcia et. al. 2006). Moreover, Fishman (1972: 140) argues that keeping a difference between the roles of the two varieties is vital for stable bilingualism where:

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<sup>30</sup> This could also be termed as "Red English". As described by Hoxie (1996: 181), Red English is "a strong and positive linguistic expression of modern Indian identity. Like Black English, it shows both regional and social variation". Moreover, McCarty (2009: 9) notes that students who speak this variety of English are often labeled 'limited English proficient' (LEP) and "placed in remedial tracks".

<sup>31</sup> This cell would also contain the diglossic possibility of English (H) and Norwegian (L), however this possibility is omitted as this table only describes diglossia that *includes* the Sámi (or Shoshoni) language.

If the roles were not kept separate (compartmentalized) by the power of their association with quite separate though complementary values, domains of activity and everyday situations, one language or variety would displace the other as role and value distinctions became blurred or merged (Cited in Garcia et. al., 2006: 19).

Therefore, what happens inside the homes of many indigenous speech community members is that the role of the H variety (for example, English or Norwegian) is merging into the domain of the home, replacing the heritage language as the variety used within the family. This can lead to complete language shift as stable bilingualism gradually becomes disrupted, heritage language domains are abandoned and eventually diglossia ceases to exist as the dominant variety takes on the roles of both the H and L varieties.

### *3.5.1.2 Social Capital*

This lack of heritage language maintenance caused by diglossic disruption can also be applied to James S. Coleman's interpretations of social capital and its relation to human capital growth (See 3.4.4). Coleman (1988) describes social capital as a seemingly less tangible capital than physical and human capital, and one that emerges through the *relations among persons* which encourage growth in areas such as economic and social mobility. After giving two examples of familial social capital at work within an educational context, Coleman states:

These examples illustrate the importance of social capital within the family for a child's intellectual development. It is of course true that children are strongly affected by the human capital possessed by their parents. But this human capital may be irrelevant to outcomes for children if parents are not an important part of their children's lives, if their human capital is employed exclusively at work or elsewhere outside the home. The social capital of the family is the relations between children and parents (and, when families include other members, relationships with them as well). That is, if the human capital possessed by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in family relations, it is irrelevant to the child's educational growth that the parent has a deal, or a small amount, of human capital (Colman, 1988: 110).

With that said, one can equate the human capital of the "intellectual development" and the "educational growth" of the child to the context of heritage language learning, when seen as a human capital goal in itself, or at least a feature of the human capital goals of intellectual and educational development. Colman (1988: 110) argues that having social capital, in the form of family relations and the parents or family members' actions on "being an important

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part of their children's lives", is essential for growth in human capital. Therefore, one can say that the parent and familial involvement with the child's heritage language learning (social capital) is essential if the goal is for that child to learn and safeguard that heritage language (human capital).

These home-based examples suggest that there is a lack of social capital within some families where language shift is apparent. The reasons why there is a lack of this social capital are perhaps more on an individual level than one within the home.

### **3.5.2 Mechanisms of the Individual**

Other internal factors besides those within the home are based on a more individual level. Continuing with the Navajo examples found in McCarty et al. (2006), some Navajo youth on an individual scale embrace the idea of shame when using the language and the avoidance of becoming like one's parents or the past. The idea of shame can be exemplified with the following:

...the teacher found, after administering a Navajo language assessment, "that they knew the language but were just ashamed of it." A teacher assistant stated that there are some students that have said "I'm not going to learn (Navajo). Navajo's nothing. I hate it" (McCarty et al., 2006: 99).

Another individual based internal factor seen throughout McCarty et al.'s findings are occurrences of avoidance to being 'like the parents':

When asked if he [Jamie, an 18-year old Navajo youth] thought there had been a decline in the use of Navajo, he replied: "Yes, 'cuz' kids don't really care anymore...They don't want to turn out like their parents" (McCarty et al., 2006: 98).

Not only do youth members show individual mechanisms of language shift, but there are also older and/or elder members from the boarding school and assimilation period that hold individual negative sentiments concerning the heritage language. One example of this negative sentiment can be taken from the findings of Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) with certain Tlingit speakers in southeastern Alaska. They exemplify the remnant negative aspects in relation to the strict language policies of the boarding schools:

Another enduring legacy of suppression shared by most middle-aged Native Americans is the memory of being punished physically and psychologically for speaking their Native language in school. These negative associations can be painful. One Tlingit man commented, “Whenever I speak Tlingit, I can still taste the soap”. Most elders have similar stories of humiliation and physical punishment. It is not easy to overcome this pain. Many potential language teachers have commented with bitterness, “They beat the language out of us in school, and now the schools want to teach it” (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998: 64-65).

The expressed psychological pain of the Tlingit man is very difficult to forget; *I can still taste the soap*. This sentiment, along with the shame of the language, is of course hard to ignore when dealing with language maintenance efforts where individually held ideas about the language facilitates language shift.

These ideas about the language and the other examples of home and individual internal mechanisms discussed above can be further explicated by examining *language ideology*, which will be discussed next.

### 3.6 Language Ideologies

A significant and determining factor of the internal mechanisms of language shift is the linguistic concept of language ideology. Michael Silverstein (1979) defined language ideology as the “set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (as cited in Field and Kroskrity, 2009: 6). Field and Kroskrity further add to this definition:

...a speech community’s language ideology is a conscious, or secondary, rationalization about a language and its use. A community’s conscious, or discursive, language ideology may reflect that speech community’s understanding either of languages as a code (lexicon, grammar, semantics, etc.) or of the interactional norms and expectations for language use in contexts involving speaking such as teaching, storytelling, praying, conversation, and so on (2009: 6).

Irvine and Gal (2000) have explored language ideology further, vis-à-vis interactional norms and expectations, by identifying three semiotic processes in order to link social identity or social roles within linguistic difference and form. These semiotic processes of ideology are iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure.

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*Iconization* defined by Irvine and Gal (2000) is when “a linguistic system or feature is interpreted as an image of the essence of a social group” (Cited in Woolard, 2004: 89). Furthermore, according to Field and Kroskrity (2009), iconization between a language and various national, ethnic, and tribal identities has been escalating, especially within the Native American context. For example, Bunte (2009) argues that iconization within the San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe of the Navajo Reservation has seemingly become an ideological feature where an iconized link between language and identity has surfaced and developed over the last twenty years. Bunte further explains that there were two factors that emerged in the early to mid-1990’s, sparking an increase in Paiute language discourse: the development of linguistic projects within the community and the view that the Paiute language was an essential part of Paiute identity where Paiute language speakers appeared to “consider individuals who speak Paiute to possess the qualities that a Paiute-speaking individual would traditionally have had, and they understand such iconized linkages to be intrinsic or essential” (Bunte, 2009: 183-184).

Secondly, Field and Kroskrity’s (2009: 22) interpretation of Irvine and Gal’s (2000) *fractal recursivity* is, “a semiotic process through which people construct ideological understanding of linguistic differences” and which is “crucial for understanding how it is that conflict and contradiction between language ideologies may exist even for a single individual”. This can thus produce multiple identity positions at once where a single individual can have contrasting ideologies<sup>32</sup>. Field and Kroskrity (2009) then add that this process helps explain the dialectal heterogeneity in many indigenous speech communities.

Trechter (2003: 432) interprets this recursivity where speech acts, and/or actual language varieties that are associated iconically within one particular group, may be used by both “in- and out-group members, sometimes projecting new meanings”. She then gives an example of fractal recursivity, via this projection of new meanings, from her research on Lakota speakers in the northern central US with gender indexing; in particular, the masculine and authoritative indicator *lo* in Lakota discourse. Trechter argues that fractal recursivity occurs when this gender indicator is used in other contexts where “even though *lo* suggests an

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<sup>32</sup> For example, Field and Kroskrity (2009: 22) give a general example where a member may believe speaking an indigenous language is crucial to one’s member/group identity, but on the other hand prefers one’s children to be monolingual speakers of English because of the view that the dominant language is “more useful for economic success”.

authoritative stance, when males are not acting particularly authoritative, they may feel constrained to use it as the pressures of iconization and recursivity act as semiotic forces” (Trechter, 2003: 435). As Trechter later points out, this contradiction or recursivity among some Lakota speakers is due to the fact that contemporary language ideologies of the Lakota speech community favor this speech act as a way of displaying masculinity, which somewhat overrides its other original indicators of “stance, affect, or discourse context” (Trechter, 2003: 436).

Lastly, Trechter’s (2003) interpretation of Irvine and Gal’s (2000) process of *erasure* is that:

[It] effectually removes some groups and social behaviors from vision and sight. They become subsumed under the totalizing and dominant ideology. In effect, they become *unmarked* (Trechter, 2003: 432).

Furthermore, Field (2009: 40-41) notes that erasure “renders some persons, activities, or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible”. Field (2009: 44) also gives three summarized Navajo examples of erasure:

The process of erasure is most obviously seen in assertions of the existence of community-wide bilingualism (or stable diglossia) on the part of government and academic institutions, which insist on or require a degree of Navajo fluency that many tribal members cannot meet. It is also seen in elementary school programs that choose to ignore beliefs on the part of some Navajo parents that school is not the appropriate context for Navajo language (this may be true of both traditionalists and Christians). And it is seen in the antithetical belief held by many Navajo parents that schools will manage to teach their children Navajo, so the parents don’t have to (Field, 2009: 44).

These three semiotic processes are used as tools to help understand the complexities and variation of language ideologies. Thus, I will look further into how complex and varied language ideologies can be in the following section.

### **3.6.1 Language Ideology Variation**

Members of a speech community can have multiple ideologies, and such ideologies can be extremely multifarious and complicated. Two main reasons for this complexity are the reality of social divisions within socio-cultural groups: like gender, age, class, etc, as well as the multiple influences of the non-indigenous dominant group (Field and Kroskrity, 2009).



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An example of this complexity of ideologies that stem from both social divisions and post-colonial contact influences can be seen with Eleanor Nevins' (2004) work with the White Mountain Apache Reservation speech community. She points out that the implementation of western based educational models of language pedagogy was controversial to the Apache speech community because of contrasting ideologies: some believed components of this western based model violated the "dialogic principles of listening so valued in the family" (Nevins, 2004: 282). In addition, Nevins (2004) explains that this "dialogic principle of listening" is a language ideology that emphasizes youth awareness and participation in activities supporting family life which according to the ideology is vital to Apache language knowledge. When the youth awareness and participation is shifted to these western based pedagogical programs, the elder or older generations then feel they are losing their language learning authority:

The same concern is sometimes voiced in terms such as, "They are trying to steal our kids," or "They are trying to steal our language"-familiar phrases to anyone working on language programs in Native American contexts, but which acquire their full meaning in this case only when viewed in relation to the Apache discourse on listening and language situated within the home, family, and other Apache forms of relationship (Nevins, 2004: 283).

Another example of a complex social-cultural ideology can be seen with Barbara Meek's (2007) work on Kaska speech communities of the Liard First Nation around Watson Lake in the Yukon. She points out that for many Liard First Nation members:

...the distribution of Kaska and English varieties corresponded most obviously with age or generational differences, but also entailed status differences. While this initial correspondence with age was not surprising, these age-related practices became ideologically mapped onto the social positions inhabited by elders such that speaking Kaska not only emerged as an index of generational differences, but hierarchical or status differences as well (Meek, 2007: 28).

Corresponding with the elder language authority as described by Nevins with the Apache example, Meek gave an example of correspondence between language choice and age where elders would practice Kaska-English translation pairs to "reinforce the elders' roles as Kaska language experts and teachers"; and even performing this translation dialogue with those who were fluent in Kaska (Meek, 2007: 29).

These two examples show the complexity of language ideologies for some indigenous speech communities where social-cultural and demographic qualities merge and correspond with language ideologies. For some, the awareness of these ideologies can be difficult or easy to perceive.

### **3.6.2 Language Ideology Awareness**

Language ideologies can further be analyzed by the degree of speaker salience of the ideology. Following a social research approach of Giddens (1984), Kroskrity (1998, 2000) has embraced the concept of an awareness continuum which can be applied to language ideologies. He states that some language ideologies can be on a more deliberate or conscious level of cultural awareness (discursive consciousness), while others are unexpressed or part of the practical or structural knowledge (practical consciousness) (Kroskrity, 2000). To exemplify a language ideology that could be deemed being towards the discursive consciousness pole of the awareness continuum, one can look at the observances of Andrew Cowell (2007) concerning ceremonial language discourse among the Arapaho speech community of Wyoming. Cowell discusses the semantics behind indirect imperative use within Arapaho discourse. He notes that during certain ceremonies, the Arapahos believe strongly in the “power of collective positive thought and goodwill” and he provides an example of a ceremonial leader achieving this by way of indirect imperative usage (Cowell, 2007: 50). He explains an informant account of a ceremonial leader within a sweat lodge who had a situation where an elder needed a place to sit, and in order to maintain the respect of the elder and to avoid negative reactions and confrontations, the leader used an indirect imperative towards one of the ceremonial assistants who was significantly younger. The indirect imperative represented a neutral position based on the conditions “in the world” rather than putting fault on the assistant or the elder (Cowell, 2007: 50). This shows a conscious knowledge, or discursive consciousness, on the part of the ceremonial leader where Cowell further explains:

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There are strict social rules about obligations between both parties to this relationship. In the sweat lodge ceremony, the leader was aware of these rules; to tell the respected elder to sit down would have been disrespectful; it would have implied that the elder was not committed to thinking, acting, and participating in the ceremony in a “good way”, and would have risked destroying the harmony-and thus efficacy- of the ceremony. To have told the young man to “make” the elder sit down would have placed the young man in a socially untenable position, and would have put the necessary ceremonial harmony even further in jeopardy. Secondly, it would have been an insult to the elder, since it would have suggested that he should be beholden to the authority of a much younger man; and it would also have implied that the young man was not committed to acting and thinking in a good way either. Thus the leader of the sweat lodge was called upon to quickly evaluate the social relationships between the addressee and third party, and to use an indirect statement which would bring about needed results without showing disrespect to those involved and without disrupting the more general collective goodwill and process of the ceremony (Cowell, 2007: 51).

On the opposite pole of the awareness continuum, one can see the practical consciousness of language ideologies at play when looking at Margaret Field’s (2009) observations of Navajo language speakers who sometimes perform Navajo and English code-mixing from “natural occurring discourse”. She points out that Navajo and English code-mixing is becoming a commonality and a part of the normal praxis of discourse within the younger generations, at least in informal conversations. In addition to borrowed English lexicon, she gives examples of change in the Navajo grammatical structure where sometimes the Navajo plural morpheme functions like the English plural morpheme. This occurrence of practical consciousness however can be argued as being more of a discursive consciousness for some of the elder speakers where:

A view of Navajo language as central to group solidarity is also shared by many elder monolingual Navajo speakers...[H]owever, elder monolingual speakers also have their own point of view concerning Navajo language use, what Dorian (1994) has termed “older speaker purism”...[T]hey do not approve of Navajo language change or the increasing degree of code-mixing. Young adults and adolescents, on the other hand, enthusiastically embrace code-mixing and, perhaps less consciously, changes to Navajo grammar (Field, 2009: 42-43).

Here one can see two contrasting language ideologies where the Navajo youth seemingly have a practical consciousness of the pro-code-mixing ideology on the one hand, and on the other, the elder monolingual speakers have a discursive consciousness of the youth’s “code-switching acceptance” ideology, an ideology that is seemingly not generally shared within the older groups.

Language ideologies are an essential part of analyzing language shift. When it is time for the speech communities or policy makers to act upon the issue of language shift, they need to acknowledge the fact that language ideologies have real effects on language policy and planning, which is the next and final topic of discussion of the chapter.

### 3.7 Language Policy and Planning

Coulmas (2005: 234) defines *language planning* as, “any systematic, theory-informed design to solve the communication problems of a society by influencing speakers’ choices concerning languages and varieties (status planning) as well as structural features of a language such as pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and terminology (corpus planning)”. Furthermore, he defines *language policy*, following Ager’s (2001) approach, as, “explicitly stated motives for and goals of action on language as opposed to customary *laissez-faire* practice” (Coulmas, 2005: 186).

Factors like language ideologies, as discussed in the previous section, ecology and agency, need to be considered when language policy and planning (or LPP) approaches are proposed, implemented, or evaluated; as well as other considerations:

1. Language policy debates are always about more than language. Insights from political, economic, and social theory can provide scholars in LPP research with tools to explain what is at stake, why it matters, and what effect particular policies or policy approaches might (or might not) have on such debates.
2. The way(s) in which LPP scholars and researchers define and use terms such as “language”, “language policy”, “the state”, “equality”, and so on have consequences for their analyses and recommendations on issues which involve language planning and/or language policies.
3. Ideologies about language generally and specific languages in particular have real effects on language policies and practices, and delimit to a large extent what is and is not possible in the realm of language planning and policy-making.
4. Research in LPP must be understood as both a *multidisciplinary* and an *interdisciplinary* activity, in that conceptual and methodological tools borrowed from various disciplines need to be *appropriately integrated* and applied to real-world problems and challenges involving language, which by definition, are embedded in all aspects of society and social life (Ricento, 2006: 8-9).

With these guiding concepts in mind, one can now proceed to exploring the key types and approaches of language policy and planning, or LPP.

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### 3.7.1 LPP Types and Approaches

Hornberger (2006: 28) refers to two types of LPP originally proposed by Kloss (1969): status planning and corpus planning, which were both mentioned at the beginning of the section in the definition of language planning. *Status planning* is described as efforts directed towards the functions of a language, altering the social settings and status of the language. *Corpus planning* is related to the efforts of altering the structure of the language itself. Hornberger (2006: 28) also mentions a third type introduced by Cooper (1989) called acquisition planning. *Acquisition planning* concerns the “efforts to influence the allocation of users of the distribution of languages/literacies, by creating or improving opportunity or incentive to learn them, or both” (Hornberger, 2006: 28).

Along with these types of language planning is a four-fold model of language planning proposed by Haugen (1983). The following description of Haugen’s model is based on the interpretations of Leena Huss (1999: 34-35). The first concept of this model deals with status planning and is tagged *selection*, where a certain language variety among competing languages or dialects is chosen to become the norm and to have status in society. Huss (1999) notes that this process is most often performed by politicians, or people without a background in linguistics.

The next concept deals with corpus planning called *codification*, where procedures of standardization are carried out in order to form a set of “language-internal norms”, which is usually carried out by linguists or those who have some experience in the field (Huss, 1999). Components of this process include graphization (confirming an orthography), grammatication (confirming grammatical rules) and lexication (creating and confirming the lexicon) (Huss, 1999).

The following concept, relating back to status planning, is called *implementation*, which involves individuals or institutions adopting and dispersing the newly selected codified language norm (Huss, 1999).

Lastly, the concept of *elaboration*, relating back to corpus planning, entails the norm being developed further to keep up the compatibleness with the modern age (Huss, 1999). Two components of this concept are terminological modernization (being up to speed with newly created modern terminology) and stylistic development (promoting language use in other forms, namely in the contexts of literature) (Huss, 1999). These components of elaboration

are usually performed via academia and other organizations dedicated to language cultivation (Huss, 1999). Yet regarding this four-fold model in general, Huss (1999) points out that the steps are not necessarily successive; as they may be concurrent and even repeated.

### 3.7.2 How LPP is Carried Out

Of course these theoretical conceptual goals are easier said than done; language policy and planning within a language revitalization context is far from being a simple task.

Nevertheless, LPP approaches within this context are still carried out, and some are more successful than others<sup>33</sup>. The ways in which LPP can be carried out is either on an external level outside the local group, as with national language policies, on an internal level within the local group, as with community and family based policies, or on both levels. As Leanne Hinton (2001a: 7-13) points out, most language revitalization programs fall into one of five categories: (1) school based programs, e.g., endangered language as a subject, bilingual education, immersion schools and classrooms, etc.; (2) children's programs outside the school, e.g., after-school programs, summer language camps, etc.; (3) adult learning programs, e.g., evening classes; (4) documentation and materials development, e.g., preserving language via producing archives, developing teaching and learning materials, etc.; and lastly (5) family-based programs at home, e.g., actual raising bilingual children, parental, familial re-enforcement, etc.

However, in order for these programs to work and to continue to work successfully, they need certain characteristics as described by Hinton (2001a: 16-17), namely persistence, sustainability, and honesty. She describes *persistence* as “not taking no for an answer”, and not to quit despite the difficult barriers. *Sustainability* was described as not running out of energy and financing, and where finding ways to keep growing is essential. Lastly, she stated that having *honesty* is crucial for a successful language revitalization program; honesty to the point where one should be able to look critically at the program, finding out what the problems are and how to improve them instead of avoiding or ignoring the issues.

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<sup>33</sup> For examples of this success, see further in this section, as well as section 3.2 of this chapter with the language maintenance example of the Navajo.

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Examples of successful LPP can be seen with the following two local based solutions in the form of school based programs (as described above) with the Navajo and the Cree within Canada.

Lee and McLaughlin (2001) describe a successful Navajo immersion program at Fort Defiance that is pushing towards reversing language shift. They go on to describe it as a K-5 program aimed at promoting children's acquisition of oral and written Navajo, where K-1 has Navajo as the language of instruction, and grades 2-3 have half in English. To exemplify the success, they state:

Evaluations of third and fourth graders have indicated that the immersion program students do well as monolingual English students in tests on English language ability, and the immersion students have done considerably better on tests of Navajo language ability (Lee and McLaughlin, 2001: 35).

