

KUIGGLUK SPEECH COMMUNITY

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By

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Abstract

This thesis explores language shift in the Kuiggluk speech community through interviews, observation, and surveys. Kuiggluk is a Yup'ik community in Southwestern, Alaska that is undergoing language shift from the indigenous language, Yugtun, to English. The interviews examine four mothers and their daughters' speech patterns and their schooling and cultural history. The observations reflect the four girls' speech patterns and their daily conversations. The surveys examine the Kuiggluk youth's speech patterns and goals for Yugtun more broadly.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Language is a complex issue. We all speak whether it is *Yugtun*, *Cugtun*, English, Navajo, Inuktitut, German, etc. We all need it to communicate with one another. If we did not have a language, how would we survive? What would become of us? What about if we lost a language? Or if we are in the process of losing a language?

The community of *Kuiggluk*, like all other surrounding communities in rural Alaska, has been going through language shift over the last several decades. Language shift means that the younger generation (teens, elementary children, and pre-school age) speaks more English than *Yugtun*. And the elders and adults speak it to accommodate them. When the children do not understand *Yugtun* or if the adults assume they speak mostly English, English will be the language used for communication. Many times, when I observed this speech pattern, I would ask the elder why he or she speaks English, the reply would be, “Because he/she (the child) speaks English.”

When I first moved to *Kuiggluk* in 1993, only a few students spoke *Yugtun*. Most of them spoke English. Even today, I notice that most of the students coming into the classroom speak mainly English. The *Kuiggluk Yugtun* Immersion Program began in 1998. The goal of the program was to get more students to speak *Yugtun* so that the language would not be lost. The purpose was to teach Kindergarten to 3rd grade in *Yugtun* so that they would learn it. Since the *Yup'ik* Immersion Program

opened, most students now do understand more *Yugtun* than they can speak. Although most of the younger generation still speaks mostly English, they do try to speak *Yugtun* to the best of their ability.

Research question and Rationale

The goal of my research was to find out why so many of our students speak more English than *Yugtun*. I wanted to know why parents choose to speak English or *Yugtun* to their children. I wanted to know why fewer people seem to be speaking *Yugtun*, even among adults. For many years, this really troubled me. I became worried that our *Yugtun* language was being spoken less by the children in the community.

Since I started teaching *Yugtun* in the *Kuiggluk* Yup'ik Immersion Program in 2001, *ellangellruunga* (I became aware) of a need for *Yugtun* language-use research. This is why I wanted to find out about the *Kuiggluk* youths' (1) language-use, including how much or how little *Yugtun* they know, and (2) what their goals for future *Yugtun* language use are.

To find out about *Yugtun* language use in *Kuiggluk*, I decided to observe teenage girls. I interviewed four girls and their mothers and observed them over two years. I kept a journal of my observations derived from school functions, basketball trips, and community activities. I also distributed two questionnaires to *Kuiggluk* junior high and high school students. From the questionnaires, I wanted a broader knowledge of the general language use and attitudes from *Kuiggluk* teenagers in general.

This is Who I Am

My name is Barbara Amos-Andrew. My *Cup'ig* name is *Qunquss'in*. I am also known as *Tan'gaucuaq*. When I was eight years old, I was named after a well-known Yup'ik storyteller from Bethel. After school, as soon as I walked in to my parent's home, my mom, who was preparing dinner at the table, announced, "You will be *Tan'gaucuar*. You're *Yup'ik* name will be *Tan'gaucuar*." I asked who that was. She explained that it was the late Maggie Lind of Bethel and that she just passed away. I was happy to get a new Yup'ik name.

I was born and raised on Nunivak Island, Mekoryuk, Alaska. English was my first language. *Cugtun* was the language of my parents. I grew up hearing them communicate in *Cugtun*. As a result, I understood it well, but I did not begin speaking it until later on in my life. It was my second language. I knew after I attended college I wanted to come back to Southwestern Alaska and the Lower Kuskokwim School District (LKSD), where I graduated. I wanted to help my people. I wanted the children to see that after they graduated from college, they could do the same. This was my main goal after college.

I thought about helping my people so much, I used myself as an example to promote our culture and language. After I moved to *Kuiggluk* in the fall of 1993, I started learning to speak *Yugtun*. I named all my three children *Yugtun* and *Cugtun* names. I speak only *Cugtun* to my last-born child, hoping that others around me will do the same.

Feelings as a researcher

I was nervous to begin my research, especially when it came time to do interviews with the four mothers and their daughters. I did not have “official” questions. I asked mostly about language use patterns, schooling, and cultural experiences. I did not want to sound like a “researcher” asking too many “in-depth” questions about their lives and business. Asking too many questions is not part of our Yugtun lifestyle. In the *Yugtun* culture, being inquisitive shows that we are not respectful of people.

Over the two years of this study I spent time with my participants and their mothers in the school, at their homes, within the community, and on trips with the high school girls’ basketball team. Almost always, I was hesitant to bring up conversations about *Yugtun*-speaking. I struggled because I did not want to sound like a “researcher.” It seemed so official and uncomfortable. The following journal entry explains my mental struggles.

10/23/08

I want to strike out [up] a conversation about *Yugtun* speaking. Most trips I chaperone, all conversations are usually in English. Everyone, even myself. I shouldn’t do that though. I should just speak mostly *Yugtun* to all, everybody. Then strike out conversations of *Yugtun* speaking. Yeah. That’s a good idea. Then have discussions about *Yugtun* speaking about my experience, then they’ll start talking *Yugtun*-or share their stories of *Yup’ik* speaking.

Just as I was afraid to speak *Yugtun* or talk about *Yugtun*-speaking topics with my participants, I was also nervous and afraid to lose them. I didn't dare speak *Yugtun* because I assumed that they would become uncomfortable. Just as I am cautious about speaking *Cugtun*, a dialect of *Yugtun*, to my youngest child, I was the same about speaking *Yugtun* to my participants. During the times I spent with the girls, I spoke mostly English. One afternoon I spent time with two of the girls. As we worked on papers, we spoke only English throughout that time. I felt guilty for speaking only English, but that did not stop me from using it.

10/20/08

Last Friday, after lunch, when we were waiting for teams to come in, *Canaar* was hanging out in the main commons, near the office. I went to the bathroom and saw the volleyball names; Viola, James, Wilfred, Anna, etc. hanging in the high school hallway. I asked if I could put butcher paper on the backs of the volleyballs with names on them. The coach said "Yes," so I asked *Canaar* to help me. She did. Then later, *Nuyalran* came to help. When she walked into the hallway, *Canaar* hugged her, like she was absent for a long time. Before we started, *Canaar* went to fetch her music. We worked together listening to loud music. All that time, we spoke English.

Overview of the thesis

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 reviews some of the literature dealing with language shift, identity, language use and language revitalization in

indigenous communities. Chapter 3 provides an overview of my research methodology as well as participants and settings. In Chapter 4, I discuss the findings from my “research.” These findings include a discussion of my participant’s experiences growing up in *Kuiggluk*, their language use patterns, and their hopes for the future of the *Yugtun* language. In the final chapter, I will revisit my findings and discuss what comes next. Suggestions to support the *Kuiggluk* teenagers’ hopes for the future of *Yugtun* language will be discussed.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Different languages contain different understandings of people as individuals and communities, different values and ways of expressing the purpose of life, different visions of past humanity, present priorities and our future existence (Baker, 2006 p. 47).

No matter how the *Yugtun* language is translated, the true values and knowledge embedded in our language can NEVER be truly interpreted into English. It is intertwined and connected with our values and sacred knowledge from our ancestors and creator.

Defining language shift

Language shift in indigenous language communities today seems inevitable. Here in Alaska, language shift is everywhere; in the northern region, interior, southeast, and southwest. McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006) speaks about language shift in the U.S. Southwest. Wyman (2009) studied language shift in one *Yup'ik* community, *Piniq*, in Southwestern Alaska. And Tulloch (2004) writes about language loss among Inuktitut youth.

Romero Little & McCarty (2006) explains that language shift happens when the parents and grandparents do not teach the indigenous language to their children.

The loss can be when an individual is not able to speak it fluently. Over time, “the heritage language has less utility, importance, and prestige than the language of wider communication, triggering language shift” (p. 6).

Baker (2006) describes language shift as “a downward language movement” (p. 75). There are fewer speakers of a language, less people learning it, and fewer people understanding the language in all areas in the speech community. Baker says family mobility is one cause of language shift. Another cause, he explains, is that the majority language bombards the indigenous speech community, which leads the community to shift to speaking the majority language instead.

Wyman (2009) describes language shift as a complex of inner (local community) and outer (mainstream) pressures and processes. These pressures and processes include mechanical (electronic technology; media, internet, television, etc.) and ideological (what people say from within the community) influences.

Wong Fillmore (1991) explains that as children learn to speak more of the majority language at school, they bring it home, which causes language shift.

Language-minority children are aware that they are different the moment they step out of their homes and into the world of school...If they want to be accepted, they have to learn English, because the others are not going to learn their language (p. 342).

Explaining language shift

Tulloch (2004) discusses reasons why Inuktitut youth would rather speak English than their heritage language. She says that they are afraid of making mistakes when speaking it (p.11). She also writes that although some think that the English language is “prestigious,” others think that in some ways their heritage language is just as important. (p. 15)

Wyman (2009) studied two groups of youth during a time of rapid language shift from *Yugtun* to English. While both groups used both *Yugtun* and English in peer interaction, the older group spoke mostly *Yugtun* and “the younger group spoke mostly English amongst peers in 2000 and 2001, but also used bilingualism to ‘get by’” (p. 335). She writes about possible reasons why language-use may have begun shifting from *Yugtun* to English.

Although community adults speak the *Yugtun* language fluently and try to reinforce it, their efforts were not succeeding. The reasons she discusses are many: family mobility, intergenerational (parent/child or grandparent/child) *Yugtun* communication deterioration, accommodation, and the youths’ social network bombarded by the English language through several avenues: technology (television, music, computers, internet, etc), school, economic forces (jobs, money), modern machinery, and changing times. Wyman (2009), emphasizing the role of peer culture in language shift, writes of about “waves” of change:

Changes in young people’s peer cultures can accelerate waves of sociolinguistic transformation in endangered language communities...these

waves can happen in spite of the ways youth may value their heritage languages and the ways they socialize one another and are socialized to maintain connections to specific communities, knowledge systems and spaces (p. 346-347).

I have seen similar sudden and catastrophic changes in my own family. For example, when my last-born was just beginning to speak *Cugtun*, I sent him off to spend time with my older sister for three weeks. When he came back to *Kuiggluk*, he spoke only English. In those three weeks he was absent, he spoke only English. The language pattern changed so fast, just like a wave.

Language, Culture and Identity

Yup'ik language is not just a language; it is a complex system that holds ancestral knowledge from the beginning of our time. It is a part of our *Yugtun* lives and *Yugtun* being. Like we say, "*qaneryaraput ellmikutuunrituq*" (The closest translation would be: Our language, we speak it for a reason, it should not be taken for granted). In other words, our language is a gift.

*Qaneryaraput cikiutekaput Agayutmek. Agayutem piliaqaa qaneryaraput;
Elliin pika. Tamaqumtegggu qaneryaraput, qaill-kiq piniartakut? Taumek
alinglartua qaneryaraput tamarnayukluku* (Kuiggluk elder).

Our language is a gift from God. God created our language. It belongs to Him. If we lose our language, what will He do to us? That's why I'm afraid to lose our language (Kuiggluk elder).

Romero Little & McCarty (2006) states that when indigenous people stop using their language, the loss of cultural, medical, and philosophical knowledge, as well as important artistic and cultural practices are lost with it.

[T]he loss of language is part of the loss of whole cultures and knowledge systems, including philosophical systems, medical knowledge, and important cultural practices and artistic skills. The world stands to lose an important part of the sum of human knowledge whenever a language stops being used (Romero Little & McCarty, p. 3).

Similarly, Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo (1999) explains that language is central to indigenous epistemology, "the cultural ways of thinking, creating and reformulating knowledge" which is "the basis of our cultural identity and authenticity" (p. 23).

For Romero Little & McCarty (2006), the language is an important part of a person's spiritual being. The indigenous language is the core of a person. It's part of who we are. "...[E]mbedded in [the heritage] language are the lessons that guide our daily lives...We cannot leave behind the essence of our being" (Romero Little & McCarty, 2006, p. 3). As Yup'ik people, our relationship to the land is an important part of our being. What we do on the land and how we treat it are very important parts

of respect and survival of the Yup'ik people. If we do not treat the land with respect, the land will no longer provide for our needs. This is the same for the Navajo, as one youth explained: "We're so much a part of the land, you know ... It's a spiritual anguish [to be disconnected from it]" (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 668).

In other words, what we say and do on the land and to other people and animals are all connected to our language, culture, and identity. They are all complexly interwoven and our language cannot be one without the other. This is shown in a story Wyman (2009) shared about seal hunting. Two young men shared their story of seal hunting with their grandfather. After they had caught a seal, they cut the head off, and before throwing the seal head to the water, they said, "*Cali taikina*" (come back again) (Wyman, 2009, p. 343). This practice is not only done to seal, it is practiced with fish and some other animals. It is an important part of our culture; by showing respect to land and animals, they will do the same to us. They will return to provide subsistence again some other day.