Outside a U.S. Native American context, a similar example of a local based solution like that of Fort Defiance can be found within Canada. Burnaby (2002) gives the example of a reform strategy of the Cree communities on the eastern shores of James Bay, aiming to implement Cree as the language of instruction. She describes in detail the work the communities began in the early 1990's on a pilot project to use Cree as the language of instruction (CLIP). In the past decade, the Cree, by adopting CLIP, have been able to use Cree as the language of instruction up to grade 4, followed by the main medium of instruction in English or French along with having a number of subjects, including Cree literacy, Cree culture, and moral instruction, which are continued in the Cree language (Burnaby, 2002). In subsequent years, after the adoption of the reform, other communities embraced the program as well and after the first few years of the pilot, Cree School Board authorities made the program compulsory in the communities as long as they had the personnel to staff the Cree medium program (Burnaby, 2002). Burnaby also contributes the success of the program to several factors including important mainstream institutions having the same goals, the politics of language in Quebec and the James Bay Agreement (formation of the Cree Regional Authority), and lastly the strong efforts made by the Cree leadership.

### 3.8 Closing Remarks

Each theoretical concept discussed, language shift/maintenance/death, reversing language shift, language shift mechanisms, language ideologies, and language policy and planning has by no means been fully explored; which would be beyond the scope of this comparative case-study. However, what has been done in this chapter is the provision of the basic theoretical springboard needed for both the organization and clarification of the research results, as well as the overall analysis of language shift among the Shoshone and Sámi. The former and the latter will both be revealed within the coming chapters, but first one needs to know how the research was designed and performed. The next chapter will explain the methodology of the performed research of this thesis.



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## 4. Methodology

After providing the theoretical backbone of the research, it is now necessary to provide a detailed outline of the research design and methods used to gather information on this topic. In this chapter I will describe the key features of methodology such as defining the researcher, the research design, and the sampling approach. Next I will provide the descriptions of each data gathering method: interview, survey, observations, followed by a discussion on the challenges and trustworthiness of the data.

### 4.1 The Researcher

As the researcher, my goal was clear: to get a better perspective on language issues within an emic-like context and holistic approach, and avoiding as much as possible the ‘cultural bias’ all researchers carry. However, as discussed earlier (in 1.5 *Limitations*), I conducted my research with an outsider-identity. I was the outsider due to fact that I am not ethnically Shoshone-Bannock nor Sámi, as well as not being a member of their minority speech communities. Although in a way I was more culturally bound to the Shoshone-Bannock than the Sámi due to my upbringing within similar cultural contexts as with the Shoshone-Bannock<sup>34</sup>, my role as the researcher was aimed towards consistency and objectivity within the two groups (see 4.8 *Trustworthiness*).

Moreover, my mother tongue is English, and the research requirements included findings being presented in English as many academic institutions require. My fluency in Shoshoni, Sámi and Norwegian is very poor, and therefore I relied heavily on the informants’ English capabilities. However, this did not become an issue because all informants spoke adequate, if not fluent, English. In the Shoshone-Bannock case, most, if not all, informants were fluent English speakers or had English as one of their mother tongues. In the Sámi case, where perhaps the researcher/informant language barrier would be most present due to the

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<sup>34</sup> This is not to suggest that my cultural interaction with the Shoshone-Bannock is strong enough to consider myself as having same group identity, which will never be attained. However I am only suggesting that, compared to the Sámi, I share more macro leveled cultural aspects with the Shoshone-Bannock (i.e., as being from the same location in Southern Idaho, being exposed to similar American and regional cultural features like continuous exposure to the English language, the effects and influences of local politics and the local educational system, and the involvement in certain similar daily activities, etc., all of which are cultural specific features not shared with the Sámi).

Norwegian/Sámi language context of Norway, all Sámi informants had a more than adequate command of English.

## 4.2 The Research Design

The main research topic of this thesis is language shift and language maintenance by comparing two independent minority speech communities. Thus, a *comparative design*, described by Bryman (2004), is the most appropriate choice for this kind of research. The comparative design is described as:

...the study using more or less identical methods of two contrasting cases. It embodies the logic of comparison in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations (Bryman, 2004: 53).

The desired strategy to gain insight from this topic via comparative design is in the form of a multiple-case study. Bryman states: “Essentially, a multiple-case study (or multi-case study) occurs whenever the number of cases examined exceeds one” (2004: 55). Since my focus is to illuminate unique features, or applying an idiographic approach (Bryman, 2004) of two speech communities, it makes sense that this research would entail a multiple-case study as the strategy.

For this multi-case study I am seeking the individual interpretations of my informants’ social landscapes, therefore applying qualitative research methods seemed to fit. Of the qualitative research methods arsenal, I primarily relied on qualitative interviews for both the Shoshone-Bannock and Sámi segments of my research, as well as survey and participant observation for the Shoshone-Bannock. In total, I conducted twelve interviews, one survey with twelve entries, and four participant observations. For the Shoshone-Bannock segment, I conducted my research in and around the surrounding areas of Pocatello, in the state of Idaho, from late August to mid-October, 2008. For the Sámi segment, I conducted my research in the cities of Tromsø and Oslo, Norway, in December, 2008.

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### 4.3 Sampling approach

The sampling approach used for this research was *purposeful sampling* by selecting information rich cases (Patton, 2002). Information-rich cases are “those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term *purposeful sampling*” (Patton, 2002: 230). For this multi-case study, the desired purposeful sample consisted of those who could illuminate the issues of language shift and language maintenance within each culture’s context.

The purposeful sampling strategies used for my data gathering was theory-based sampling and snowball sampling (Patton, 2002). *Theory-based sampling* is defined as, “The researcher samples incidents, slices of life, time periods, or people on the basis of their potential manifestation or representation of important theoretical constructs” (Patton, 2002: 238). Applying theory-based sampling to my research, my aim was to sample people on the basis of their knowledge of language shift, involvement with language maintenance, and their cultural affiliation with the Shoshone-Bannock or Sámi culture.

Within this underlying sampling goal, another purposeful sampling strategy also emerged, *snowball sampling*. Patton (2002) describes snowball sampling as gaining informants from recommendations of other people, who then recommend other people and so on, as the “snowball” gets bigger and bigger. As my research progressed, my informants were able to recommend others who might be of some significance to my research. Thus, initially many informants were chosen by way of theory-based sampling, followed by informants being chosen via snowball sampling. For example, having an addition of two more interviewees for the Sámi segment was a result of snowball sampling, as they were recommendations from a fellow co-worker interviewee who was originally chosen by way of theory-based sampling.

### 4.4 Interviews

We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe...The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person’s perspective...We interview to find out what is in and on someone else’s mind, to gather their stories (Patton, 2002: 340-341).

Applying this rationale of interviewing was essential to my research. As stated earlier, I was as an outsider and my goal was to “enter into the other person’s perspective”, or in this case,

enter into the perspectives of those involved with language issues, language preservation and/or those culturally affiliated with the Shoshone-Bannock and Sámi peoples. Therefore my primary qualitative research method was interviews, using an *interview guide* (Patton, 2002) or *semi-structured* (Bryman, 2004) approach. This approach is where the “researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply” (Bryman, 2004: 321).

#### **4.4.1 Interview Guide**

My interview guide (see Appendices 1 and 2) consisted of, more or less, thirteen main questions depending on interviewee variance. The guide was structured to accommodate interviewee variances or informant types in order to increase understanding of the questions. These accommodated variances within the questioning are designed to better form the questions according to the informants’ degree of nativeness, education or educational context, youthfulness as well as non-nativeness. An example of these accommodating features within the interview guide can be seen with the avoidance of what one might think of as “socio-linguistic jargon” within questions of the interview guide. In order to accommodate those who are not familiar with the terms, e.g., “language shift”, the guide re-phrases the same question in a different manner.

The questions of the interview guide were formulated in a way that avoided bias and leading questions as well. Having open-ended questions and “yes” and “no” follow-up questions, for example, gave the guide leniency in answer variation<sup>35</sup>.

As can be seen, the interview guide was not designed to be restrictive by only having a particular set of questions, but rather the guide was designed more as a framework that allows the interview to maintain situational features as Patton points out:

Thus, the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined (2002: 343).

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<sup>35</sup> This can be exemplified with using the question: “Do you think the language is endangered?” This question would be asked first instead of simply asking: “Why do you think the language is endangered?” Having only the latter question would make it “assumed” that there is endangerment, which may be a contrary view for a selected few.

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#### 4.4.2 Interviewee Dynamics

Of the twelve interviews conducted, seven related to the Shoshone-Bannock segment of my research. All seven were guided, and all but two were tape-recorded (see 4.7 *Challenges*). Four of the seven were native Shoshone-Bannock, one of the seven was native from another Idaho-based tribe and two of the seven were non-natives.

Of the four native Shoshone-Bannock, three were middle-aged adults, and one informant was considered a “youth”<sup>36</sup>. The one Idaho-based tribal member is involved with the Idaho State Department of Education, and the two non-natives are educators. One non-native educator was an elementary teacher at an all-native elementary school, and the other non-native is a professor at one of the local universities who is greatly involved with the Shoshone-Bannock people. Of the natives, one is a Shoshoni language instructor, two are university graduates or post-graduates, and one is a middle-high school student. All informants were women, except for one (who was native Shoshone-Bannock).

Five of the twelve interviews were conducted in relation to the Sámi segment of the research and all five interviews were tape-recorded. Four of the five interviewees were native Sámi, and one non-native. The non-native informant and three of the four native informants were involved with linguistic projects and Sámi studies at the local university, and one native informant was involved with a Sámi pre-school/kindergarten as a high level administrator. They were all middle-aged; three were men and two were women.

It is worth pointing out that identity confidentiality for all interview participants, as well as the survey participants, has been maintained. Interview identification therefore is based on pseudo-labels, and usage of identity sensitive phrases or tags has been omitted.

### 4.5 Survey

Traditionally surveys have been a main part of the quantitative research method arsenal. However, I feel one can use surveys as a tool for qualitative research outcomes as well. As

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<sup>36</sup> This particular interview was in fact done with two informants, but since the interview was not as information rich as the others, and both informants were uniform in their responses and demographics, I will henceforth refer this interview as taking place with one informant to avoid complications.

Bryman points out, there is “a growing preparedness to think of research methods as techniques of data collection or analysis that are not as encumbered by epistemological and ontological baggage as is sometimes supposed” (Bryman, 2004: 463). The rationale of administering a survey was based on several ideas: to pilot as an experiment, based on practicality; to cross-check findings as a different source; and simply to creatively use another means of data gathering. The main goal for adding this mode of data gathering, however, was based on the underlying principle of attaining more information rich data in order to learn about matters of language shift and maintenance. Although this survey had some “bugs” to work out (See 4.7 *Challenges*), I believe the goal of adding more information rich data was reached and it has been beneficial to my research. Moreover, seeing this survey as a pilot, the lessons and ideas learned from this survey can be beneficial for future survey research within this topic and the Shoshoni language and culture.

As my research goal was not to generalize, which can plainly be seen by the small scale size of twelve informants, the sampling strategy for the survey was based on theory-based sampling<sup>37</sup> and not on common sampling strategies usually applied to surveys like that of representative sampling and probability sampling (Bryman, 2004).

The survey was a self-completion questionnaire that was supervised. The questionnaire (see Appendix 3: Survey and Answers) was based on the interview guide questions and was designed to accommodate answer variation (e.g., if ‘yes’ go to question #7 on page 3), and jargon was reduced to ameliorate question comprehension. The questionnaire consisted of fourteen questions, which were adequately spaced out in order to accommodate the size of the informants’ answers.

The Survey was administered to a total of twelve informants, who were all students at a local university. The majority of informants were drawn from two different Shoshoni classes, and they were native Shoshoni with the exception of three students who were non-native. Eight of the twelve informants were women, and four were men. The majority of the twelve informants were young adults.

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<sup>37</sup> Also locality convenience had an influence on the sampling choice as well, since my presence at the university and with university staff had already been established.

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## 4.6 Participant Observation

During my research for the Shoshone-Bannock segment, I had the opportunity to take part in four single participant observations. Quoting Lofland (1971), Patton defines participant observation as a “circumstance of being in or around an on-going social setting for the purpose of making a qualitative analysis of that setting” (2002: 262). The social settings I was able to become involved in and analyze were two classroom observations at a local university, as well as two classroom observations at a school of youths on a reservation in Idaho.

The first observation I was involved in was a youth Bannock language and culture class. Referring to Patton’s (2002) dimensions of field work variations, I took an onlooker observer role, with a more etic-like perspective. I was accompanied by an official of the Department of Education who conducted the main inquiry. The disclosure of my role was overt. The duration of the observation was a short single observation, and my focus was holistic. The second observation was within the same observation dimensions, but the observation was with a Shoshoni language and culture class at the same school.

The last two observations were conducted at a local university of an elementary-level Shoshoni course and an intermediate-level Shoshoni course. My role was again as an onlooker and partial participant role with the intermediate-level Shoshoni course where I participated in the learning exercises and class discussions. For these observations the etic and emic perspective was more balanced in that my partial-participant role and my involvement with the university gave my observations a more emic-like perspective. I was mainly the sole conductor of inquiry with some influence from the instructor (who was the instructor for both courses). Lastly, the observations were two single short observations, and the focus was holistic.

Also it is worth noting that I was able to sit in Shoshoni translation meetings at the same university, as well as being able to take part in a Shoshone-Bannock social lunch gathering. Besides the true personal enjoyment and cultural enlightenment that I received by participating in these events, it was also beneficial to my research in being able to build rapport with Shoshone-Bannock members, which facilitated the snowball sampling strategy for this particular segment of my research.

## 4.7 Challenges

With the Shoshone-Bannock segment, the first non-recorded interview (and in fact the first interview for this research) was knowingly without any recording device. Having a recording device would have been optimal for the interview, which would have allowed a better analysis. However, regardless of this challenge, the information given was not difficult to remember and was written down promptly thereafter. The second interview that was not tape-recorded was unfortunately due to mechanical errors where the recording was thought to be in process, but was in fact not. In addition to the recorder malfunctions, the researcher's "golden rule" as it should be, was broken by not taking any hand-written notes at the time of the interview along with tape recording, as well. As nightmarish as it seemed at the time, this slight interview error was easily amended, however, by quickly writing down what was said from memory as well as having later encounters with the informant.

Another challenge that surfaced within interviewing, with both Shoshone-Bannock and Sámi segments of research, was the lack of interview reliability, or finding it difficult on setting a time for informants to meet for interviews. One informant's interview, for example, had to be re-scheduled three times due to the informant being busy or simply forgetting. This was somewhat frustrating at times due to the fact that I went through the trouble of planning means of transportation and reorganizing my schedule to meet. However one must understand these daily life issues and empathize with the informants, whose needs and conveniences should be prioritized due to the time and effort they put forth for the benefit of this research.

The bulk of my challenges came from the survey which was performed in the two Shoshoni courses at a local university. The first issue that arose was the misunderstanding of the initial survey directions, due to both researcher and informant error. For the original survey questions prior to printing and distribution, I had made adjustments to the questions and overlooked a typing error in the initial directions. I instructed the informants to go to the wrong question (the one before the correct one) if the answer was "yes" on the first question. Although this was an obvious error on my part, most informants caught on and completed the survey without issues, and those who did answer that question (five informants) were



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still able to complete the survey with beneficial results. Once I discovered this typo, I then manually corrected the remaining questionnaires so that it would not become an issue in later distributions<sup>38</sup>.

The second issue was regarding the same initial directions; due to informant error and misunderstanding, the wrong set of questions was answered. However, this only happened to one informant, and the informant simply just answered “extra” questions and did not leave out any information that would have been there otherwise.

The third issue centered on wording misinterpretations with certain questions. This was specifically an issue on two questions dealing with the concept of “relation” and “relationship” of Shoshoni language with other dialects and English. For some informants, the concept of relation and relationship was interpreted as the “linguistic relationship” rather than a “social relationship” for which I was truly aiming for. After analyzing the two questions more carefully the rationale for the “linguistic” interpretation of the questions seemed very logical and could have been easily resolved by simple re-phrasing; thus this could have been more of a researcher’s error than anything else. Nevertheless, the answers to the questions were still beneficial and still contributed to my research regardless of these misunderstandings.

The last and probably most detrimental issue which resulted from the survey was the lack of ‘meaningful’ answers from a few informants. Some of the answers the informants put down for open-ended questions were simply yes or no and/or very minimal without much qualitative emphasis, which presumably and understandably is often the challenge that comes from a traditionally quantitative method like a survey. As frustrating as it is, one must empathize to a degree with the informants who perhaps do not share the same aspirations and motivations as the researcher, or who do not have the patience or time.

It is safe to say that data collecting can never be perfect; there will always be challenges. Whether they are in relation to the usual challenges of time and resources or not, they can always affect the outcome of research. However the challenges do not necessarily affect the research in a detrimental way. The challenges that I came across while researching were

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<sup>38</sup> Three of the twelve surveys were completed with the corrected version.

hindrances, but they did not influence the integrity of my research. What matters the most with the research integrity is its trustworthiness.

## 4.8 Trustworthiness

In lieu of validity/reliability commonly tagged within quantitative studies, qualitative studies, on the other hand, are often judged or evaluated by way of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) proposed trustworthiness. The four main quantitative criteria for validity/reliability, i.e., internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity, have the qualitative criteria respective equivalents with trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Obtaining this trustworthiness for my research has been a clear objective throughout the data gathering process. Some criteria of trustworthiness are stronger than others, but in general the overall trustworthiness of my data I believe to be sound.

### 4.8.1 Credibility

Mirroring internal validity, one qualitative determinant of the acceptability of others is the feasibility or *credibility* that the researcher provides within the research (Bryman, 2004). Ascertaining credibility within findings can include the assurance that the research has been performed "according to the canons of good practice" and by seeking the corroboration of the respondents with an account of one's findings (Bryman, 2004). The technique that is often used in order to achieve this corroboration is respondent validation. However, this technique was not applied to my research due to insufficient time and resources, as well as its questionable nature, whether or not the research participants would even be able to perform such a validation of findings pertaining to a perhaps unfamiliar social science arena. Thus, credibility of the research became validated through the cross-checking of expert validation from my two thesis advisors Dr. Christopher Loether and Dr. Halla B. Holmarsdottir, who are deemed more than adequate to have confirmative authority for my research on language shift and maintenance.

Moreover, if one looks into the context of internal validity that parallels credibility, Johnson and Christensen (2008) state that methods triangulation and data triangulation are also two ways to enhance the internal validity of qualitative research. They define *methods triangulation* as the use of multiple methods of research, e.g., ethnography, experimental,

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correlational, etc., and/or data collection, e.g., interview, questionnaire, observations, etc. (Johnson and Christensen, 2008). They explain its internal validity with the following:

The logic is to combine different methods that have non-overlapping weaknesses and strengths. The weaknesses (and strengths) of one method will tend to be different from those of a different method, which means that when you combine two or more methods, you will have better evidence. In other words, the whole is better than its parts (Johnson and Christensen, 2008: 280).

With this research, I have used this methods triangulation by using multiple methods of research techniques namely interviews, observations, as well as a survey. Or to use the analogy of Johnson and Christensen (2008), this triangulation allowed the combination of *parts* to get a better *whole*.

Johnson and Christensen (2008) also make a distinction of methods and data triangulation where *data triangulation* refers to using one single method, e.g., interviews, but via multiple sources, e.g., multiple interviews from different informants, different times, and different places. They further describe its significance to validity by stating; “each data source may provide additional reasons as well as a different perspective on the question [at hand]...resulting in a more complete understanding of the phenomenon” (Johnson and Christensen, 2008: 281).

As one can see with my research I aimed to interview a range of informant types and within different times and locations as well. For example, within the Shoshoni segment, the ages, nativeness and occupations were the primary variances that enhanced the data triangulation of the interviews and therefore increased the internal validity (and therefore perhaps the credibility) of the research as a whole.

#### **4.8.2 Transferability**

The next criterion for qualitative trustworthiness described by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is the *transferability*, which somewhat parallels external validity. They argue that true external validity is impossible to obtain where the context of the qualitative research is most often context specific and is difficult to generalize *per se* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). They best explain this notion with the following:

The establishment of transferability by the naturalist is very different from the establishment of external validity by the conventionalist. Indeed, the former is, in a strict sense, impossible. For while the conventionalist expects (and is expected) to make relatively precise statements about external validity (expressed, for example, in the form of statistical confidence limits), the naturalist can only set out working hypotheses together with a description of the time and context in which they were found to hold. Whether they hold in some other context, or even in the same context at some other time, is an empirical issue, the resolution of which depends upon the degree of similarity between sending and receiving (or earlier and later) contexts. Thus the naturalist cannot specify the external validity of an inquiry; he or she can provide only the thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 316).

To apply my research within this described realm of transferability, I have attempted to create this *thick description* of language shift problems within the indigenous speech communities in question by providing a wide variety of information, as I have done with the methods and data triangulation, purposeful sampling, etc. Therefore the transferability of the research is not up to me to declare *per se*, but my attempt of a thick description of the data aids the transferability and thus contributes to a general “database” as a reference for similar research of “potential appliers” in outside contexts (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 316).

### **4.8.3 Dependability**

Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that the *dependability* is the equivalent of reliability, arguing that a demonstration of credibility can help establish dependability. Furthermore, the use of an “inquiry audit” approach can be used to fortify this dependability of one’s research. Thus the use of having expert review, as mentioned earlier within the credibility segment of this chapter, can be deemed as a form of this auditing approach.

In order to facilitate this process of auditing and research dependability, it was also necessary to obtain and maintain complete, cited records of my research that included written consent forms from informants, full transcriptions of each interview, coding/thematic parameters documentation, and detailed participant observation notes. As Yin (2009: 99-126) notes, this kind of documentation and archiving can help form a database that aides others in similar case studies and aides the overall reliability of the data.