If the *Yugtun* youth cannot speak fluently, how will they be able to speak to elders? Elders are the carriers of *Yugtun* knowledge, culture and tradition. If elders are not able to communicate with the youth, how will they pass on the indigenous knowledge (Wyman, 2009, p. 28). Romero-Little and McCarty also write about the crucial connection between grandparents/parents and grandchildren/children.

Language is the primary means through which parents and grandparents socialize their children and grandchildren, imparting what a community and a

people believe their children ought to learn and become. When that bond is broken, intergenerational ties and community relationships also are ruptured (Romero Little & McCarty, 2006, p. 5).

Just as the Navajo and Inuktitut languages, the Yugtun language is intertwined with ancestral and authentic knowledge. *Yugtun* holds knowledge from our ancestors and no other language can replace it. In the *Kuiggluk* community, more students are speaking English. While they do understand *Yugtun*, they do not speak it comfortably or in public.

Language Use

Indigenous people speak their language for different purposes. Some people speak to accommodate others, some use it as a secret code, and others speak it so they feel a sense of “belonging”. Some youth say they speak English because everyone speaks it. Others also say they are shy to speak the heritage language because they are afraid to make a mistake. Discussion of these language-use patterns follows.

Tulloch’s (2004) Inuit youth speak of accommodating others when speaking Inuktitut or English.

Yeah, Well, when my Inuk friends, sometimes I talk to them in English.

Maybe ‘cause sometimes I don’t want to offend people? So I try not to keep them out of conversations and stand there and speak Inuktitut and there might be four, five of us sitting around without realizing it I don’t want to speak

Inuktitut when there are two of them that don't understand. So unless I know. Like if I don't know that there's someone there that doesn't understand Inuktitut, if I don't know that, I'll just speak English. But if I know we all understand Inuktitut, I'll speak Inuktitut. You know, it's just a matter of trying to keep everyone in the conversation (Tulloch, p. 9).

This type of accommodation is very common in Southwest Alaska. For example, during class, although our professor would encourage us *Yugtun* students to speak *Yugtun* while discussing language issues, we would tend to revert to speak English so that he could understand. We would feel uncomfortable to speak *Yugtun* knowing our professor wasn't on the same page. Here is another example. When my last child was born, I decided to speak *Cugtun* to him. Although he can understand *Cugtun* well, when he started speaking, he decided to speak English. It is my responsibility to teach him to speak *Cugtun*, but I simply accommodated his use of English because it is faster and easier. Many of the *Yup'ik* youth say they speak "English because the other speaks it." Often, I have asked grandmothers why they speak English to children. They answer, "Because they speak English."

There are certain situations in which language is used as a tool. For example, if we, *Yugtun* graduate students, had private conversations outside of class, we would speak *Yugtun*. It is similar to speaking a secret code. An Inuit youth shares her story of private conversations with her peers.

Which language do you use when you are with your friends?

Both. Especially joking around, it's in Inuktitut. So that the white person wouldn't understand what we say, it's in Inuktitut at times. [...] Especially at work if there's somebody that we don't like, we say, "Look at that guy" in Inuktitut or something. [...] Especially with personal stuff. Emotional stuff and stuff like that. When there's white people around we just talk in Inuktitut, but when they're gone, we go on to English. That's how it is. [...] I wish you could go on in Inuktitut, but then again, we're like, okay, they're gone, we can talk now (Tulloch, 2004, p. 10).

Language-use can also be used as a tool for a sense of belonging. An Inuit male says, "Yeah, like if that person's Inuk, I'll talk to him in Inuktitut. I'd rather talk to him in Inuktitut than I would in English" (Tulloch, 2004, p. 10).

Some Inuit youth speak English because they hear it all around them. The *Kuiggluk* youth say the same thing. Another reason why the youth say they speak English is because they don't know how to say something in their heritage language. Sometimes when it is easier and faster to explain something in English, we simply say it in English. For example, there is no *Yugtun* word for computer, so we just say, "computer-aaq."

Unlike the mainstream English language-use patterns mentioned above, some Inuit youth speak Inuk because of where they are. An Inuit female shares her story.

Whereas in a small community, you speak Inuktitut. And it's good, you know. For you, you know? [...] Like I was in Pang for a month last year. [...] It was good because everywhere they speak Inuktitut there, whether it's in the store, school, outside, in the post office, bank, well, they have no bank, but you know. So you just take it all in, you know? Speak Inuktitut too. So that's good (Tulloch, 2004, p. 10).

Although the *Kuiggluk* youth do not say why they don't speak *Yugtun*, their reasons are implied. The underlying reasons may be that they speak English because they are not comfortable speaking *Yugtun*, because they might be teased when speaking it poorly, or they are too shy to speak it in public or around people who speak *Yugtun* fluently.

From my experience, as a *Cugtun* speaker, it is not simple. Over time, I have trained myself to speak *Cugtun* to my last child, but when I turn to my older children, I usually revert to speaking English without meaning to or realizing it. Wyman (2009, p. 346) saw a similar pattern in *Piniq*.

Language of Elders

McCarty (2003), Wyman (2009), and Tulloch (2004) all report that indigenous youth often see their language as the language of the elders. As one Inuit woman explained to Tulloch (2004) Inuktitut is necessary to communicate with elders.

What made you want to get back to speaking more Inuktitut?

...I don't know, elders talking to me and I wouldn't understand and then I would feel bad. Like, they're telling stories or something and I'll be interrupting them, asking someone else what are they talking about and I don't want to do that. I was raised to respect elders and keep our language strong... (Tulloch, p. 14).

Although the Inuit youth can speak the Inuktitut language in most situations, Tulloch reported that they tend to speak half Inuk and half English. This is the same language pattern as the *Kuiggluk* speech community. In the fourteen years that I have lived in *Kuiggluk*, I have observed the same language pattern many times among the adults in the community. Tulloch (2004) writes, "even where one might expect them to use Inuktitut, such as with their Inuit siblings, or friends, or even children, both languages are used, almost equally" (p. 7).

Language and the future

Tulloch (2004) wanted to find out why the Inuit youth speak Inuk and why they might want to keep Inuktitut strong. The Inuk youth said: "It's my language, it's what I grew up with and I want to keep it" (p. 11). The Inuktitut youth strongly value the language as a resource and a symbol for Inuit identity. The Inuit youth think of an English speaker as "Qallunaaq" (white person) if he/she does not speak Inuktitut

frequently. When Inuktitut were asked why their language is important to them, they said they want to keep their language and teach it to their future children.

Although Inuktitut remains the first language of this generation, they are calling for support to ensure that they can pass on a full knowledge of Inuktitut for their children (Tulloch, p. 6).

McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006) discusses what the Navajo youth think their language will be like in forty years. When Jonathan is asked this question, he responds, “It’s like taking away the spirit; it’s like taking away a real big part of who you are” (p. 668). He also says that he does not see many Navajo speaking the language to their children, but he hopes that, someday, they will begin speaking their language again (p. 668).

McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda’s (2006) Navajo youth see a strong connection between the language and the culture. It’s a very important part of who they are and where they come from. “Our language ... is the number-one source of our soul, our pride, our being, our strength, and our identity” (p. 668). Tulloch (2004) also writes about this theme: “Inuit youth ...clearly associate Inuktitut with their identity as Inuit and as individuals” (p. 12).

Language Use and Shame

McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006) writes about reasons why indigenous speakers do not speak to their children or grandchildren in their language.

The Navajo youth speak of being ashamed of their language and identity: "I'm not going to learn [Navajo]. Navajo's nothing. I hate it" (p. 37). McCarty believes that this is a learned behavior. Although the Navajo youth say they do not want to learn the language, test results showed that the youth "knew the language but were just ashamed of it" (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 669). Navajo youth discuss this sense of shame. Here is Samuel's account.

They probably think it's important, but ... they're judged by it by other people that speak English more clear than they do and they just kind of feel dirty about the whole thing, and that's why they put on the fake ... and try to make it sound like they speak more English than they do Navajo ... (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 38).

Tulloch (2004) reported similar feelings among some Inuit youth. They feel inferior or feel excluded because of their inability to speak Inuktitut fluently.

Just because they can't speak it, doesn't mean they're not Inuk. I've got a friend who's got Inuit parents, she's been away in school most of her teenage life, and she's about my age now, she's in university. She sort of lost it, Inuktitut, she can hardly speak it, but she can still understand it, and people would tell her, you're not an Inuk anymore. She got upset over it, she actually cried over that. So, personally, I wouldn't say that to anybody (Tulloch, 2004, p. 13).

Language Labeling

Some indigenous youth are stigmatized in school. This happens not only in the Navajo region it also happens in Alaska. According to our school district, about 63% of *Kuiggluk* students are considered to be “limited English Proficient (LEP). McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006) tells us this same label is used to stigmatize many Native American children. Negative labels can also be associated with the indigenous language. As McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006) reported, for some “speaking Navajo stigmatizes one as ‘uneducated, and they haven’t experienced anything in the world’” (p. 670).

When I asked my mother why she spoke only English to me, she replied with tears falling down her cheeks and sorrow in her eyes, “because I don’t want your teachers to slap your hands for speaking *Cugtun* in class!” McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006) writes, “The psychosocial and linguistic consequences of genocide, colonization and language repression have been documented for speech communities around the world” (p. 671). Sometimes, they go on to say, it is easier for people to hide behind a language so one does not have to endure the pain of the past.

[Y]ou deal with it by speaking English, and that way you don’t have to face the hurt of the loss ... you hide behind the language of the dominant society for a while ... thinking you’re cool because you speak English, you’re cool because you don’t speak [the Native language] anymore. It’s better because now you’re white, right (p. 672)?

As stated above, those that have experienced the pain of shame, do not want to be reminded of what was done to them and how they were treated in school. McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006, p. 671) writes of how some Navajo youth do not want to go back to the past. They link the indigenous language with the past and the English language with the future. Part of this feeling might come from “elders speak Navajo language; they’re old. Young people speak English; they’re young.”

The Inuit youth do not speak of being ashamed of their language, however; English is associated to being “Qallunaat” (a white person). This makes the non-fluent speakers feel badly for not being able to speak Inuktitut (Tulloch, 2004). Similarly, the *Yup’ik* adults treat the *Yup’ik* youth the same way, associating them with “trying to be *kass’aq*” (white) for speaking English.

Some also assumed that youth were orienting toward mainstream society, and criticized young people’s English use and seeming loss of ethnic identity with comments like, ‘*Yugtun, kassauguci-qaq?*’ (‘Speak *Yup’ik*, what are you, whites?’) (Wyman, 2009, p. 339).

Despite the negative labels, many Navajo youth show that they are proud to be Navajo, and see it is an important part of being who they are and where they come from. They feel that speaking the language is an important part of their lives because it is part of their spirituality and identity. They want to keep the language going strong because it is sacred (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 668). In contrast, other Navajo youth feel it is like “living in the past” (p. 669). They don’t want to go

“back” to the old days. “For these youth, (marginalized) Navajo is linked with ‘backwardness’ and (privileged) English is associated with modernity and opportunity; youth feel they must make an either or choice between language affiliations” (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 672).

Language Revitalization Movements

Romero Little & McCarty (2006) tells us there are speech communities trying to get back to speaking their indigenous language. Progress is slow as there are drawbacks. Some indigenous communities have, or are beginning to start, immersion schools where children are taught in the heritage language. Our *Kuiggluk* Immersion opened in 1998. Since then, there have been outspoken individuals opposing the program. Similarly, many people in the *Yugtun* communities are so used to speaking English, they do not seem interested in speaking or trying to speak *Yugtun*. Also, some people believe that going back to speaking the indigenous language will “hold their child back” from progressing in school. Others, as Tulloch (2004, p. 15) tells us, feel that English is the language of the new century. Unlike the Inuit youth who see their Inuktitut language as an asset for jobs and education, the *Yup'ik* youth see English as an asset. Reyhner (1995) writes words of encouragement. If adults give their children the opportunity to speak the indigenous language, they will not *kass'amirteq* (act white).

Giving young Natives the opportunity to keep or learn their tribal language offers them a strong antidote to the culture clash many of them are experiencing but cannot verbalize (Reyhner, 1995, p. 280).

Baker (2006) speaks of community-based language planning. The language has to be spoken by everybody in everyday life: on the streets, in the community, in homes, in workplaces, as well as in leisure activities (p. 53). He also says it is important for young people to be involved in restoring the indigenous language because they are the next generation.