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#### 4.8.4 Confirmability

Paralleling objectivity within the criterion of quantitative research, *confirmability*, defined by Bryman, is:

concerned with ensuring that, while recognizing that complete objectivity is impossible in social research, the researcher can be shown to have acted in good faith; in other words, it should be apparent that he or she has not overtly allowed personal values or theoretical inclinations manifested to sway the conduct of the research and findings deriving from it (2004: 276).

One technique for determining this confirmability as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is the already mentioned inquiry audit, which can determine dependability and confirmability simultaneously. As stated earlier, this audit has been performed by the expert reviewers responsible for other trustworthiness criteria. Also to facilitate positive results in the audit performed, I performed my research in as objective and holistic a manner as possible. This “acting in good faith” as Bryman (2004) puts it, was applied in order to intensify the confirmability of the research.

Since the general methodology of this comparative multi-case study on language shift and maintenance have been laid out, it is now necessary to look over and analyze the results of the applied methodology as discussed above. The next chapter will do just that, by delineating what was found within the data gathered from the interviews, survey and participant observations of both the Shoshone-Bannock and Sámi segments of the study.

## 5. Analysis of the Research

This chapter will analyze the findings of this thesis, and aims to clarify the research questions: what are the mechanisms of language shift for certain members of the Shoshone-Bannock speech community and Norwegian Sámi? More specifically, what are the language ideologies and other barriers that perhaps promote language shift? To approach these questions, a comparative framework of the thesis findings will be implemented where one can see how these two cultures relate to each other within these language shift contexts.

The chapter is set up with the following schema: The first section of the chapter will provide an overview of how the results were coded and arranged, followed by the second section that analyzes the themes found within the Shoshone and Sámi findings. This section will also examine the commonalities and differences with assimilation hardships, analyze the common practice of code-mixing and its implications, examine the concept of English as the lingua franca, and lastly, examine the relationship between culture and language and its implications on identity.

The third section will discuss the common language barriers and conflicts found in both the Shoshoni and Sámi findings. This section will analyze specifically three common barriers: language sophistication and difficulty, language identity purism ideology, and the language stigma/shame barrier.

In the fourth section of the chapter, I will apply a self-perceived language shift causation model based on my interpretations of the theoretical framework and research findings. This model aims to delineate external and internal language shift mechanisms, language shift arena-player-drives, as well as describing five inherent language maintenance barriers of unity, numbers, funding, inspiration and time, and their relation to the Shoshoni and Sámi findings. Lastly, the chapter will end with a concluding remarks section.

### 5.1 Coding Process and Results Overview

I relied heavily on Bryman's (2004) text as a guideline for the coding process of all my twenty-eight sources of data (twelve interviews, twelve survey entries, and four observations). I thoroughly reviewed the interview transcriptions, the survey answers and the observation notes on multiple occasions. Marginal notes were then taken about the

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significant remarks and ideas from the data and the notes were labeled, creating an index of significant phrases and words, or “coding” (Bryman, 2004). The codes and themes were then reviewed where codes were combined, deleted, or re-formed, and subsequently grouped within eight thematic parameters. These thematic parameters, organized primarily based on the interview guide and survey questions, were the following: (1) Fluency, Speech Domains and Dialect; (2) Generational Differences; (3) Language Ideologies; (4) Culture and Identity, (5) Language Barriers and Conflicts; (6) Language Survival Needs; (7) Efforts in Language Maintenance; and (8) Language Health, Predictions and Hopes. Naturally, more than half of these thematic parameters had further sub-divisions, and each code or theme within was not necessarily exclusive to their assigned sub-division or even the thematic parameter itself. This coding process was done for both Shoshone-Bannock and Sámi segments, and subsequently the codes from both segments were combined.

The final result was a twenty-five page list of combined and thematically grouped codes and themes from all the data sources. All codes and themes within this code list were identified and color-labeled in order to facilitate the organization and analysis of the codes. This information is part of the “database” of my research where, as described in the last chapter of the trustworthiness section, it serves as a reference for future research. Moreover, this database will be readily available upon request.

By analyzing these results, several themes emerged which will be discussed in the following sections.

## 5.2 Themes found within the Shoshoni and Sámi Groups

When going through the research findings, many similar mechanisms of language shift within both Shoshoni and Sámi contexts were found. Moreover, by looking at these themes, one can perhaps see how these two speech communities differ as well, each having these common themes but in differing contexts and with different reactions. These similarities (and naturally their differences) will thus be more apparent while this particular section will analyze the following themes: assimilation hardships, the appearance of code-switching, English as a lingua franca, and language vs. culture.

### 5.2.1 Assimilation Hardships

As previously described in the contextualization and theoretical framework chapters, assimilation pressures perpetrated by the external forces of non indigenous nation-states via nationalist policies, namely, Americanization or Norwegianization, national boarding schools, etc., affect each culture immensely. One can see many confirming statements of this concept throughout the data, similar to the following three examples:

“Norway had a classic western assimilationist policy towards its indigenous minority”  
(Interview, SS, 2008-03-12 Sámi).

“We’ve become so assimilated” (Interview, RQF, 2008-09-22 Shoshoni), and (Interview, CF, 2008-09-22 Shoshoni).

“There’s a deep history of assimilation” (Interview, CF, 2008-09-22 Shoshoni).

A member of the Shoshoni group displayed a similar view in relation to assimilation, arguing that there has been a stark generational difference between the youth and older generations:

And like the older generation, the oldest generations were the boarding school people, and they were inmates at boarding schools where you’re prohibited to speak your language. So when they did survive boarding schools and came back, they didn’t teach their kids how to speak because it’s, in their mind, better to speak; that they learn/speak English and forget the “Indian stuff”. Otherwise they would just have great burdens in their life (Interview, QRD, 2008-20-10 Shoshoni).

Here the informant seems to equate boarding schools with prison-like environments where the primary objective was to get rid of what is native, and assimilate them into the white, Euroamerican ways. Not only does this augment the idea that the boarding school era was a deeply negative aspect for many natives<sup>39</sup>, but it also highlights how some members of this boarding school era have internalized original Euroamerican assimilationist views, where speaking Shoshoni only creates burdens in life and should not be taught. Furthermore, McCarty et al. (2006) in 3.4.2 discuss the Navajo youth that internalize this negative viewpoint of the language which, for some, was rationalized as a way to cope with this

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<sup>39</sup> For example, this negative aspect can be seen in 3.5.2 *Mechanisms of the Individual* with Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer’s (1998) example of the “I can still taste the soap” psychological pain.



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colonial world. In such a way, having a “burden avoidance” described by the Shoshoni informant can be seen similarly as a coping rationale that incorporates a negative mentality with one’s native language. This negative mentality can often encourage language shift to English as each generation does not “burden” the next generation by teaching and passing down Shoshoni.

Regarding the choice of not teaching the language due to the boarding school and nationalism favored policies as well, one Sámi informant explains the rationalization of the older generations’ non effort to teach the language. He argues, it is because they did what they thought was most beneficial in order to avoid conflict in life, similar to the previous Shoshoni statement. In response to a question pertaining to the youth’s encouragement of learning Sámi, he stated:

Well...this is what happened. I guess you know the history of the policy of the Norwegianization of the Sámi.... The Sámi themselves wanted to be Norwegian...because that...would make life very easy because they were stigmatized as being Sámi. It was not very easy for them...with the Norwegian welfare state and so on. So it was much easier to become a Norwegian. But of course what happened is that...when this indigenous movement started...the children were asking their parents and the parents’ generation why they did this, because it affected them. Because even though the parents knew Sámi and spoke Sámi, they wouldn’t do that to their children. And the result is...that they never learned Sámi. Faced with that...they asked their parents why and so on. And of course the answer from the parent’s generation would be: “well we did what we thought was best” (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi).

As discussed in 3.4.3 *Norwegianization*, active colonialism aimed to eradicate the Sámi language in educational contexts with the intent of “merging” the Sámi people into the Norwegian public Lehtola (2004). Furthermore, this merging process in Norway was largely influenced by the social Darwinist ideologies of dominating European countries, where Todal (2003: 186) argues that assimilation entailed “lifting ‘backward’ groups up onto a higher level. The Sámi were thus subjected to the same policy and ideology as a great many other minority groups, even though it could not be said that Norway was a Great Power”. These social Darwinist ideologies were marked by the creation of stigmatization of being Sámi where the Sámi language was not passed down by certain members who, perhaps, internalized the idea that Sámi was subordinate.

This idea of internalized social Darwinist ideologies can be seen with some Shoshoni members as well. Loether (2009), for example, argues that some Shoshoni have adopted what Dorian (1998) has deemed “a linguistic form of social Darwinism” where “many speakers of Shoshoni accordingly exhibit a defeatist attitude, telling me that there is no reason to try and save the language, since it no longer can be used to talk about everything, as in the old days, and since it no longer confers fitness to survive in the contemporary world” (Loether, 2009: 245). This “defense attitude” could thus be a contributing factor to the same “coping” mechanisms as the Navajo and previous Shoshoni and Sámi sentiments.

Adding to these “burden-avoidance” and “thought was best” coping rationales of language shift due to assimilation, the idea of timidness with the language can be seen as well. For example, in the Shoshoni survey, the informants were asked if there are any generational differences, and one informant answered: “Yes, due to the boarding school era, some elders and parents are timid with the language” (Survey, NF1, 2008-10). Being *timid* with the language perhaps is an effect of the coping rationales where the elders simply feel uncomfortable or unnatural when it comes to speaking or teaching the language. This, of course, can create a preference to speak or pass on a language that is deemed more comfortable to use. For some, the more comfortable language is believed to be the dominant culture’s language, creating an environment that encourages language shift.

The assimilation rationales of not teaching or speaking the language are created by a mixture of internal and external mechanisms. In the context of the external mechanisms, nationalization has seemingly created indigenous members to internalize negative connotations with Shoshoni and Sámi discourse that were originally perpetrated externally (from the non indigenous settlers). This, in turn, created an internally (individual and familial) based situation where psychological and economic coping rationales were embraced, social capital with heritage language learning ceased to exist<sup>40</sup>, where parents and family members lacked involvement with the children’s heritage language learning and lastly, previously stable bilingualism is disrupted due to diglossic changes where one variety is taking over both diglossic roles.

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<sup>40</sup> This can also be viewed as an increase of social capital with the *dominant* language as well.

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Regarding diglossia, one Sámi informant argued that the early assimilation period represented a time when the language became obsolete, as it arguably shifted towards the low (L) diglossic variety, or code. While explaining current language revitalization efforts, this Sámi informant described the context of the past where:

It was an urge in Norwegian official policy, as well as the Swedish and Finish official policies, that the Sámis should shift their language. So those strategies were to bring the children from their homes, putting them into boarding schools, banning Sámi language in some instances making the Sámi language invisible so that it only sort of became a kitchen language (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

This informant portrays the language as *invisible* and a sort of *kitchen language*, where the original vitality of the language grew thin and became domain specific (mostly at home, thus the “kitchen” analogy). As stated in 3.5.1.1, Fishman (1972) argued having strict but complementary diglossic domains was a needed feature for stable bilingualism. However, this Sámi example perhaps shows that the *creation* of diglossia was detrimental to the heritage language where bilingualism (if not complete language shift) was forced via Norwegianization, thus creating “un-stable” and uncomplimentary bilingualism. More specifically, this unstable bilingualism can perhaps be called *subtractive* bilingualism, as described by Coulmas (2005: 141), where the acquisition of L2 (Norwegian) results in the replacement of the L1 (Sámi). Furthermore, Coulmas (2005: 142) points out the unstable property that this type of bilingualism carries: “it follows from the different kinds of bilingualism that an individual’s linguistic repertoire is not necessarily stable over a lifespan, that is, one’s first language does not always remain one’s dominant language”.

Moreover, this statement is also a reminder that boarding school “enrollment” was not voluntary, since the children were literally taken from their homes and put in the boarding schools. As it will become apparent shortly, however, the boarding school assimilation process, at least in the Native American context, did not always work in the government’s favor. Consequently, other forms of assimilation were then implemented.

In addition to the boarding schools and the involuntary relocation of indigenous children, similar forms of assimilation took place via state and federal agency sanctioned methods like that of adoption<sup>41</sup>. One Shoshoni informant explained the situation:

...starting with the Eisenhower administration, they had this idea that if you take the kid away from their parents, and give them to white people, then they will be raised white people and lose their Indianness. That's kind of like a...okay; the boarding schools did not work, as far as assimilating us into American culture. The boarding schools did not work, some of them would assimilate, but most didn't. So the next phase following WWII was to take the Indian kid away from their parents and put them in white families as adoptees. And they would lose their Indianness because they would be raised as non-Indians (Interview, QRD, 2008-20-10 Shoshoni).

The goals of post-WWII adoption policies were to remove the Indianness, as this informant argues, in ways perhaps equally as or more rigorous than the *failing* boarding school assimilation. He also mentioned that the main perpetrator of these policies were often churches as well. As seen in chapter 2 *contextualization*, religious goals and nationalistic goals were very frequently one and the same: to “blot out the barbarous and devil-like” qualities of the unknown non-western minority culture, ethnocentrism at its worse. Also, in this particular situation the forced “white family” environment would perhaps have left no chance for a stable diglossia to form in most cases, perpetuating an environment of complete assimilation antithetical to bilingualism.

This “white-family” assimilation model, the forced “kitchen language” low diglossia variety, as well as the previously described coping rationales caused by harsh assimilation policies and boarding school experiences, all are factors of language shift for both Sámi and Shoshoni speech communities. However *awareness* of these past experiences can perhaps help the cause of language *revitalization*. Understanding the coping rationales, for example, can help create solutions to ameliorate the negative internalizations of the language and can help inspire minority speech community members to be more active in heritage language maintenance. To end this section, the following statement seems pertinent, which is a native informant's response and understanding to these described concepts:

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<sup>41</sup> For example, according to Moe (2007: 51), hundreds of children during the 1950's and 1960's were placed through adoption and foster care with Caucasian families. Moe (2007) reveals that the Association on American Indian Affairs in 1976 conducted a study that showed 25-35% of Native Children were not living in their own homes and 85% of those children lived in non-native homes.

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And I think that's some of the baggage... that like a speaker like myself [has] whose first language is English and did not have those experiences. And learn...that it will inspire us to be able to learn it and teach it, and encourage our younger generations to learn it. Because we hadn't had that experience and when those elders that have had those experiences are no longer with us that, I don't know...My son, I want him to know the good, the bad, and the ugly in order for our people to really feel we can't sugar-coat any of it. (Interview, LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni).

Negative language ideologies caused by assimilation have been one theme of the research findings as described above. There are also other ideologies that emerge when heritage language discourse is influenced by the dominant language or languages. This influence often involves code-switching, the theme that will be analyzed next.

### 5.2.2 Code-Switching

With regards to language contact, it is intriguing to investigate the relationship between a dominant culture's language and a minority language, and how they become more and more merged together in discourse. In a linguistic sense, one can see this merging as code-switching becomes a commonality. Both the Sámi and Shoshoni groups exemplify code-switching as seen with the following statements gathered from the data:

“In homes there are people who mix the Shoshoni and English” (Survey, 2008-10, EL\_NF4 Shoshoni).

Instructor mentioned in class on how some people mix English words and Shoshoni words (Observation notes, Int, 2008-10 Shoshoni).

“It's [English] getting too mixed in with Shoshoni” (Interview, SRES, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni).

“Interestingly, Kautokeino is also a Sámi dialect with very many loan words from Norwegian. And that's probably because they use it so much. So instead of speaking pure Sámi and Norwegian, they speak all in Sámi but with lots of Norwegian” (Interview, SS, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

Not only can code-switching be viewed as a linguistic feature, but also it can be viewed as an ideological feature. Ideologically speaking, some speakers who perform code-switching perhaps are viewing this in some sort of accommodating fashion based on their language ideologies. Often that accommodation, or acceptance, is revealed when code-switching is undeniably a speaker's choice; they choose to merge the languages in discourse, they chose to switch languages during certain situations, and/or they freely embrace foreign words within their everyday lexical pool.

On the other hand, however, it must be pointed out that code-switching is seemingly not always predetermined and a complete conscious act. For example, Coulmas (2005) best clarifies this concept by stating:

Code-switching occurs where speakers are aware of the two varieties being distinct and are able to keep them apart, although they may not do so habitually and may not be conscious of every switch they make. Code-switching is regarded as a controllable strategy, differing from both ordinary borrowing of individual lexical items and unavoidable interference (2005: 110).

Regardless of the lack of consciousness while code-switching, however, Coulmas (2005) also points out above that code-switching is a *controllable strategy* where the speakers are *aware* that the two varieties are distinct. One can correlate this trend with an increase in “code-switch acceptance” ideologies which can be exemplified earlier in 3.6.2 with Margaret Field’s (2009) example with the Navajo. Again, Field (2009) describes a situation where code-mixing between English and Navajo has become common, being a part of the normal praxis of discourse within the younger generations. This may show an increase in code-switch acceptance ideologies in that code-mixing, based on certain youth speakers’ choices, is an unmarked or “accepted” speech performance that accommodates certain English linguistic values within Navajo discourse.

As stated earlier in 3.6.2, this ideology may be considered part of the practical consciousness wing of Kroskrity’s (1998) ideology awareness scale (where code-mixing and code-switching are at a less conscious level or part of the underlying structural knowledge). On the contrary, it can also be on a discursive consciousness level (where it is more deliberate or conscious). As seen in the following Shoshoni example, this distinction of awareness is not always clearly articulated within the speaker’s mind.

In one interview within the Shoshoni group, the code-switch acceptance ideology may be a sign of a more discursive consciousness, but not concretely so. This can be seen in the following statement; “And there are a few that used to switch into Shoshoni when at certain times. And grandparents, a lot of them would switch and speak only Shoshoni” (Interview, ML, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni). The reason behind switching in this particular context remains unknown; perhaps the grandparents switched with the intent of portraying “exclusiveness” or maintaining privacy. If this were the case, then it would be a conscious switch, and shows that the code switching acceptance ideology can be deemed more on the level of discursive consciousness, where switching to the *heritage language* instead of English is specifically

performed for a certain social based goal (not being understood by non-speakers). However this is only based on a small amount of context or data. Other reasons of this particular code-switch can be based on other possibilities within the discursive consciousness level, as well as reasons based on the practical consciousness level, which should not be ruled out since the speakers are not necessarily fully aware of the initial code-switching.

Code-switching in both the Sámi and Shoshoni cases are arguably very dynamic when other codes (languages or dialects) can have the possibility to be involved (as one can see with the diglossic possibilities for the Shoshoni and Sámi described in 3.5.1.1). Although many code-switching possibilities for both groups could be seen in theory, the focus of this research was in one particular diglossic relationship. This specific diglossic relationship entails languages with bicultural and exogenetic components, inferring that the H and L language varieties are unrelated linguistically and culturally, but are under complementary domains (cell 4 of Table 3.2). Thus regarding this research, the H and L varieties consist of English (H), Norwegian (H), Shoshoni (L) and Sámi (L).

In relation to the code-switching acceptance ideology, these certain diglossic distinctions between the H and the L can help determine when or why code-switching is performed; certain domains often require certain codes (situational code-switching). The Shoshoni context is predominantly a twofold occurrence where English is mixed with Shoshoni<sup>42</sup>. For the Norwegian North Sámi speakers it can be seen as a predominantly twofold occurrence where Norwegian is becoming mixed with Sámi, as well as a third possible diglossic dimension with English<sup>43</sup>.

Moreover, possible diglossia with English exists in many other speech communities with bicultural and exogenetic distinctions between their language and English. For example, for dominant *Norwegian* speakers, English has been gaining a presence in academic domains and even daily discourse as it is the international lingua franca and a featured linguistic element of globalization. One Sámi informant exemplified English as the “mixer” when asked about English and globalization trends stating:

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<sup>42</sup> Due to the language contact history of the area, it may be argued that the Spanish and Bannock languages also contend as a “mixer”, but these occurrences are more than likely very minimal.

<sup>43</sup> Naturally, more occurrences of mixing are with Norwegian, less with English; some may even have other (non-North Sámi) Sámi language influences to a minimal degree as well.

The English language is pretty present already in Sámi, in the Sámi language. It's not uncommon for youth and even for older persons to mix English into Sámi. And that is of course a danger but it's also very unavoidable danger. It's like sitting in a huge party and make people, or this or that individual, stop drinking [laughs] (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

Here the informant gives an analogy where trying to break the *party* norms of *drinking* is just as difficult as breaking the linguistic norms of code-switching with English. As indicated in 3.4.1, globalization is often fueled by English as the international lingua franca. As globalization is seemingly unavoidable, one can conclude English is unavoidable as well, or an *unavoidable danger* threatening even the Sámi language.

On another level, this also suggests the difficulty or unavoidability with disrupting the economic approach of having English in one's linguistic repertoire for a human capital buffer. Applying this to what Becker (1992) stated about human capital as in 3.4.4, having English in one's linguistic repertoire is seen to have substantial benefits that include non-cultural and other non-monetary gains (as in general knowledge, social mobility, etc.) and improvement in earnings and wages (especially as human capital via commercialism)<sup>44</sup>. According to this informant's analogy, the rationale behind English's unavoidability is that it has more benefits than costs.

Code-switching with the minority language, therefore, can be seen from both cultures: several data sources, that included many survey answers, a participant observation, and interviews on both sides, can confirm that code-switching is prevalent. However what does this really mean in terms of language shift? One informant, while discussing issues of her own tribe, possibly clarifies this by stating:

One thing that I noticed that's common between even our elder speakers: if their language, their first language is [the heritage language of the tribe], they still have the habit. Because of being inundated with the English language, a question pops in their head or something or they're speaking with each other, they start saying in English, and then they'll throw in words...to be fluently in [the heritage language of the tribe] is hard to come by because just out of habit (Interview, LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni).

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<sup>44</sup> See also Bourdieu's (1976; 1997) linguistic capital (prestige factor) and his idea of the linguistic marketplace.



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This suggests that fluency in a language becomes impaired due to the *habit* of code-switching. The informant may be revealing a personal language ideology: the heritage language would be better off or more meaningful if the influence of English and the frequency of code-switching were less. This is based on an assumption that code-switching creates less opportunity for full heritage language discourse or knowledge. Thus in a language shift context, this may mean that the code-switching acceptance ideology can be detrimental to the heritage language as the habit of switching to a non heritage code increases, and in turn creates a discourse imbalance that disfavors the heritage language.

This idea of code-switching being disadvantageous is partially shared at least with one of the Sámi informants within a Sámi to Norwegian language context:

...Even in Kautokeino, where they have that as a mother language, [there is a] use of Norwegian words in between the sentences of Sámi; you can hear many Norwegian words. And it can be joked with from time to time that I can understand what they're talking about even if I don't speak Sámi. And some researchers say; "well actually that's not a bad sign that they use; even though they use some Norwegian words". Because I was thinking that was a very bad sign, but some tell me, "well it doesn't have to automatically mean that it is a bad sign; it can be something else". But I don't know. My first reaction is that they are using Norwegian words because they don't know the Sámi word for that. And that [these] can be very common or very natural words actually. And I'm thinking that if they can not use the Sámi words, it has to be a situation which is worsening (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi).

Here the informant shows an inner ideological conflict, where he is not sure if the pro-code switching ideology is a *bad sign* or not; and if code-switching is creating a situation where the language is *worsening*. It would indeed be unfavorable if these certain speakers did in fact have a limited command in Sámi, but is this really an accurate assessment? As he hesitantly acknowledges above, researchers do in fact suggest code-mixing is not necessarily always a bad sign. Coulmas (2005) points this out when discussing language choice and code-mixing within bilingual communities:

The resulting admixture has, therefore, often been considered a deficient and bastardized blend, certainly not a language worthy of that name. It has also been assumed that speakers engaging in such communication practices are forced to do so because their command of the languages involved is limited. A great deal of research into the relationship of linguistic diversity and societal complexity carried out during the past four decades has falsified both of these assumptions. It is not necessarily for lack of competency that speakers switch from one language to another, and the choices they make are not fortuitous. Rather, just like socially motivated choices of varieties of one language, choices across language boundaries are imbued with social meaning. Uncovering the social motivations of language-boundary-crossing choices therefore is a sociolinguistic task on a par with investigating the social motivations of dialect choice, gender-specific speech forms, or age grading (Coulmas, 2005: 109).

As exemplified with this statement of Coulmas (2005) above, a scenario where a wide range of social motivations rather than lack of competency is more than likely the case. As the informant does acknowledge that there are code-switching fallacies like this, he nevertheless still feels cautious about embracing a pro-code switching ideology that presumably many others like him possess; where embracing certain values of another language, will decrease the values and usage of the heritage language.

English has made a significant imprint on the code-switching ideologies and diglossic situations as it increases its presence in the diglossic contexts of many minority speech communities. The next topic is the dominance of English as the global language and as an international lingua franca, affecting both Sámi and Shoshoni cultures.

### **5.2.3 English as a Lingua Franca**

Related to the increase of code-switching acceptance ideologies discussed above, English supremacy, whether positively embraced or not, is an apparent omnipresent entity seen by both the Shoshone and Sámi speech communities alike. The dominance of English fuels the acceptance or the unmarking of code-switching with English and reinforces the idea that English is the global norm and international lingua franca. One Sámi informant confirms this idea, showing how it can be compared to an inevitable *law* by stating: "...it's very strong gravitational laws there that, for example, English is the default language, the obvious language to speak" (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03 Sámi). Another Sámi informant expresses the situation of English as an international lingua franca, which is also affecting Norwegian, or Norway as a whole:

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What is pointed out very often is that Norway is surrounded by English. That may be true; and it's probably true of course. And we are adjusting ourselves very much to the English system. Norway has gone through a transition...in education, switching into international degrees; there's always a question of what language you should publish in. Do you want to be more attractive? Do you want to be more understood? It's about things like that (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi).

These two Sámi examples show how English, as discussed in 3.4.1, has become a very influential player in discourse, even in a country where the majority of the population is traditionally non-English speaking. It is safe to say that English would not have such an influence within Sámi and Norwegian discourse, if it were not for its position as an essential attribute of globalization.

Also as stated in an earlier section of this chapter, one can add this “English as an essential attribute” to the coping rationales of having such an English influence in discourse. Having English helps, not only in “coping in this colonial world” on the national level within the Native American context<sup>45</sup>, but also in the Sámi context as seen in the examples above, English helps “coping in this globalized world” as well. This globalized world can be described as a platform where having English in one's linguistic repertoire creates more economic advantages and social and/or human capital than, perhaps, one's heritage language (or any other foreign language). To speak English is seen as a crucial skill within domestic and global labor markets (as discussed in 3.4.4 and 3.5.1.2). This leads to a situation which is prone to language-shift, where it is easier to abandon L2 learning in one's heritage language like that of Sámi (or other national languages) and replace it with an English language curriculum, a situation often debated among policy makers in many countries<sup>46</sup>.

Moreover it is worth pointing out that within the Sámi context, this non-heritage language preference with L2 learning creates issues within inner-communication among other Sámi (non North Sámi) speaking communities where, instead of speaking one of the other similar

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<sup>45</sup> Again, this “coping” was seen by some Navajo youth, shown with the research of McCarty et al. (2006) in 3.4.2.

<sup>46</sup> See Hega (2001) and the [www.swissinfo.org](http://www.swissinfo.org) article “English teaching divides Swiss parliament” (2007-09-25) for an example from Switzerland with issues pertaining to English vs. other national languages as the L2 required instruction in schools within multilingual cantons.

heritage Sámi languages, one reverts often to *Norwegian* as a default. In fact, the majority of the Sámi informants mentioned this occurrence:

“And we have this habit of always using Norwegian or Swedish when we meet them, the South Sámi; it’s not good” (Interview, KZ, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

“But it [Norwegian] will be the main tool for communication between North and South Sámi for instance. So it will be Norwegian between Sámi languages that don’t understand each other or/and between Sámi who speak Sámi and Sámi who don’t speak Sámi. And that’s a dilemma here of course” (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi).

“And for a Southern Sámi to let his Sámi go, it seems like a much more attractive option to grab Norwegian instead of North Sámi. Because both are hard to learn, but you can use Norwegian in many other contexts...the function of the language as a thought tool becomes a secondary priority” (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

“Since many of the politicians and also many of the bureaucrats [of the Sámi Parliament] don’t know North Sámi. I think, in my opinion, they should have learned North Sámi. Also the South Sámi should have learned North Sámi; they don’t, so they exercise their language right as Norwegian speakers” (Interview, SS, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

Although these examples illustrate Norwegian as the default language, it is important to point out that this occurrence can be applied with English/lingua franca contexts as the following commonality presents itself: the dominant languages (English and/or Norwegian) are apparently more preferred or are naturally the default over the heritage language (and/or other culturally similar languages). Moreover, this may be sustained, as suggested in the third example above, with the idea that language learning is seen only as a tool for communication, rather than a “thought tool”<sup>47</sup>, a tool given by the heritage language that some view vital for cultural identity (see next the section 5.2.4 for further analysis of language and identity).

Like Norwegian, one informant within the Shoshoni group expressed how English as a default language and being the only tool for communication, has become a hindrance to Shoshoni L2 learning as well as a hindrance for safeguarding Shoshoni as the L1 at home:

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<sup>47</sup> This notion of a language being a thought tool can further be expanded with the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* which declares “language structures the reality you perceive and each language structures a reality that is somewhat different from every other language’s” (Van der Elst, 2003: 71). Van der Elst (2003: 71-72) explains further that this hypothesis “maintains that language determines thought processes and, also, that every different language incorporates a different worldview”.

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Well, I think the English language has become so dominant that the kids who are learning the language are using it as a second language, and still communicating the majority of the time in English. So I see a real rapid decline in people that just communicate in Shoshoni on a first language basis. I see the kids being taught the language, and there's a great effort to teach them, but they're living in the society, and going to school in a society that emphasizes English. Then English has dominated even if the language is spoken at home (Interview, RQF, 2008-09-22 Shoshoni).

Although this description of *society* is seemingly within a local and national context, it can also be applied to a global scale where there is an emphasis on English, conflicting especially with L2 learning in the heritage language. This is also a conflicting diglossic situation as discussed earlier in this chapter, where the dominant language is either taking on both roles of the H and L varieties, or where the differences of these varieties are becoming more defining. In both cases however, it is safe to say that stable bilingualism is clearly becoming disrupted.

Also one Native American informant discussed what she sees as the *over*-dominance of English, pointing out that regardless of the efforts put into the language, English is always going to be the default:

Q: What do you think the relationship, power-wise, with English and a Native American Language like Shoshoni?

LINVV: You mean over-power? [Laughs]

Q: Yeah, exactly. Explain that if you could.

LINVV: It's just so, I mean, that's the dominant language. It's everywhere. It's what our parents speak now...because it is so dominant that no matter how much you try, with your native language, that it always goes back to English. Even in a conversational sense. You might experience that with the Shoshoni and Bannock language speakers...they get into a conversation and then...they forget the word in their language, or the word doesn't exist in their language. That they got to revert back to English (Interview, LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni).

This example maintains the idea that English is taking a dominant and default role, where it also affects the language discourse of a neighboring Idaho based tribe. This example shows that there is a need for advancement in corpus planning (3.7.1), which deals with the

language policy and planning efforts regarding the structuring, or in this case, the lexicon of the language<sup>48</sup>. As the informant states, some word may not exist in their language, so what is needed then is for the community (or language committee) to create new words in order to reduce the role of English as the being the default.

Interestingly, for one Shoshoni informant, however, English dominance is dwindling. It is dwindling at least on a national scale, due to an increase of pan-Indian awareness and other minority populations who are becoming more involved in cultural safeguarding issues:

Okay, historically, English is the only language of this country, but as you can see now a days...in this country...English doesn't have its supremacy as it once had. Because you have a lot of minorities moving into the country from all over the world, and they're bringing their languages and cultures with them...So anyway the language, the *lingua franca* as would call it, was English. Now English is losing its supremacy...English is still dominant language throughout most of the world, but as we become more self confident in our peoples and our cultures and stuff, then we resist the language of the oppressor, as some of us call it. So we use it when we have to, but we prefer not to (Interview, QRD, 2008-10-20 Shoshoni).

Here the informant is either describing a stable bilingualism with English (H) and Shoshoni (L) diglossia, where each variety is gaining separate value distinctions, or becoming compartmentalized, as Fishman (1972) states, or where the English higher variety role is actually diminishing as the Native American speech community as a whole is resisting the “language of the oppressor”. In an ideological sense, this pan-Indian awareness can perhaps be described as having an increase in “self-determination” ideologies as described in Anderson (2009) concerning the Arapaho speech community of the Wind River Reservation. Within this context, prevailing ideologies aimed to control the “local space-time”, opposing Euro-American knowledge and values (Anderson, 2009: 52). This can also be described as part of the “long-standing interests in American Indian studies on self-determination, cultural sovereignty, and more recent emphasis on the ‘collective’ perspective of tribal groups and the awareness and agency of Indian people” (Field and Kroskrity, 2009: 4). Additionally, this pan-awareness can surely be applied on a much broader scale to other indigenous

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<sup>48</sup> Moreover, it may be that the terminological modernization component of the concept of elaboration (3.7.1) may need improvements as well, where the language is not being properly updated as newly created modern terminology emerges.

cultures like that of the Sámi where post-Áltá conflict sentiments and language rights activism still remain (Lehtola, 2004; and Interview, SS 2008-12-03 Sámi).

Furthermore, this “language of the oppressor” tag seen above was interestingly not the only negative tag put on English found within the Shoshoni group data. For example, some of the survey answers shed light on these negative view points about English when asked what the relationship of English and Shoshoni was:

“Shoshoni is more direct than English and English can be hurtful to some” (Survey, EL\_NM6, 2008-10 Shoshoni).

“Somewhat dim. English destroys Shoshoni” (Survey, EL\_NNM8, 2008-10 Shoshoni).

“Shoshone is like a language from good...giving everything special and spiritual meaning and value...English is more corrupt and poisonous” (Survey, INT\_NM1, 2008-10 Shoshoni).

The same informant above, who expressed how the language of the oppressor is diminishing, explains what he meant by saying English is *more corrupt and poisonous*. When asked if he sees English as a poison, he states:

Not the language per se but the people that use the language, the culture that uses it. It poisons other cultures. Because part of it is number 1: that English speakers are the primary colonialists throughout the world. Even the United States with its manifest destiny; that was a colonial movement. Even though that pre-dated the colonial powers and the United States getting involved. But that idea of that Manifest Destiny to go from shore to shore and subjugate the minorities, that’s all part of that Manifest Destiny. That’s what led to imperialism and colonialism that finally ended in WWII. But it took a lot of blood to achieve that. But that self supremacy is what acts as a poison on all the other cultures it touches. Everywhere you’ve had a colonial colony, you’ve had primarily the English speakers are the ones that dominated that culture and they essentially ended up poisoning that culture that they were dominant over. So that’s like when I’m teaching and stuff with my writings I refer to the dominant language as an enemy’s language; and of course that’s English. So a lot of ways I’m really happy to see the power of the English language, the English speaking people, is being broke. Because I don’t know what’s going to happen to us, as a result of that, but no power lasts forever (Interview, QRD, 2008-20-10 Shoshoni).

Here the informant points out that it is not the language *itself*, but the users of the language that have been hurtful, the enemy, the poison, the corruptor, and the destroyer (all described by the informants above). This illustrates the common theme found within both Sámi and Shoshoni cultures: they are living in a colonial world where the dominant culture’s language becomes a poison to the indigenous language. In terms of language shift, this “corruption” has created a preference for indigenous language speakers to adapt or assimilate to the dominant language and culture.

However, as the dominant language and culture influence the heritage language and culture, the question remains for the indigenous speech community: language vs. culture: will one survive without the other? The next topic of discussion will present this particular theme: the relationship between language and culture according to the informants.

### 5.2.4 Language vs. Culture

For many informants, both Shoshoni and Sámi, the question of ‘what is the relationship between culture and language; can one survive without the other?’ was difficult to answer. This was presumably so, due to the difficulty in pinpointing the differences between the two. Language seemed to be a very vital part of identity, of the culture and the traditional arts and ceremonies.

Several informants stated in some form or another that language and culture are intricately related and that one without the other would create a non-holistic and weak form of identity<sup>49</sup>. This language ideology is not uncommon as Field and Kroskrity (2009) state:

Language ideologies are productively used by speakers as a cultural resource in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality)...Language, especially shared language, has long served as the key to naturalizing the boundaries of social groups. The huge volume of scholarship on nationalism and ethnicity typically includes language as a criterial attribute (2009: 22).

One Shoshoni informant exemplifies how language is this kind of *critical attribute* to cultural representation with the idea that ceremonies would not have their holistic purpose without the language. When asked if the culture could survive without the language, she stated:

No. I think that the language is [intricately related]...you have to have the language to fully, *fully* [have cultural meaning]...I think you're capable of conducting ceremonies without the language, but to have the full meaning of the ceremony, to be able to communicate fully the depth of the ceremony, you have to know the language (Interview, RQF, 2008-09-22 Shoshoni).

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<sup>49</sup> For example, see Appendix 3 *Shoshoni Survey and Answers*, primarily with informants' answers to questions #6 and #14.



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As discussed in 3.6 *Language Ideologies*, Irvine and Gal's (2000) conception of iconization, where a "linguistic system or feature is interpreted as an image of the essence of a social group" (Cited in Woolard, 2004: 89), can be applied here. A linguistic system, in this case the Shoshoni language, is interpreted as an image or of the essence of being Shoshoni. Furthermore, this essence, according to this informant, may include ceremonial practices. This sentiment above is an iconization ideology of language where language is essential to ceremonial meaning and thus is iconized with ceremonies in the Shoshoni culture.

Nevertheless, many informants do indeed acknowledge that some aspects of the culture can, or do exist without the language. This is exemplified by looking at the following statements from the Shoshoni group interviews. When asked about this relationship and if one can survive without the other, a native Shoshoni youth and a native (non-Shoshoni) informant answered the following respectively:

Q: Do you think the Shoshoni culture can survive without the language?

SRES: I think it could.

Q: It could? How can it survive, what are your reasons?

SRES: Because most people like the older families; and then they're traditional, and then the younger people they still bead, they make dresses and shawls and stuff like that.

Q: So like Art?

SRES: Yeah, I think it could

(Interview, SRES, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni).

And:

I think they're so integrated; that they go hand in hand that my first instinct would be to say no. But I know that there are certain little pockets of our culture that have been able to survive without the language. Tanning hides is something you don't necessarily need to be able to know/speak the language...but most...pure forms of our culture...our old religion, the old songs, the old ceremonies; they need the language [and] to be able to say the prayers (Interview, LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni).

These two examples suggest that some traditional culture can survive without the language viz., traditional arts such as tanning hides, making dresses, beaded art, shawls, etc. However, what is interesting about analyzing these two separate sentiments is that they represent, to a

certain degree, contrasting ideologies as well. They are contrasting in the sense where the first Shoshoni informant does not equate language as essential to or iconized with Shoshoni culture, but the second native (non-Shoshoni) informant does acknowledge that there are surviving non-language based *pockets* of culture. However she expresses a language ideology where language is needed for the *pure* form of the culture. Moreover the non-importance of language for cultural identity, as shown with the first Shoshoni youth example, can be confirmed with external findings from Loether (2009: 246) where; “today, many Shoshoni, especially younger speakers, do not view their heritage language as a vehicle of identity or even as a distinctive cultural resource”.

As the first quote from the Shoshoni youth exemplifies, a cultural resource that has a strong presence is traditional arts. In addition to the interviews, my participant observation points out this strong presence where both teachers of the Shoshoni and Bannock language class incorporated traditional arts into language lessons (Observation notes, Sho, 2008-10-17), (Observation notes, Ban, 2008-10-17). For example, one instructor allowed the students to work on traditional art projects like bead working when the students were finished with the assigned language class work. (Participant Observation, Sho, 2008-10-17). This example is interesting in that it portrays a rewards system where the engagement in traditional arts is a “reward” given after the “work” of language assignments and homework is finished. This may support a notion that traditional arts are more iconized to identity and culture for these students as (1) these activities are more appealing to perform<sup>50</sup> combined with (2) the observation of Loether (2009) above, where the language is often not seen as a distinctive cultural resource for many Shoshoni youth. However, one must not rule out the possibility that this could simply be a pedagogical tactic for student activity engagement that is void of any cultural importance or iconization hierarchy. For instance, the traditional art activities could be equated strictly as *enjoyment* rather than cultural significance.

Informants within the Shoshoni group further illustrate this emphasis of traditional arts in a more ceremonial or performance aspect. According to one non-native informant, this can be seen specifically in the drum groups, flute playing, dance and powwow performances which have high cultural value where “so much of the culture is ingrained in dancing and

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<sup>50</sup> This is based on the probable assumption that students enjoy these “rewards” and see these art expressions as positive to the culture.

drumming” (Interview, ML, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni). Interestingly, the same informant later expressed, “And to maintain the dancing, you have to maintain the language” (Interview, ML, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni). This suggests that as long as dancing is still vibrant, the language, at least in some form, will continue as well. For instance, this may create a situation where the Shoshoni language is iconized with dancing and drumming ceremonies. However would this form be a reduced form from the original and create a scenario where the language is used exclusively in ceremonies? One Shoshoni informant touches on this topic:

And we might end up, Shoshoni and Bannock might end up being a language only used in ceremony. Like in some other linguistic groups where nobody knows the language except the people who run the ceremony... That is common world-wide unfortunately (Interview, QRD, 2008-10-20 Shoshoni).

This ceremony exclusive scenario seems to be quite common world-wide, as pointed out by Nettle and Romaine (2000) who argue that *spoken* Latin in Europe as well as Sanskrit in India are well known languages exclusive to religious ceremonies. Moreover, they point out that the Gros Ventres language, spoken by the Gros Ventres Indians on the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation in north-central Montana, has not been “anybody’s principal language for at least 40 years” and has been kept for “mainly ceremonial occasions and ritual purposes – church activities, feasts, and so on- which are often presided over by a knowledgeable older man” (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: 92). Thus, to refer back to the concept of diglossia, the language in these particular instances is reduced to a specific domain; a domain which is exclusive to ceremonial practices. As shown with the “kitchen language” example of the Sámi informant in 5.4.1, this ceremonial exclusiveness shows how an unstable diglossia can form where one form is *forced* to become this domain specific variety. The difference is, however, that the kitchen language example was a low variety (L) situation, and where this ceremonial exclusiveness could be a situation where it is a high variety (H) as it is in a formal or less vernacular setting. However, it remains unknown if this is in fact a diglossic situation that the Shoshoni are encountering, since the informant is only speculating.

Coming back to the notion of cultural survival without the language, one informant of the Sámi group mirrors the Shoshoni sentiments above, where the traditional arts of the culture can survive without the language. This Sámi informant also adds a more paradoxical bearing

to this sentiment, where her answer to the initial question of cultural survival without the language, is a yes *and* a no. For example, when asked this question, she stated:

Yes and no. Because the culture and language, they are bonded together. In some way yes, and in some way no...but I think more no. I think it goes hand in hand, the culture and the language. Hmm. Sámi language, Sámi handicraft; you need to speak Sámi to do Sámi handicraft if you understand what I mean. You don't need to speak Sámi language to work with meat, to prepare Sámi food or get up the tent. You must understand the knowledge about those things, but you don't need to speak. But you must *understand* it, and *why* is it like that (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17 Sámi).