At the same time, indigenous communities are faced with the global spread of English and the push for 'higher standards' in U.S. schools (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 672)

As Wyman, et al. (2010) reminds us, these same pressures are felt within our own local school district. (p. 5). Despite these pressures, many Native American youth are concerned about the future of their heritage languages (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 673). Both the Navajo youth and the Inuit express their concern for promoting more indigenous language-use in their communities. If the youth are willing to learn the language and are concerned about losing it, this is the perfect beginning point to promote the indigenous languages. One bilingual teacher shares a thoughtful comment:

The most important thing is that it is up to us. As parents we have an opinion about it and the responsibility belongs to us, we, the mothers and fathers. And

our leaders have ownership to part of it too. How might they be thinking about all of this for us? ... We are called Indigenous and we are looked at as such ... I want it to *remain* that way in the future ... You decide not to let them [outsiders] take away our language to let it die (McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 673).

This is exactly what needs to happen. Once awareness is spread among our people, we CAN work together as a community to get our language back. It all begins with us. If we support one another and take the pride of being *Yup'ik* [and Navajo], we can begin the process of beginning to speak our heritage languages.

McCarty (2003) is optimistic in maintaining indigenous languages. Although it is hard work, community-based commitment, determination, and raising awareness will be helpful and empowering for our people (p. 159-160). Hinton (2001) takes it a step further, reminding us that “persistence, sustainability, and honesty with oneself” are key to a successful revitalization attempt (p. 16). In short, it takes tremendous commitment for a community to work together to help their language to survive (Walsh, 2005, p. 308).

Chapter 3: Methodology

Theoretical Framework

My research is a qualitative ethnographic study. Mackey & Gass (2005) explain qualitative researchers “study individuals and events in their natural settings” and seek to present “a natural and holistic picture of the phenomena being studied” (p. 163). Denzin & Lincoln (1994) agree: “This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.” (p. 2) This study will attempt to do just that, to interpret what the participants say and try to make meaning of their language-choice and language-use.

Ethnography is the study of a group of people, including their cultural practices and experiences, in their natural settings. Frank (1999) explains ethnography as “observing people by looking at their lives...[including their] families, neighborhoods, languages, experiences, and especially friends and peers.” (p. 15) Spradley (1979) describes ethnography as “the work of describing a culture” (p. 3). Culture, to me, is broad because our culture is intertwined and interconnected in many different ways. Our Yugtun culture is like a traditional grass basket. It consists of intricate components like lifestyle (gathering and preparing food), beliefs, and values. *Yugtun* laws, which we call “inerqutet” and language are interwoven similar to how a *Yugtun* grass basket is made. All the pieces of the grass basket are separate, but are woven together into one intricate piece.

The study will present life in *Kuiggluk* from an emic point-of-view, or more specifically, I will rely on my own interpretations and experiences as a *Yugtun* speaker living and teaching in *Kuiggluk* to describe the intricate patterns of life in *Kuiggluk*

The study will explore four *Yugtun* students, now sophomores and seniors in high school and their language-use and language-choice outside their homes. Data will be gathered in three ways: language-use patterns and personal attitudes/beliefs through observations (outside of their homes), semiformal interviews, and information from surveys.

Observations

I have lived in the community of *Kuiggluk* for 13 years. I have gotten to know the (wonderful) people. I have also been fortunate to be the high school girls' basketball chaperone for two years. While I traveled with the team, I have gotten to know most of them. I talked, joked, and had fun with them. They were respectful towards their coach and me. Through chaperoning the girls' team, I observed them as students, friends, and ball-players. I spoke mostly in English with them because I did not want them to feel uncomfortable if I spoke too much *Yugtun*. I worked hard to get on their good side by becoming good friends with them. I was able to observe their speech patterns, language-choice preference, and attitudes. On our basketball trips, we usually spent one night at another school. During district and league tournaments, we would spend at least three nights together. During or after each trip, I spent time writing in my journal about anything and everything we did. I also wrote about our

discussions as a group or on a one-on-one basis. Sometimes, I would forget to include a conversation or an observation right away when it happened. In those cases, I usually took time to write about them after school. I did not have any formal questions or guidance questions for the times I spent with the girls. I just wrote what happened during trips or what was said. I have also spent time with the girls and their parents within the community during feasts, Slaaviq (Russian Christmas), basketball games, and occasionally, in the school, just for fun.

I was not comfortable during the observations asking the girls questions about their *Yugtun* speaking and listening skills. Sometimes, I spoke *Yugtun*, but I mostly used “commands.” For example, when we cleaned up the room where we slept, I would tell them to go get a vacuum or pack their belongings. The coach and I spoke *Yugtun*. This is the reason I mostly spoke English in non-commanding situations and to get on the girls’ good side. I was so afraid to lose them as my participants, I dared not create any waves.

I was very nervous at first, but once the girls and I got to know one another, we became comfortable. In the first year of chaperoning, three of the girls would want to ride in the same plane with me. They would announce, during our gatherings before each trip, that they would fly in the first plane with me. I felt good that they wanted to do so.

Another reason I did not ask questions about *Yugtun*-speaking and listening skills was because I did not want to ask too many questions. I did not want the girls to feel that I was too “nosey.” I did not want to be seen as the inquisitive chaperone. I

wanted to wait until I got to know them better before I asked questions about *Yugtun* language skills. During all the trips, I would speak mostly in English just for the comfort of all involved.

I also spent time with the high school girls during their Friday lunch times. Fridays were half-day school days in *Kuiggluk*. The high school students had their lunch after mine was over. I would go to the lunchroom and sit with the girls just to talk and be with them. This helped during the first year of chaperoning because we would spend quality time together; just joking around, teasing each other, having fun, and getting to know one another.

During community/school events and basketball trips, I observed the four girls by spending time with them. I jotted down the activities or conversations in my journal. During those times I did not want to be seen or thought of as a “researcher.” I was nervous, so I just spent time getting to know them and being their friend. At times, I joked about being their “mother” during basketball trips. On several occasions, one of the girls accidentally called me “mom.” After the second time, I knew she was becoming very comfortable around me.

Interviews

I recorded semiformal interviews with each of the girls and with each of the girl’s mothers. The recording sessions with the parents took no more than 40 minutes. Some of them were done fairly quickly, because of time constraints. Most of the parents were pressed with time, so I promised them that the recording time would be

not more than an hour. I asked them to share their childhood experiences within the community and their language use patterns while growing up.

I felt very *takaryuk* (bashful) to conduct the interviews in the mothers' homes. All through the time between writing my protocol and actually doing my interviews, I felt so uncomfortable to even think about going house to house for the event. In our Yugtun tradition, we are told not to *itertaaq* (go visiting) to other people's homes. *Inerquutnguuq*. (It is a traditional law.) After discussions about it we, (myself, professor, and participants), decided that it would be more comfortable to do the interviews in my classroom. It would be a neutral place for all of us. I did not have to discuss this "*itertaaq*" issue with the parents; it is common knowledge between us.

Although I was nervous, the interview process went well. Four mothers and their daughters were asked to share their story of childhood experiences, language use, cultural and schooling experiences. All the interviews were done in my classroom.

The recording sessions with the girls were difficult. I felt that the first recording session with one of the girls did not go well. We were both nervous. It felt really uncomfortable because the girl was very nervous, quiet, and shy. She was the shyest of all the four girls. She had hardly anything to say. I kept up the conversation asking one question after another. After that, I had to figure out a way to make the recording session with the girls more talk-friendly. So I made a questionnaire page to use a guide for the last three interviews with the girls. They turned out better and more comfortable than the first. After I completed all the interviews, I decided to get all the girls together to have a discussion session about language use and skills. We had one

session. It was more comfortable because we were relaxed as a group. I made sure to look and talk comfortably so that the girls would feel the same. It went well.

Surveys

The third form of data I gathered were through two surveys. The first one was done in 2006 when I took an independent class with my professor, Dr. *Anguksuar P. Marlow*. The second was done in 2008 with *Anguksuar's* help. For the first survey, I distributed them on my own after school to Junior High and High School students, only to those who were willing to fill them out. For the second survey, with the approval of my site administrator, I distributed an anonymous questionnaire about language-use and language-choice to fifty students. I went to three high school teachers and asked permission to distribute the questionnaires in their classroom. There were some leftover, so one Friday after lunch, as the students were walking out the lunchroom door, I asked them to fill out the questionnaire. They did. They were pressed for time to go home right after lunch, so some of the students quickly filled the survey out. They were kind enough to take the time to fill out the survey. They were all cooperative. Some of them were kind enough to drop off their survey in my classroom. I got all fifty surveys back.

Both surveys were anonymous. The questions were designed to find out more about the Junior High and High School students and their language use in *Yugtun* and English. Each survey was a one-page questionnaire. The first survey had only open-

ended questions. The second survey had two multiple-choice questions, two rate questions, and two open-ended questions (see Appendices C and D).

Setting

This study took place in *Kuiggluk*, located 17 miles northeast of Bethel. It is off the Kuskokwok River, which feeds into to the Kuskokwim River. The population is approximately 800-900 people, and primarily consists of Yugtun people.

Since I have married into the village, the *Kuiggluk* community has accepted me into their village as their *ukurr'aq* ([extended] daughter-in-law). They are warm and very welcoming people. The community is inter-related in many ways; through bloodline, marriage, naming tradition, culturally, and friendship. The naming process is a complex Yugtun tradition. After a person passes on, either when a baby is born or when someone gets sick, that baby or the sick person gets named after the person who just passed away. For example, I was named *Tang'aucuar* after she passed away in honor and memory of her.

Just as Wyman's (2004) *Piniq* village, the *Kuiggluk* community lives on subsistence hunting and fishing. Subsistence hunting and fishing are done all year long. Birds, caribou, moose, and other small game are hunted at spring and fall season. Fishing is an all year activity. It is done through drift net, set net, rod and reel, or ice fishing for many different types of fish. There are not many jobs available, but the community is rich in traditional values and cultural activities.

Participants

I worked with four female students (juniors and seniors) in high school and their mothers. I wanted to learn about how they use and view the *Yugtun* language, and culture and how they view themselves as *Yugtun* people. All four students were schooled in the *Yugtun* Immersion Program from Kindergarten to Third grade. These ladies were among the first students to attend the *Yup'ik* Immersion Program (*Yugtun* program) in Kuiggluk. At first, I wanted to work with two non-*Yup'ik* Immersion students and two *Yup'ik* Immersion students, but I changed my study group due to the fact of there being only one senior student who did not attend the *Yugtun* program. I originally planned to work with two males and two females, but I was concerned I would not be able to spend extended time with all of them. In 2008, I agreed to become the *Kuiggluk* High School girls' basketball team's official chaperone. This allowed me to chaperone them on every basketball trip throughout the season. It worked out perfectly. I got to know the girls and became good friends with them all.

I chose four high school girls, *Canaar*, *Nuyalran*, *Tanuk'aq*, and *Nanugaq*, (All pseudonyms—fake names), and their mothers, *Cikigaq*, *Kaligtuaq*, *Anaanaq* and *Nayiir*. All four girls are members of the basketball team. To help identify the participants in the rest of the thesis, I have listed them in Table 1 below by name. Mothers are paired with their daughters.

Table 1: Study Participants

Mothers	Daughters
<i>Cikigaq</i> (oldest mother)	<i>Nanugaq</i> (<i>Cikigaq</i> 's daughter)
<i>Kaligtuaq</i> (second oldest)	<i>Canaar</i>
<i>Anaanaq</i> (third oldest)	<i>Nuyalran</i>
<i>Nayiir</i> (youngest)	<i>Tanuk'aq</i>

Canaar is a smart young lady. Her mother *Kaligtuaq* is the Kindergarten *Yugtun* teacher. She is a *Yup'ik* woman who grew up in this community. *Canaar*'s late father was an African-American man. She is the tallest and also the most valuable player on the team.

Nuyalran is *Canaar*'s best friend. Her mother is *Anaanaq*. *Nuyalran* is quiet and shy. But once you get to know her, she is a regular fun-to-be with young lady. She is the second tallest lady on the team. Both *Nuyalran*'s parents are *Kuiggluk*-born *Yup'ik* people. They are both *Yugtun* speakers. *Canaar* and *Nuyalran* spend a lot of time together on basketball trips.

Tanuk'aq is another classmate of the two ladies. Her mother is *Nayiir*. *Tanuk'aq* was born to a young single woman. She is a nice young lady. She grew up in *Kuiggluk* living with her maternal her grandparent's. Her mother also grew up in *Kuiggluk*, and speaks *Yugtun*.

Nanugaq was born in Southwest Alaska. Her mother is *Cikigaq*. *Nanugaq* did not grow up in *Kuiggluk*, but her mother did. Her father is from another nearby community, down river from *Kuiggluk*. They are both, however, *Yup'ik*-speaking people. Her family moved away for four years because her dad went to school. After

the father completed his schooling, they moved back here to *Kuiggluk*. They have been living in the community now for four consecutive years.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

In this chapter, the findings from the interviews and the surveys are discussed. I wanted to find out about what the *Kuiggluk* students know or do not know about Yugtun speaking. My research questions are: Why do *Kuiggluk* youth speak mostly English? Why do *Kuiggluk* parents speak English/*Yugtun* to their children? And, why are fewer people speaking *Yugtun* in *Kuiggluk*?

Mothers' stories:

Cikigaq, Kaligtuq, Anaanaq, and Nayiir (Group M) are all mothers from *Kuiggluk*. Through their personal life stories, they paint a picture of *Kuiggluk* history. Their stories are from 1960s to 1970s. The story creates a timeline of *Kuiggluk* language and cultural history, from early 1960s to present. Not only that, they also shared the history of their schooling experience from when they became aware to adulthood from about mid to late 1960s to today. All four mothers were born and raised in *Kuiggluk*. Each one has a number of children. They described their children's *Yugtun* and English language-use abilities from the first-born to the last. Each parent shared her own belief about her children's language-use.

The four mothers shared similar childhood stories. When they first *ellangeq*, "became aware," *Yugtun* was their first language. "*Ellangeq*" is like a glimpse of one's childhood experience. People have different "becoming aware" experiences. Most people become aware between the ages of around one to eight.

The stories of schooling that the mother's shared took place between the 1960s to the 1970s. An extraordinary woman tells the first story; she's also the oldest of the four parents. Her name is *Cikigaq*. Ever since she *ellangeq* (became aware), she spoke only Yugtun when she played out with her friends and at home. When she started school, she was about seven years old (1966). She was then exposed to the English language. It was hard to process the information and think about what was being said. She learned to speak it slowly by watching her teachers and through practice. During that time *Yup'ik* children were submersed into the English language in the school. When she went home from school, she would revert to speaking *Yugtun*.

The second remarkable mother, *Kaligtuq*, also began school in the 1960s. She shared a similar English "submersion" story. She said that it was an effective strategy for children to learn English quickly and efficiently. Today, our Yugtun Immersion Programs aim to do the opposite; we want our children to learn Yugtun quickly and efficiently. As for the younger two mothers, *Anaanaq* and *Nayiir*, they didn't share about being "submersed" in the English language, which implies they were already exposed to it. Their elementary school years started in the early to mid-1970s.

When *Cikigaq* and *Kaligtuq*, the two older mothers, reached junior high, (which would be about early to mid 1970s) they went away for high school. When they both came home, they spoke more English than *Yugtun*. The four mothers shared stories about their high school experience. Both *Cikigaq* and *Kaligtuq* graduated from Mt. Edgecumbe High School. In the early to mid-1970, there was no high school in *Kuiggluk*. As for *Anaanaq*, the third oldest mother, she made a choice to attend Mt.

Edgecumbe High School. She felt she would get a better education than at the new *Kuiggluk* High School. *Nayiir*, being the youngest of all four-mothers, went to elementary and high school at *Kuiggluk*. She graduated from *Kuiggluk*, in 1988.

In the *Yugtun* language, there are many different forms and meanings of *inerquq* (singular form), or *inerquutet* (plural form). *Inerquq* could be used as an advice, for instruction, or for counseling. For example, when I first moved to *Kuiggluk*, (fall of 1993) my late parents would “advise” me to respect the members of *Kuiggluk*; they reminded me that I was a guest. Here are few accounts of *Yugtun inerquutet* stories that the mother’s shared. In the 1960s on Wednesday evenings, the community would gather at *Iiguaq*’s (a community elder) house. Elders would *inerquq* (advise) the children (Wyman’s (2004) “strong talk”), the *Yugtun* way of life, and/or the Bible. *Inerquq* means that the elders would advise, instruct, or counsel the children of the community to behave and live a good, well-respected *Yugtun*-valued life. The other *inerquuteq* story that *Kaligtuq* shared was that her grandfather would sit with her during breakfast and talk to her. He used other people as an example. He suggested that she think about her actions as a young teen. He spoke of good and bad choices. *Anaanaq* also shared that her late father used to encourage her and her siblings to “keep speaking the *Yup’ik* language.” He did not want them to lose the language. He used to *inerquq* them that it is right and respectful not to forget the *Yugtun* language for our posterity.

Cikigaq said that while an elder spoke in *Iiguaq*’s home, the children were not allowed to move around. Keeping very still demonstrated great respect toward him or

her and demonstrated discipline, which reflects *Yup'ik* traditions. They had to sit still and watch the elder's mouth as he or she spoke. It was hard to even turn her head away, because the elders might *nunuq* (scold) her. Even though she would be really tired of sitting absolutely still, she would dare not look away from the highly respected speaker. If she did so, it would show that she did not have respect for the speaker. *Cikigaq's* mother-in-law would *inerquq* (advise) her about *Yugtun* traditional laws and traditional perspectives to discipline her children and raise them in the *Yugtun* traditions. Her mother-in-law would also tell her that the *Yugtun* traditional laws and disciplinary issues were no longer being practiced. *Cikigaq* said our *Yugtun* language belongs to our soul, spirit, and breath. Our soul owns our language; how we are supposed to think. She tells her children, "Before you get into trouble, I'm telling you." This is a form of counseling practiced in the traditional *Yugtun* way. She advised her children "[T]hink before you do something drastic!" It is important to discipline a child in the *Yugtun* way, so that we do not lose our laws and traditions. The *Yugtun* way is better for our *Yugtun* well-being and leads to making good choices. This is just a little part of our *Yugtun* way. It is not much, but nonetheless a very important part of it. After thinking about *Yugtun* laws and traditions, listening to elders, and especially remembering her mother-in-law's advice, these are what *Cikigaq* came to realize.

Today, children do not sit absolutely still when adults or elders *inerquq* them. They squirm and talk back to adults. As adults, we talk about even though we *inerquq* our children, they no longer show any respect to authority figures within the community. We say how *naklegnarqeq* (pitiful) they are. It means in the *Yugtun* way

of thinking, the children do not know what they are getting themselves into, how scary the future might be for them, and that they do not have the *Yugtun* knowledge of being respectful of authority figures. As adults, we have common *Yugtun* knowledge about the *naklegnarqeq* children.

Cikigaq also talked about her childhood experiences of hearing the English language being spoken by different people in the community and visitors. It was during the early to mid 1950s. When her mom attended adult evening English classes, she tagged along. She is the last-born of her family. She sat still and watched the adults learn to read, write, and speak English. In the early 1950s, she also heard the English language being spoken by pilots and Bethel visitors. She watched her dad talk to them in English. *Kaligtuq*, the second oldest mother, shared of a similar story about her grandfather. As a child, *Kaligtuq* never heard her grandfather (whom she lived with) speak English. She suspected that he could speak the language because he was a National Guardsman.

When *Kaligtuq* was about eight or nine years old, (mid to late 1950s) her grandfather had her translate (from English to *Yugtun*) state, federal, and government letters and even Christmas cards. She used to read word for word, using literal translations. Thinking back, she says, she did not make any sense, even though, her grandfather used to respond with, “*Aa-arr’a*” (similar to saying, “Oh. Ok”). *Nayiir*, the youngest mother, shared a similar translation story. Her mother would give her letters to translate. She said it was hard to do so. When she got confused with *Yugtun* words, she would call her oldest sister for assistance. After her oldest sister clarified

the confusion, she would then explain more to her mother. This means that *Nayiir* needed help in clarifying *Yugtun* words, while on the other hand, *Kaligtuq*, used literal translations.

As they progressed in school, *Cikigaq* and the other mothers became more fluent in English. Even though they spoke English most of the time, they always spoke to elders in *Yugtun*, because the elders are respected leaders in the community. They have more *Yugtun* knowledge than we have. Compared to our modern day lifestyle, they lived a difficult *Yugtun* life.

In the mid 1960s, when *Kaligtuq* and her friends were in their early teens, they used the English language as a “secret code.” They would spell English words so that their parents or elders would not understand their plans. For example, *Kaligtuq* would communicate with her friends, something like, “I will meet you at the s-t-o-r-e later on.” Or, “I’m going o-u-t.” This is similar to what we (my cousins and I) used to do at *Qikertarmiuni* so that our mothers wouldn’t understand our plans, but instead we used sentences. We used to spell out whole sentences either over the phone or in person. Another “code” we used was “Ubby-Dubby,” a fun language that we learned from a children’s television show.

When *Cikigaq*’s older siblings came home from Mt. Edgecumbe (a boarding school for rural students), they would speak in English more often than not in their home. *Kaligtuq* conveyed a similar story; she said that when she came home from Mt. Edgecumbe School, it was much easier to speak English than *Yugtun*. Although the four mothers spoke English at school and at home, they (she and her friends) would

speak *Yugtun* when they played outside or when they spoke to elders in the community.

Two of the mothers, *Kaligtuq* and *Nayiir*, shared their experience of playing outside. They used to “*yaaruig*” (tell mud stories using a story knife). When we were young children, this used to be a form of self-entertainment. As *Kaligtuq* recalls, when they told mud stories, their favorite story telling method was to *interrluteng wall’ anqerrluteng nem’egnek* (either run into or run out of their house).

In the late 1970s, when *Cikigaq* moved to another community, to *Uani*, (pronounced waa-ni, meaning “toward the door/exit,” “down-river,” or “out toward the mouth of the bay/river”), she noticed that the *Uani* people spoke mostly *Yugtun*. It seemed as if she “*ekaarteq*” (fit right back into) speaking *Yugtun*. She had felt she was out of *Yugtun*-speaking practice. Her oldest daughter, *Paniik*, spoke *Yugtun* as her first language. When they visited *Kuiggluk* in the early 1980s, *Paniik* would not understand anyone who spoke in English. *Cikigaq* said the *Kuiggluk* speech community was noticeably different; *Kuiggluk* community members spoke mostly English and *Uani* community members spoke mostly *Yugtun*. She says *Paniik* was one year old when they used to visit *Kuiggluk*. This event happened twenty years ago.

Currently, there is evidence of English-speaking dominance in this community. On one of my chaperone trips, a coach for the *Kuiggluk* team was talking to me. He was a lead teacher at the Head Start Program. He was talking to me about his frustrations as a *Yugtun* language lead teacher and how he gets frustrated that his aide speaks mostly English even though she knows that *Yugtun* is supposed to be spoken.

The conversation was unexpected. He vented his frustrations because he knew that I teach *Yugtun* in my classroom. He also said that the students that attend the Head Start Program come in speaking mostly English.

11/7/08

I just talked to the team coach who works at the Head Start. He just got done telling me that most of the students coming in to attend school speak mostly English. He also told me he speaks *Yugtun* in class, but his classroom aid speaks English. And that bugs him so much. *Pingraan qamuituq.*

Three of the four mothers told stories about cultural events. *Kaligtuq*, *Anaanaq*, and *Nayiir* talked about going seasonal camping. *Kaligtuq* shared that she and her family used to go to spring camp. After cutting fish at fishcamp, her father and her older siblings used to go up to the mountains. *Nayiir* told me that her father used to *aqvaq* (get) her and her older brother from school in April to go to spring camp. After camping all spring and summer, *Nayiir* and her family would return to the village in the fall only when it was time to go back to school. As for *Kaligtuq* and her family, they left for camp only after school was over.

In the mid 1980s, when *Cikigaq* started teaching *Yugtun* in *Uani*, she would go home with a sore throat. Her *Yugtun* speaking was out of practice. I've experienced the same feeling. When I first started teaching *Yugtun*, at the end of the day, my throat would be sore from speaking *Yugtun* all day.

Mothers' viewpoints on raising kids:

Each of the mothers spoke of their children's language-use from oldest to the youngest. Like Wyman's (2004) *Piniq* family, they experienced the same language-use pattern. The oldest child(ren) would be *Yugtun* fluent and the younger children would speak mixed (*Yugtun* and English) language or even become English dominant speakers. For example, when *Paniik* (*Cikigaq*'s first daughter) started attending the Head Start Program in *Uani*, she first started speaking English. But when she came home, *Paniik* would speak *Yugtun*. This same pattern happened to *Anaanaq*'s first four children and *Nayiir*'s first daughter.

Cikigaq has four children. *Paniik*, *Apurin*, *Nanugaq*, and *Qiagan* are all pseudo names. *Nanugaq* was one of the girls I interviewed. She grew up watching cartoons most of the time. Although she spoke mostly English, she understood *Yugtun* because everyone else in the household spoke it. *Apurin* spoke *Yugtun* as his first language. *Qiagan*, (although he spoke *Yugtun*) started speaking more English after they moved to Kodiak (an English-speaking village in South Central Alaska). *Cikigaq* remembers *Nanugaq* spoke mostly English at home. While she spoke *Yugtun* to *Paniik* and/or *Apurin*, she would revert to English when speaking to *Nanugaq*. This is how it was like while she raised her children. Just recently, she realized this pattern. After the realization, she spoke *Yugtun*, but without thinking, she reverted to English. Then when *Nanugaq* reached Kindergarten, about 1980 at *Uani* School, (a *Yugtun* First Language Program) she learned to speak *Yugtun* quickly because of past exposure

during her toddler years. She noticed that the same thing happened to her eldest daughter, *Paniik*, but in reverse order, *Yugtun* to English.

Table 2: *Cikigaq*'s children's first language

	<i>Paniik</i> (female)	<i>Apurin</i> (male)	<i>Nanugaq</i> * (female)	<i>Qiagan</i> (male)
1 st language	<i>Yugtun</i>	<i>Yugtun</i>	English	<i>Yugtun</i> & English
2 nd language	English	English	<i>Yugtun</i> (limited)	

In the following journal entry, I learned that *Cikigaq* switched between *Yugtun* and English unintentionally with her children. Her speech pattern is what I do when I speak to my children too. When I speak to my youngest child, I speak *Cugtun* and to my two older children, I revert to speaking English. *Cikigaq* displays a similar speech pattern with her children.