She also explained how she incorporates traditional activities with the pre-school children where Sámi handicrafts (*duodji*) are made, as well as performing Sámi traditional singing (*yoik*), dancing, reindeer meat preparation, etc. (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17). For her, these activities build Sámi identity and culture, which is just as or even more important than learning the language. An identity hierarchy is seen here where being Sámi (via traditional arts, etc.) is more important than speaking Sámi. She expresses this sentiment when asked if children who have been involved with the preschool in the past, hold on to the Sámi language:

Yeah. Many keep the Sámi language. If parents speak, they keep Sámi language very easily. But if some parents don't speak Sámi language it will be harder. But you know, they will have the Sámi *culture* in their heart. Even if they don't speak they will have those in their heart. It is also very important; the culture, the identity. Sometimes I think that the identity is more important than to speak the language, because if you lose the identity, then you don't know who you are (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17).

One Sámi informant, however, has a contrasting sentiment to the above sentiments of *you don't need to speak it, but must understand it, and identity is more important than to speak the language*. This informant has an almost essentialist view point on language involvement with identity and culture where you *need* to speak the language, because it is *essential* to the culture. When asked if one could survive without the other, he replied:

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I am very much tempted to say no [slight laugh]. I don't think so...I can't imagine what it; well I'm not only tempted to say no, I *will* say no. Because that's my opinion, I will say no. I'm just trying to think what would the culture be without the language? Very difficult I think...I think a very, very, *very* essential part would disappear. It's more to a culture than a language, yes I can agree on that, but if that disappears, then it just proves to me then that we are going in the direction where we will melt into the Norwegian society as a whole. Soon the language, the culture, traditions, knowledge, everything will just be a memory of something that once was, in my opinion (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04).

For the first Sámi informant, the iconization ideology of language towards culture is not as strong as it is for the second informant, who further argues that this lack of iconization may even lead to erasure (3.6 *Language Ideologies*), which Trechter defines as “[becoming] subsumed under the totalizing and dominant ideology” (2003: 432). In relation to language shift, this erasure and lack of iconization according to the second informant may create a situation that encourages language shift towards Norwegian, as they slowly *melt* into Norwegian society.

With a more straightforward yet optimistic viewpoint, one Sámi informant claimed the culture can survive without the language because it already is. In addition, although this is a weak (limping) form of the culture, it is still better than nothing:

The Sámi culture without the Sámi language, well, we already have that situation, where two-thirds of the Sámi have lost their language. And we still have a kind of culture. So yes, I would say that; that the culture would be able to survive. But it would be a very limping culture so to speak. But even if you are limping, your life can be good (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03).

This last statement gives an idea that things could be worse and shows optimism with the situation: despite these issues of language and identity, life still can be good. In an ideological sense, perhaps the informant acknowledges that the process of erasure, as exemplified above, is occurring with the language, but nevertheless, remains optimistic by saying a limping culture can be okay.

Regardless of this optimism, however, there will always be language barriers and conflicts that promote language shift, and make cultures even more *limping*. In the next section I will further look into the language barriers and conflicts found among the Shoshoni and Sámi groups.

## 5.3 Language Barriers and Conflicts

This section examines the common language barriers and conflicts the informants of each group revealed. When language shift is apparent, there are many barriers that block the heritage language from being at full sustainability. In terms of Fishman's (1990) RLS, these are blocks prohibiting minority languages from advancing towards the lower stages. Many of these barriers are perceptibly unique to each culture, and some language barriers and conflicts are recognized by both the Shoshoni and Sámi informants. The following common themes: language sophistication and difficulty, language identity purism, and language stigma/shame can be deemed as barriers for both the Sámi and Shoshoni languages, barriers that hinder language maintenance and consequently encourage language shift.

### 5.3.1 Language Sophistication and Difficulty

When coming across literature from previous centuries, it is truly alarming how some authors' views on the indigenous languages were so inaccurate; that these languages are simplistic, barbaric, primitive, etc. without any sophistication<sup>51</sup>. This is surely not the case, as both of these languages have a complexity far beyond "primitive". I can attest to this notion based on first hand experience with Shoshoni. For example, during my participant observation I was able to take part in some of the lessons for a Shoshoni language class. One lesson in particular was on the Shoshoni numeral system. Numbers in Shoshoni take on the role of nouns, have case endings and sometimes these endings are like the plural and dual endings of nouns (Gould and Loether, 2002). The effort of saying just one number requires much concentration. For example, the number *eighteen* in Shoshoni is: *seemooten nawiwatsewitem man do'aingende* or literally in English "ten with eight emerging" (Gould and Loether, 2002; Observation notes, Sho Int, 2008-10). This lexical complexity is just one example of many intricate linguistic features that include: verbal complexity, postpositions, intonation, liaison and final features, word order, etc.

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<sup>51</sup> This "primitive" viewpoint can be seen with Field and Kroskirty (2009: 12) who stated that during the colonization period, some Europeans viewed unwritten languages as primitive and even barbaric, and quoted the U.S. Commissioner for Indian Affairs J.D. Atkins who in 1887 (U.S. Congress 1868) stated that Indian children's "barbarous dialects should be blotted out". See also Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 74), Silver and Miller (1997: 3-6) and Crystal (2000: 84) for confirmation of these viewpoints.

The Sámi language is difficult to learn as well as being a very rich language. Like most agglutinating languages, Sámi is heavily reliant on affixes and thus has complex morphological structuring. Moreover, expressing a single word in Sámi in another language sometimes takes many words, or even sentences<sup>52</sup> (Lehtola, 2005). Some Sámi informants acknowledged this difficulty, for example: “It’s a very difficult language because you have so many clauses, etc....” (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17 Sámi). Also another Sámi informant stated it is a difficult language to learn for some, and takes time to learn:

Like my colleague here, he used to say that the Sámi language is the only language in the world you can only lose, you can’t learn it. [Slight laugh]. People, they *oppfører seg* [act or behave] like it was not possible to learn it. But of course you can learn it even if it takes some time from you (Interview, KZ, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

Moreover, a Native (non-Shoshoni) informant comments on the difficulty of language learning within the context of her own heritage language:

When they’re learning it, I’ve noticed that they want to learn it. It’s just...it’s hard. It’s a hard language to be able to learn. And because there’s past tense, present tense, and future tense and learning, just learning like a verb, and learning all of those different suffixes that you add on to it; that it’s difficult (Interview, LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni).

These above statements exemplify the idea that the difficulty of learning a heritage language for some can create a possible language shift scenario. Heritage languages that are threatened with language shift often rely on L2 learning of that heritage language to create new speakers where fluency needs to be improved. The above examples address the issues at hand that are often associated with Fishman’s RLS stage 8, where reconstructing the heritage language is sought and where second language learning is a focus. Language sophistication and difficulty sometimes discourages language learning, more specifically if it is the learner’s second language or L2. Therefore this adds to the *discouragement* of learning and negatively affects language learning inspiration (See 5.4.3.4 *Inspiration Barrier* for further

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<sup>52</sup> Also, the Sámi language is very exact for describing qualities of natural phenomena and places with hundreds of words for snow and ice, where “the vocabulary denoting the different characteristics of snow is so precise that it is now being used as a base for developing a terminology for international scientific use” (Lehtola, 2004).

explanation). In addition, this lack of inspiration from speakers creates difficulty in reaching RLS stages beyond stage 8.

This is not to suggest that the difficulty of language acquisition and language complexity are always relevant to language shift, however, one cannot ignore the fact that at least some view this in a discouraging manner and thus rationalize their embracing of the dominant language because of this difficulty and the complexity of their heritage language. For example, this discouragement for language learning can lead to language shift prone language ideologies like; “I just think English is better, I hate learning a new language” (Interview, SRES, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni).

There are also other forms of discouragement that do not necessarily concern the structural features of the language itself, as language sophistication or difficulty has suggested above, but rather concern the socially constructed language norms of the speech community. One such socially constructed norm is language identity purism, which will be examined next.

### **5.3.2 Language Identity Purism Ideology**

Often language norms of the speech community hinder the encouragement of language learning and promote language shift. For example, one Sámi informant discussed a situation where some Sámi speech community members frowned upon those who claimed to be Sámi, but who do not actually speak Sámi (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17 Sámi). Thus, these community members can be seen as having language identity ideologies where the “correct” form of group identity is only when it is combined with the knowledge of that group’s language. When describing a conflicting situation with a Sámi acquaintance of hers, the same informant states:

...She said to me once, “some people they look to me like I’m not Sámi because I don’t handle the language”. So I said to her; “don’t. You must not let those people take your group identity feeling away. Never, never” (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17 Sámi).

Moreover, later in the interview, she refers back to the language identity problem:



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You know there is also a big barrier to get those people who don't have the language, to give them the Sámi feeling. That they are Sámi, have Sámi value, same value. So a way of encouraging. We cannot sit here. I cannot sit here and think [or look] down to people who don't handle the language. No, I don't want to work in that way, but I know before and I also know now [that] there are strong Sámi people who don't, you know, who think that we are the best who handle the language and can [speak it and] everything. And they then forget the group who "don't have this language". I think it's very... it's dangerous if they want to have one group here...not so big [on] Sámi...we have parents here who are very like that. Sometimes it's very hard. We have one Sámi couple here, they look down to other couples who don't handle [Sámi], and that gets me angry...and I told them that we are... we have the same value, Sámi people. Even if we don't speak, even if people don't speak Sámi. They must remember that those children are also same[ly] equal. We don't want to look down to children who don't have the language (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17 Sámi).

These examples show that there is purism, not only with language but with identity, a purism that contends in order to be Sámi, you *have* to speak Sámi. This language identity purism can often *take your feeling of group identity away* and can create some form of avoidance or discouragement when learning the language for those who are perhaps in the group who *don't have the language*.

The question is, however, where does one draw the line between language identity purism and what could be called language "essentialism", where the language is simply essential to identity but is perhaps not necessary for identity? One Sámi informant expressed his opinion on what it means to be Sámi and speak Sámi. After rationalizing the lack of language learning and instruction due to the assimilation hardships, he states:

I understand the history and I, of course, know that. But I think sometimes it's too easy to say that, "well, I didn't get the chance to learn it", and then let it lie. I think that...more should put much more effort into it. And actually I would call it, actually say they have an obligation to do that. That they should do that because I think language is very essential in being a Sámi actually. I feel that. And it's not about taking away the Sáminess of others, but I just, I do think that there's so much you cannot understand when you do not speak Sámi. I feel it is very essential. And although the history is as it is, we can not do anything about that, but more should learn (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi).

Here he describes that learning the language is *essential* to Sámi identity. In addressing the previous question of where the line is drawn, I would say one key phrase from this statement perhaps clarifies this distinction of "essentialism" and purism; *it's not about taking away the Sáminess of others*. This, I would argue, is where language identity purism embraces

intentionally or unintentionally the taking away of Sáminess, and where language identity essentialism does not, as shown in the statement. The language ideology of purism, in other words, takes Irvine and Gal's (2000) iconization of the language to a higher level where the image of the essence of the social group without the language is unacceptable, but where for the essentialist this iconization can be on a more lenient level where taking away the nativeness or identity from the non-speakers is not a goal. However, this distinction between purism and "essentialism" requires more investigation beyond the scope of this thesis, and therefore, the above analysis should not be considered as necessarily mirroring reality. The true distinction of these two concepts may be argued as being unclear or having identical definitions.

Among the Shoshoni, the evidence of language purism is quite apparent. Looking beyond the findings of this thesis, the work done by Christopher Loether (2009) can help shed light on many language shift issues pertaining to language ideologies in particular. Loether (2009) raises the concern of manipulating language ideologies in order to encourage language learning and maintenance. More specifically, Loether suggests one ideology that should be somehow manipulated: elder purism, or the "ideas and beliefs of elderly speakers and the role they can play through either negative or constructive criticism" (Loether, 2009: 254). Part of this elder purism is based on the language identity purism ideologies described above, where elders are often the source of discouragement when learning the language because of the "purist" attitudes they carry. The following best explains this scenario and its implications:

Native American cultures generally have great respect for elders. Because of this, many young speakers of Indian languages find it difficult to go against their elders' wishes. This may also affect how they view their own language. Older speakers, through their words and actions, can often prevent younger speakers from taking possession of the language or feeling that they have a stake in the language. This feeling of possession or ownership is important if speakers are to continue using the language in the future and to pass it on to the next generation (Loether, 2009: 254).

One informant confirmed this elder purism during class time (Observation notes, Sho Int, 2008-10) and is exemplified by one informant who tried to explain why she lacks interest in learning Shoshoni:

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And plus some of the words, too, like the elders it's not really cool to go to those classes because they'll like argue with each other on 'how to say' because they each have their own way of saying it and they just argue back and forth...it's usually how it's like...so people say that really, they don't really know the language, they just have their own ways of saying it (Interview, SRES, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni).

Although this statement may have a greater emphasis within the issues of language or dialect variance (See 5.4.3.1 *Unity Barrier*), this “elder arguing”, however, can corroborate with the notion of elder purism. It is possible that the elders argue about what is correct to say based on purist ideologies they may have. Consequentially this can relate to language discouragement by making it *not really cool* for some youth to participate in language learning. It can be said, for example, that this elder arguing about how to say a particular word, may lead to critically negative attitudes towards Shoshoni youth when they use “slang”<sup>53</sup> in Shoshoni discourse or when they are speaking grammatically improper Shoshoni.

This “elder arguing”, which may be linked to elder purism, can be applied to the Sámi as well. In two interviews one can see statements like, “we see it, well I see it too often we see that there is a disagreement whether this or that word or phrase is the correct one to use and so on” (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi). In the statement of another Sámi informant:

So there are the older people, from the older generations that see so many new...Sámi words in the newspapers and “it's not our words”. Even if they understand them, “but it's not our words, I'm not used to that word”. So you can hear also that. Some people say that it is a new Sámi, a modern Sámi, “not our Sámi” (Interview, KZ, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

These examples may not represent true “purism”, where learning discouragement is *obviously* at work, but they do show that there are disagreements about the way the language is being used. Consequently these disagreements may also lead to purist language ideologies that create language barriers towards language maintenance.

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<sup>53</sup> Slang use can be confirmed with one informant (Observation notes, Sho Int 2008-10) and in the context of another tribal language (LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni).

Often this purism is an attribute to what may be deemed as a “traditional elitist” social class, as one informant expressed it (Interview, RB, 2008-08-28 Shoshoni). This non-native informant described a value of “being traditional” that some tribal members try to achieve, and can be seen as an almost elite group (Interview, RB, 2008-08-28 Shoshoni). In a broader sociological sense<sup>54</sup>, iconization can be applied here where this value of “being traditional”, which may include having Shoshoni in one’s language repertoire, is part of the “image of the social group” (Woolard, 2004). However, according to this informant, the reality of this perceived traditionalism does not meet the standards of what the informant would deem as truly traditional. For example, the informant describes an acquaintance of hers who claims to be traditional, and who speaks the language, yet does not truly live in a traditional manner (Interview, RB, 2008-08-28 Shoshoni). This may be an occurrence of Irvine and Gal’s (2000) erasure, but on a strictly social level rather than sociolinguistic level. This would be where some activities, or in this case lack of activities, i.e., not living a *true* traditional lifestyle, is rendered invisible (Field, 2009), yet fronting this traditional elitist iconization is still performed.

Also relating to this traditionalism, according to the same informant, some within this group maintain a native exclusiveness when it comes to language learning. For example, she informed me that a local instructor has received criticism in the past for teaching the language to non-natives (Interview, RB, 2008-08-28 Shoshoni). She stated that the reason for this apparent criticism is two-fold: because critics have pride in their own dialect (part of the unity barrier of 5.4.3.1) and because teaching non-natives should simply not be done.

Native exclusiveness to language learning was also described by a Native American (non-Shoshoni) informant within her own tribe. For example, when explaining why there was a high dropout rate for a heritage language learning program, she stated it was for two main reasons, language difficulty (as seen with 5.3.1) and:

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<sup>54</sup> This sense is contrasting to the strictly semiotic/sociolinguistic sense of iconization that has been previously applied until now.

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The other part is, and I took it upon myself to ask some of my peers why they didn't stick in the language class, three of them told me that it's because of the instructor, not because he's not a good instructor but because he is non-native himself. And it's just a vice they have against learning our native from a *sooyaapoo* or a "white man". I didn't even take that into consideration when I was learning because you know he's obviously got a gift (Interview, LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni).

Here there is a native prejudice, or *vice* as the informant puts it, towards a person teaching their heritage language who is non native himself<sup>55</sup>. One can see the dilemma with identity language ideologies conflicting with non-member (Western) involvement ideologies<sup>56</sup>.

These examples of native exclusiveness show that for some members the domains where the language is used can apply only to a certain group who has a shared identity, i.e., Shoshone tribal members or those who have Shoshone heritage. In a purist ideological view, this group exclusiveness sustains purism further, where not only does one need to speak the language in a desired form or style, but also the speaker needs to have a shared identity as well. Related to the issue of identity is the issue of shame or stigma, which will be discussed next.

### 5.3.3 Language Stigma/Shame

Another barrier that can be influenced by the negative language/identity purism ideologies described above is language stigma or shame. When language contact between a dominant language and an indigenous language occur, it is safe to say that many speakers of the indigenous language, either by way of assimilation or internalization, label their language as "lesser of the two". With that comes stigma or shame when hearing and using that language<sup>57</sup>. This increases the occurrences of language shift from the minority language to the language that is "higher up", or relating to diglossia, the shift towards the high variety.

Within both Sámi and Shoshoni groups, there are examples of a speaker's portrayal of shame or stigma with the language. Ideas of shame and stigma can perhaps be traced back to the

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<sup>55</sup> See Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998: 84-88) for a similar example of a Tlingit speaker's "not wanting to learn from a white person" and its ideological factors.

<sup>56</sup> See Neavin's (2004) article with a similar anti-Western/pro Western ideology contrast in Apache pedagogical programs.

<sup>57</sup> See 3.5.2 with McCarty et al.'s (2006) example of shame within some Navajo youth. Also see Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, (1998: 65-66) with Tlingit examples of shame and its role in an educational context.

assimilation or boarding school era, as described earlier in 5.2.1, during the time when it was “just not ok to speak the language” (Interview, LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni). The boarding school caused timidness and discouraging attitudes towards speaking and teaching the language that were prominent in the past, to permeate today, often in form of shame of the language or identity.

These instances of shame can be seen as a form of embarrassment for some Shoshoni speakers as one informant confirms, “but you can’t save the language with only a few people where ninety percent of the people don’t want to learn, they’re too embarrassed to learn, or it’s not for them” (Interview, QRD, 2008-10-20 Shoshoni). Moreover, for one non-native informant from the Shoshoni group, this shame can be applied more specifically to conversational contexts. She described individual situations of embarrassment from members of other local minority speech communities (from the Spanish and Basque speaking communities) who she argued have had similar experiences as the Shoshoni, where heritage language use in public with family members was followed by a sign of embarrassment on the behalf of some children (Interview, ML, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni).

Some informants perceived this shame going beyond a linguistic level, where one has this stigma with native *identity* as well as the language. On the Sámi side, one informant expresses this identity shame where some try to hide their identity, “but some Sámi people hide that they are Sámi. Because they aren’t proud of that they are Sámi...some Sámi try to hide that. And they feel that ‘oh Sámi is not good’” (Interview, LG, 2008-12-17 Sámi).

Among the Shoshoni, one informant proclaimed that there often seems to be an identity stigma as well, more specifically among the youth about being Indian, which is often influenced by white Euroamerican conceptions. She acknowledged that certain myths among white Euroamerican culture in surrounding areas do affect native youths and their self perceptions of being Native American, which in turn influence their actions or lack of actions (Interview, RB, 2008-08-28 Shoshoni). These “lack of actions” can of course involve Shoshoni language learning where the language is an identity marker, a marker which some do not want.

For one Sámi informant, *other* identity markers are seemingly without stigma, where *just* the language as an identity marker is stigmatized. For example, when asked about the relationship or priority level between Norwegian and Sámi, she stated:

...how I experience it now, just now, it's not a bad thing to be a Sámi, to say that you are a Sámi, or to show you are a Sámi. In any, in almost any connection at all, but still, as long as you don't talk Sámi [laughs]. Being a Sámi, using a Sámi symbol, Sámi clothes, that's accepted and it has value in many connections. But talking Sámi, people often react because they carry... they don't understand. Even if you have the right to talk Sámi in some meetings and so there should be some people interpreting, it's still, "ah who needs to do that, can't you talk in Norwegian? It's much easier. Why should we use time and money, or things, work for that? It's better for you to talk Norwegian" (Interview, KZ, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

This shows that *talking Sámi* has negative connotations, where other identity markers like Sámi symbols and clothing are seemingly less stigmatized. This also shows how language stigma perpetrates language shift where *it's better for you to talk Norwegian*.

Keeping this in mind, where language shift is sometimes influenced by language stigma, all the described instances of shame within each Shoshoni and Sámi case given above can be applied to the following concluding commentary on shame and its implications with maintenance efforts:

But whatever the mechanism [of the form of assimilation used], the result was the same: a growing sense of inferiority or shame about one's language, a reluctance or embarrassment to use the language for fear of evoking further condemnation, and a natural desire to avoid having one's children exposed to the same experience. If people believe, rightly or wrongly, that it is their ancestral language which has kept them down, or that they were held back from social advancement by an inability to speak the dominant language well, it is not surprising to find them antipathetic towards preservation, and unsupportive when language maintenance projects are in place (such as in schools). And when this view is reinforced by the opinions of the young people themselves – who may also see the old language as irrelevant or a hindrance, and think of the older people who do still speak it as backward or ignorant – it is only to be expected that negative attitudes pervade the whole of a community (Crystal, 2000: 85-86).