9/26/08

I went to talk to *Cikigaq* about how she raised *Nanugaq*- her daughter. She talked to me about her daughter and how she spoke to her daughter. She told me that *Nanugaq* spoke only English and her younger brother spoke *Yugtun*. When she spoke to *Apurin* (*Nanugaq* younger brother-*aara* [brother-of]) he used to respond *Yugtun*. Then when she turns to *Nanugaq*, since she spoke *kass'atun*, she would speak to her *kass'atun* [like a white person]. That's what she talked to me about briefly. Then she agreed to be a participant in my research.

Kaligtuq, the second oldest mother, has five children. Her first two children, *Qiuran* and *Aalalika'ar*, became aware speaking *Yugtun* as their first language. They both can speak and understand it fluently. The last three *Manut'aq*, *Paniluk*, and *Canaar* became aware speaking English because their late father stayed home with them when she went to work. However, when *Qiuran* and *Paniluk* got out of high school, they both began speaking more *Yugtun* with their friends within the community. During *Paniluk's* teenage years, he didn't speak much *Yup'ik*. Even though he wasn't as fluent, he could understand and speak *Yugtun*. The last one, *Canaar*, can understand *Yugtun*. She was one of the students in the *Yup'ik* Immersion when it started in *Kuiggluk*. Although she is not a *Yugtun* fluent speaker, she can speak it slowly. During her upper elementary school years, she fell behind in school, but when she reached junior high, she got caught up. She passed her junior high exams. During high school, she passed her High School Graduate Qualifying Exam (HSGQE). *Canaar* graduated from high school a year early. While she was in the immersion program, she learned to transfer her *Yugtun* reading and writing skills into English independently. Immersion-school children do transfer what they have learned from the indigenous language into English on their own.

Table 3: *Kaligtuq's* children's first language.

	<i>Qiuran</i> (male)	<i>Aalalika'ar</i> (female)	<i>Manut'aq</i> (female)	<i>Paniluk</i> (male)	<i>Canaar</i> * (female)
1 st language	<i>Yugtun</i>	<i>Yugtun</i>	English	English	English
2 nd language	English	English	<i>Yugtun</i> (limited)	<i>Yugtun</i> (limited)	<i>Yugtun</i> (limited)

In December of 2008, when *Canaar* went to another village, she took care of a five-year-old boy. The boy spoke *Yugtun*. *Canaar* thought he was so cute; when she came home; she started speaking *Yugtun* to her nieces and nephew.

Anaanaq has six children; *Nakaar*, *Nuyalran*, *Caliar*, *Kanran*, *Cikayuk*, and *Naryartur*, all became aware speaking *Yugtun*. They all attended the community Head Start Program. *Anaanaq* told me the last two children’s language-use, however, “*mumigtellruuk* like a pancake” (their language-use flipped like a pancake from *Yugtun* to English). What *Anaanaq* meant was that they learned to speak English so quickly, she did not realize it until two to three months later. When I asked why she thinks that happened, she told me because *Cikayuk*’s and *Naryartur*’s peers spoke mostly English at pre-school. Now, she says, that *Cikayuk*, her youngest daughter can speak *Yugtun*, but she chooses to speak mostly English. *Naryartur*, the youngest son, will not speak *Yugtun* to his family, only to his grandmother (*Anaanaq*’s mother). He chooses to speak mostly English.

Table 4: *Anaanaq*’s children’s first language.

	<i>Nakaar</i> (male)	<i>Nuyalran</i> * (female)	<i>Caliar</i> (female)	<i>Kanran</i> (female)	<i>Cikayuk</i> (female)	<i>Naryartur</i> (male)
1 st language	<i>Yugtun</i>	<i>Yugtun</i>	<i>Yugtun</i>	<i>Yugtun</i>	<i>Yugtun</i>	<i>Yugtun</i>
2nd language	English	English	English	English	English	English

Nayiir’s two daughters, *Tanuk’aq* and *Maliya*, they have similar speech patterns to the other three families. *Nayiir*’s parents raised *Tanuk’aq*, the older daughter, until she was six years old. *Tanuk’aq* spoke *Yugtun* when she *ellangeq*,

(became aware). When she entered Head Start, she started speaking English. When she went home, though, she would speak *Yugtun*. She would speak only English to her friends. As for *Maliya*, *Nayiir* raised her in *Anyaraq*, (an interior village speaking dominantly English) with *Maliya*'s father. *Maliya* spoke English as her first language. As I was growing up, I noticed this same language pattern with my siblings. I have six older brothers and four sisters. My mother spoke *Cugtun* to my older siblings, but she spoke only English to the three youngest children-my two older brothers and me.

Table 5: *Nayiir*'s children's first language.

	<i>Tanuk'aq</i> * (female)	<i>Maliya</i> (female)
1 st language	<i>Yugtun</i>	English
2 nd language	English	<i>Yup'ik</i> (limited)

I was surprised to learn that *Nayiir* speaks mostly *Yugtun* to her older child and mostly English to her younger child, because I do the opposite. I mostly speak *Cugtun* to my youngest child and speak mostly English to my two older children.

12/2/08

During my recording of the youngest parent [*Nayiir*], I tried to have her share her growing up years experience of speaking, then the language she mostly speaks to her two children, the younger one and the older one. She speaks mostly *Yugtun* to the older one and speaks mostly English to her younger child. Totally opposite of me: I speak mostly English to my older children and *Cugtun* to my last one.

Girls' point of view:

Nanugaq and *Canaar* grew up speaking in English as their first language. *Tanuk'aq* and *Nuyalran* spoke *Yugtun* and English and most often spoke the two languages.

Although *Nanugaq* grew up in a household of *Yugtun* speakers, she spoke English. She is still an English-dominant speaker and considers herself to be a good English speaker. Although she understands *Yugtun* well, she considers herself to be a poor *Yugtun* speaker. During the interview, *Nanugaq* explained that she was learning *Yugtun* in the *Yugtun* First Language Program in *Uani*, but she also claimed to be an English-dominant speaker:

“I was learning *Yup'ik*, and but then I knew it. An' I mostly speak *kass'aq* [English] too.”

Here, *Nanugaq* said she was learning to speak *Yugtun* while she was in school. Then she says, “but then I knew it”, meaning she could understand *Yugtun* because she grew up in a *Yugtun*-speaking home.

Like me, *Canaar* is the last-born in her family. She and her two older siblings, *Manut'aq* and *Paniluk*, (the last three in the family) are English-dominant speakers, like my two older siblings and me (the last three in the family). *Canaar* understands *Yugtun* better than she can speak it, just as I did when I was her age. *Canaar's* late father was her primary caretaker. He spoke only English and her mother spoke both

English and *Yugtun*. Today she tries her best to speak *Yugtun* to elders and to those she feels comfortable with.

As for *Tanuk'aq* and *Nuyalran*, they were *Yugtun* first language speakers. *Tanuk'aq*'s grandparents raised her until she was six years old. Up until she started spending time with her friends outside, she spoke *Yugtun*. She also learned to speak English when she started Head Start. During the interview, she said,

Um...I spoke *Yup'ik* like part of my life, but then, most of my life, um, I learned to speak English, and, um, I spoke, I started speaking English when I came to school and it been, it's been mostly English.

It is the same with *Nuyalran*. Her household is *Yugtun*-dominant. She grew up speaking *Yugtun* as her first language. *Nuyalran* too started speaking English when she went to school.

“The year I went to [Head Start] school, I started speaking English.”

Nuyalran told me that said her first cousin used to be her best friend when they were little. They are about the same age. As little girls they communicated in *Yugtun*. Now, she says she speaks mostly *Yugtun* at home and she speaks some *Yugtun* and English to her friends.

While their language use varies a lot, all the girls try to speak some *Yugtun* to elders and parents. Some, like *Canaar* or *Nuyalran*, speak *Yugtun* to children or their peers, if they know the person speaks *Yugtun*.

According to the interviews, *Nuyalran's* and *Tanuk'aq's Yugtun* is more developed than *Nanugaq's* and *Canaar's*. Although *Nuyalran* and *Tanuk'aq* say they speak *Yugtun* mostly at home, I hardly hear them speak it around me during basketball trips, in the *Kuiggluk* School, and in the community. When interviewing *Nuyalran* and *Tanuk'aq's* mothers and the girls themselves, they all told me that *Nuyalran* and *Tanuk'aq* speak *Yugtun* at home. From my understanding, both *Nuyalran* and *Tanuk'aq* feel more comfortable speaking *Yugtun* to their relatives at home.

Nanugaq and *Canaar* speak limited *Yugtun*. If they don't know a *Yugtun* word they will simply add “-aq” to the end of an English word. For example, during a basketball game, *Canaar* said, “Cutter-*aaq!*” (Cut across!). The closest translation of that would most likely be *kepluten* (You, cut). My *Yugtun/Cugtun* speech pattern was about the same when I was their age. For example, I would say, “*Taalluku* glove-*ar.*” (Hand me that glove). This speech pattern is called “code-mixing.” In linguistic terms, it means a speaker uses both English and the indigenous language in one sentence (Baker, 2006, p. 110). I still code-mix often even when I'm speaking *Yugtun* or *Cugtun* to my friends, peers, husband, or my children.

Canaar and *Nanugaq* had similar language-use patterns growing up. They both spoke more English because their primary caretakers spoke English to them. *Nuyalran* and *Tanuk'aq* spoke more *Yugtun* because their caretakers spoke in *Yugtun*. They all spoke English when they went to the Head Start Program.

What I observed:

Although I was hesitant to speak about *Yugtun* speaking topics during basketball trips, *Canaar* would speak *Yugtun* to the best of her ability. During those times, I would get really excited, but I would try not to show my excitement. Most of the times we traveled, I forgot to write down what *Canaar* would say in *Yugtun*, but I wrote the date and time when she spoke. Although her *Yugtun* speaking was only one or two words long and even code-mixed (English/*Yugtun*) words, they were attempts which showed her knowledge. The following quote explains my feelings when two girls spoke *Yugtun* during a basketball trip.

5/18/08

During this trip (to a town), *Canaar* and *Napalkuk* [another girl not in the study] said *Yup'ik* words-maybe 2-3-5 *Yugtun* words. That was good. I forgot what they said, but they talked *Yugtun* in the room, in *Canaar's* room. When they spoke, it was *Yugtun* beginner style. They could hardly talk, but they tried. It was a real effort for them to talk *Yugtun*. I didn't offer to speak correctly. I just smiled. I stayed neutral and quiet. I didn't laugh at their efforts. I kept quiet and didn't judge their efforts because it might show disapproval or humor. That's why I stayed quiet or didn't show any emotions. I made sure not to react because my reaction, I thought, might discourage their efforts. I think all I said was, "That's good. You did good." I think that's how I reacted. There was no other *Yugtun* speaking after that.

During several other basketball trips, *Canaar* spoke *Yugtun*. The following journal entry records the first time I heard her.

4/1/08

I chaperoned only the girl's team to (a town). I think that weekend was the first time that *Canaar* uttered her first *Yugtun* words – her *Yup'ik* was poor. Like really struggled to say the *Yup'ik* word. But she tried really hard though. She tried her best. She was brave enough to say *Yugtun* words. I forgot what she tried to say. I think it was after me asking the girls if they know how to speak *Yugtun*. This was in the room and I was distant from her. The other girls laughed at her. She laughed too. I tried not to respond because that might distract her. Then after she spoke *Yugtun*, I asked the other girls who were heard and asked if she knew how to speak *Yugtun*. The other girls said they do, but very little bit. Only one or two words at a time though. I then asked if they understood *Yugtun*. They all eagerly agreed that they understand more *Yugtun* than they could speak it. That was the end of the topic of *Yup'ik* speech. I decided not to ask more or probe more because I was afraid they might think I “ask too many questions.” I wanted it to be like only a “probe” question and nothing else. I wanted to give them more space and I wanted to “be nice” and get to know them. To see if they are comfortable with me. I did not ask about *Yugtun* speaking to *Canaar* and *Napalkuk*, but I did to *Nagtaq*. She responded well. She could understand *Yugtun* well and she responded to my question

well. She spoke well, but she said she doesn't speak much because her peers don't speak much *Yugtun*. That was the end of the conversation about *Yugtun*. In the following passage, *Canaar* spoke *Yugtun* on another basketball trip.

Because this was her third effort at speaking *Yugtun*, there was a hint of "I know how to speak *Yugtun*" tone in her speech. This time, I responded because it wasn't her first time speaking *Yugtun* around me. I encouraged the *Yugtun* speaking by complementing her efforts.

4/1/08

My trip, we went to *Akuliqutaq* for the *Mid-River* (pseudo name) League Tournament. This weekend again, *Canaar* spoke *Yugtun*. It was poor struggling *Yup'ik*, but very nice because she tried. She tried her best to speak. And again, her peers laughed and so did she. Again, I forgot what she said, but it was understandable. There was a hint of "I know how to speak *Yugtun* and I can try" topic in her speaking. I think I responded this time because it wasn't the first time. It was like the third time. I think I responded like, "It's good you can speak. That's really nice." type of response. I did not want to react because it might "discourage" her or "scare" her in a way that she might not want to speak any more in my presence.

During another basketball trip, *Canaar* spoke two *Yugtun* words. This is when she brought a girl into our room and introduced her to us. She said, “*Hi-arluten*” (Hi-say). Later that evening, after a game, she said “*Cimirirtua*” (I’m changing).

10/23/08

So far, *Canaar* hung out with two (other village) girls. During break, she came into the room, introduced the girls and said their names and said for one of the girls to say, “*Hi-arluten.*” Then after the second set of games were over, she came in and said, “Don’t let any body come in. *Cimirirtua.*”

On this trip, I noticed, since *Canaar* spoke more *Yugtun*, I could tell that she was more comfortable. She was not hesitant or didn’t sound like she was struggling. This meant that she was becoming comfortable around me.

I knew one of the girls that I interviewed spoke *Yugtun* at home, but I never heard her speak *Yugtun* during trips, in the school, and within the community. In the following journal entry, *Tanuk’aq* told me she speaks *Yugtun* at home and speaks English in public. I didn’t ask why she does that. I just assumed that she speaks *Yugtun* at home because she’s comfortable and feels safe there. I also assumed she speaks only English in public so that she would not be laughed at or made fun of for her efforts in speaking *Yugtun*.

One day at the school I happened to be around *Canaar* and her mother. The following journal entry is about that day.

10/20/08

Today, at lunchtime, as I was walking to lunchroom, I past *Kaligtuq* and *Canaar* and *Nayagaq*. I heard *Canaar* talking to her mom. She was feeling *kapniqeq* from flu shot. She was whining to her mom—holding her left upper arm. “Mom, my arm hurts.” Her mom, “*Qaillun?*” *Canaar*: “*Tuquyupiartua.*” (meaning *–kapniqellrani—*I’m in pain). Then later, during lunch, I asked her mom what she said. She explained. Then her mom said, “She tries to speak *Yugtun* even though she’s not correct—as long as she speaks *Yugtun*, although she’s not right, she tries to speak.” I laughed because it was so cute.

On another occasion, after a fund-raising event, we were cleaning the gym and I happened to be around *Canaar* and her mother. *Canaar* was mopping and I was picking up trash. She said a *Yugtun* word. It was an unintelligible remark. Nevertheless, this showed she tries to speak *Yugtun* to the best of her ability.

1/5/09

Uumilluam’ [This one time] when we were cleaning up after the tournament in *Kuiggluk*. I was picking up trash in the gym. There was *Kaligtuq* there near me. And *Canaar* came around. Then she uttered a *Yugtun* word, something short, but she tried even if she wasn’t *taringnarqeq*. She was smiling a real big smile. She tried. A acknowledged it though. *Kaligtuq* smiled too.

At another time, *Canaar* shared her comprehension of *Yugtun* skills. This time, we were in the school during their lunchtime. I had gone to sit with the high school girls. There, I purposely spoke only *Yugtun*. There were several girls eating their lunch. While I spoke to a new student, I purposely spoke *Yugtun* to see if she understood. When she did not understand, *Canaar* translated what I asked the new student. In the following excerpt, *Canaar* shows how well she understands *Yugtun* and her translation skills. She was proud to help out. She joked that she was a *Yugtun* fluent speaker.

3/18/08

Today, at lunch, I went into the lunchroom. I was walking to the tables where students were eating pizza. As I walked, *Canaar* was walking past me. I just said hello. I sat down by *Nuyalran*, *Caniiralria*, and the new student, somebody Nick. A girl. I asked questions in *Yugtun*. Then that girl couldn't understand me. *Canaar* came back with two pieces. I was asking that Nick girl questions *Yugtun*. She looked at me blankly. She didn't understand me. Then *Canaar* translated for her. She (Nick) explained herself that she was adopted out of a family in Ham Bay and that's where she grew up. And that Marvin Nick is her dad. She said she used to understand and speak well *Yugtun*, but at Ham Bay, they don't speak *Yugtun*. After she was done explaining, I would look at *Caniiralria* girl and ask her questions *Yugtun* too. She understood me, but she would respond *kass'atun* (in English).

Then one time after the *Caniiralria* girl said she doesn't understand, *Canaar* offered her "expertise" to translate. She said, "Where did you grow up? Who's your family here?" I understand her because I'm *Yup'ik* fluent speaker. PSYCH!" [laugh] Every one laughed, including me, but I went on asking questions *Yugtun*.

Language shift in *Kuiggluk* evolved from hearing and speaking more English than *Yugtun* over many years. In the following journal entry, I had visited one of my parent's homes for a forty-five minute visit. After the visit, I recorded the language used and what happened during the visit. I wrote down and estimated the amount of English/*Yugtun* language spoken by the mother to the best of my time estimation. She spoke about 60% English and 40% *Yugtun* during the 45-minute visit. All the rest of the people who were in the house spoke mostly English.

10/3/08

Thursday evening, I brought some stuff to *Kaligtug*. There were nine people there. They were watching TV. The boy was restless. He had so much energy. *Canaar* was on the Internet. *Capayuk* was happy for me to come in. I know *Canaar* was too, but she didn't show it much. We (baby and I) stayed like 45 minutes. While we are there, a woman came in with her grandchild. While I was there, *Canaar* got off the Internet and took her niece and play with her. During the time I was there, she spoke *Yugtun* once. It was s simple – day-to-day *Yup'ik* word. I can't remember it. The mother spoke about 60% English

and 40% Yugtun in the 45 minutes I was there. She spoke English to her grandkids. When she *inqe* (doted) her grandchild, she'd speak *Yugtun*.

What the surveys show:

To study the use of English and *Yugtun* language-use by teenagers, I conducted two surveys. The first was during the independent class I took with Dr. *Anguksuar* Marlow in 2006. The questions were all open-ended. During the second survey, in 2008, I specifically made questions for my thesis research. It included a combination of open-ended, likert scale (strongly-agree to strongly-disagree), and multiple-choice questions.

The students who participated in the survey were a combination of junior high to high school students. In the first survey, I handed out twenty-two surveys in 2006 to students during parent/teacher conferences, and after each school day to students who were willing to fill them out. The second survey was handed out in 2008 to fifty students. Since the two surveys were anonymous and separated by two years, I suspect there was a lot of overlap between the two. Five main questions were asked in both the surveys. These included:

1. Who do they speak which language (English or *Yugtun*) to and why?
2. Why is *Yugtun* important?
3. Why is English important?
4. Which language will they speak to their future children?
5. As they get older, will their *Yugtun* get better?

Who do they speak which language to, and why?

Both surveys asked the students which language (English or *Yugtun*) they speak to: (a) children younger than themselves, (b) their peers, (c) their parents, (d) adults in general, and (e) elders. In the first survey, the question was open-ended. However, in the second survey, I asked the same question, but used a multiple-choice format, using the above choices.

Survey 1 (2006): From the first survey, eleven of the twenty-two students wrote that they spoke English to children younger than themselves. Four students said they speak both *Yugtun* and English to children younger than them. Six students said they speak *Yugtun* to younger children.

Eighteen out of twenty-two students said that they speak mostly English to their peers. Two students said they speak both *Yugtun* and English to their peers and one student wrote that she/he speaks *Yugtun*.

Seven out of the twenty-two students wrote they speak English to their parents. Six said they speak both *Yugtun* and English, and five said they speak *Yugtun*. The rest left the question blank. When asked why, most students wrote because their parents speak English to them.

Nine out of the twenty-two students wrote they speak English to adults in general. Three said they speak a combination of *Yugtun* and English to adults in general. Eight said they speak *Yugtun* and two students left the question blank. Three students said they speak English to elders because they do not know how to speak

Yugtun or that they do not understand *Yugtun*. Three said they speak both *Yugtun* and English. Thirteen of the twenty-two students said they speak *Yugtun* to elders.

The graph below shows the language-used by the teenagers. It shows that the teenagers speak mostly English to children younger than them and to their peers. They do speak English to their parents and adults in general, as well as to elders, but they do speak more *Yugtun* to them.

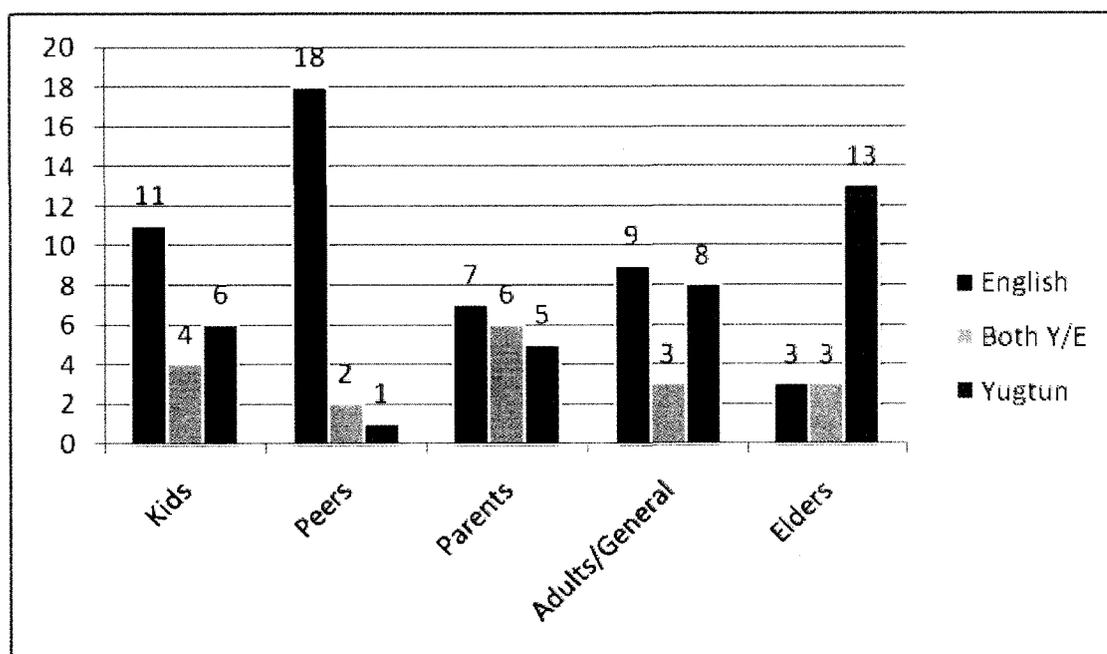


Figure 1: Language use by *Kuiggluk* Youth in 2006

Survey 2 (2008): In the second survey, thirteen out of fifty students said they speak *Yugtun* with younger kids. Seven students speak *Yugtun* with their peers and one left the question blank. Eleven students speak *Yugtun* with their parents. Two students speak *Yugtun* with most adults. Two students spoke *Yugtun* to adults. Twenty-four

students speak *Yugtun* with elders. Almost half of the fifty students said they speak *Yugtun* to elders. The numbers do not add up because I left the blank one out. They were not counted.

The graph below shows that the teenagers speak mostly English. Their *Yugtun* speech changes depending on the age group they are talking to. It shows that they speak mostly English to adults in general, their parents, children, and their peers. But it shows that they mostly speak *Yugtun* (26 out of 50) and English (24 out of 50) nearly equally to elders of the community.

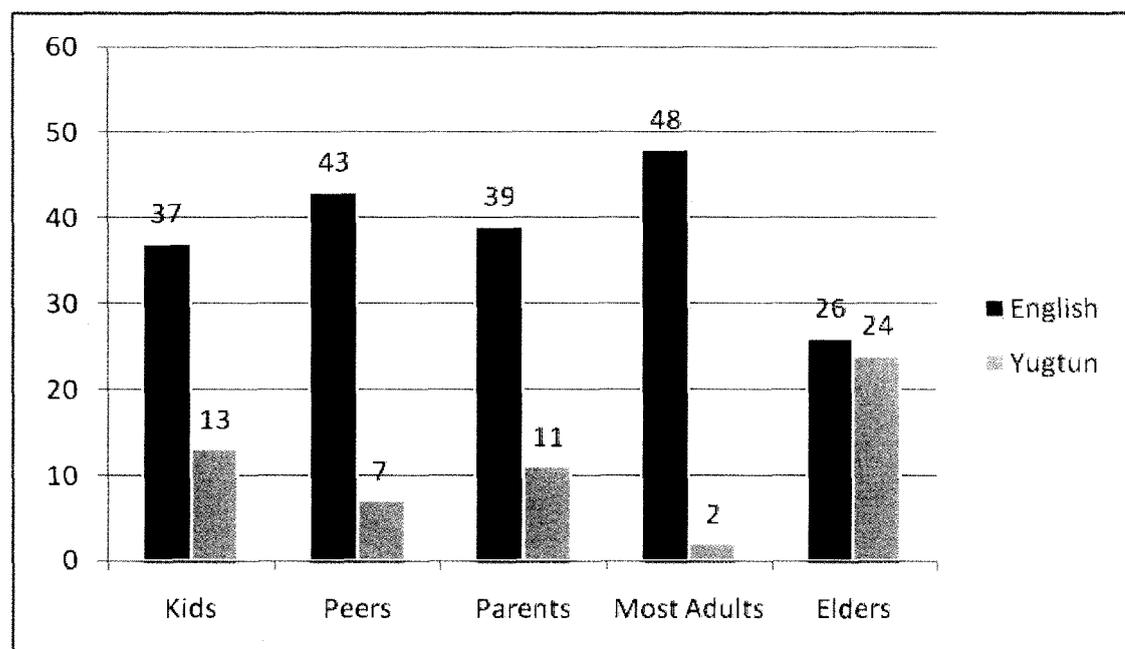


Figure 2: Language use by *Kuiggluk* Youth in 2008

The surveys show that students speak mostly English. The only exception to this rule is elders, where nearly half of the students in Survey 2 (24 out of 50) and two-

thirds in Survey 1 (13 out of 20) claimed to speak *Yugtun*. In our community, we consider our elders the most knowledgeable and most respected members in our culture. By speaking *Yugtun* to them, it shows that the students have respect toward them. I'm not surprised that most of the students claimed they speak *Yugtun* to the elders.