This statement exemplifies the “coping rationales” as discussed earlier and how they encourage language shift where there is a desire not to teach or expose the children to the same experiences. Moreover, it also suggests that shame or embarrassment concerning the language is another by-product of the assimilation mechanisms. As one can see, members of the Sámi and Shoshoni speech communities have had experiences with these notions of shame, and embarrassment with the language. Moreover, these experiences combined with the detrimental attitudes certain youths have, unfortunately, create an environment where

*negative attitudes pervade the whole of the community* and thus in certain instances, language maintenance becomes a difficult task for the Shoshoni and Sámi languages.

Most of these shame examples are manifested via individual based view points about heritage language and thus internal mechanisms of language shift. However, it can be argued that this shame viewpoint was created via an external source, namely by Euroamericans or Norwegians and their governments' past assimilationist policies. Thus, this external and internal relation/distinction of language shift will be further examined in the next section, as these mechanisms are applied to a causation model.

## 5.4 Applying the Causation Model

As discussed earlier in chapter three, two distinctions of the mechanisms of language shift were seen: external and internal caused mechanisms. By looking over the findings of the Shoshoni and Sámi speaking communities, as well as examining existing literature on the subject of language shift, one can see a certain trend and relationship within these external and internal mechanisms of language shift. To help illustrate these congruencies, I will examine the interrelation of both mechanism distinctions as well as examine a conceptual scenario of a non-existence of external mechanisms. Then, I will introduce a causation model that describes the external and internal spheres of language shift, followed by analyzing the components and implications of such a causation model.

### 5.4.1 Mechanism Interrelation and Without External Scenario

Some of the external factors of language shift can be viewed as internal and vice versa. For example, media and pop culture are inevitably *externally created*, but yet it is still an *individual choice* (internal mechanism) whether to prefer one musical artist over the other, or reading one newspaper over the other.

Many internal mechanisms are somewhat externally manifested, meaning that some of the reasons why the internal mechanisms exist, viz., choice, shame, responsibility, discouragement, etc., is because of the outside world and external factors. Take the Shoshoni elder purism (section 5.3.2), for example. The reason why the youth do not want to speak or learn Shoshoni is sometimes due to the unintentional or intentional discouragement. Yet, it can be argued that this discouragement hypothetically would not have existed if members



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were in a different *external* context where Shoshoni monolingualism was the norm, without the influence of English or globalization, and where Shoshoni language learning was adequate and available. Furthermore in the Sámi case, if Sápmi land was sovereign and deemed as a nation-state of its own, without the externally caused division of the Sámi peoples within four nations, then the assimilation efforts of the Norwegian government would not have taken place, the avoidance of teaching or speaking Sámi due to the internalized assimilation or boarding school mentality would not have been created, and therefore the internally manifested stigma of the Sámi language and Sámi identity that some carry today would not have been an issue.

In order to examine the topic of a hypothetical non-existence of externally manifested mechanisms further, some of the Shoshoni informants discussed the notion that isolation is seemingly one, or *the only*, answer to the avoidance of the external mechanisms that cause language shift. For example, when asked about the externally caused dominance of English, one Shoshoni informant stated:

...Especially because we live so close to town, I think that we as a people associate with the outside world on a higher level of or more frequent level than if we were more secluded. And I think that if we were more secluded, then the language would have stayed with us as a people. But because we have such good access to town, and the school systems are in town...you know we're assimilated (Interview, RQF, 2008-9-22 Shoshoni).

Here the informant implies that assimilation would not have existed if there was isolation and thus no language contact. In other words, without the external mechanisms the issue of language shift would be non-existent and therefore there would not be any internal mechanisms of a non-existent entity or language shift. She points out, however, that in reality access to the "outside world", or urban access, is easier for the Shoshoni. From this, one could conclude that the majority of the external mechanisms, i.e., internalization of the white man's negative views of Indians as stated in 5.3.3, would be omnipresent as long as this ease of access remains.

In addition to the omnipresent urban access, one Shoshoni informant acknowledges that isolation can never be attained although he feels it is seemingly the *only* answer to language shift. While discussing the externally caused mechanism of globalization and its affect on the native population he states:

What Shoshoni needs to survive is a complete cultural revolution. We've got to get rid of this white mindset that we have, which is going to be almost impossible because we are not isolated. If we were isolated, that would be one thing. Even in the Navajo you know you get a lot of places on the "rez" down there that's isolated. Literally isolated...the electronic waves get everywhere, so you can't isolate; you can physically isolate the people, but you can't isolate them electronically. [You] can't isolate them from the world around them. So that's something that we can't change. Even though that's *the* answer-is isolation (Interview, QRD, 2008-10-20 Shoshoni).

According to this informant, the power of globalization, which is an externally caused mechanism, is an unavoidable process *that we can't change* even though isolation is *the* answer to language shift. Moreover, he sheds light on the Navajo situation where even as isolated and arguably a successful RLS example as the Navajo case is, reality is that the Navajo still are affected by the "gravitational laws" (to put it in the words of one Sámi informant discussed earlier) of the external mechanisms of language shift.

These examples of isolation show that the external mechanisms of language shift are seemingly difficult, if not impossible, to avoid. With this in mind, one can see that there is a possibility that certain qualities of the internal mechanisms are determined by the external mechanisms. The following causation model based on my interpretations of the research will make this concept of inter-relations clearer.

## 5.4.2 Causation Model

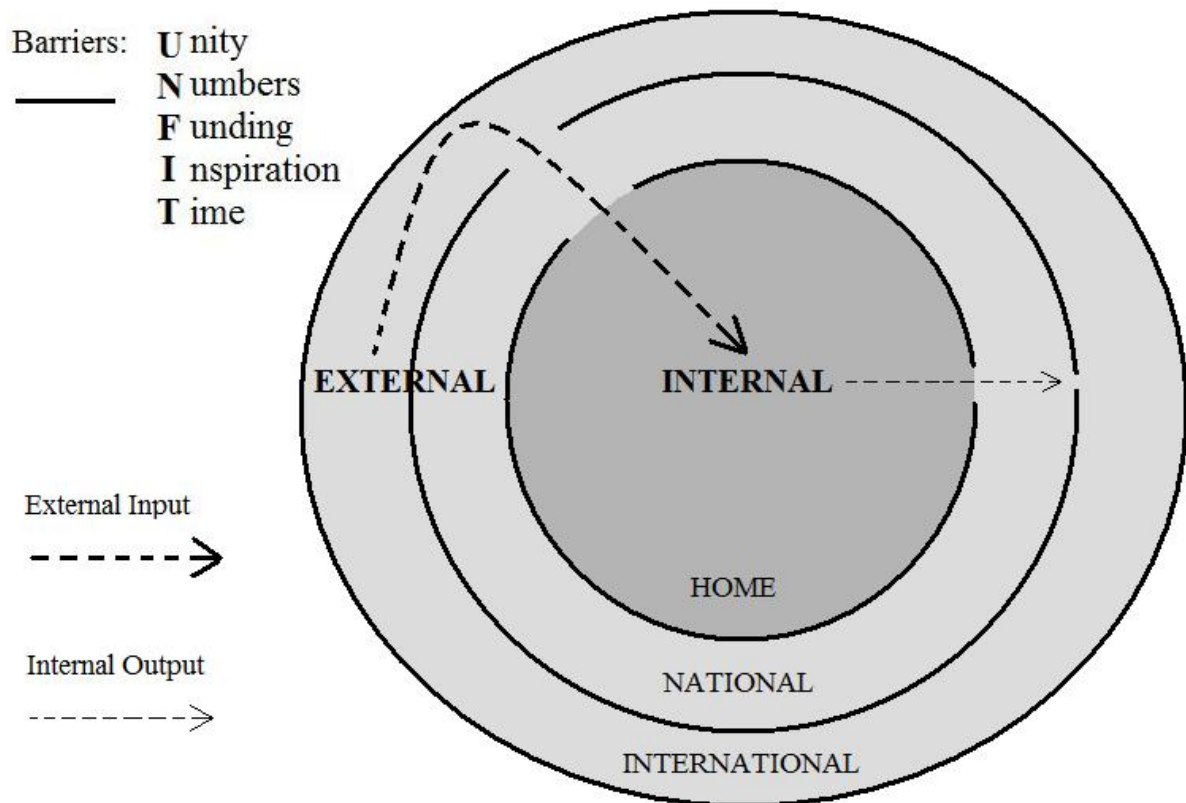
Figure 5.1 depicts a causation model where two mechanism spheres are labeled and positioned: the *external* and the *internal* mechanisms. Rings within these spheres are what are called the *arenas*, or the divisional components where the mechanisms take place. From the inside out, the arena for the internal mechanisms is labeled *home*, and the arenas for the external mechanisms are labeled as *national* and *international*. Also, each sphere and arena are encased and defined by lines that are labeled as *barriers*, which are the inherent road blocks of language maintenance (which will be discussed further in 5.4.3).

### 5.4.2.1 External Input and Internal Output

The two arrows represent the influence, or input and output, of each mechanism sphere; the larger arrow represents the *external input*, and the smaller represents the *internal output*. For example, as one can see from 3.4.1 and 5.2.3, English as the international lingua franca is externally caused by globalization and can be seen as an influence (external input) on the

local speech communities where “speaking English is a way to cope in this colonial world”. Moreover, the internally caused general “boarding school mentalities”, as seen in Chapters three and five, can be seen as an influence (internal output) within the local speech communities as well, where views of shame, timidity, embarrassment, etc., can permeate to other members and create heritage language learning discouragement.

*Figure 5.1 Causation Model*



Note that the external input is represented by a larger arrow and creates a larger opening to the internal sphere. This suggests the considerable magnitude of influence (larger arrow) that the external mechanisms has and its capability to avoid barriers (bigger opening) compared to the influence of the internal output (which thus has a smaller arrow and smaller opening to the external). For example, the magnitude of influence English has within the inner sphere as an international lingua franca can be said to be greater than the influences most internal outputs would have. This is due to the fact that English has a larger array of resources based on its hegemony in academia, pop-culture, media, etc., as well as having a smaller chance of

being blocked by inherent barriers of funding, numbers, etc., where English has support of these factors rather than being obstructed by them<sup>58</sup>.

Also, this model suggests that the external input and internal output can create inter-arena access through at least one arena/sphere. For example, using the same external mechanism output English, as the international lingua franca, can be shown to access all the outer and inner spheres/arenas as it undoubtedly affects or influences many communities of all scales in a much broader fashion. An example of inter-arena access with internal output can be seen if one applies language *maintenance* techniques to this internal output arrow. The California based Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MALLP), described by Hinton (2001c), is a language maintenance or revitalization program that implements a one-on-one language learning model where daily activities and discourse are performed in a collaborative approach using only the heritage language. Not only has this originally local-based learning model (internally created) gained state-wide support in California, but also it has influenced language maintenance efforts on a national level (national arena) where MALLP components and training can be seen in other states such as Oregon, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma (Hinton, 2001c: 226).

Also note that the internal output arrow does in fact have access to the international outer arena sphere as a narrow opening remains in the arena border for potential access. This suggests that although quite small, there is still a window of opportunity for the internal factors to influence the external arenas in minute way. To apply this to the MALLP internal output example above, this suggests that MALLP, if able to perform such a feat as gaining nation-wide recognition and influence, may then have the possibility to influence beyond a national scale within the global arena influencing other indigenous speech communities around the world, if this has not already been the case.

In the Sámi language maintenance context, it may be argued that this internally based influence within the global arena has, in fact, been done where local knowledge from other European minority languages has had an influence on the Sámi language. As Todal (2003) points out, international trends and cooperation, via the exchange of professional and

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<sup>58</sup> See Bryson (1990) and Coulmas (2005: 165-168) for confirmations of English dominance and its support of numbers, funding, etc.

political ideas from other European speech minorities, was a substantial influence for the Sámi. Todal (2003) provides an example where during the 1990's Welsh-language institutions in Wales teamed up with Sámi educational institutions (the Sámi College, the Sámi Educational Council, the Centre for Sámi Educational Resources) concerning L2 Sámi language learning at the primary and lower secondary levels. He further states, "The results of this cooperation had a great influence on how Sámi institutions later gave priority to the various pedagogical tasks, and experiences from Wales provided a pattern for certain courses in Sámi teacher education" (Todal, 2003: 191). Although this may show a more national-to-international influence where this particular case involves national based components like educational institutions, it should not be ruled out that these national influences may have initially been *locally* manifested prior to higher institution adoption. Therefore, this example can perhaps still stand as an internal-to-external (home-to-international) influence or internal output.

As described above, there are components, like educational institutions, that carry out these influences. The next section will explain further these components or *players*, as well as the arenas and drives that come along.

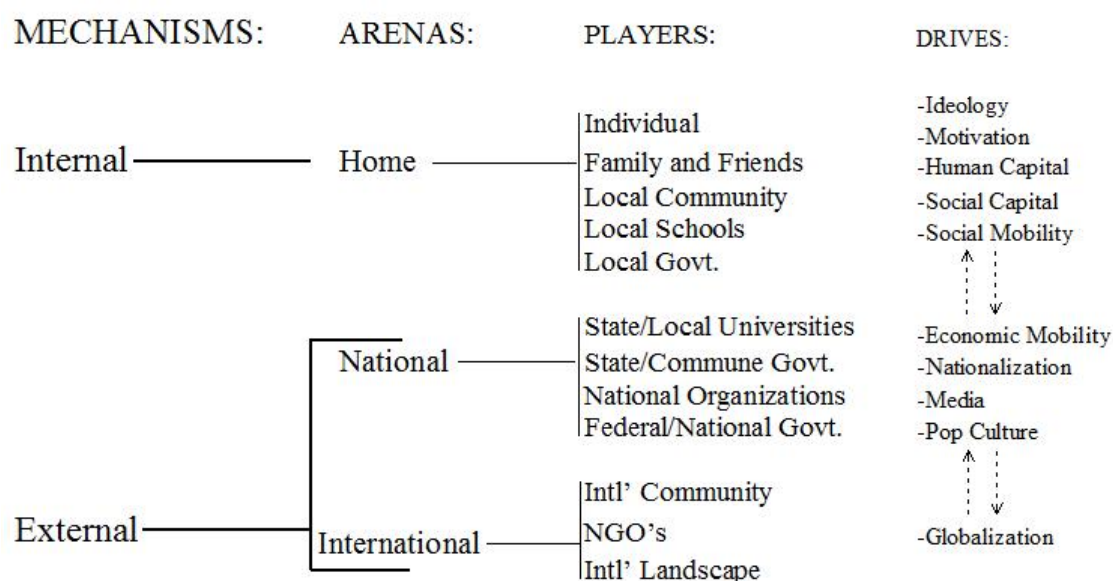
#### 5.4.2.2 Arenas, Players and Drives

Figure 5.2 depicts a breakdown of the mechanisms and their arenas. Keeping the causation model in mind, one can assume that each arena, i.e., home, national, international arenas, has components, or *players*, within themselves that carry out the tasks of each arena (thus the external input and internal output arrows in figure 5.1). These players range from the individual of the home arena<sup>59</sup> to the international landscape of the international arena. In addition these players have *drives*, or the actions manifested by the players which affect the mechanisms. These possible drives range from ideology of the internal mechanisms to globalization of the external mechanisms. Note that the arrows between each subgroup of drives represent the fluidity of certain drives. In other words, some drives can be deemed both internal and external agents, e.g., economic mobility (as seen in 3.4.4), and media/pop culture (as seen in 5.4.1), as well.

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<sup>59</sup> As one can see, the term *home* assigned for "the home arena" is used in a broad sense where its players can extend externally as the local government. This suggests that this entity still deals with "at home" issues and politics on a more micro level than the national government within the national arena.

Figure 5.2 Arenas-Players-Drives



To understand how this model works, one can go back to the previous English-as-the-lingua franca example which is a case of an external mechanism output that influences the internal sphere (bigger arrow of figure 5.1). English, as the international lingua franca, is an external output that can be created within the international arena/sphere via globalization, which can then influence the national sphere/arena perhaps via economic mobility. Then English, as the lingua franca, eventually affects the home arena/sphere where the individual internalizes the benefits and importance of learning English, which in turn can create ideologies that encourage language shift.

Another example of an external output that is more within the Sámi context can be seen with Norwegian as a dominant language. Norwegian language dominance is created within the national arena/sphere via Norwegianization (nationalization), which can then influence the home arena/sphere where individuals perhaps see benefits of social mobility more so with Norwegian than Sámi, and thus an environment that accommodates language shift is created<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Of course there are other drive possibilities or a combination of drives beyond those given in these two examples.

### 5.4.2.3 A Dual Effect of Drives

Examining further the drives shown in figure 5.2, it is worth pointing out that some can be found either among these hindrances of language maintenance or they can help dissipate language shift. For example, the drive of pop culture and media within the Sámi context is an example that helps dissipate language shift for the reason that Sámi has a considerable presence and influence within Norwegian media and television. However, this presence for some is arguably not as good as it could be, as shown in the following statement from one Sámi informant:

And also things you are reading or TV, these things the young people want to listen to, or they are talking about, usually we don't get Sámi input about that. So I really [think] there should be a lot more books, magazines for young people...in Sámi where you could read...about the High School Musical (laughs) in Sámi, because now you only get it in English or Norwegian, for instance (Interview, KZ, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

The fact is, nevertheless, that Sámi still has a media presence in Norway, regardless of what kind of a presence it is<sup>61</sup>. In terms of Reversing Language Shift this would put Sámi within the successful stages of RLS, namely stages 1 and 2, where local and nationwide mass media production with the heritage language is carried out.

However, for the Shoshoni the presence of the language in media, especially television, is very minimal or non-existent. Therefore, looking at the media and pop-culture drive in this aspect would be considered part of the funding needs of language maintenance (see next section 5.4.3 *funding barrier* for further description) and therefore is a detrimental factor towards language maintenance.

Another drive that can be both a hindrance and an aid to language maintenance is the ideology drive that primarily involves the home players, i.e., the individual. Loether (2009) argues that language ideologies can be grouped together by different criteria. One such distinction is between positive ideologies, which he states are those that aid language maintenance, and negative ideologies, which are those that hinder language maintenance

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<sup>61</sup> All informants confirmed that there is a Sámi media presence either in the form of radio, TV, and/or mass-produced written materials, i.e., newspapers. Also based on personal experience, I can confirm a Sámi presence in television (nationally broadcasted programs which were accessed in Oslo and Tromsø).

efforts (Loether, 2009). He mentions two Shoshoni based ideologies that can be deemed positive ideologies: one can be labeled as the *power in words* ideology, which is the “belief in the power that the language contains” where certain words hold more social meaning or power than others; the other is what can be labeled as a *reciprocal respect* ideology, where “if a speaker takes care of the language and respects it, it will take care of that speaker” (Loether, 2009: 247).

Although the distinction of the reciprocal respect ideology as being positive remains unambiguous<sup>62</sup>, the positive-negative distinction of the power in words ideology is not as clear-cut. For example, this ideology can be an encouraging and pride producing ideology, portraying an iconization between the power of the language with the Shoshoni culture and identity. On the other hand, this same ideology can be viewed as having negative connotations. As Loether (2009: 247) points out, if one disrupts this power, i.e., speaking of geographical landforms within close proximity of these locations, then “that person can cause great harm”. In addition, Glowacka and Gould (2008) briefly touch upon this power in words ideology and exemplify both its positive (healing) and negative (hurtful) qualities with the following observation:

The Shoshoni language is considered to be a gift from the Creator and a carrier of thoughts. Traditional custom dictates that people will carry their language with them to the next world. This implies a responsibility of caring for the language and avoiding its abuse. A lowering voice is a sign of respect. Words spoken and silent in thought are believed to have power and have to be chosen carefully. Words may be used to hurt a person and in consequence to shorten his or her life or they may be used to heal (Glowacka and Gould 2008: 33-34).

Although the positive-negative distinction of the *power in words* ideology is seemingly more towards being positive, this ideology, however, has the *possibility* to have both positive and negative qualities. As seen above the power of words can *cause great harm*, or can *hurt* and *shorten one's life*. More to the point, these negative qualities can, in turn, become obstacles towards language maintenance efforts. It should not be ruled out that the potential harm from this ideology can form *discouraging* sentiments towards the language where some speakers

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<sup>62</sup>To exemplify the clear positiveness, Loether (2009: 248) states that this reciprocal respect ideology, in particular, has been “one of the most important language ideologies” for one influential Shoshoni speaker as it has been a key source of motivation with her “tireless revitalization work on behalf of the language”.



would refrain from speaking Shoshoni in an attempt to avoid taboo and to not disrupt this ideology.

### 5.4.3 The Barriers within the Causation Model

As mentioned earlier, the borders of the mechanism spheres are the barriers or the hindrances of language maintenance. The external input and the internal output must be able to break these barriers in order to have inter-arena access<sup>63</sup>. These inherent barriers that affect the arenas' players (see figure 5.2) can be examined further and grouped into five main divisions or types. As illustrated in figure 5.1, these barrier types are in a mnemonic form in order to facilitate the understanding of these possible barriers the players encounter. Although in reality language barriers would seemingly be exhaustive, the following barriers nevertheless are deemed primary or universal barriers. They are as follows: UNFIT- Unity, Numbers, Funding, Inspiration, and Time. It can be argued that these barriers are applicable to the Shoshoni and Sámi cultures as well as many other minority speech communities in general. The following section will define these barriers further and apply them to the thesis findings from the Shoshoni and Sámi cultures.

#### 5.4.3.1 Unity Barrier

The barrier of *unity* in this causation model refers to the language issues pertaining to unity or group identity. Findings from the Shoshoni context can best exemplify this unity barrier. In addition to the Shoshoni examples found within the *identity-language purism* of 5.3.2, this barrier can best be exemplified with issues of inter-tribal, familial or dialectal jealousy. One Shoshoni informant explains this jealousy when asked about the local efforts of language maintenance:

...people are jealous of each other. So like if one family is doing this, and the other family thinks they have the correct way, and only their way is the correct way, and their way is the only correct way. And so they're constantly fighting, backstabbing each other and sabotaging each other, so people end up losing (Interview, QRD, 2008-10-20 Shoshoni).

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<sup>63</sup> As seen earlier with the English-as-lingua-franca example, these barriers are not as hindering as they are for the internal output example of language maintenance techniques. For instance, funding and numbers are bigger barriers for MALLP to influence the outside national and international arenas.

In addition, one non-native commented on a dialect disagreement issue that was seen in a Shoshoni language class (elementary level) at the school she taught:

[For] the lady who taught the Shoshoni [class], there were lots of complaints from a couple of grandparents that had custody of their children about the way she was pronouncing things. And she's full-blooded, and these women [other Shoshoni language teachers/aids] were full-blooded but theirs [was the wrong dialect]...they [the grandparents] were more upset with her than the white teachers; [the white teachers] didn't have any problems. But they [the grandparents] were really hard on her because they said that she was pronouncing it wrong. So that became a big issue (Interview, ML, 2008-10-06 Shoshoni).

The unity barrier for the Shoshoni is apparent here with these two examples where group unity is an issue, tied in with issues of dialect variation (as seen in 2.1.2) and dialect *jealousy* that hinder language maintenance<sup>64</sup>. These unity problems in view of dialectal issues can be further examined in the findings of Loether (2009) as well. Loether (2009) explains that because of the extreme variation of family-centered dialects along with language prestige rejection and thus the non-existence of a standard dialect, language instruction becomes difficult where these dialectal differences must be acknowledged, and language learning therefore becomes a challenge when the learner must learn these dialectal differences.

Following Kroskrity's (2009) *variationist* egalitarian language ideology that describes dialects as solely reflecting family and kinship group, as opposed to tribal or national identity, Loether (2009) further argues that standardizing the language is opposed. For example, he states:

“[T]his ideology works against the imposition of any one dialect as a standard. This ideology is manifested in many language classrooms when parents object to their children being taught a dialect of Shoshoni other than their family's own” (Loether, 2009: 246).

This particular issue most definitely parallels the second given example above.

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<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, this variation issue can not only be seen on a linguistic level, but can also be seen on a socio-cultural level. For example, Campbell (2001) argues that the desire of the Lemhi Shoshoni to remain socio-politically distinct from the other Shoshone-Bannock tribal members has “engendered hostility, if not a prejudice towards the Lemhi” (Campbell, 2001: 566).

Viewing this particular unity barrier within a language policy and planning perspective, these Shoshoni familial-dialectal conflicts thus create hindrances in the codification process of corpus planning of the language. This creates an issue where standardizing an orthography for educational purposes is needed, yet cannot be agreed upon as one Shoshoni informant claims throughout the interview:

There's no standard as far as orthography goes, which causes some problems, too. Because, well, you have a lot of jealousy going on between different families.

All this jealousy and everything negative about the white man's road is what we've adopted. And that's impacting our languages because nobody is willing to say, "Well, okay let's sit down and agree on a common orthography".

A couple of families use [one] form of orthography...and of course they're trying to write their stories down using their language. But they have nobody to teach an orthography. They don't even know what the word means, much less how to set one up [slight laugh]. So that's some of the biggest problems we have trying to preserve our language (Interview, QRD, 2008-10-20 Shoshoni).

Another barrier that blocks language policy and planning, and thus hinders language maintenance, is the numbers barrier, a barrier that is perhaps more obvious than the unity barrier described above.

#### **5.4.3.2 Numbers Barrier**

In order to minimize the issues of language shift, a language obviously needs users of that language. Therefore, one can apply *numbers* as a barrier in the causation model, where having more speakers (numbers) creates a better chance of avoiding language shift. Much of the findings correlate with issues pertaining to low numbers of speakers<sup>65</sup>. For example, one Sámi informant best explains this barrier and its implications. When asked what the barriers are to language maintenance, he states:

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<sup>65</sup> See Appendix 3: *Shoshoni Survey and Answers*, question #13. Moreover, Loether (2009: 244) briefly points out the numbers issue by stating, "Among Shoshoni speakers at Fort Hall today, the number of those involved in a child's language socialization into Shoshoni is still small but for different reasons; there are now only a very limited number of people who still can and will speak Shoshoni, especially to a child".

Very basically that too few speak it [slight laugh]. I think that the situation would be much different if most of the Sámi spoke Sámi. That would influence the status of the language, that it would be considered by the greater majority to be a full language. It would mean that the language work would be improved- finding new words. The language work in general I think would be improved. So I think having... the challenge is to get children and young people to actually start learning it and using it, that we don't lose the number of speakers. Because we are very few already (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi).

According to this informant, if the number barrier were to be reduced where the number of speakers increased, then processes like corpus planning, i.e., *finding new words*, would benefit. It is also worth pointing out that although Sámi (namely North Sámi) can be argued as a RLS success story, these kinds of sentiments above seemingly contradict this success.

One can also say that these kinds of notions could have a trickle-down effect where the Shoshoni speakers, who are less fortunate than the Sámi in the number of speakers<sup>66</sup>, would challenge such sentiments. Moreover, this could continue even further where, perhaps, members of native California language communities such as the Elm Pomo speech community, who only have a handful of speakers or less left, would challenge the Shoshoni “challenge” of the “so few of us” sentiments. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that all of these languages, though within differing contexts, are still minority languages where speech communities of these minority languages should all have equal justification for seeing the need to gain more speakers.

Not only does a language need numbers of speakers to be self-sustaining, but financial support is needed to be stable when maintaining or revitalizing the language. This crucial financial support is part of the causation model's funding barrier, which will be described next.

#### **5.4.3.3 Funding Barrier**

In order to fully maintain a language at a sustainable rate, capital resources inevitably are needed. Thus the third main barrier within the causation model is labeled the *funding barrier*. The needed capital resources are what helps produce or maintain vital language learning

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<sup>66</sup> For example, there are 2,000-5,000 Shoshoni speakers vs. 17,000 North Sámi speakers. See chapter 2.

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resources in the form of salary provisions to language teachers, text books, learning materials such as language learning software, instructional videos and CDs, etc. Gauging how big this barrier is for the Shoshoni and Sámi cultures is difficult. For the Shoshone-Bannock, much tribal revenue is provided by the gaming industry as well as farming and ranching, to name just a few internal outlets. In theory, there are also the possible external outlets of funding with federally based programs like the Native American Languages Act, which supposedly allocates funds to Native American language maintenance. As far as this research is concerned, however, it is unknown how much revenue from these described outlets is actually allocated to Shoshoni language maintenance efforts (see 6.1.1 for further discussion of this federal based act).

In the Sámi case, there are many internal sources of revenue from nature-based economies like reindeer herding and farming, as well as external funding outlets like the state recognized Sámi Parliament, or *Sámediggi*, and other organizations, research institutions and associations. However the amount of funding and how it is distributed to Sámi language maintenance efforts has not been examined as part of this research as well. It is known, on the other hand, that some Sámi informants do express the “too little, too late” viewpoints. For example, one Sámi informant states:

...we now have some free capacity that could have concentrated on language but the programs are, if you look historically at them, and if you ask the government, then they would say that “hey, look at the increase that we got. You got from 0 to 100 miles per hour in like 5 seconds”; “we can prove it by looking at the increase in the budgets”. And that is true, but if you compare that to the needs, then the programs still become too tiny, too little, too late (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

There is also an uncertainty of whether funding is being allocated in the optimal area for best results in language maintenance. This can be seen with one Sámi informant while discussing the Sámi Parliament. He stated that the Parliament does allocate money for different purposes that include language, but there is a question whether they are within the “correct or right measures” (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi). In other words, he questions if the funding is used properly and effectively towards the goal of language maintenance. He further clarifies this with an example of the wasted allocation of funds and resources by translating governmental documents into Sámi. He states that this translation process goes to waste as the finished products literally go “in the garbage” (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi). He gives it a final analysis by stating:

Is there any point in doing that? Then there are people who will say, “instead of doing that”, it is not a question about cutting it off totally, but “instead of putting so much resources into it, why not for instance translate Donald Duck into Sámi?”...And I think that, many people point out that measures like that, that’s where the results come from (Interview, OG, 2008-12-04 Sámi).

Regardless of whether or not funds are allocated sufficiently, what is apparent in both the Shoshoni and Sámi cases, as well as many others, is that the need for funding always has a presence when dealing with language policy and planning. As seen in 3.7.2, Hinton (2001a) points out that language revitalization programs have a number of key characteristics needed in order for those programs to be successful: persistence, sustainability and honesty with one-self. The characteristic most significant when dealing with the funding barrier is *sustainability*. Sustainability encompasses the capital flow needed in order to fund local learning requirements, expansion to outside communities, and more importantly to continue to even exist.

Besides the needed funding, and perhaps dealing more with the *persistence* characteristic of a successful language revitalization program given by Hinton (2001a), inspiration on behalf of the speech community can be a factor in keeping a language program alive, as well. This inspiration and its implications with language maintenance will be examined next.

#### ***5.4.3.4 Inspiration Barrier***

The next barrier within the causation model is the *inspiration* barrier. This barrier describes the motivational issues that the players sometimes have. If the goal is to have language usage continuing in each generation, then there needs to be a desire of keeping the language living. Many themes already discussed within this chapter have dealt with forms of discouragement, e.g., the identity language purism ideology (5.3.2) and the language difficulty discouragement (5.3.1). All of these themes can have a role in this barrier<sup>67</sup>. In particular, one can see the inspiration barrier at work with the concept of the “why bother” attitude some Shoshoni members have, according to Shoshoni informants from both interviews and

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<sup>67</sup> Adding to this inspiration barrier, as well, can be the “defeatist attitude” some Shoshoni speakers portray as confirmed by Loether (2009), as seen in 5.2.1.

the survey<sup>68</sup>. For example, when asked what a language needs to survive, one Shoshoni informant stated:

The attitude of the people [in an assuring intonation]. The people need to see that the language is a vital part of being Shoshone-Bannock, and both languages, Shoshone and Bannock, need to be a priority. And for the majority of people, rather than letting it go saying, “we’re progressing, so why bother to learn the language?” That’s the attitude I see with the youth...they don’t see the need to learn the language (Interview, RQF, 2008-09-22 Shoshoni).

Moreover, when asked if this “why bother” attitude is common among a lot of people, she states:

I think it is because the youth aren’t taking the initiative to learn the language on their own. They’re depending on outside people to provide that opportunity for them. And when it’s offered, then they don’t have time (Interview, RQF, 2008-09-22 Shoshoni).

One Shoshoni youth further adds to this concept:

I have kind of my own thing going on. And I don’t really have time to learn it (Interview, SRES, 2008-10-06).

These examples show that there is a “why bother?” attitude with many youth, where they *don’t have the time* and are not *taking the initiative*. These examples, combined with the Survey results (Appendix 3), show how this age group seems to be quite an important player in language shift for the Shoshoni, where inspiration is a key barrier for this particular age group<sup>69</sup>.

As one saw in the above examples, the youth often do not have the *time* to learn the heritage language. Time in itself is also a barrier that can hinder language maintenance efforts, which is the topic of the last barrier described within this model.

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<sup>68</sup> See survey answers to Question #11 and #13 in Appendix 3: *Shoshoni Survey and Answers*.

<sup>69</sup> One can safely assume that this “why bother” attitude can be seen within many other indigenous speech communities, including the Sámi. Moreover, it is worth noting that the youth are not the only important players in language shift, as it can be argued that the older generations are equally as important.

### 5.4.3.5 Time Barrier

The final barrier described in this chapter is *time*. Time can be for or against language maintenance. Unfortunately, for most indigenous languages and their users, time has been a barrier against them. Besides time being a barrier on an individual basis that relates more to inspiration and/or the actual learning of a language<sup>70</sup>, time, in a broader sense, can also be a barrier where it is hard to undo the language shift that has been occurring for, arguably, centuries. To turn this around could take centuries more in order for certain minority languages to be at a sustainable level<sup>71</sup>.

By taking an example from the Sámi group, one can see how time is against the indigenous speech community as described above. While discussing the barriers that block the Sámi language from being more self-sustaining, one Sámi informant states:

There are problems also with North Sámi. The main problem is that you don't turn a hundred years that easily...the main barriers of course are the one hundred years of modernization. This modernization project has not included Sámi, so that is the main barrier. And turning such a process is very long and very complicated question (Interview, SS, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

Further on in the interview, he then describes how the delay with the Sámi writing system and essentially the creation of a standard orthography could be an example of this Sámi non-inclusion in modernization (Interview, SS, 2008-12-03 Sámi). In the Shoshoni case, this orthography delay, due to lost time during “modernization”, can also explain why the Shoshoni have issues in orthography besides the issues of dialect variation and lack of language prestige distinctions: time has been against them, where an orthography has not had the time to establish itself like the orthography of English.

As the last Sámi informant notes, to tackle the issues of this time barrier upon language maintenance is a long and complicated process. This can surely apply to all the other UNFIT

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<sup>70</sup> Examples seen in 5.3.1 *Language Sophistication and Difficulty* can confirm this time-taking task of learning the language in question.

<sup>71</sup> Exceptions to this time constraint can include the Welsh language. For example, the vitality of Welsh was at its lowest between 1961 and 1971. However, this was followed by a genuine turnaround in language vitality within the last thirty years, where in 2001, the number of Welsh speakers were “seen to be increasing” (Aitchison and Carter, 2004:11).



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barriers discussed above, as well. Moreover, because of this complicated process, reversing language shift takes a considerable amount of effort and awareness from those involved.

## 5.5 Concluding Remarks

As discussed in this chapter, one can see that these two indigenous language groups in question have commonalities with language shift issues, and at the same time have unique attributes that help distinguish their differences as well. Language shift themes discussed in the chapter ranged from common assimilation hardships, code-switching, having English as a lingua franca, and identity ideologies that are revealed via the relationship between language and culture. Also, one saw how both the Shoshoni and Sámi speech communities can be affected by common barriers that hinder language maintenance and learning encouragement: language sophistication/difficulty, language identity purism ideology, and a language identity stigma. Also by applying a causation model, one is able to see language shift in a different manner, by examining the implications of the external and internal mechanisms, and how there are possibly what can be called inherent barriers of unity, numbers, funding, inspiration, and time that affect both the Shoshoni and Sámi cultures but in different ways and contexts.

Although the struggle with these hardships and barriers are seemingly complicated, certain measures and efforts can and have been taken to combat language shift. Language maintenance is not necessarily an unreachable goal for these indigenous community members. The next chapter will shed light on some of the agents and forms of aid that encourages language maintenance, describe the current situation with both the Shoshoni and Sámi languages, describe future research recommendations, produce a recap of the findings and lastly provide an overall conclusion.

## 6. Conclusion

### 6.1 Contemporary Solutions and Efforts

In theory and in practice language revitalization of a diminishing language, in even the most critical conditions, can be done in a successful manner. The well known case of the Hebrew language in Israel could be deemed a language revitalization “Holy Grail”, so to speak. Now a vibrant language among over seven million speakers, Hebrew used to be considered “dead” for almost two millennia until the Hebrew enlightenment during the mid-19th century and a series of national language implementation reforms (Crawford, 2000). However, for many indigenous language minority cases, “in practice” it is not as easy. Besides many other contributing factors, Israel had significantly more public support and funding (barriers one can see with UNFIT) compared to other endangered languages. On the other hand, the Hebrew example shows that successful revitalization is possible even in extreme cases, from a linguistic stand point. For this reason, it is possible for the still living Shoshoni and Sámi languages to be successful in revitalization as well.

Aiming towards this success in language revitalization and maintenance, there are current local and federal based solutions and strategies which are designed to aid the linguistic struggles that Shoshoni and Sámi speakers often encounter. The following two sections will briefly describe these solutions.

#### 6.1.1 Federal/National Efforts

On the federal level within the U.S., the Native American Languages Acts of 1990 and 1992 have helped Native American tribes and organizations to implement policies supportive of Native American languages. These Acts enabled the federal government to award funding to language preserving efforts that include establishing language projects, teacher training, the development of necessary teaching materials and technological equipment, etc. (Native American Languages Act, 1992).

Although this act and its implications for the Shoshoni language remain unknown, one example, however, where funding from the federal government has been granted in order to aid Native American languages can be seen with the creation of the Native American Language Shift and Retention Project. McCarty et al. (2006), who are the chief investigators

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for the project, describe the program as an Arizona based 5-year research program focusing on understanding the implications that effect Native American languages within language learning and the lives inside- and outside-the classroom of Native American youth. Although this is seemingly geared towards a Navajo context, federally funded projects like this are small steps of progress towards Native American Language maintenance and research in general.

For national based efforts in the Norwegian context, Sámi language use and rights have been promoted and safeguarded by the Norwegian government sponsored Sámi Act of 1987, and its special provisions within official domains added later in 1992 (Huss, 1999). According to these provisions, for example, the possibility for Sámi medium instruction is guaranteed for all pupils in the compulsory schools within the six municipalities covered by the act (Huss, 1999). Huss (1999) also points out that in four municipalities in northern Norway, Sámi is a mandatory subject for the non-Sámi, and the language is included in the curriculum for secondary language learning. It is also worth pointing out that outside these municipal areas included in the Sámi Act, Sámi pupils (at least in theory) may still receive Sámi medium instruction as long as at least ten pupils in the same school request it (Lie, 2003).

Within both the U.S. and Norwegian contexts, criticisms of these national efforts do exist, however. For example within the U.S., the funding provided by the Native American Languages Acts are questionable to some as being too little and/or too late (Hinton, 2001b). Moreover, as shown by the Shoshoni case, there is seemingly an ambiguity with its application to Native American language communities, i.e., when and how the Native American Language Acts are used, and whom do they benefit.

In the Norwegian context, both Lie (2003) and Huss (1999) confirm that the Sámi Act only mimics the design of the current Norwegian schooling system, which is controlled by national and international standards. This creates limitations within the curriculum where important Sámi cultural elements and beliefs are left out. For example, not having access to other Sámi knowledge sources, including those based from familial activities, are superseded by Western-based literature as the primary language knowledge source in school (Huss, 1999). Furthermore, Lie (2003) notes that there still remains a lack of resources, e.g., teachers and teaching materials, for Sámi courses within certain school systems, as well as a lack of investigation of the actual learning environments within the current Sámi language programs and school systems in Norway.

However, regardless of these criticisms, as one Sámi informant puts it, “Something is better than nothing” (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03). These national based solutions aim to provide at least some help with this difficult problem. Also these national based efforts combined with local higher education efforts, discussed next, can create a better arsenal against language shift and establish a better position in relation to language maintenance.

### **6.1.2 Local Higher Education Efforts**

Within the Shoshoni context, there have been multiple efforts in language maintenance, e.g., preschool or Head Start Shoshoni language components, the mandatory Shoshoni language class at the local Native high school, etc. However, some solutions and efforts are worth further mention. One of the most significant efforts to combat language shift on the Shoshoni language, has been the creation of the Shoshoni Language Project at Idaho State University, put into operation in 1989 (Loether, 2009). This higher education based program has implemented two full beginning and intermediate level Shoshoni language instruction courses at ISU which can help fulfill the university’s general education requirements for a foreign language. Furthermore, it has produced language-learning materials that are currently being used in primary and secondary school contexts, personnel training in language material production and local dialect teachings, participation in Shoshoni language conferences that promotes and aids local efforts in language learning workshops, as well as producing and maintaining a Shoshoni Language Project website with an online dictionary and original Shoshoni poetry or stories produced by members of the Shoshone-Bannock community themselves (Loether, 2009).

However, the future of this project remaining a component of the university was at one point very bleak. As recently as mid April of this year (2009), Dr. Christopher Loether, Drusilla Gould and others, were struggling to save the Shoshoni program, *as well as* the Indian Studies program as a whole, from termination requested by the university (Loether, personal communication, 2009-23-01, 2009-24-02, and 2009-04-14). One certainly hoped that the administration of Idaho State University would soon recognize the value this program held to the university itself, where its unique presence essentially puts ISU “on the map”. Most importantly, however, one hoped that they would recognize the sheer importance of the program and the contributions it makes to the Shoshoni speech community regarding language maintenance. To allow such a blow to the language and culture would have only proven that the negative remnants of Americanization could even seep into the higher

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education realm, a realm which should always be embracing cultural knowledge advancement, not deterring it.

Despite its near termination, however, good news was received in early May showing promise for the project. With the combined efforts from namely the project directors, Dr. Loether and Drusilla Gould, and a significant part of the Shoshone-Bannock community, the Shoshoni Language Project was saved from termination (Loether, personal communication, 2009-05-04). Thus, the Shoshoni Language Project will be able to continue its efforts in language maintenance and remain a language component within the context of local higher education<sup>72</sup>.

Within the Sámi context, university level courses in Sámi can be taken at the Universities of Oslo and Tromsø, as well as the university colleges in Alta, Bodø, and Kautokeino (Huss, 1999). Moreover, at the University of Tromsø, a center for Sámi Studies provides research-based and educational programs on Sámi issues and promotes co-operation between several related fields (Huss, 1999).

One of the biggest achievements in Sámi higher education, however, is the founding of the Sámi University College of Kautokeino in 1989. The Sámi University College, or *Sámi Allaskulva*, has the unique attribute of having Sámi as the main language of both instruction and administration (Darnell and Hoëm, 1996). Although all these programs and universities are fully funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Education (as are most institutions of higher education in Norway), these efforts could be deemed more on the national side. However, the role the Ministry plays in these Sámi based higher education components is not as important as the local players who conduct and formulate such efforts.

As now seen, there are contemporary efforts and reforms that are aimed to contribute to the maintenance of these languages. What does this really mean, however, to the current status of each language?

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<sup>72</sup> The University administration even added that the Shoshoni classes will *never* be cancelled regardless of low student enrollment (Loether, personal communication, 2009-05-04). See also [www2.isu.edu/headlines/?p=1857](http://www2.isu.edu/headlines/?p=1857) on the Idaho State University website indicating further promise for the project.

## 6.2 Current Situation

Some of the world's languages are encountering the fate of endangerment and extinction at an increasing rate. Referring to Krauss (1992), Ahlers (2006: 61) reminds us that out of the approximately six thousand languages spoken today, as many as half of these languages are faced with language endangerment. Does this suggest that the other half are self-sustaining without issues of languages shift? Or does this half include languages that are indeed self-sustaining or seemingly self-sustaining, but still remain vulnerable to language shift? These questions still remain, where they invite even more questions. Questions such as: which languages are deemed self-sustaining? Also, which languages are in fact faced with language endangerment? It is true that these questions can be answered for some languages. English can undoubtedly be deemed self-sustaining, where Bannock or Ter Sámi can undoubtedly be deemed moribund. However, what about the languages in between? Figuratively speaking, there are perhaps many languages that are "on the fence" of language vitality, where it is too uncertain to tell on which side they will fall: as self-sustaining or moribund. Moreover, on what side will the Shoshoni and Sámi fall? I believe that is a question that cannot *truly* be answered, yet after analyzing the findings of this research, one can make an educated guess about where they lie.

This is perhaps where the differences between these two indigenous cultures become more apparent. In terms of RLS, it is safe to say that North Sámi (at least in Northern Norway; see below) is in a better position (lower RLS stage), compared to the Shoshoni. Why is this so? One obvious reason is that there are more speakers of North Sámi than Shoshoni (smaller numbers barrier of UNFIT), as well as the fact that Sámi has more of a presence within media, pop culture, and organizations that promote the language. Likewise, Sámi has more of an advanced implementation of status planning, elaboration of corpus planning, as well as fewer issues caused by the funding barrier of UNFIT. When it comes to corpus planning in particular, North Sámi does not have the same issues as Shoshoni. For example, the difficult process of trying to create a standardized orthography for Shoshoni has been a seemingly unsuccessful task, contrary to North Sámi.

More specifically, when it comes to the stages of Fishman's RLS, Huss (1999) confirms that North Sámi in the Sápmi heartland undertakes characteristics of stages one through four where cultural autonomy, Sámi medium of instruction, language promotion via commercial, public and private spheres, as well as significant language presence within mass media and

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governmental services are apparent. It is pointed out, however, that this is not the case outside the Sápmi peripheries, including coastal Norway, where language shift continues to prevail and revitalization efforts are predominantly performed exclusively inside the home. Nevertheless, as the personal efforts of some informants have shown<sup>73</sup>, there are many Sámi people outside the Sámi homeland taking initiatives in safeguarding the language. In addition, the access of Sámi media, via television, radio, newspapers, etc., are available nationwide, which means Norwegian North Sámi speakers outside Sápmi will generally always have some form of language access via these means.

For the Shoshoni case, the RLS stages are not as concrete. It is safe to say that Shoshoni is not currently within the lower leveled stages where language revitalization is vigorous and the language is near full potential. However there are educational components like that of compulsory Shoshoni at the local reservation high school that infers a stage four position, and which gives an advantage over many other Native American languages<sup>74</sup>.

The current situations for both speech communities are in relatively good positions considering the linguistic hardships and differing contexts. However, this does not mean language shift is prevented or that safeguarding is certain. In order to help find these remaining uncertainties, much research is still required.

### 6.3 Future Research Recommendations

The topics of language shift and language maintenance within these two speech communities have immense possibilities for further research. For example, evaluative research is something that should be considered in order to dig deeper into language issues of the Sámi and Shoshoni. As stated earlier with the Sámi (Lie, 2003), actual investigations of the Sámi components in Norwegian schools can be a topic for further research. Are these components really combating language shift? Or if not, what can help improve these programs to promote Sámi language maintenance?

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<sup>73</sup> All Sámi informants have shown activism in some form or another with language maintenance efforts, according to their interviews.

<sup>74</sup> For example, one Native (non-Shoshoni) informant expressed on several occasions how she was “envious” of this Shoshoni graduation requirement. Furthermore, she sees this as a very positive attribute wishing there was such a component for her heritage language (LINVV, 2008-10-11 Shoshoni; Observation notes, Ban, 2008-10).

Moreover among the Shoshoni, Loether (2009) has stated that there has been an annual conference of Shoshoni language educators and speakers. Research questions regarding this conference could be: what is discussed at these conferences in relation to language maintenance issues, and what are the effects of such conferences?

Loether (2009) also points out that there has not been a consensus yet on building a language academy, which would be vital for solving many corpus planning issues like that of orthography and standardization. As one can see from this research, possibilities can be surmised on why this is so. However, several questions still remain. Have these issues relating to corpus planning and a language academy been raised by members of the annual Shoshoni educators conference? Or better yet, have these same issues been raised at tribal council meetings? As one informant states, language policy and planning seems to be a sensitive topic, or “hot potato”, within the tribal council (Interview, RB, 2008-08-28). If so, what are the issues according to the members of the tribal council and what can be done in order to allow a better dialogue concerning these issues?

Perhaps in the near future some of the answers to these questions regarding the Shoshoni and Sámi speech communities will be revealed. As the problem of language shift within the 21st century becomes increasingly recognized, one can hope that more research will follow due to the positive forces of globalization and local involvement.

## 6.4 Research Overview and Conclusion

What this comparative case study has shown is that language shift is a multifactorial and complicated phenomenon, often dependant on the context of each community. Yet, it has also shown that even two very different indigenous cultures separated by thousands of miles have commonalities and similar factors in relation to this seemingly complicated process of language shift. Within both the Shoshoni speech community of the Shoshone-Bannock of Fort Hall and the North Sámi speaking community of Norway, several common language and cultural themes tied to language shift and maintenance have been found. These themes ranged from assimilation hardships, code-switching ideologies, English language ideologies, and culture vs. language distinctions. Moreover, it has been shown that there can be common language barriers and conflicts within the Shoshoni and Sámi speech communities, where language sophistication and difficulty, language identity purism ideologies, and language stigmas are apparent. Lastly, by applying a causation model to these findings where micro-



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and macro-level mechanisms to language shift were analyzed, hopefully this has helped the general conceptualization of the issue of language shift and language maintenance.

The *superimposing of worlds* concept, as described by the Shoshoni informant that introduced this thesis, will undoubtedly remain for these two indigenous speech communities. Certain aspects of language shift, like the alluring role of English as a globalization buffer, will not die out soon, at least in our lifetime. However, as both the Sámi and Shoshoni speakers have shown, adapting to the world around while still safeguarding one's indigenous heritage language can be done. Hopefully this safeguarding will continue and increase in intensity so that each generation understands the importance, the meaning and the power of their heritage language. Having this heritage language gives the speaker truly remarkable and special capabilities, and as one Sámi informant puts it:

...a language seems to be the mapping of the world. And that different language[s] mean different mappings...I wouldn't dare lose any of them because they help me not only to communicate, but they also help me to think, the way I think, the way I understand the world...for it is also a very important thought tool (Interview, ZR, 2008-12-03 Sámi).

To incorporate this idea into the *superimposing of worlds*, having different *mappings* can help navigate within the superimposed worlds. One map can give full meaning to one world, and any additional map can give an invaluable thought tool to help understand the differing or superimposing world. Hopefully, this research has added enlightenment to the issues of language shift and the importance of language maintenance. More importantly, hopefully it has given inspiration to those who are able to promote this sharing and desire for heritage language learning, and to those who are involved with the continuation of learning these valuable linguistic mappings of the world.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Interview Guide for Shoshoni

#### Types of Informants:

1. Natives
  - a. Native Educators
  - b. Native Youth
  - c. Natives in Higher Education
2. Non-Natives
  - a. Educators

#### Interview questions for 1. Natives:

- I. Do you speak Shoshone?
  - If NO:
    1. Does anyone in your family (or who lives with you) speak Shoshoni?
    2. Do you think that the Shoshoni language is in danger of dying out?
      - If NO:
        - a. Why not?
      - If YES:
        - b. Why?
    3. Do you think Shoshoni should be required in Elementary School?
    4. What is the relationship between English and Shoshoni?
    5. Do you think Shoshoni culture can survive without the language?
  - If YES:
    6. How often do you speak it?
    7. With whom do you speak it?
    8. Are there certain places or people that you only speak Shoshoni with?
    9. What is the relation among the different dialects?
    10. Are there any differences between the older generations (i.e. parents, elders) and youth when it comes to language ideologies or attitudes when speaking and learning Shoshoni?
    11. What is the relationship between English and Shoshoni?
    12. Do you think that the Shoshoni Language is in danger of dying out?
      - If NO:
        - a. Why not?
      - If YES:
        - b. Why?
    13. Do you think Shoshoni culture can survive without the language?

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**Interview questions for 1. a. Native Educators:**

1. (follow questions 1. Natives # 1., #4-8)
2. Do you believe language shift is a concern for the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes?  
If NO:
  - a. Why do you think that is?If YES:
  - b. What have the Tribes done to stop language shift?
  - c. Do you think this is sufficient?
3. What do you think are the barriers that keep the Shoshoni Language from being self-sustaining or healthy?
4. What do you think a language needs in order to survive?
5. What are your predictions with the Shoshoni language?
6. Do you think Shoshoni culture can survive without the language?

**Interview questions for 1. b. Native Youth**

1. (follow all questions 1. Natives)
2. Do the older generations feel you should learn the language?  
If NO:
  - a. Why is that so?
  - b. Do you agree with this?If YES:
  - c. What are their reasons?
  - d. Do you agree with this?

**Interview questions for 1. c. Natives in Higher Education**

1. (follow all questions 1. Natives)
2. Do the older generations feel you should learn the language?  
If NO:
  - a. Why is that so?
  - b. Do you agree with this?If YES:
  - c. What are their reasons?
  - d. Do you agree with this?

**Interview questions for 2. a. Non Native Educators**

1. How knowledgeable are you with the Shoshone Bannock culture?
2. Are English-speaking Sho-Ban children the same as other (non-native) English speaking children?  
If NO: How are they different?
3. To your knowledge, are there any intergenerational differences amongst native youth and the older generations (i.e. parents, elders) when it comes to speaking and learning Shoshoni?
4. (follow questions 1. a. Native Educators #2-6)

## Appendix 2: Interview Guide for Sámi

### Types of Informants:

1. Sámi
  - a. Sámi Educators
  - b. Sámi Youth
  - c. Sámi in Higher Education
2. Non-Sámi
  - a. Educators

### Interview questions for 1. Sámi:

- I. Do you speak Sámi?
  - If NO:
    1. Does anyone in your family (or who lives with you) speak Sámi?
    2. Do you think that the Sámi language is in danger of dying out?
      - If NO:
        - a. Why not?
        - If YES:
          - b. Why?
      3. Do you think Sámi should be required in Elementary School?
      4. What is the relationship/priority level between Norwegian and Sámi?
      5. What is the relationship/priority level between English and Sámi?
      6. Do you think Sámi culture can survive without the language?
    - If YES:
      7. How often do you speak it?
      8. With whom do you speak it?
      9. Are there certain places or people that you only speak Sámi with?
      10. What is the relation among the people who speak the different dialects or languages?
      11. Are there any differences between the older generations (i.e. parents, elders) and youth when it comes to language ideologies or attitudes when speaking and learning Sámi?
      12. What is the relationship/priority level between Norwegian and Sámi?
      13. What is the relationship/priority level between English and Sámi?
      14. Do you think that the Sámi Language is in danger of dying out?
        - If NO:
          - a. Why not?
          - If YES:
            - b. Why?
        15. Do you think Sámi culture can survive without the language?

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**Interview questions for 1. a. Sámi Educators:**

1. (follow questions 1. Sámi # 1., #4-13)
2. Do you believe language shift is a concern for the Sámi people?
  - If NO:
    - a. Why do you think that is?
  - If YES:
    - b. What have the Sámi authorities done to stop language shift?
    - c. Do you think this is sufficient?
3. What do you think are the barriers that keep the Sámi Language from being self-sustaining or healthy?
4. What do you think a language needs in order to survive?
5. What are your predictions with the Sámi language?
6. Do you think Sámi culture can survive without the language?

**Interview questions for 1. b. Sámi Youth**

1. (follow all questions 1. Sámi)
2. Do the older generations feel you should learn the language?
  - If NO:
    - a. Why is that so?
    - b. Do you agree with this?
  - If YES:
    - c. What are their reasons?
    - d. Do you agree with this?

**Interview questions for 1. c. Sámi in Higher Education**

1. (follow all questions 1. Sámi)
2. Do the older generations feel you should learn the language?
  - If NO:
    - a. Why is that so?
    - b. Do you agree with this?
  - If YES:
    - c. What are their reasons?
    - d. Do you agree with this?

**Interview questions for 2. a. Non Sámi Educators**

1. How knowledgeable are you with the Sámi culture?
2. Are Norwegian-speaking Sámi children the same as other (non-Sámi) Norwegian speaking children?
  - If NO: How are they different?
3. To your knowledge, are there any intergenerational differences amongst Sámi youth and the older generations (i.e. parents, elders) when it comes to speaking and learning Sámi?
4. (follow questions 1. a. Sámi Educators #2-6)

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## Appendix 3: Shoshoni Survey and Answers

### I. Do you speak Shoshone?

If YES (even if you speak some): Go to Question#7 on Page 3.

If NO: answer questions #1-6.

#### 1. Does anyone in your family (or who lives with you) speak Shoshoni?

EL\_NNF7: No

#### 2. Do you think that the Shoshoni language is in danger of dying out?

If NO:

##### a. Why not?

If YES:

##### b. Why?

EL\_NNF7: Yes, there are only a few fluent speakers of the language. Children are not being taught at a young age to speak, many adults do not speak Shoshoni back and forth.

#### 3. Do you think Shoshoni should be required in Elementary School?

EL\_NNF7: Yes.

#### 4. What is the relationship between English and Shoshoni?

EL\_NNF7: The Shoshoni language has many borrowed words from English. English and Shoshoni are both ways of describing and understanding the world around us.

#### 5. Are there any differences between the older generations (i.e. parents, elders) and youth when it comes to language values or attitudes when speaking and learning Shoshoni?

EL\_NNF7: Older generations think it is very important to continue the oral tradition, younger generations don't usually have that mentality.

#### 6. Do you think Shoshoni culture can survive without the language?

EL\_NF2: No.

EL\_NF3: No, the language is vital because there are some words not known in English that are very important to the culture and to life.

EL\_NF5: In a way, yes. But it wouldn't be as strong as a culture as before.

Because language is a big part of our culture because it's how we speak to the creator, nature, and animals.

EL\_NNF7: No, because without a language there is no culture.

EL\_NNM8: Not in its wholistic [holistic] or entire form, nor in it's form as we how know it.

**If YES:****7. How often do you speak it?**

EL\_NF1: Everyday.

EL\_NF2: Daily.

EL\_NF3: For what little I know, I speak as much as I can, when I can.

EL\_NF4: Daily, at least a few words.

EL\_NF5: I try and use it everyday words in Shoshoni as much as I can.

Because it helps me teach my little niece more of her language and also teaches myself more.

EL\_NM6: Once in a while.

EL\_NNF7: Everyday.

EL\_NNM8: In class but rarely elsewhere.

INT\_NM1: Very little, I try when I'm around elders who are willing to share...

INT\_NNF2: 2/wk in class. Throughout the week to study.

NF1: Everyday, but not fluently.

NM2: Not often enough.

**8. With whom do you speak it?**

EL\_NF1: My friends, family, my son.

EL\_NF2: Family, friends.

EL\_NF3: With my children, my parents are both fluent speakers but I do not

Speak fluent with them, a few words w/other speakers

EL\_NF4: Family and Friends.

EL\_NF5: Classmates, friends, family and relatives

EL\_NM6: Dad, uncle, some friends.

EL\_NNF7: With my kids, my teacher, my fellow students learning the language.

EL\_NNM8: current students.

INT\_NM1: With elders and other classmates.

INT\_NNF2: Classmates; practice w/children.

NF1: My family

NM2: My Mom.

**9. Are there certain places or people that you only speak Shoshoni with?**

EL\_NF1: No, anywhere is fair game.

EL\_NF2: No.

EL\_NF3: No.

EL\_NF4: No.

EL\_NF5: No and yes because I usually speak it with someone who also knows the language.

EL\_NM6: No.

EL\_NNF7: At home and in Shoshoni class.

EL\_NNM8: Yes, Instructor and students due to limited numbers of speakers of the language as people w/whom I affiliate.

INT\_NM1: Only people who are willing to teach me.

**10. To your knowledge, what is the relation among the different dialects of Shoshoni?**

EL\_NF1: People just have different ways to say things, but it all means pretty much the same.

EL\_NF2: It means all the same.

EL\_NF3: They are all closely related and understandable across the board.

EL\_NF4: The different dialects are the different type of Shoshoni areas.

Western Shoshoni, Eastern Shoshoni, Northern Shoshoni. Range from Northern Idaho, Nevada, Utah and Wyoming.

EL\_NF5: The relation is that we use some of the same words but because were from different locations, its common to speak in the way of others.

EL\_NM6: Close enough to understand.

EL\_NNF7: They are interrelated and intelligible for most dialects.

EL\_NNM8: Similar.

INT\_NM1: They are familiar.

INT\_NNF2: (Omitted)

NF1: They are similar for the most part, but there are some differences in some words.

NM2: [Omitted]

**11. Are there any differences between the older generations (i.e. parents, elders) and youth when it comes to language values or attitudes when speaking and learning Shoshoni?**

EL\_NF1: Yes. Our elders know and understand more.

EL\_NF2: Yes.

EL\_NF3: Yes, in some aspect, I think the youth are willing to learn if given an opportunity.

EL\_NF4: Yes, the language is more fluent with elders in the home and among the babies of the family. In between the language is still there but not as fluent.

EL\_NF5: Yes.

EL\_NM6: Yes, some of the younger generations don't learn it or not really want to know it. The elders try to teach it though.

EL\_NNF7: [Omitted; see Q# 5]

EL\_NNM8: I do not know, but I would imagine older generations value it much more.

INT\_NM1: Yeah, sadly the language is dying off because there isn't a lot of youth who are willing to pick it up.

INT\_NNF2: From my experience w/[the language instructor], it seems that there are as far as certain words which are used more traditionally and words used more by younger generation.

NF1: Yes. Due to the boarding school era, some elders and parents are timid with the language.

NM2: Respect and understanding of the language and culture.



**12. What is the relationship between English and Shoshoni?**

EL\_NF1: There are borrowed words from English in *Sosoni*.

EL\_NF2: Nothing

EL\_NF3: Both have a meaning.

EL\_NF4: Shoshoni language is taught as the language from the creator [creator]. In homes there are people who mix the Shoshoni and English.

EL\_NF5: Yes.

EL\_NM6: Shoshoni is more direct than English and English can be hurtful to some.

EL\_NNF7: [Omitted; see Q# 4]

EL\_NNM8: Somewhat dim. English destroys Shoshoni.

INT\_NM1: Shoshone is like a language from good...giving everything special and spiritual meaning and value...English is more corrupt and poisonouse [poisonous]...

INT\_NNF2: Not sure.

NF1: There is not too much relationship between the two.

**13. Do you think that the Shoshoni Language is in danger of dying out?****If NO:****a. Why not?**

EL\_NF3: Fluency maybe, but knowledge of language is there.

**If YES:****b. Why?**

EL\_NF1: Our elders that know the language are passing.

EL\_NF2: Not many native speakers left.

EL\_NF3: Because our fluent speakers are not speaking enough, there are not enough speakers.

EL\_NF4: I would say yes because many of the fluent speakers (elders) aren't around or dying and taking the language with them.

EL\_NF5: Because the younger generations don't speak it as often, or have no one to teach them, or choose not to.

EL\_NM6: Yes, because the elders are dying out and the younger people don't know enough.

EL\_NNF7: [Omitted; see Q# 2]

EL\_NNM8: Shoshoni is not spoken as often as it was, and since fewer of the younger generations know Shoshoni, there is a lesser chance of it surviving.

INT\_NM1: Because there is a lot of youth and elder people who feel it is not important ☹

INT\_NNF2: I was very surprised to find out that there are many homes where it is not spoken and passed on; However, through [the local university instructors'] efforts, I do think it has a chance of surviving.

NF1: Kind of, but there is things being done to prevent the language being lost.

NM2: No one is trying to learn it.

**14. Do you think Shoshoni culture can survive without the language?**

EL\_NF1: No. With no language we have no tribe.

EL\_NF2: No.

EL\_NF3: [Omitted; see Q# 6]

EL\_NF4: No because our traditions come to life through the language.

EL\_NF5: [Omitted; see Q# 6]

EL\_NM6: No because ceremonies all use the language.

EL\_NNF7: [Omitted; see Q# 6]

EL\_NNM8: The culture can survive, but not in it's true form, or even the modified form of today.

INT\_NM1: A lot of ways yes...but sadly there is a wisdom of thought in the language that can only be explained by its own language!

INT\_NNF2: I think many important aspects of Shoshoni culture would be lost w/o the language because the words themselves hold so much meaning.

NF1: No.

NM2: Yes, but would we be still considered Shoshoni without a language

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