Survey 1 suggests that as the interlocutor becomes older (parents or adults in general), more students speak *Yugtun* or mixture of *Yugtun* and English. However, Survey 2 does not support this. In Survey 2, only two students claimed to speak *Yugtun* with most adults.

However, both surveys suggest that when the students speak to their parents or to children younger than they are, they speak more *Yugtun*. This means, most likely, the students speak *Yugtun* at home to their parents and younger children at home, in their safety zone, where no one would make fun of their *Yugtun*-speaking efforts. This speech pattern is what I used to do too when I was learning to speak *Yugtun*. I would speak *Yugtun* with those that I was comfortable with and to those who would not make fun of my efforts. And I would not speak *Yugtun* to those that would either laugh or correct my efforts. I did this because it was uncomfortable to be laughed at and/or be corrected by those who were more experienced than me in speaking *Yugtun*.

Since both surveys are self-report, we need to ask what it means for these teenagers to speak *Yugtun*. A few students in *Kuiggluk* do come from strong *Yugtun* speaking homes, and do speak fluent *Yugtun*. However, I suspect when many students say they speak either part or mostly *Yugtun*, they are really mixing both English and

Yugtun in a single sentence. For example, if an elder asked a teenager a question like, “*Nauwa angayuqaagken?*” (Where are your parents?) The teenager would most likely answer, “They went *Mamterilleq* (Bethel).” The reason I give this as an example is because I have often seen or heard this type of speech pattern when teenagers talk to either me or to other older community members. The teenagers most likely speak with only one or two *Yugtun* words in a sentence.

Why is *Yugtun* important?

Survey 1 (2006): When I asked “Why is *Yup'ik* important?” there were many similar answers. From the first survey, I asked, “Which language do you think is more important?” Twenty out of twenty-two students said that *Yup'ik* is more important.

Their answers ranged from:

- it's our culture
- it's our tradition, because it's our language
- because some people don't speak the *Yup'ik* language
- to keep our *Yup'ik* language for generation and to teach our children
- if we don't speak the *Yup'ik* language, there will be no *Yup'ik*
- don't want our language to die
- it's our culture and it's slowly fading, we need to hold on to our heritage
- it is in my culture, and it is slowly disappearing

Some of these students want the *Yup'ik* language to be spoken more and become more widely used than English before the English language takes over our heritage language. Other students see that the *Yugtun* language is part of our lives and that it is important because it's the language of our ancestors. These students wrote,

- It's the way of our culture and it is also important that we learn the language of our ancestors.
- It's the language of our elders, ancestors and it's our first language before the English people came and changed or taught English.
- Pretty much all the elders speak *Yup'ik*, and I think it's important to communicate with them because they have lots to say.

Survey 2 (2008): In the second survey, I asked an open-ended question. I asked, "*Yup'ik* is important because". There were many different answers. Most students answered that *Yugtun* is part of our culture:

- It's part of our heritage and our culture.
- It is part of who I am, & I would love to learn more about culture.
- It is important cause it's our culture and give thanks that you have your culture.
- It is our culture, our heritage, and the natural *Yup'ik* tradition for the parents to teach their children their language so it won't be forgotten.

- It's our culture and it's slowly fading, we need to hold on to our heritage.
- It shows that we are the people of Alaska. And that we care about our culture.
- It is in my culture, and it is slowly disappearing.
- More than a language, it's our culture,

Other students connect respect for the language to respect for our elders. Here are a few of the accounts of their answers.

- It's a language that shouldn't get lost, especially because it's passed down by elders; elders who expect the next generation to understand the Yup'ik language and culture.
- We might lose it, not sure though and to respect the elders too.

The above answers show what the students think about how and why *Yup'ik* is important. They see that the *Yugtun* language is fading. They also have a high regard for the *Yup'ik* language and culture. They also believe that language and culture go hand in hand and how the *Yugtun* language goes hand in hand with speaking with the elders of the community. They know that the elders speak mostly *Yugtun*, therefore, they see the language is important to be able to communicate with the elders.

Why is English important?

Not only did I want to hear about the *Yugtun* language-use, I also asked about why they think the English language is important. In the first survey, when asked, “Which language do you think is more important? Only one student answered, “English is more important because everyone understands.” All other students responded by saying *Yugtun* is more important (see *Why is Yugtun Important?* above).

Survey 2 (2008): In the second survey, I asked, “English is important because:” Ten students said that English is important for school or college:

- It is important for school and college.
- We have to learn English to go into college, or because most jobs we have to speak English.

Other students see English as an important tool to communicate with people outside the community and to be able to survive and live outside the community:

- That is 95% of America’s tongue and to live in this world, you have to speak it.
- We need to know English to live the white man way of life.
- It is important because when we travel, we will have to speak English.
- We have to communicate with people when we get jobs.

These students know that the English language is important for life outside and within the community; for jobs, and to be able to communicate with others, and for higher education.

Which language will they speak to their children?

Survey 1 (2006): I wanted to know which language they think is important for their future children. From the first survey, only one student wrote, “English, because everyone knows that language and can understand.” Two students wrote that they want their child to be able to speak both *Yup’ik* and English. Sixteen out of twenty-two students wrote “*Yup’ik*.” They all had a range of reasons. Their answers ranged from:

- Yup’ik, because it might die away.
- I think Yup’ik is more important because we are natives and we are supposed to keep our language going.
- I think the Yup’ik language is more important because if we don’t speak Yup’ik, more people wouldn’t understand and the inerrquutet [inerquutet-traditional laws] of the Yup’ik.

Survey 2 (2008): I asked the same question in the second survey, but in a different format. I asked, “When I have kids, I will raise them to speak *Yup’ik*.” using a likert scale (see Figure 3 below).

Twenty students circled “Strongly agree.” Eleven students circled “Partly agree.” Six students circled “Not sure.” Two students circled “Partly disagree.” One student circled “Strongly disagree.”

When I have kids, I will raise them to speak <i>Yup'ik</i> .				
(20)	(11)	(6)	(2)	(1)
*	*	*	*	*
Strongly Strongly Agree Disagree	Partly Agree	Not Sure	Partly Disagree	

Figure 3: *Kuiggluk* Youth’s choice for their children’s language use.

From both surveys, most of the answers above show that the *Kuiggluk* youth want their future children to speak *Yugtun*. A fewer number of students want their children to speak English. If we limit ourselves to the second survey only, we can see that nearly two-thirds (31 out of 50) would like to raise their children as *Yugtun* speakers. These students feel that our *Yugtun* language is an important part of our heritage and culture. They want to keep our language going for their children and for our people.

Just over a sixth of the students (9 out of 50) were either ‘not sure’ or disagreed with the statement. I suspect these students are probably strong English

speakers and are either unsure of their *Yugtun* language skills or simply do not see *Yugtun* as part of their lives in the future.

Will their *Yugtun* get better?

In the last question, I wanted to know if the students expect their *Yugtun* language use to get better when they become adults. I only asked this question on the second survey. Again, I asked this question using a likert scale (Strongly Agree – Strongly Disagree). Twenty-five students circled “Strongly agree.” Eleven students circled “partly agree.” Six students circled “Not sure.” Two students circled “Partly disagree.” And one student circled “Strongly disagree.”

Will your <i>Yugtun</i> language get better as you grow older?				
(25) *	(11) *	(6) *	(2) *	(1) *
Strongly Agree	Partly Agree	Not Sure	Partly Agree	Strongly Agree

Figure 4: Expectations for future language ability

Nearly three quarters of the students (36 out of 50) believe their *Yugtun* speaking ability will get somewhat stronger as they get older. This indicates that they see their *Yugtun* heritage as important part of their lives and they want to keep the *Yugtun* language. Just under one quarter (11 out of 50) are not sure and disagree.

These students probably do not have strong *Yugtun* skills and probably think that their *Yugtun* language skills will not likely progress.

Summary

The four mothers shared a language and cultural history of *Kuiggluk* through their stories of their personal experiences growing up. They shared stories of when they *ellangeq* (became aware), their schooling, their *inerquaq* (counseling) sessions, of *yaaruiq* (story knife) telling, seasonal camping, and their children's language patterns.

Their four daughters shared stories of their language use when they began school, during their schooling, in the community, and at their homes. The first two (*Nanugaq* and *Canaar*) are English dominant speakers, and the last two (*Nuyalran* and *Tanuk'aq*) were *Yugtun* dominant speakers when they first *ellangeq* (became aware). Now, they all mostly speak English because their peers speak English.

During my interviews, I was reluctant to be seen or be known as a "researcher." Because of that, I asked my subjects to share stories of their childhood and schooling experiences. I mostly asked open-ended questions that were not so obviously "research" type questions. Throughout my observation notes, I always was nervous about being seen as a "researcher." When the girls spoke *Yugtun* around me, I was excited and very afraid to show it.

From the surveys, it shows the *Kuiggluk* teenagers mostly speak English to their peers and to children younger than them. They either speak *Yugtun* or English to their parents and to adults in general, depending on the interlocutor's (the person they

are talking to) language choice. If the person speaks *Yugtun*, they will speak *Yugtun*, otherwise, they speak mostly English. The students, in general, are afraid to lose the *Yugtun* language in the future. Many want to be able to speak *Yugtun* better as they grow older. Many also want their future children to be able to speak *Yugtun*. In the near future, the students think fewer people will speak the *Yugtun* language or it might die away.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Implications

In 2009, the last fluent speaker of Eyak (one of Alaska's indigenous languages) passed away. This loss became real in one of our school language planning meetings when one member asked, "Is this what we want for our *Yugtun* language? Will our *Yugtun* language be next?" Later that day I wrote in my journal:

4/8/09

The Eyak last fluent speaker past away just recently. Which means that the Eyak language became extinct. What language will be next? Will it be *Yup'ik*? What will it take to "wake our eyes up?" What will it take to "open our eyes and mind and hearts?" Will we take action after it's too late? Or will we take action NOW before it's too late? This statement is powerful!

Summary of Findings

The English language has greatly affected *Kuiggluk* and other rural *Yup'ik* communities over the past several decades. The shift from *Yugtun* to English even shows in individual families. For example, in my family, there are eleven of us. My older brothers and sisters are fluent *Cugtun* speakers. I am the youngest child in the family. I grew up speaking mostly English. This language pattern is found not only in my family, but also in three out of four of my participants' families, as the journal entry below shows. (The *Yugtun* words below are all pseudonyms.)

4/8/09

I've been transcribing my interviews the past couple days... I did *Tanuk'aq's* and *Kaligtuq's*. It was interesting to do both because I learned from both of them. I had asked *Canaar* about different perspectives about language-use with *Kaligtuq*. It was interesting to see the language-use about *Kaligtuq's* kids. *Qiuran* and *Aalalika'ar* are good *Yugtun* speakers but *Manut'aq* on down (*Manut'aq*, *Paniluk*, and *Canaar*) are very different *Yugtun* speakers. They're English-dominant speakers because their father stayed home with them when *Kaligtuq* went to work! That's really interesting! I've always wondered why that was so, but now I know.

When adults speak a language to a child, we expect the child will follow. This is not always the case. For example, my last child speaks English as his dominant language, although I speak *Cugtun* to him. His two older siblings speak English. And all his little friends in school speak English too. I am the only one that speaks *Cugtun* to him. He responds in English to me. This same speech pattern is similar to *Canaar* and *Nanugaq*. Within their social networks more people speak English than *Yugtun*, so they speak English.

Then there are the girls' elders and the grandparents. They are the main *Yugtun* speakers (along with their parents) in their lives, so they try to speak *Yugtun* to them. As I discussed in Chapter 4, some students in *Kuiggluk* do come from strong *Yugtun* speaking homes, and do speak fluent *Yugtun*. However, most students are not fluent

speakers. Like *Canaar*, these students might add “-aq” to the end of an English word, speak half *Yugtun* and English in a single sentence, or mix one or two *Yugtun* words in an English sentence. These speech patterns are becoming common in our region. Grandparents, elders, and other fluent adults speak *Yugtun*, while most everyone else in speaks the dominant language, English. It makes me wonder what will become of our *Yugtun* language in the future?

Language shift, as Wyman (2009) stated, begins when the youth in a speech community begins speaking more of a majority language which, in Alaska, is English. Language shift is happening in *Kuiggluk* for many reasons. Many, but not all of the reasons are out of the community’s control. The schooling system, technology (the Internet, music, and television), and other “waves” of language influence language shift. Language shift has not happened over night, it is a long-term process.

Although language shift is happening in *Kuiggluk*, it is evident from my surveys that most of the youth in the village want to keep their ancestral language, learn it better, and pass it on to their future children. Still, there are several things that make learning *Yugtun* difficult for the youth today: language shame and linguistic insecurity, a lack of *Yugtun* (and a lot of English) in the social environment, and language accommodation.

Language shame and linguistic insecurity make learning the language difficult for our youth today. There are several reasons for this. The youth may become ashamed of their language and identity because of the way other people treat them. The youth could learn to be ashamed to speak their ancestral language from either peer

pressure, teasing, or from other uncomfortable situations. From these experiences they could also learn to be ashamed of their language, their culture and their identity.

Linguistic insecurity makes it difficult for some speakers to speak their indigenous language comfortably in public places or with fluent speakers. The reasons may be because they are afraid of being teased, making mistakes, or being corrected.

As I said above, I did not hear two of the girls (*Nuyalran* and *Tanuk'aq*) speaking *Yugtun* when I spent time with them. I've spent time with them during basketball trips, at the *Kuiggluk* School, and in the community. These are all public spaces. When I first heard that *Tanuk'aq* speaks mostly *Yugtun* at home, I was very surprised because I have hardly ever heard her speak *Yugtun* to me or in public. To my knowledge, she has always spoken English. The same goes for *Nuyalran*. I have always heard her speak English. I have known that she and her family speak *Yugtun* at home, but I have hardly ever heard her speaking *Yugtun* to me or in public. Similarly with *Canaar*, only after I had gotten to know her more personally, in her final year of basketball, would she say *Yugtun* words, but mostly jokingly or for fun. *Nanugaq*, on the other hand, has never spoken *Yugtun* to me or around me.

I understand where they are coming from. I suffered from linguistic insecurity when I was their age, especially when I was around people who were more fluent than I am. Even now, when I am around my friends who speak more fluently, I begin feeling insecure to speak *Yugtun* after they have "corrected" me or looked at me funny (indicating that I am making mistakes). Linguistic insecurity, as McCarty, Romero-Little, & Zepeda (2006) says, happens when a person feels like they are not fluent in

the indigenous language and they are afraid of being made fun of or corrected. Another feeling that could come out of the insecure speaker is that the fluent speaker of the language “does not approve” of his/her language use. Language insecurity causes self-consciousness, which leads speakers either to stop talking or limit their speech so much that they only speak the language to people they feel comfortable with: their close relatives and/or in their own homes. In this case, it seems that the girls mostly speak *Yugtun* to their close relatives and/or in their homes. This is what I used to do as a beginning *Yugtun* speaker.

A lack of *Yugtun* (and a lot of English) in the social environment is another reason why a speaker speaks one language more often than another. Just like each of the girls, I spoke English most of the time, to most everyone growing up. English is my comfortable language. No one will make fun of me or tease me when I speak English. That is why it is my comfortable language. There are many reasons for people to start speaking a language. The social environment influences change in speech patterns. Schools, modern technology, peers, the immediate family members, grandparents, family mobility, and personal history: all could influence the speech patterns in one’s social environment.

The girls are accepted as English language speakers, so they speak it comfortably with everyone who speaks that language. The school setting reinforces the use of English. The girls are expected to speak English in class, use English in their assignments and even use English with their peers. Modern technology is another language influence that favors English: television, video games, computer programs,

popular music is all in English. Another influence in favor of English could be, as Wyman (2009) stated, family mobility (p. 340). For *Nanugaq*, when she was in junior high, in 2005 her family moved to an English-dominant speech community. Her two younger siblings became English-dominant speakers after they moved away. When a family moves away from the speech community, the children start speaking more of the dominant language, just as *Nanugaq*'s two younger siblings did.

Finally, language accommodation also makes it hard for the youth in *Kuiggluk* to learn *Yugtun*. For example, I usually speak *Cugtun* to my last child. He understands and responds in English. I continue this language pattern. This means, I am accommodating his language-use because it is faster and easier for me to communicate. I do not take the time to ask him to respond in *Cugtun*. This is one type of language accommodation. The other type is when a caretaker speaks English to his/her child because the child speaks English, when they could be speaking the ancestral language. Another type is when an indigenous group of people are talking and there is an individual with them who speaks only English, the indigenous group tends to speak English when they could go on speaking in the heritage language. Sometimes it is just easier and faster for me to speak English.

Where do we go from here?

English language-use is common in this community. But efforts to go back to *Yugtun*-speaking and *Yugtun* maintenance have begun. Every five years, the school staff is asked to follow district guidelines to plan out the next five years' language

program. This is called the School Plan of Service. Last year (2008-2009) was one of those planning years.

The usual plan of service has been for the *Yugtun* Program to serve Kindergarten through third grade. *Yugtun* is taught throughout the school day in these grades, followed by 30 to 45 minutes of *Yugtun* maintenance in grades 4th through 8th. *Yugtun* in high school is an intermittent elective. This time, the plan of service was planned differently.

Planning centered on community-driven activities in the school to teach culture, and language within the context of those specific activities. Activities included learning local place names, traditional tanning, genealogy, and the re-establishment of *qasgiq* (men's house) as a way for elders to have a forum for conversations with older students.

I believe these planning efforts are central to the community's reclaiming *Yugtun* for the future. But is it enough? Although the *Yugtun* youth want to keep the *Yugtun* language strong as they grow older and they want their future children to speak *Yugtun*, many of them struggle to learn it and to speak it.

One of the four girls became so comfortable around me she spoke *Yugtun* on several occasions. The third time she did this I responded, "That's good you can speak *Yugtun*. That's really good." Although inside me, I was screaming with joy and excitement. I was so afraid to lose her as my participant. I dared not pounce on her *Yugtun* speech the first couple times. I tried my best to treat her as normal as possible. In other words, I unconsciously protected her by treating her in a "non-threatening"

way so that she would feel safe and comfortable around me. Then she started speaking *Yugtun* around me.

When we plant a seed, we protect it. We make sure it is in a safe environment. We make sure it is watered and has enough sun. This same “protected environment” should be created for our future *Yugtun* speakers. We should create a non-threatening environment so that our *Yugtun* speakers can learn and grow. Their environment should be protected by making sure they are in a safe, comfortable, and a non-threatening place. Two of the four girls said they speak *Yugtun* at home, but I never heard them utter a *Yugtun* word. They probably spoke *Yugtun* at home more often because they probably felt safe at home, where no one would tease them, correct them, or dote on them for speaking *Yugtun*. If the *Kuiggluk* speech community did this, maybe we would have more speakers. Maybe our *Yugtun* language would grow.

At the next planning meeting, I will ask everyone: How can we, the *Kuiggluk* speech community, help our community’s youth? How can we support their desires to keep *Yugtun* and pass it on to their children (our grandchildren)? How can we make it safe for them to reclaim our *Yugtun* language?

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Appendix A: Adult Informed Consent Form

Adult Consent Form

Kuiggluk Immersion School

Description of the Study:

You are being asked to take part in a study about the Kuiggluk Immersion School. The goal of this study is to learn about your child's experiences learning Yup'ik, both at home and in school. You are being asked to take part in this study because she/he attended the immersion school or was one of the last students before the immersion program started.

If you decide to be part of this study you will be interviewed about your own language history and how you use Yup'ik with your child. I will want to observe you and your child at home to see how you use Yup'ik and English on a daily basis. The interviews shouldn't take more than two hours each. If it is OK with you, I would like to tape record our conversations. I will type up (transcribe) then destroy the tapes. Only my professors and me will have access to the transcripts.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:

If any of my questions are too personal or upsetting in any way, you should not answer. Please feel free to redirect our discussion at any time. You may stop participating in the study at anytime. There is no penalty for withdrawing from the study. To withdraw, simply tell me you want to quit the study. If you withdraw from the study no data relating to you will be used in this study.

Confidentiality:

The data derived from this study could be used in reports, presentations, and publications but neither you nor your child will be individually identified. Your name, the name of your child, your child's friends, and relatives will NOT be used in anything I write. Pseudonyms will be used in everything I write.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Your decision to take part in the study is voluntary. You are free to choose not to take part in the study or to stop taking part at any time without any penalty. If you withdraw from the study no data relating to you will be used in this study. Any interviews or similar data will be destroyed.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions now, feel free to ask me. If you have questions later, you may contact me or my advisor, Patrick Marlow.

Barb Andrew
907-757-6400
fsbaa8@uaf.edu

Patrick Marlow
907-474-7446
ffpem@uaf.edu

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, please contact the Research Coordinator in the Office of Research Integrity at 474-7800 (Fairbanks area) or 1-866-876-7800 (outside the Fairbanks area) or fyirb@uaf.edu.

Statement of Consent:

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been provided a copy of this form.

If appropriate:

Please check the box that applies:

- My I **may** be tape recorded
 My I **may not** be tape recorded

Print Name

Signature & Date

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form: Minor

Assent Form

Kuiggluk Immersion School

Description of the Study:

You are being asked to take part in a study about the Kuiggluk Immersion School. The goal of this study is to learn about your experiences learning Yup'ik, both at home and in school. You're being asked to take part in this study because you attended the school or you were one of the last students before the immersion program started. Your parent/guardian have given permission for you to be a part of this study. You also get to tell us if you want to be part of this study. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before you agree to being in the study.

If you decide to be part of this study you will talk to me about your experiences as a student, and how you use Yup'ik and English today. I will also want to observe you both at home and at school to see how you use Yup'ik and English on a daily basis. Talking with me about your experiences shouldn't take more than two hours. If it is OK with you, I would like to tape record our conversations. I will type up (transcribe) then destroy the tapes. Only my professors and me will see the transcripts.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:

This study does not have anything meant to hurt you or make you feel bad. If you do feel bad in anyway you can stop being part of the study at anytime. Just tell me or your parents you don't want to be in the study anymore. Nothing bad will happen to you if you stop being in the study.

Confidentiality:

The data derived from this study could be used in reports, presentations, and publications but you will not be individually identified. Your name, the name of your parents, friends, and relatives will NOT be used in anything I write. Pseudonyms (fake names) will be used in everything I write.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Your decision to take part in the study is voluntary. You are free to choose not to take part in the study or to stop taking part at any time without any penalty. To stop taking part in the study, just tell me you want to quit. If you decide to quit, the information you told me will not be used, and any tapes or transcripts will be destroyed.

Contacts and Questions:

If you have questions ask me. If you have questions later, you can have your parent/guardian call me or my advisor Patrick Marlow.

Barb Andrew
907-757-6400
fsbaa8@uaf.edu

Patrick Marlow
907-474-7446
ffpem@uaf.edu

If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, please contact the Research Coordinator in the Office of Research Integrity at 474-7800 (Fairbanks area) or 1-866-876-7800 (outside the Fairbanks area) or fyirb@uaf.edu.

Statement of Assent:

I know what this study is about and I have had my questions answered. I want to be part of this study.

If appropriate:

Please check the box that applies:

- I **can** be tape recorded
 I **cannot** be tape recorded

Print Child's Name

Signature of Child & Date

Appendix C: 2006 Questionnaire

- 1. How old are you?**
- 2. When you talk to different people, which language do you usually speak to:**
 - a. kids younger than you?**
 - b. your friends/ peers?**
 - c. young adults (up to age 25)?**
 - d. your parents?**
 - e. adults in general?**
 - f. elders?**
- 3. Which language do you think is more important?**
- 4. Why or why not?**
- 5. 20 years from now, how do you see Yup'ik language in our community?**
- 6. Which language is spoken in your home?**
- 7. Which language do you think is more important and why?**
- 8. When you have children some day, which language would you want your child to speak and why?**
- 9. When you have children some day, which language would you want your child to speak and why?**

Appendix D: 2008 Questionnaire

1. I speak Yup'ik most of the time with

- a. Younger KIDS c. My parents e. Elders
 b. My peers d. MOST adults

Circle any of the ones that apply.

2. The most important reason I speak Yup'ik to the people above is

- b. Because the person does not understand English very well.
 c. Because the person does not speak English to me.
 d. Because of where we are at:

-hunting/tundra -fish camp -school -at home
 -Other: – maqiq , - anywhere, -having a conversation, -outside

3. As I get older, I expect my Yup'ik abilities to get better.

Strongly	Partly	Not	Partly	Strongly
Agree	agree	sure	disagree	disagree

4. When I have kids, I will raise them to speak Yup'ik.

Strongly	Partly	Not	Partly	Strongly
Agree	agree	sure	disagree	disagree

5. Yup'ik is important because:

6. English is important because: