Indigenous Language Education in Washington State: Facts, attitudes and vitality

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This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
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1 Introduction

In Washington State there exist gaps in knowledge concerning language education in public schools. While some parties have made, and continue to make substantial progress on this front (Govig, 1999; MELL, 2009a, 2009b), current information is still incomplete. In particular, accurate details regarding the teaching of languages indigenous[1] in Washington State have arguably been less available than other more commonly-taught languages.

This study was intended to help expand understanding of the current state of indigenous language education in Washington State by surveying educators from public K-12 institutions in Washington State. Specifically, the study had two goals: The first was to learn which indigenous languages are being taught. The second was to discover what factors may influence the likelihood of a program existing. Some factors of interest for this latter question include what resources are available, as well as what attitudes and opinions educators have related to indigenous language education.

To answer these questions an online questionnaire was developed building on Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor's (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality framework. It was then distributed to educators and administrators for each school or district in the state where 30 or more indigenous students are in attendance. A total of 40 respondents completed the questionnaire.

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[1] "Indigenous" is the term used throughout this paper to describe any language historically spoken within the current boundaries of Washington State by Native Americans. Similar terms, such as native, aboriginal or tribal language, have additional interpretations that may add unnecessary confusion or controversy. I do not wish to make a claim that "indigenous" is without controversy, nor that it should be the term used for these languages whether in academia or the public sphere, but lacking an agreed upon standard it best serves the descriptive needs of this thesis.

They reported whether their school or district currently offers an indigenous language program. Responses seem to indicate that recent legislation has had an effect on programs. Resources in general are relatively scarce for these programs. In particular, there appears to be a lack of quality materials available for instructors and students. Links regarding culture and language were a prominent theme in the responses. Culture appears to play a large role in both the motivation for some programs as well as the structuring of pedagogical foci. Even though opinions indicate that most programs were only moderately successful, the respondents associated with an existing program nearly universally support the idea of expansion to other schools in the district. Regardless, most schools or districts which do not currently offer a program do not appear to be planning to start one in the near future.

This research was conducted in partnership with the Mapping and Enhancing Language Learning (MELL) project and the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) for Indian Education[2] for Washington state. Help and information were supplied by both entities and the results of this study are intended to support their work.

2 Minority language extinction, shift and revitalization

The term minority language may be interpreted in a variety of ways. In order to be consistent throughout the following sections, a clear definition of how it is used in this thesis

[2] The study presented here was initially conceived to help support the work done by MELL, although it was augmented to include inquiries concerning language vitality and attitudes. While MELL project manager Michele Anciaux Aoki generously lent assistance and data throughout the process and many of the questions on the survey were patterned after the MELL survey in order to make the data on programs more compatible, it was not funded by, nor unnecessarily restricted in any way by the project.

is needed. The Council of Europe in their *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* defines a minority language as one which meets the following criteria:

i. traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and
ii. different from the official language(s) of that State;

("European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages," 1992)

Certainly in 2010 all indigenous languages in North America would be classed as minority languages under this definition, which for the purposes of this thesis, suits the languages in question fairly well. As one example, the Yakama (or Yakima) dialect of Sahaptin, which is spoken in the Yakima Valley in Eastern Washington, had roughly 3000 speakers in 1977 (Lewis, 2009). A current estimate places the number of native speakers around 15[3]. Even the earlier 1977 statistics easily meet the criteria outlined above. Yakama has been traditionally used in the area currently defined as the State of Washington. The group of speakers is, and was in recent years, a substantial fraction of the majority language (English) speaking population. Finally, it is not an official language of the state.

In accordance with the definition above for minority languages, the current vitality of most indigenous languages in the US does not engender much optimism (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001; Tongues, 2007). Of the original estimated 300 languages which existed prior to European contact, only about 155 were believed to still be spoken in 1998 (Krauss, 1998). Krauss also states that of these 155 languages, 70% are only spoken by those in the grandparent generation or older, and claims that all indigenous languages in the United States

[3] Joana Jansen (personal communication to Sharon Hargus, 2008)

are severely endangered[4]. By 2010, he predicted that only 100 languages will still have any native speakers, and that by 2060 only 20 languages will remain. Hinton (1998) notes that of the 98 languages that were once spoken in California, almost none had any native speakers remaining at the time of publication. Even the languages that had speakers were not being used in daily communication. This form and rate of extinction does not have historical precedence and parallels with cultural diversity loss as well (Crawford, 2000; FPHLCC, 2010; Hale, et al., 1992; Sachdev, 1995). With similar statistics here in Washington State the outlook for indigenous languages is bleak, but there are some schools and individuals working hard to provide the next generations with access to these languages (Pascua, 2010). In addition, a few programs in other states have shown progress (Johnson, 2010) and even moderate success (McCarty, 1998).

In this paragraph the concept of *language shift* will be introduced. Language shift can be the result when a minority language-speaking group, as small as a family to much larger communities and groups, resides in a context where a different language has dominant status (Fishman, 1991). In the context of heritage language learners in the United States, Tse (2001) describes language shift as the gradual lack of retention of the heritage by subsequent generations until it is essentially no longer adopted. The process of language shift can take place over as little as one lifetime but it is generally thought to be a multi-generational process (Lam, 2009; Tse, 2001). The end result of this shift may be language death (Crawford, 2000). Reversing language shift from the majority language (in this case, English) to the traditional language can be an extremely difficult and complicated process

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[4] A 1992 article by Krauss reported that 80% of the languages were believed to be moribund at that time (Hale, et al., 1992).

(House, 2002), but an understanding of factors behind language shift may help improve the methodology used in language revitalization and maintenance programs (Fishman, 2001). Spolsky (2002) adds that schools are a key domain for those seeking to reverse language shift, but agrees that they cannot do so without support from other domains, such as the home or community (McAlpine & Herodier, 1994). Language shift and efforts to reverse it will be discussed further in 2.2.1.

2.1 Ethnolinguistic vitality and revitalization

Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor define ethnolinguistic vitality as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (1977, p. 308). It is important to note that "vitality is not static, but rather a malleable social construction that is affected by social group membership, context, and sociopolitical circumstances" (Abrams, Barker, & Giles, 2009, p. 60). Thus, a group with no vitality is essentially no longer a distinct group. Following this model, the following study is interested in subjective perceptions of vitality, as opposed to objective. These subjective perceptions can have an effect on the vitality of minority languages with regards to maintenance and loss (Abrams, et al., 2009). Building on this, Giles et al. (1977) present three variables which can influence the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language. The first is demography. The second is status, which includes economics. The term *economics* is used here to refer to the perceived economic value and utility the language has. The third, institutional support, refers to the influence of entities and domains such as the government and media, as well as use of the language therein. These variables are not believed to be the only categories related to linguistic vitality, nor are they necessarily finely defined. Regardless, they are a useful metric

for vitality research. In this section, the latter two categories will be explored and related to the current situation for indigenous languages in Washington.

2.1.1 Status & Economics

The status variable encompasses factors related to prestige for a speech community (linguistic in-group), some in relation to other speech communities (out-groups). Kraemer, Olshtain, & Badier (1994) suggest that (subjective) vitality perceptions may be linked to the status variable more than other variables. Links may exist between the perceived value of a language, its vitality and the vitality of its affiliated culture. Giles et al. (1977) provide four factors under the status variable: ascribed, sociohistorical, language, and economic status. Ascribed status is that which comes from the group itself. If the in-group speech community sees themselves in a positive manner, the boosted morale can have a positive effect on vitality. Sociohistorical status is related to the historical salience of the language in question. If a language was the victim of official suppression, it can be used as a rallying point and promote solidarity. While if there were positive events related to the language, those too may promote the value and vitality of the language. The status of the language itself can vary within different groups. While a language may have a high or low value in an in-group speech community, the opposite may often by the case the out groups. For example, Makah may be highly prized by the local communities where it was traditionally spoken and is currently being taught, but the majority of North American residents may not place the same value on it. Economics are only one of the numerous challenges these minority linguistic communities face for maintaining their cultures and languages. However, the economic status of a language is an important factor (Lam, 2009; Tse, 2001), one that can have strong effects on linguistic vitality (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007). Most of the communities

where minority languages exist or are associated in Washington State are, to various degrees, surrounded and influenced by larger English-speaking and non-indigenous US-cultured groups who may be perceived as the source of economic power. Standard English is often held as one of the main routes to prosperity by linguistic minority communities (García, 2009; Lee & McLaughlin, 2001). A lack of economic autonomy can be interpreted negatively for the economic status variable (Giles, et al., 1977). Some people in a community with a moribund or endangered traditional language may feel that the development of skills in Standard American English, with the economic benefits tied to it, is more important for the health of the community than the heritage language (Linn, Berardo, & Yamamoto, 1998; Spolsky, 1977). The economic power of English can also have an influence on the movement of individuals outside the community. If the speakers are unable to survive economically in the environment where their language is spoken, they are generally more likely to travel outside to the English-speaking community at large (Hinton, 1998). It could be argued that while any language revitalization efforts may be perceived as having value, in order for it to have long term effects or become self-perpetuating, fluency for both children and adults is vital (Fishman, 2001). This is made more difficult when there isn't a stable environment and a population where a speech community can thrive. Bourhis (1982) notes that a high birth rate, loyalty to Catholicism and economic autonomy all played a role in the maintenance of French in Quebec. In the end, if relatively stable bilingualism is established, this may lessen the influence economics has on revitalization efforts.

2.1.2 Institutional Support

This section deals with institutional support for language revitalization programs. Institutional support is the third variable influencing ethnolinguistic vitality suggested by

Giles et al. (1977). Under this model, institutional support is divided into two subgroup pairs: formal vs. informal support, and influence vs. representation. Formal support is that which exists in an official capacity from the "top-down", such as the state government. Legislation on minority language education would fall under this category. Informal support operates from the "bottom-up" or pressure and activism from local and community-based groups. Here, influence is used to describe the effectiveness of a group, whether related to formal or informal support, to change the amount and type of support in some manner or another. For example, a community-based (informal) language activism group arguing for legislation on behalf of the minority language may have a different level of influence than that of a larger state-wide organization. Representation related to institutional support refers to the domains where the language is used and to what degree. If a language is used in a school or on an official government document, it has formal representational institutional support. The more robust the positive formal and informal representation the language has, the more the vitality of the language is supported (Giles, et al., 1977).

The model developed by Giles et al. (1977) used above is oriented more for language use and perceptions and not specifically issues of education or revitalization. Because of this, the model has been slightly modified for the purposes of this paper to include resources under institutional support. In the remainder of this section, an introduction to resources will be presented and how they relate to the concerns of language education and vitality. The issues surrounding financial[5] resources, as well as some possible negative effects due to

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[5] In this thesis, the term *financial* is used to refer to actual monetary resources and concepts. For example, *financial resources* could be the amount of money provided by a grant that an indigenous language program recieves. *Financial* should not be confused with the term *economic*, which is defined in section 2.1.1.

support from dominant out-groups, will be presented in 2.1.2.1. Next, in 2.1.2.2, there will be a brief overview of material resources, their importance and the challenges that often come when trying to acquire them. Finally, human resources will be discussed in 2.1.2.3, particularly the subjects of native speakers and trained instructors.

2.1.2.1 Financial resources

Financial resources can come from either the community, school budget, or state and federal funding (e.g., grants). Past research and the apparent costs of modern public education uphold the idea that money is necessary to both initiate and then maintain a language program (FPHLCC, 2010; Govig, 1999). Financial support from the US Federal government for indigenous language education has been intermittent in the more recent past (i.e., 1960-80s) (Spolsky, 1977), although funding did become more accessible throughout the 1990s (Hinton, 1998). This lack of stability forced programs to cease or drastically reduce their scope, which in turn led to resentment and a lack of trust of the state and federal government to follow through on such programs (Fishman, 2001). This may have led some administrators, educators and community members to hesitate putting the effort and investment into a program if the funding could be pulled out in the near future. Putting this into perspective with the previous century, as well as older federal and state policies believed to have the purpose of eradicating indigenous languages and culture (de Leon, 1997; House, 2002; Krauss, 1998, 2000; Sims, 1998), the more recent infrequent, and possibly token, support led to additional problems of trust and cooperation between indigenous communities and the state and federal governments. Even if financial support from the government, external to the tribal nation, were stable and consistent, community-based support has its advantages. Dorian (1987) argues that economic independence can have a positive effect on

language vitality as government financial support can be negatively interpreted or restrictive. While state and federal governments may not be the most ideal sources of financial support for a language program, see 2.2.1, they are nonetheless a vital source at this point.

2.1.2.2 Material resources

Materials include anything that may exist to support language learning in and outside the classroom: textbooks, workbooks, handouts, audio recordings, video recordings, and/or software. These may have been created with pedagogical intention (e.g., workbooks) or not (e.g., literature).

The textbook can be considered a core material for language education in general. Most modern world language[6] programs in public schools, as well as universities, are based around them. The textbooks for these types of courses are generally of good quality, and for most languages there is a fairly broad range of options for an instructor to choose from. In some cases, handouts make take the place of, or supplement, a textbook, but it is also not uncommon for these handouts to be derived from an existing textbook. Crucially, textbooks are generally costly. Quality teaching materials can be both time consuming to develop and expensive to produce, but arguably are beneficial (Kondo, 1997). Minority languages often have additional costs due to a comparably smaller pool of existing research and linguistic

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[6] The Higher Education Coordinating Board (HECB) of Washington State defines a "World Language" as "—[a]ny natural language that has been formally studied […], including American Sign Language (AMESLAN, the language of the deaf community), and languages no longer spoken, such as Latin and ancient Greek." The HECB Native Languages are grouped with foreign languages and American Sign Language (WAHECB, 2007).

materials to pull from. Also, since minority languages typically have smaller buying pools for materials than majority languages like Spanish or English, simple manufacturing costs will generally be much higher. A print run of 500 text books can be substantially more costly per item than a comparable book run of 10000 copies. Thankfully, new technology such as short run printers & assemblers, as well as internet-based resources, has provided a more equal footing.

It is also important to consider the time and specialization that is required for the development of materials. Additional complications arise in the creation of educational materials for indigenous languages, which often have strong religious or cultural connections that require careful treatment when programs are constructed (Spolsky, 1977). Beyond this, languages with underdeveloped or non-existent orthographical systems or those which lack materials to promote literacy will require even more financial backing. Another concern is that some communities may not have had access to support from trained linguists for the production of accurate documentation and resource development before all of the native speakers died (FPHLCC, 2010). Even if they do have the core materials and analysis done by researchers, the development of pedagogical materials is a completely different time consuming and costly process (Newman, 1999; Wilkins, 1992). Textbooks, workbooks, audio recording, and even literature for children and young adults in the language in question can be an enormous undertaking depending on the scope.

2.1.2.3 Human resources

Human-based resources for language revitalization programs include qualified teachers and crucially, native speakers.

2.1.2.3.1 Native speakers

Many indigenous languages have no speakers and are thus considered extinct. If a language has no living native speakers it is moribund, while others which have very few may be considered endangered. An endangered language may also refer to one where some children are still being taught the language but it is not likely there are enough acquiring the language to sustain it much into the future (Hale, et al., 1992). In Washington State, most indigenous languages fit into on of these categories. Many of the native speakers that do exist are often elderly. While this can be a benefit in that they may be retired and have more free time to participate in programs, with age comes potential health, financial and mobility restrictions. Existing native speakers may inspire a more positive outlook, and with a conscious recognition of the resource they may influence the likelihood of a program being offered.

Native speakers[7] are arguably the most valuable resource for any language program. They provide a vital source for authentic speech and communication practice. They can help with the development of materials, such as dictionaries and audio/video recordings. Having a native speaker (and tribal members affiliated with a language in question) has an added benefit of cultural authenticity and authority. Spolsky (1977) suggests that some students may under-perform in a formal setting as a form of "passive resistance" against the program for one reason or another. Such a situation may be less likely to occur if the instructors and policy makers are members of the same community, or at least have visible support from the

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[7] I use the term '*native speaker*' to refer to someone who is fluent in the language to the degree that they were likely exposed to it at a very young age and have intuitions that are beyond what most second language learners are able to acquire.

community. Clearly, native speakers of a language, if they are a part of the community, are probably the best example for conveying authentic identity ties and lending legitimacy to the program. Beyond this, they are also vital for authentic language practice and exposure, as well as a resource for the development of pedagogical materials.

2.1.2.3.2 Teachers and training

To answer the question about what programs exist, of interest was what kind of teacher training is required for each program. Beyond general and language pedagogical training and academic accreditation or certification, of crucial importance is familiarity with the language in question. A possible concern is that high standards on such teaching positions may limit the pool of potential candidates to such a degree that there may be no one available who is technically qualified (Crawford, 2000). Teachers who are untrained, under-prepared, those with negative language attitudes (Purdie, Oliver, Collard, & Rochecouste, 2002) or generally unqualified can negatively effect the attitudes and success of students involved with a program (Dorian, 1987). Those who meet the requirements and are a part of the community are likely to be even rarer. Spolsky (1977) provides an example from the Navajo Nation in 1974 where, of the approximate 3000 teachers, only 200 were of indigenous origin and roughly only 100 even spoke Navajo. This was one tenth of the total estimated that were needed to do a basic transitional bilingual program. Spolsky argues that the educational standards required for teachers impeded the feasibility of a bilingual program getting off of the ground. Although optional certification could be beneficial, such programs are not always available. For example, in British Columbia less than 30% of indigenous languages have certification options available (FPHLCC, 2010).

2.2 Language, culture and identity

Language can be thought of as a fundamental part of an ethnic group's or individual's identity (Giles, et al., 1977; Sachdev, 1995; Tsunoda, 2005). Language is sometimes said to equal culture, or at least constitute a large part of it. In this section, I will discuss how language, culture and identity relate to indigenous language revitalization and give a brief overview of the associated literature. To begin, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) build a definition for *identity* from two angles – the first which recognizes an individual's distinct identity, which is separate from groups, and the second which accounts for membership in a group, or how is the individual identified respective to various groups.

> "...it is essential to stress that groups or communities and the linguistic attributes of such groups have no existential locus other than in the minds of individuals…linguistic items are not just attributes of groups or communities, they are themselves the means by which individuals both identify themselves and identify with others; hence the existential locus of homo, be it individuals or groups, is in the language itself." (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, pp. 4-5)

This highlights the subjective and fluid aspects of linguistic identity and how it can relate to stereotyping (Hewstone & Giles, 1986). While the identity of a group may continue after losing the language, the loss can have a substantial effect (Edwards, 1985). McCarty (2008) notes that indigenous American languages have an especially strong tie to identity, one that is often referenced in discourse as being akin to a cornerstone of the history, culture and philosophy of a tribe. Because of this connection, she argues for a new definition for these languages, "Heritage Mother Tongues". Even though the members of the community that identify with the language may not have a level of technical fluency typically associated with

a common understanding of what a "mother tongue" is, in fact they may not have much knowledge of the language at all. Yet, it has a prominent place in other areas related to culture and identity.

In this section some examples will be presented of how languages have been used by dominant out-groups to identify a community and how the identity of a community and the individuals therein are influenced by the language. Building on this is the idea of the role the perception of the relationship between the languages and their speech communities by majority out-groups can play in a language's vitality and associated identity. In other words, minority language speakers identify partly from the *perceived* subjective attitudes of those in the dominant majority group (Purdie, et al., 2002). Yet it is important to keep in mind that what the speaker perceives the dominant group's beliefs are and what the dominant group actually believes may differ. Positive self-esteem can support the vitality of a language via the status variable (2.1.1), while negative self-esteem can negatively influence its vitality (Giles, et al., 1977). The subjective perceptions of a language's vitality and purpose by individual speakers can be complicated and yet an important part of the vitality picture (Coupland, Bishop, Williams, Evans, & Garrett, 2005).

Shared linguistic features (dialect or language) not only have an influence on the identities of the individual and community (Lam, 2009), but may also be regarded as a defining factor for the identity of a nation (Fishman, 1972; Lane, 2009). Historically, people outside of the community (e.g., missionaries, politicians and ethnographers) have used linguistic differences as a tool for establishing national identities (Gal & Irvine, 1995). For example, after being subjugated by colonists, the Mohave Tribe used their language for defining their group identity in relation to the other (e.g., "whites" and "blacks") (Gorman,

1981). These factors may also influence the sociohistorical status of the language and its ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, et al., 1977). Giles et al. suggest that historical linguistic subjugation of ethnolinguistic groups as well as incidences of resilience may both be used to symbolically bolster the sociohistorical status of a language. These historical and present ties between the group and the language can have a positive influence on the vitality of the language.

The self-defined identities of those in the linguistic minority are also often subject to the opinions of the dominant out-group, in this case English speakers or the state government (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). Under this model where the "negotiation of identities" is a mix of self-representation by the individual and the attempts of others to reposition them, if a minority language speaker asserts a linguistic identity which differs from the dominant group identity, it may be challenged. The link between a language (or dialect) and identity of any entity may be fluid. A more succinct definition of this type of identity might be "…the social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). Although this definition refers to an interaction, including in-group or shared-ethnicity-based networks, this particular use of the term *language identity* is more concerned with interaction, particularly passive, related to the dominant out-group community. Yet, a group that a more dominant out-group perceives as homogenous (e.g., Lushootseed speakers), as individuals, may in fact not view themselves as homogenous or share the identity that they've been ascribed. House (2002) cautions against taking a culturally homogenous view of modern indigenous groups, as well as neglecting to recognize the multilingual traditions many of them had. The following discussion will be focused primarily on identity for the individual, speech community and nation-state, respectively, but House's comments should be kept in mind.

As discussed above, linguistic identity goes beyond the simple analog of language equals culture. The relation between identity, language, culture and politics will be discussed further in the following sections; specifically how they relate to minority language education. In the next section (2.2.1) the effects of globalization and politics on language revitalization and language shift reversal programs will be discussed. In 2.1.1, the topic will be on cultural homogeneity and how English and the culture of the dominant out-group (English speakers) can affect the status and perspectives of indigenous language and identity. Finally, in 2.2.3 the discussion on cultural and linguistic identity will conclude with a brief overview on the future of indigenous languages with regards to youth, language change, and language ecology.

2.2.1 Globalization and top-down control

It is not always clear whether attitudes regarding language identity are a reflection of political concern or vice versa (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). This mixing of politics and language identity can be extended to the influence globalization has on linguistic identity and vitality. The scope of these issues do not appear to be lost on many working to reverse language shift (Fishman, 2001). Because stemming the tide of globalization or the spread of US English is arguably not a feasible proposition, a more practical goal for revitalization efforts on this front can be working on behalf of the effected communities to reclaim autonomy in the decisions on how their language and identity should be handled, (i.e., 'linguistic sovereignty' and 'self-determination') (Henrard, 2000; Tsunoda, 2005). Agbo (2002) cautions, though, that educational linguistic autonomy for indigenous languages can come with additional responsibilities, especially during transitional periods, which require careful attention, planning and support in order to attain the desired benefits (Hornberger,

1998). Agbo continues by emphasizing the lack of resources which often plagues indigenous communities and that this issue is accounted for so that the local policy makers have the means to institute desired programs. Although, for general education, cultural autonomy is gaining support and seems to have a positive effect on the performance of indigenous students (Brayboy & Castagno, 2009). Landry, et al. (2007) present an example of how linguistic rights for Québécois in Canada became an issue of "cultural autonomy" and resulted in formal institutional support (2.1.2) from the federal government in the form of *the Official Languages Act* (Canada DOJ, 1990). The right to maintain a language is essentially a right to maintain a language's vitality. Landry et al. acknowledge the lack of similar rights being extended to indigenous languages and suggest that a formal recognition of rights could be beneficial if carefully utilized. Sachdev (1995) also argues that official linguistic rights for indigenous (aboriginal) languages are vital to support the goal of language maintenance and shift reversal (2). However, Fishman (2001) strongly suggests that taking a top-down (the majority/dominant group helping the minority/weaker group) approach with the intended benefit of reversing language shift is risky and dangerous, in the sense that such power-sharing can lead to additional compromising beyond what is already inherent in globalization. Fishman emphasizes that top-down support brings with it more exposure to the dominant culture, which is arguably the major root of the problem. On the other hand, Kymlicka & Patten (2003) warn of "benign neglect", where no measures are taken on behalf of or against a language policy. They add that the State cannot avoid taking a stance, especially since public education is generally its domain.

Related to the concern of "top-down" actions is the potential to over-rely on schools for reversing language shift, which are a domain originating from, and largely controlled by,

the dominant group (House, 2002). Some groups have employed other less-traditional education methods with more local control, such as language immersion camps, with varying degrees of success (Hinton, 1998; Sims, 1998). Fishman (2001) writes that a key issue at hand is learning where the balance of power lies for the dominant out-group language in relation to a competing language when it comes to various social functions and discovering which of these functions and domains are more crucial and susceptible to change. A language revitalization plan under this framework requires a careful mapping of each domain or function and how they relate to each other in any of the languages in question. Landry, et al. (2007) has a proposal similar to Fishman (2001) called the *counterbalance model of bilingual development* where the ideal situation for an indigenous language would be a vibrant linguistic environment for the minority language in the home, the community and the school. Fishman (1991) argues that for schools to be successful in the reversal of language shift the language should have a role in the home and community as well. Use in the home, while highly beneficial, is not sufficient on its own (Kondo, 1997). In Oregon, the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde have a Chinuk-wawa language immersion preschool which emphasizes parental participation with the language to help strengthen the home domain as well (Johnson, 2010). While there appears there may be a pervasive belief by the affected minority communities that indigenous languages in the U.S. have little to no economic value (2.1.1), there is awareness of their value in the social, ceremonial, spiritual, and other cultural domains (Tsunoda, 2005). As an example, a majority of the respondents to a recent study of attitudes regarding the Welsh language ranked ceremonial use as being of priority importance (Coupland, Bishop, Evans, & Garrett, 2006). Coupland et al. conclude that “ceremonialism”,

which can be strongly tied to culture and identity, is likely a key factor when it comes to revitalization in the age of globalization.

2.2.2 Homogeneity and monolingualism

Another factor that needs to be considered in a discussion of linguistic identity for these languages is the attitudes towards multilingualism by monolingual English, or English-dominant multilingual, speakers in Washington State. Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (1977) propose that dominant language groups can utilize various methods for maintaining the status of the language, such as legislation and "rational arguments". These kinds of defensive or dismissive opinions on minority languages are present in Washington state as well. The opinion may be that they have little value for their language variety and it is for the sake of the speakers that they be abandoned (Hale, et al., 1992; House, 2002). Some minority languages may be destined to die in a way that follows one interpretation of the concept of "survival of the fittest" (Crawford, 2000). Opinions of this nature do exist in popular thought (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001), although to what extent is unknown. The following quote illustrates one particular take on the inevitability of language death in relation to the global dominance of English and other major languages.

> "At the end of the day, language death is, ironically, a symptom of people coming together. Globalization means hitherto isolated peoples migrating and sharing space… The alternative, it would seem, is indigenous groups left to live in isolation—complete with the maltreatment of women and lack of access to modern medicine and technology typical of such societies. Few could countenance this as morally justified, and attempts to find some happy medium in such cases are frustrated by the simple

fact that such peoples, upon exposure to the West, tend to seek membership in it." (McWhorter, 2009, p. 16)

McWhorter suggests that globalism is a root cause of language death and takes an arguably pragmatic view. He asks the reader to ponder what the value is of linguistic diversity compared to linguistic unity. Yet, minority languages are also tangentially associated (via the term *indigenous groups*) with the oppression of women and ignorance, or at least militant or negligent isolationism. He argues that the core loss associated with language death is aesthetic and not cultural. "Native American groups would bristle at the idea that they are no longer meaningfully 'Indian' simply because they no longer speak their ancestral tongue." (McWhorter, 2009, p. 15)[8]

García (2005) shows how pressure from "English Only" activists, and what might be described as the linking of English monolingual identity with US nationalism, has affected not only the language policy in the US, but the perception by many on what roles minority languages should play. Quiocho & Rios (2000) adds that decision making regarding bilingual education is directly effected by and is intertwined with political pressure. Nicholls (2005) shows how allegedly unfounded claims made by government officials that indigenous Australian students enrolled in bilingual programs were somehow deficient in English were used as excuses to cut programs.

Alternatively, the desire to retain a minority language may be interpreted from some in the majority as balkanization, or extremist separatism (Fishman, 2001). From this perspective, with the recent sweeping terminological switch in the U.S. from bilingual education to heritage language education, it could be inferred that English ought to remain as

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[8] For some of the respondents' opinions on this topic given in this study, see 5.3.2.

the dominant language and other global and minority languages should stay in the domains of localized culture and identity. Here, heritage languages are distinct from "foreign" languages which can have an economic or outward looking purpose. "In the United States, we have gone from the two solitudes of our two languages in bilingualism, to our sole solitude in English, with whispers in other languages. Our multiple identities have been silenced, with one language identity reduced to that of a *heritage*." (García, 2005, p. 605)

As discussed earlier, attitudes from the dominant speech community may also influence the identity of minority speakers. The following is an example of how a local language may relate to this discussion of linguistic identity and value. A minority language group, such as learners/speakers of Twulshootseed (a dialect of Lushootseed historically spoken by the Puyallup tribe (Bates, Hess, & Hilbert, 1994)), might feel that their language has little value in the outside community (i.e., lacking overt prestige or language status). While there is the localized covert value (i.e., ascribed status) tied to culture, family and tradition, among other factors, the dominant group in Washington State might believe that the maintenance of the language should be a lower priority than people belonging to the tribe do, if it is worth pursuing at all.

Relatively recent bilingual education programs in the U.S. seem to have had a positive effect on linguistic identity for those tied to a minority indigenous language (Hinton, 1998). Regardless, the apparent reality is that in Washington State official classes in minority languages, not just indigenous languages, can be considered fairly rare (MELL, 2009b). If positive linguistic identities are a goal for language revitalization programs, the dominant linguistic out-group shares responsibility, and not only for past denigrations of indigenous languages (Reyhner, 1996). Not only do Lushootseed learners/speakers have to

compete in the academic and cultural arenas against English, there are many other minority languages which may have higher overt prestige in the external community (e.g., Russian, Hindi, etc).

It is unlikely that in the foreseeable future any of the members of indigenous communities will abandon English, due to its dominant economic status and cultural presence (Tse, 2001). Instead, a balance must be found between the dominant external culture and the local minority community's culture, and language is a key part of that cultural balance (Grimes, 1998). A recent study of Navajo language programs in northeastern Arizona showed that culture and identity issues often trumped actual language education in the classroom, to the detriment of the stated goals of the programs (House, 2002). House presents situations and anecdotes illustrating a strong "either with us or without us" mono-cultural model present in the same schools, which is the reverse of an earlier pro-west stereotyping. A more stable future for the vitality of a language will require a careful maintenance of the valued differences and similarities for each intergroup relation (Giles & Johnson, 1987). This model also assumes an effort on behalf of the dominant out-group to, at worst, tolerate and, preferably, support this bi-cultural model. Giles & Johnson also suggest that a stable intergroup relationship requires identification with both groups, the perception of closed ethnic boundaries, and a positive perception their ethnic group vitality.

Related is the issue of whether an indigenous language is offered solely to indigenous students or if all students have access. There is evidence that non-indigenous populations can be receptive to such programs. The Karuk language, spoken in what is now northern California, was taught in non-tribal public schools and the non-indigenous students were

receptive to the program (Sims, 1998). That being said, this is potentially a very complicated matter which is tied to political, language value and economic issues.

2.2.3 Language ecology and youth

This section is concerned with the idea that languages are not static or necessarily simple to define. If languages change, how does the change affect the attitudes and identity of individuals that speak them? In turn, how might differences in attitudes and perceptions effect identity among those in a minority language group? Particularly for the purposes of this thesis, how do these questions affect language revitalization, stabilization, and policy?

As culture and language are intertwined, so may be larger issues of politics, geography and ethnicity with language. This may be described as the ecology of a language (Haugen, 1972; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The notion of language ecology refers to the metaphorical environment in which languages exist and interact, similar to its analog of the ecology of biological forms. From the language ecology perspective, languages are subject to many factors and complexities. Not only can languages change in core linguistic areas such as phonology and lexical items, minority languages may particularly be affected by the changes in the community and outside world in ways that influence what functions the language suits and how it is identified with (Mühlhäusler, 1996; Tedrow, 1977). Mühlhäusler discusses the complications and potential for controversy that comes with even identifying "something" as a language, with the complexities, overlap, and often blurred lines that constitute what can be called a language. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) also argue that defining a language is difficult, if not impossible, without the influence of identity and perceptions or beliefs about which groups use which languages (2.2). Some individuals or organizations in a speech community may feel that "their" language (perhaps the standard

dialect) must be defended from outside influences and kept pure, although this endeavor could be argued as being futile at best (Dorian, 1987; Edwards, 1985). Le Page et al. go on to note that attitudes regarding what does or does not constitute the language (i.e., what is "correct") are often passionately held. However, there is no objective or "scientific" reason to assert a standard variety is superior (Bourhis, 1982). Milroy & Milroy (1992) note that there exists no community small enough to not be effected by linguistic change, and so for indigenous languages it is also inevitable. Yet, a more organic view of language is fairly inline with the practices of some younger speakers of indigenous North American languages. They are believed to show strong cultural allegiance to their languages, yet are open to change, even mixing with or borrowing from other languages. Or, as García (2009) describes it, they are employing hybrid language practices. This fluid and complicated nature of bilingual, or heritage language use, by younger members of a community is argued to be something not often accounted for by traditional education. In other words, the language as it was spoken decades ago may not be spoken again, and new forms, modes, styles may not necessarily be threats to the goal of reversing language shift. House (2002) argues that failing to recognize multilingual traditions and promoting a single standard may be self-defeating for revitalization programs. The issue of identity and ecology also raises the question of planning, and how a 'bottom-up' (or right-branching) approach can occur with support from dominant out-groups.

The preceding discussion on linguistic identity is only a brief sketch as a good deal of work has been done on the topic which is beyond the scope of this paper. The interplay of identity, language, culture and politics is complicated, but is deserving of attention and analysis when considering indigenous language policy.

3 Indigenous languages and indigenous language education in Washington state

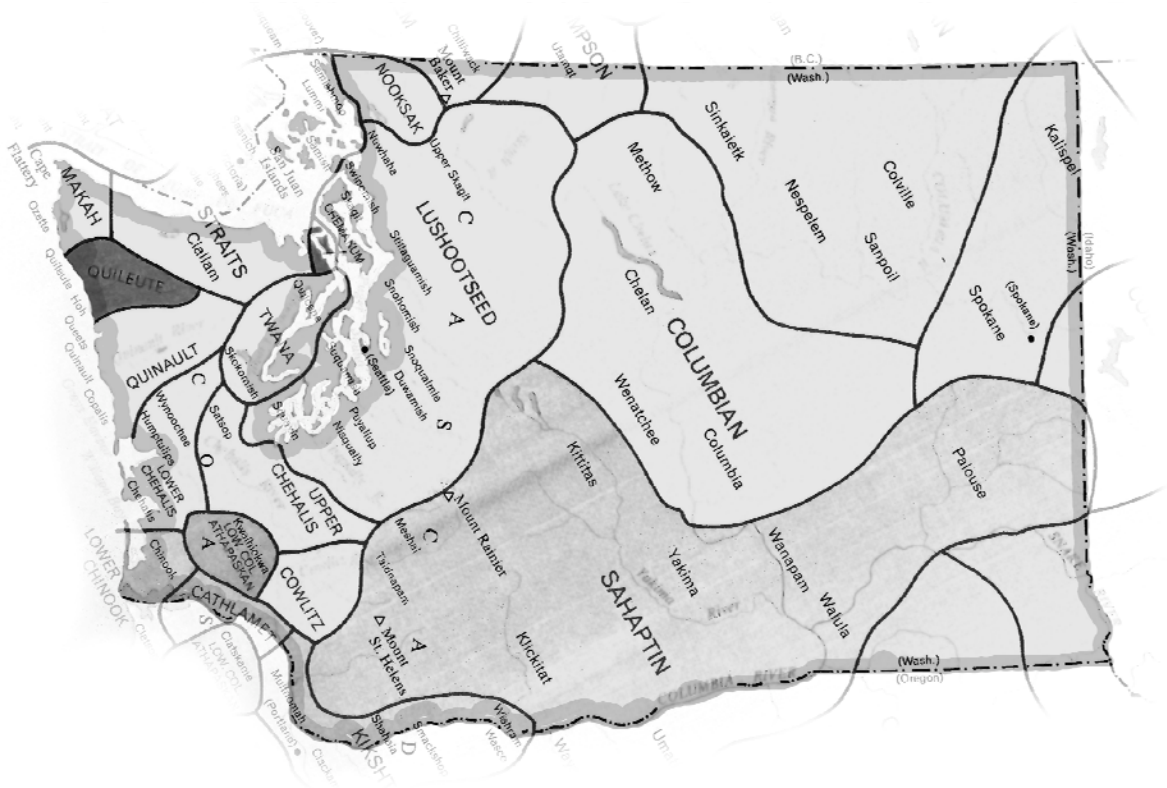
'An indigenous language of Washington state' refers to a language that has ties to a population which historically resided at least partially within the geographical borders of Washington state (e.g., Lushootseed, North Straits Salish, and Quileute). This section will begin with an introduction to the languages that were spoken in Washington state just prior to European contact. Next, an overview will be presented of what is known about indigenous language education in Washington state and surrounding regions.

3.1 Indigenous language inventory

While complete statistics are unavailable for which languages are still alive today in Washington state, research does exist on what languages were originally spoken in the state when contact with Europeans first occurred, roughly around the late 18th century (Gunther, 1972). Figure 1 is a map cropped to the current borders of Washington state that shows the boundaries of where these 24 languages were spoken at that time. Names in ALLCAPS are languages, and other standard cased names within a particular boundary are dialects of that language. The shading represents the phyla the surrounding language belongs to[9].

[9] A legend for phyla is not included to save space as the information is not crucial for this particular discussion. Interested readers should refer to Suttles & Suttles (1985) for more information.

Figure 1 **Map of indigenous languages that were spoken in Washington state at time of contact (from (Suttles & Suttles, 1985))**



Unfortunately, for the sake of this project finding current numbers of living native speakers for Washington state's indigenous languages has been difficult and largely unsuccessful. One of the most robust resources is Ethnologue, but the bulk share of the data that it contains about these languages predates 2000 (Lewis, 2009). Thus, there appears to be a lack of knowledge at the local, educational, and out-group levels when it comes to native speaker counts.

3.2 Educational demographics

Washington state has 295 school districts, and in these there exist 2339 schools (OPSI, 2010). The per-school mean of total student populations for all of these schools is 143

students, of which 3.36 are indigenous students (approximately 2% of the average total student population) (OSPI, 2009a, 2009b).

3.3 MELL, previous research and Washington state language education

The Mapping and Enhancing Language Learning in Washington state project (2006-current), or MELL, is based out of the University of Washington. It is a continuation of sorts to an earlier survey conducted in 2004 by the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) for Washington state. The MELL project is currently supported by the UW Jackson School of International Studies, the UW Language Learning Center, the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Washington state Coalition for International Education, and the Washington Association For Language Teaching (WAFLT). MELL is concerned with collecting information on all languages which are offered in the State's public schools. Particularly of interest is where they are offered, with the goal of creating complete maps of language offerings by county for each year of the study in order to analyze trends. For the 2009 report by MELL a total of 396 high schools responded to the survey, and of those seven[10] high schools reported offering indigenous language programs[11] (MELL, 2009b). Their most recent published trend report shows an increase of reported programs from 0 in 2004 (out of 160 total reporting schools), to 3 in 2007 (out of 367 total reporting schools), and finally 7 in 2009 (out of 396 total reporting schools) (MELL, 2009a).

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[10] The total may in fact be 5 or 6, as one of these has been confirmed to have not offered the language and was misreported, while another likely doesn't.

[11] The term used for the MELL survey was "Native" American languages. Interesting, this term was likely the source of confusion for one respondent who misreported offering an indigenous language since their school had a program for "native" Spanish speakers.

Historically, indigenous language education has been more prominent in British Columbia than in other northwest regions. Thompson and Kinkade (1990) state that "In all, programs were begun in fewer than 15 communities during the 1970s and 1980s, nearly all on reserves in British Columbia. None has had more than limited success in teaching the languages to children, and numbers of speakers have continued to decline." (pg. 49) Recently, the First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council of British Columbia completed a report on the status of indigenous languages in the province (FPHLCC, 2010). Overall the report found all languages continue to be threatened and argue that most educational programs are not suitable for revitalize them. Only 11.1% of the population is participating in language learning programs, as there are arguably too few programs. The authors argue that the official policy is not secure to the degree required to support a large enough scaled program to be effective. Only 52% of communities have even limited language education materials. 132 First Nations operated schools offer a language program (out of approximately 513 total operated by First Nations Bands). There are no reported language programs in non-First Nations schools.

3.4 Legislation

Recent legislation in Washington state, Senate Bill 5269 (2007), loosened the restrictions on language teacher certification for "first peoples". In 2003, the Washington state board of education enacted WAC 181-78A-700 which created a system of certification intended to be a localized partnership between each individual tribe and the state. Senate Bill 5269 also contains language encouraging higher education to grant Native American

languages equal credit value as foreign languages[12]. Also, additional legislation mandates the instruction of indigenous (tribal) history in public schools (Representatives, et al., 2005). These efforts relate to the institutional support factor discussed in 2.1.2.

3.5 Information gaps for indigenous language education in Washington state

Before research began for this thesis, it became apparent that there is no single person or organization that has a complete dataset on what language programs exist in Washington state (both indigenous and other world languages). A few organizations, including MELL and the OSPI, have made a strong effort to establish a centralized database for this information, but data collection of this type is difficult and it is still incomplete.

Previous recent research, including (MELL, 2009ab), mainstream news publications and personal communication with education administrators suggested that few indigenous languages programs exist in Washington's K-12 public schools. This study sought to locate and learn about actual programs so the situation may be better understood. A more detailed explanation of the possible benefits of this information will be discussed in section 3.5.2. This study is intended to assist in this endeavor by trying to address two core questions:

1. *What indigenous language programs exist?*[13]

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[12] Most colleges and universities in Washington State require that incoming freshman have at least two years of a "foreign" language.

[13] To answer *how many languages* are offered, was far beyond the means of this study. A predictive answer to the question of *how many languages are likely to be taught in Washington State*, in relation to the goals outlined

2. *What factors contribute to the likelihood of a language being taught?*

In 4.3, these questions will be detailed further with regards to the sociolinguistic and language policy research discussed in sections 2, 3.5.1, 3.5.2 and elsewhere.

3.5.1 Support & resources

A variety of resources can play an important role in language programs. The current study asked what resources are available for Washington state indigenous language educators and what resources they would like to have access to. This goal of this section is to clarify how this information relates to language programs and the likelihood of them existing. As covered in 3.4, there have been some recent attempts at legislative support in Washington state. Of interest is whether educators are aware of these efforts and whether they are believed to have had an effect. Also of interest, are a few key resource types; financial, material and human-based.

Financial support can have an enormous effect on minority language education (2.1.2.1). Information was therefore sought regarding what kind of effects, or perceived effects, funding or the lack there of may have had on language programs.

Referring to the discussion in 2.1.2.2, some of the questions which inform the larger question are whether materials have any influence on the perceived success/failure (including non-existence) of language programs, what materials educators have access to, what the

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in section 3.3 (e.g., collaborating with MELL), is not a concern either, considering the sample size and type that would be required.

quality of these materials is, whether the quality has any influence on the perception of the program, and what kinds of materials they would like to have access to.

Finally, in 2.1.2.3 the importance of human-based resources was argued for. Does the existence or lack of these influence whether a program is offered or deemed successful?

Building on the previous discussion in 2.2, educators are often subjected to public and external pressure and of particular interest is what these educators believe about public opinion and government-based support. This portion of the study seeks a snapshot their attitudes regarding the language, the program (if one exists in their district or school), their beliefs about others' attitudes and values toward the language, and whether a program should be offered or not. For example: Is the program believed to be successful enough to expand? Has there been any controversy regarding the program?

Details regarding the actual questions will be presented in 4.3 with results given in 5.

3.5.2 Potential benefits of this information

A primary goal of this study is to contribute to the body of research related to Washington state's indigenous languages from both descriptive and sociolinguistic perspectives. While there are many active researchers throughout the U.S. and Canada studying North American indigenous languages (see section 2 for some examples), less is known about current revitalization efforts underway in Washington state. A hope is that this study will contribute to the body of knowledge related to the situation. In addition, hopefully much of the data can be used for developing a more complete sociolinguistic view of the situation, especially related to linguistic attitudes and vitality.

A secondary but no less important goal is to gather information that can be useful for educators, policy makers and individuals. As endangered languages become increasingly

threatened and globalization continues to have an influence on their status and types of support, careful decision making and planning is essential for the survival of many of these languages. Krauss (1998) argues that denial and ambivalence regarding the endangered status of these languages is present in some affected indigenous communities. Information regarding positive trends as well as areas that deserve immediate attention can be of use to those inside and outside the community to better plan the creation, development or expansion of language programs, as well as be used by the community to spread awareness.

As previous research has so far suggested (2.1.2), public K-12 indigenous language programs often have limited resources, which can limit the scope of how are able to function, access to materials, etc. Recently an indigenous language instructor and some of their students gave a talk at an applied language education conference at the University of Washington (Pascua, 2010). They had developed some materials and lesson models, which would likely be of interest to many other programs in the state. Another recent conference on Lushootseed held a workshop with an expressed goals being: “how can we promote sharing of teaching materials, and create support networks, among language programs?”(Underriner, 2010) While educators affiliated with indigenous language programs may be exposed to such information at indigenous language conferences, more regular or established communication could be beneficial. Stronger and broader in-group ties, resource sharing and support, as well as external (i.e., state-wide education policy makers, researchers) promotion are some potential benefits of more complete information on all programs in Washington state. With that in mind, this information must also suit the needs of the indigenous communities themselves. As discussed in 2.2, the arguments for bottom-up control and linguistic autonomy should be kept in mind. In addition, while schools can play a vital role in language

revitalization or shift reversal (Hornberger, 1998), they cannot be the sole engine of change (2). Even though schools are generally assumed to be useful, the western methods and format of instruction may not be ideal (Spolsky, 2002) and can carry cultural baggage (Madsen, 1990; Quiocho & Rios, 2000) (2.2). In the preceding sections of this paper, the goal was to introduce some core literature in order to illustrate the complexity of factors involved in indigenous language vitality and revitalization. In sum, information of the nature gleaned by this and other studies (FPHLCC, 2010; Govig, 1999; MELL, 2009b), when supported and built on the robust literature and research on the topic, may aid future decision makers, whether top-down or bottom-up, as well as administrators, lobbyists and the instructors themselves develop stronger and more effective programs.

Crawford (2000) wrote the following concerning the question of why anyone should concern themselves with trying to save languages that are seemingly fated to become extinct:

> "Along with the accompanying loss of culture, language loss can destroy a sense of self-worth, limiting human potential and complicating efforts to solve other problems, such as poverty, family break down, school failure, and substance abuse. After all, language death does not happen in privileged communities. It happens to this dispossessed and the disempowered, peoples who most need their cultural resources to survive." (Crawford, 2000, p. 63)

4 Methods

4.1 Instrumentation

The primary research tool of the current study was an online survey. The software package/service used for the project was WebQ, created and maintained by Catalyst at the

University of Washington. The questionnaire consisted of 41 questions, including an introductory paragraph and permission request. When appropriate, some questions allowed respondents to give open-ended feedback regarding their answer.

4.2 Sampling

The questionnaire was sent to at least one representative of the 153 schools[14] which, according to the Washington state OSPI for Indian Education, had at least 30 students who were identified as Native American/Indigenous American (OSPI, 2010). Of the 304 total school districts in the State, 56 had at least one of the 153 schools mentioned above. No additional information relating to the students was provided by the OSPI. As such, it was not known what tribal affiliations existed and how strong they were, or if they had any level of fluency in an indigenous language. In total 258 email addresses were collected and contacted with the survey, of which 19 were returned for various technical reasons.

Contacts were selected from the 2009-2010 Washington Education Directory and public websites for districts and individual schools. Primarily, people who were described as being involved with language education were chosen as potential respondents. If information on the website and that contained in the directory was not complete, or if the actual pool of potential contacts was limited, individuals who were in supervisory positions were often selected to be contacted. Examples of these positions included principals, superintendents, assistant administrators and secretaries. On average 2 contacts, but a minimum of 1 contact, were sought for each school. For schools where there was a large number of potential

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[14] All of the schools surveyed are considered 'public' schools. Some of the schools in the sample were designated as being 'tribal schools' as well as 'public'.

contacts and generally had a larger student population, but little information regarding the educators roles, three contacts may have been selected. On the other hand, some of the schools only had contact information for one person or a general public email for the entire school. Because most schools handled their contact information differently, the schools themselves varied in scope and size, and potential contacts varied from school to school in their title and quantity, a subjective selection process was the best way to keep the sample pool as consistent as possible.

Because the sample consisted only of those who chose to respond, it is not a true random sample[15] and the collected information only informs what this particular group of respondents thinks about the questions. In other words, the results cannot truly predict what all educators at schools with 30 or more indigenous students in Washington state believe about the questions on the survey.[16] 40 contacts responded to the email and completed the

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[15] To address the question of why the study wasn't interested in abstracting an estimating for *how many* languages programs likely exist, if the study had a truly random sample which was robust enough to make an accurate prediction of *how many programs exist,* these predicted programs would not have the details that are required to be of any use according the goals outlined in 3.5.2.

[16] It could be argued that potential respondents at schools where programs do not exist would be less likely to respond for at least two reasons: Potential negative publicity for the school or district and lack of interest or self-perceived lack of knowledge regarding the subject since it likely is not part of their work. Surprisingly this does not appear to be the case for this study. There were a total of 40 responses and of those, the majority 27 reported not offering an indigenous language. Some of the respondents represented entire districts and when comparing total schools which were reported not offering a program there is a strong majority of 41 as opposed to 16 schools which were reported as offering a language.

survey. In the following subsection, an overview of the questions they were given will be presented.

4.3 Questions

In the following subsections each of the questions on the questionnaire will be linked to the larger concepts and questions of this study. Because of the need to organize by topic and due to the skip logic used in the questionnaire, the questions will not be presented in numerical order. Some questions were followed by optional and open-ended questions where the respondents could clarify their responses. Comments taken from these questions will be incorporated in the discussion (6).

4.3.1 Demographics

Question 2 asks the respondent what is the name of the school or district they represent. Regarding the respondents themselves, Question 3 asks their role in the educational system and Question 4 whether the respondent is a member of a tribe or First Nation. The results for these questions are provided in the introduction to section 5.

4.3.2 What indigenous language programs exist?

The first question concerning *what indigenous language programs exist* can be broken down into a few core data points. Questions 5, 6, 36 and 37 are all related to whether a language is offered. Questions 7, 8, 9, 38, and 39 inquired into the details of the programs. To whom is the language offered and what are the specifics of the program? Also of concern are details of the program such as the pedagogical style (e.g., immersion, traditional classroom, etc), teacher training, and weekly average of classroom hours dedicated to the program. Question 16 and 17 have to do with content emphasis and assessment methods,

respectively. For those respondents from schools where a program isn't offered, Question 34 asks if a program has been considered. Question 35 is interested in respondents' opinions about the educators at their school(s) meeting with language acquisition specialists. The results for each of the questions in the subsection will be shared in 5.1.

4.3.3 Why are some indigenous languages taught?

This second research question has a considerably larger scope than the first. The goal was to uncover some possible reasons that may influence the likelihood of a language being offered as well as learn about some of the language attitudes held by educators. Because the focus of this study is on schools, with its associated officials and legislation, the concept of institutional support deserves additional attention (2.1.2). Question 29 and 30 pertain to the respondents' attitudes regarding the value of teaching indigenous languages. Question 18-20 try to get at how the respondents or the program in question defines success for their program, and whether they believe it meets that criterion. Related to the perception of success for a program, Question 10 asks the respondent whether they feel the program should be expanded to other schools. Program access is the focus of Question 11-15. Issues of institutional support (2.1.2) are examined by questions 21-28[17] and 31-33. The results to the questions introduced in this subsection will be given in 5.2. Further discussion of how

[17] Question 22 asked the respondents how many native speakers they are aware of in the community. In order to make the data more manageable they were given six preset options, *don't know, none, 1-2, 3-5, 6-25, 26+*. The software for the online questionnaire had no method of setting a short answer blank to be numerical only. In order to prevent certain vague responses (e.g., some, a few, etc.), the preset numerical ranges were used instead.

resources and institutional support might help answer the second research question can be found in 3.5.1.

5 Results

258 individuals represented by 56 state school districts were invited to complete the online questionnaire. 40 responded, resulting in a response rate of roughly 15%. Of the 56 Washington state school districts contacted, 27 had at least one affiliated educator respond. Regarding demographics, Question 4 asked whether the respondents were members of a tribe or a First Nation. The majority of the respondents (25 or 62.5%) selected that they were not (N = 40). Table 1 contains the results of Question 3, which asked respondents, *what is your role at the school or in the district?* The majority reported being *administrators*.

Table 1 Role of respondents (N = 40)

Type	# of respondents reporting
Principal	9
Superintendent	2
Teacher	4
Administrator or coordinator	13
Other	12

5.1 Indigenous language programs in Washington state

As discussed in 4.3.2, one of the primary questions this project was interested in answering was: *what indigenous language education programs exist in Washington state public-schools?* Looking first at the district level, this study learned of 8 school districts which have at least one school where a program is offered, and 19 are now known to have at

least one school where no program is offered and no school which offers a program[18]. All of the 27 districts have at least one school with 30 or more indigenous students enrolled. 13 respondents selected that their school or district offered a program and 27 selected that no indigenous language was currently offered at any school they are affiliated with.[19] The total number of schools reported to offer a language is 17.

Table 2 shows the indigenous languages offered in schools according to the respondents. (See Question 5 & Question 6 in Appendix A)

Table 2 Languages reported to the questionnaire as being currently offered

Makah
Quileute
Yakama (Sahaptin)
Lushootseed
Klallam (Straits Salish)
Southern Okanogan[20]
"Salish"[21]

Question 7 on the questionnaire asked the respondents how long the indigenous language program in question had been offered. The mean of the responses for individual

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[18] Due to anonymity concerns on the survey, not all respondents provided the school with which they were affiliated or specify the exact school.

[19] The online questionnaire had logic capabilities and respondents who selected that their school or district did not offer a program were not asked questions about existing programs. Likewise, there were questions that were only asked to those whose didn't offer a program and not to those whose did.

[20] This was reported as "(Salish) Southern Okanogan Language Dialect of Plateaux".

[21] There were numerous responses given for "Salish" in this study and MELL. Unfortunately, which Salishan language each school is actually teaching is not known.

schools is 14 years with a standard deviation of 10.3 (N = 11). Three programs have only existed for 1-4 years, while the longest programs had been operating for 29 or 30 years.

The data for Table 3 comes from Question 9, which was adapted from the MELL survey. This question asked what style of program is offered. The respondents were prompted to select from some standard Washington state public education types[22]. The categories used in this table are defined as follows: **FLES** or *Foreign Language in the Elementary School* is a program offered for about 1-3 hours a week. The **Trimester** category means that one year's content is covered in 1 or 2 trimesters, excluding the summer trimester. **Extended Classroom Period** describes a program where there are fewer classes per week but longer periods to compensate. **Traditional Classroom Instruction** means that the program runs for approximately 5 hours a week for the full year. **Community-based** includes programs such as non-public school affiliated language academies or master-apprentice programs (FPHLCC, 2010; Sims, 1998). The **other** types were a mix of classroom settings, outside of the norm of a daily traditional classroom period, as well as weekly classes taught by a tribal linguist.[23] Respondents were able to select more than one type of program. The results from question 9 (found in Table 3), concerning types of

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[22] The types were taken from the MELL questionnaire for consistency and comparability.

[23] Four other program categories were polled but received no responses: Advanced Placement (AP), Heritage, Immersion, and Flex. The **Advanced Placement (AP)** category also included *International Baccalaureate*, or *College in the High School*. **Heritage** included programs described as being for heritage learners as well as focused on literacy. On the survey **Immersion** was divided into the following options: Partial, Full, and Dual Language, but none of the respondents reported offering any immersion type programs. **FLEX** refers to *Foreign Language Experience* which places an emphasis on language and culture.

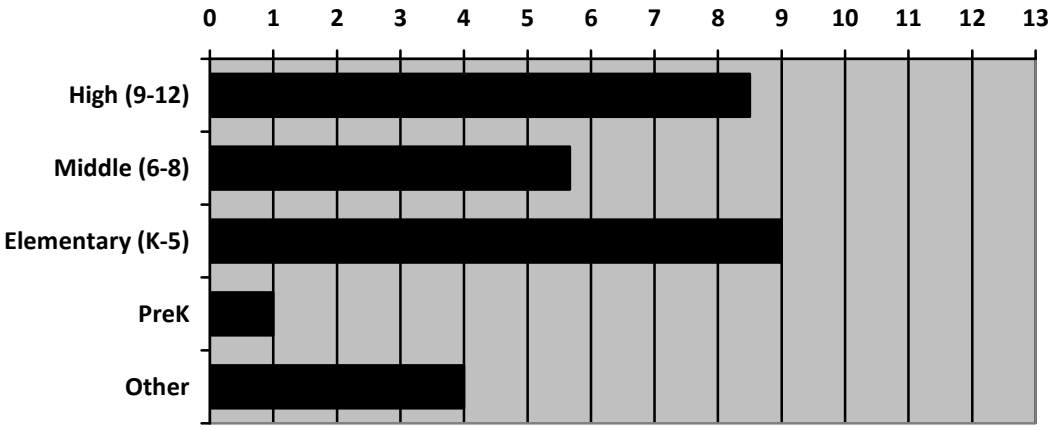
instructions, show that the most common form of standard Washington state public education instruction types reported by the respondents is traditional classroom instruction.

Table 3 Type of language program (N = 13)

Type	# of respondents reporting
Traditional classroom instruction	9
Extended classroom period	1
Trimester schedule	1
FLES	1
Before or after-school	2
Community-based	2
Other (including online)	4
Advanced Placement (AP)	0
Heritage	0
Immersion	0
FLEX	0

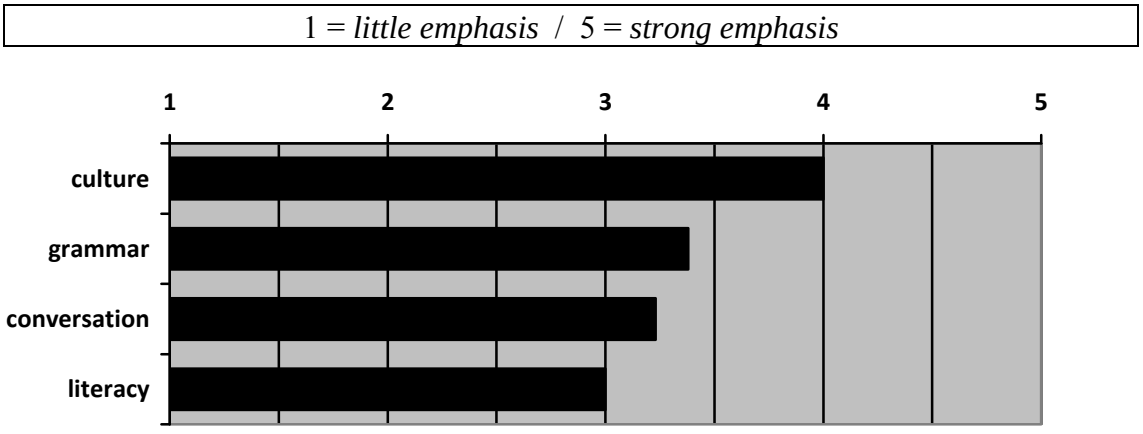
Question 8 provided the data for Figure 2 below, which presents the grade levels where indigenous language programs are most commonly taught. The clearest pattern from the data is that middle school (6^{th}-8^{th} grade) students are considerably less likely to have access to a program than students attending either an elementary or high school. Responses for the category '**other'** included classes catering to adults and the community, or independent study.

Figure 2 Grade levels where the program is offered (N = 13)



On the questionnaire, Question 16 asked respondents about the learning focus of their language programs for these areas: literacy, grammar, culture, and/or conversation. The respondents were asked to rate each factor using a 5-point scale: 1 = *no emphasis*, 2 = *little emphasis*, 3 = *moderate emphasis*, 4 = *fairly strong emphasis*, 5 = *strong emphasis*. Culture received the highest ratings for emphasis, while literacy is the lowest priority on average for these types of programs. Figure 3 shows the means of these results

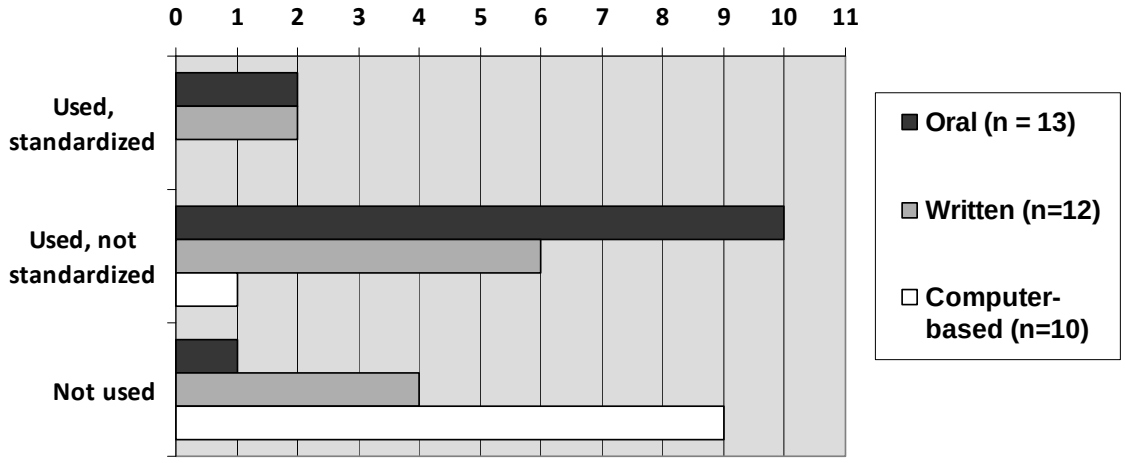
Figure 3 Emphasis placed on teaching certain areas (means) (N = 13)



Another inquiry concerned what forms of assessment were used, if any, and whether they could be considered standardized. Question 17 asked the respondents about oral, written

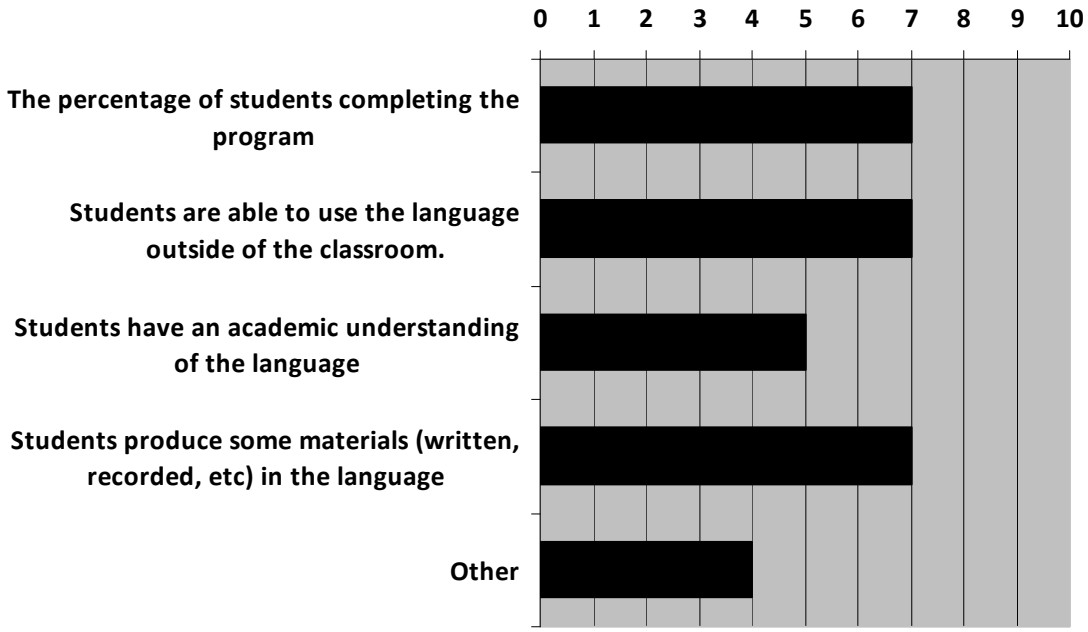
and computer based assessment. As shown in Figure 4 the responses indicate that oral assessment is the most common, although writing-based methods are used as well. Standardized tests and all computer-based assessment methods (e.g., online tests) were rare.

Figure 4 Methods of assessing students' progress (N = 13)



Respondents were also asked how they assess the success of their program. Five options, including ***other***, were provided and each respondent could select as many as they believed were appropriate. In Figure 5 below, the x-axis shows how many respondents selected the corresponding option. Academic understanding of the language is the least common metric, while there was some consensus for the completion, external use and the production of materials in the language by students. The respondents who selected ***other*** had the opportunity to explain their answer in the next question. They indicated some other goals not accounted for by the four provided, including: student participation, speaker and community satisfaction, and higher student self esteem.

Figure 5 How the success of the program is measured (N = 13)



When asked how successful they felt their program was in meeting these goals (Question 20), the general opinion was that their program was *moderately successful*. Using a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 = *not very effective*, 3 = *moderately effective*, to 5 = *completely effective*, the mean was 3.23 (n =13) with a standard deviation of 0.599.

5.2 Reasons for the existence of indigenous language programs

This section of the results deals with the information related to factors that might influence whether a language program exists or not (4.3.3.). In other words, *why* is the language offered at a school?

5.2.1 Awareness of state policy

Recent legislation in Washington state related to both teacher certification and college requirements was briefly discussed in 3.4. Question 31 on the survey inquired about how

familiar the respondents were with it. Respondents were asked "How familiar are you with the Washington state law which encourages higher education to grant Native American languages the equal credit value as foreign languages by 'Establishing the first peoples' language, culture and history teacher certification program' (SB 5269 - 2007-08)?" As Table 4 shows below, there was a very high rate of awareness regarding this law. When some respondents were discussing program details and motivation elsewhere in the questionnaire, this legislation was referred to.

Table 4 Level of familiarity with the WA SB 5269-2007-08

This is the first I've heard of it.	1
I've heard of it before.	5
I'm very familiar with it.	7

5.2.2 Outside involvement

The educators were also asked questions about what they perceived is the level of involvement by (Question 27) and helpfulness of (Question 28) certain entities like the Washington State OSPI, the OSPI Office of Indian Education, the local tribal community, and local non-tribal community, and native speakers of the language in question. Figure 6 shows the level of involvement of these entities, and Figure 7 shows the perceived helpfulness of these entities. Of the options given, the respondents selected the local tribal community being the most involved with a mean of 3.41. Overall, local groups (e.g., the local communities and native speakers) were more involved than non-local entities (e.g., the OSPI).

Figure 6 Perceived involvement of other groups in the program (N = 13)

1 = *not involved* / 3 = *moderately involved* / 5 = *completely involved*

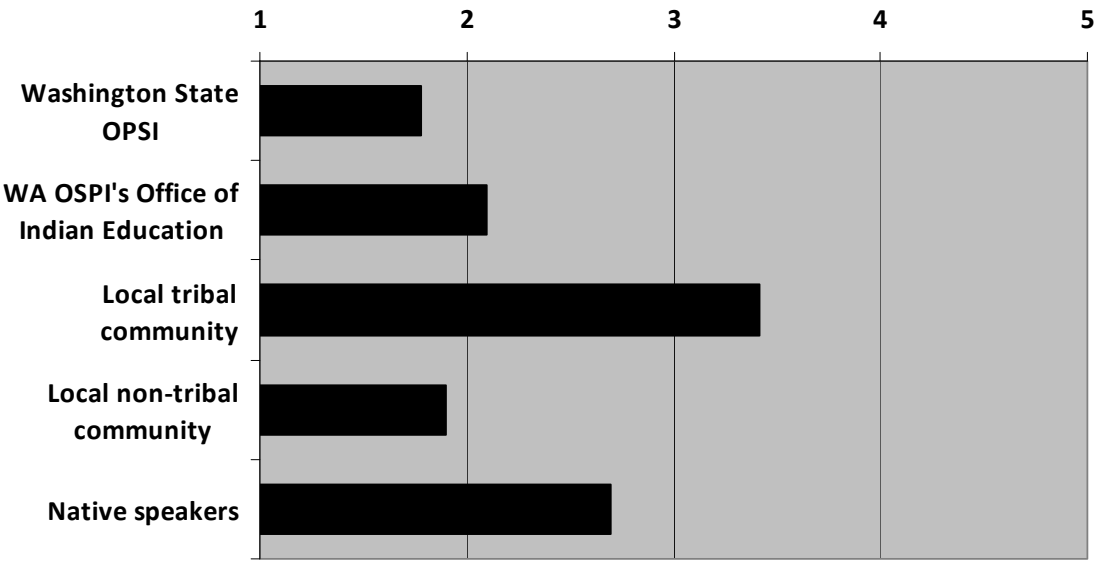
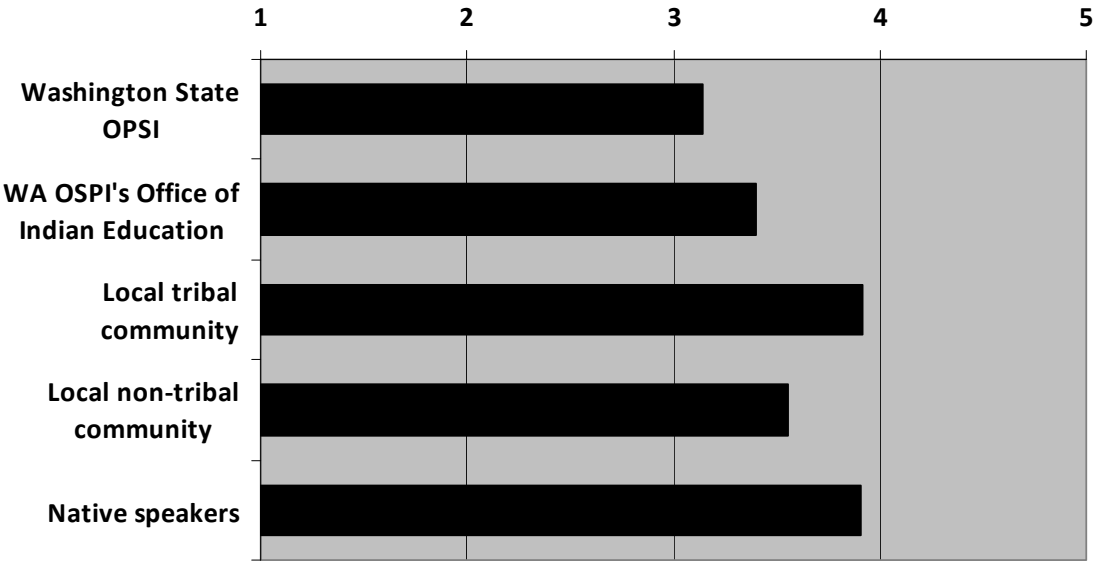


Figure 7 Perceived helpfulness of other groups in the program (N = 13)

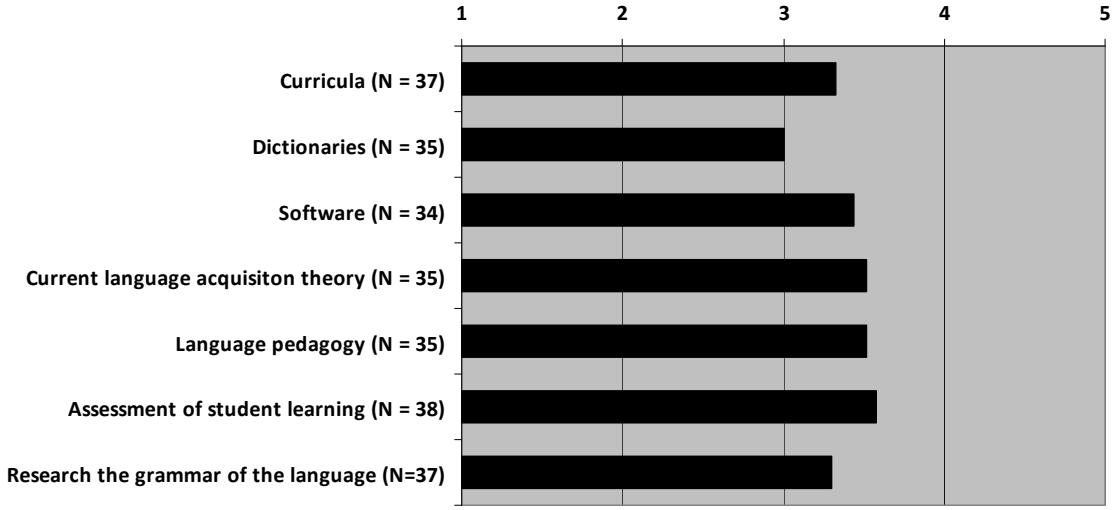
1 = *not helpful* / 3 = *somewhat helpful* / 5 = *exceedingly helpful*



Question 35 asked respondents what their opinions were regarding educators at their school(s) meeting/working with language acquisition specialists on certain areas. Figure 8 shows the means for the responses to this question.

Figure 8 Opinions about educators meeting with language specialists[24]

1 = *prefer to handle things internally* / 2 = *not very interested*
3 = *might consider it* / 4 = *would be interested* / 5 = *strongly interested*



5.2.3 Resources

Question 24 asked the respondents whether they had certain materials for teaching the language, and if so, what the quality of the material was. After this, in Question 25 they were asked what materials they would like to have the most.

In Table 5 it can be seen that student textbooks and workbooks are the least commonly available with only approximately 16% of the respondents saying their school has either. Handouts are by far the most available resource.

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[24] All of the questions had 40 responses (N = 40), but some selected I don't know. Those responses were subtracted from the means below and are reflected in the N values.

Table 5 Number of programs which have certain materials available (N = 13)

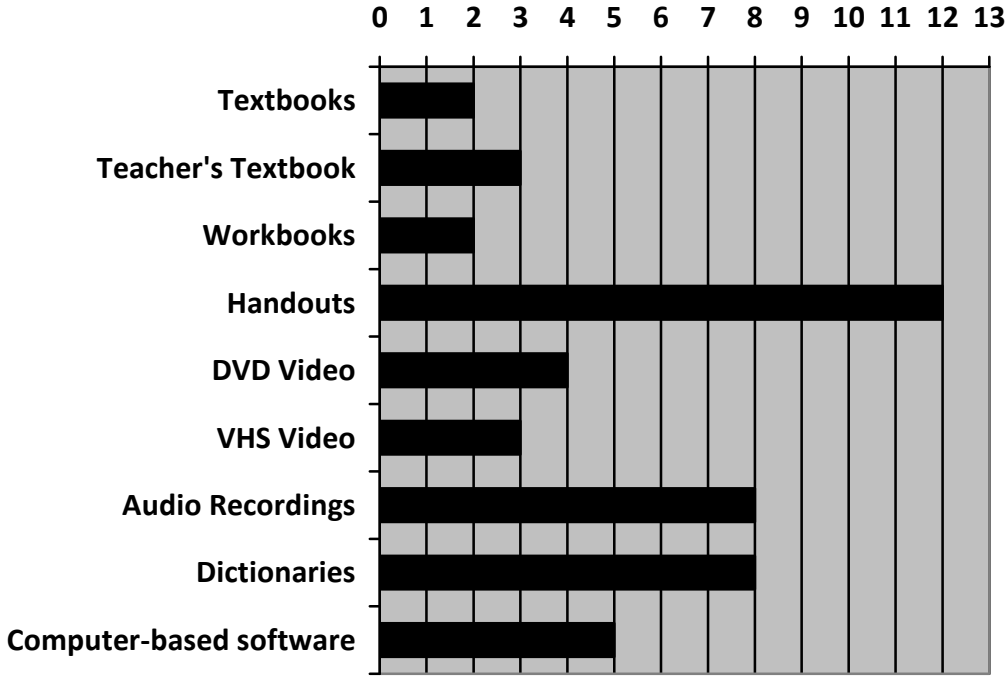
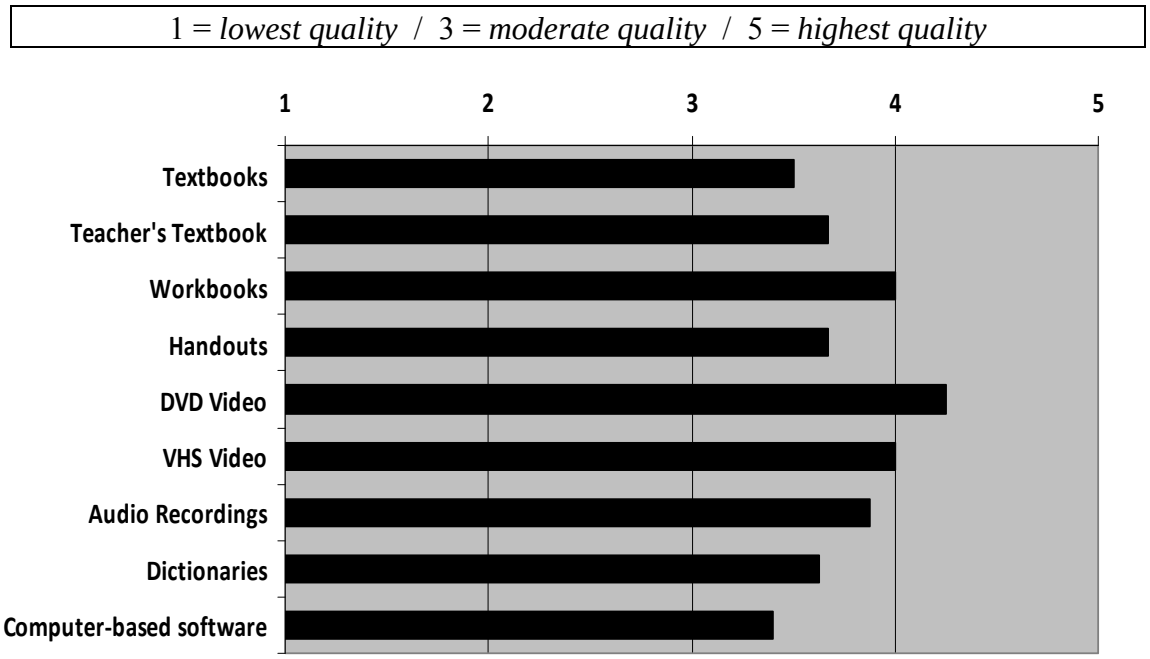


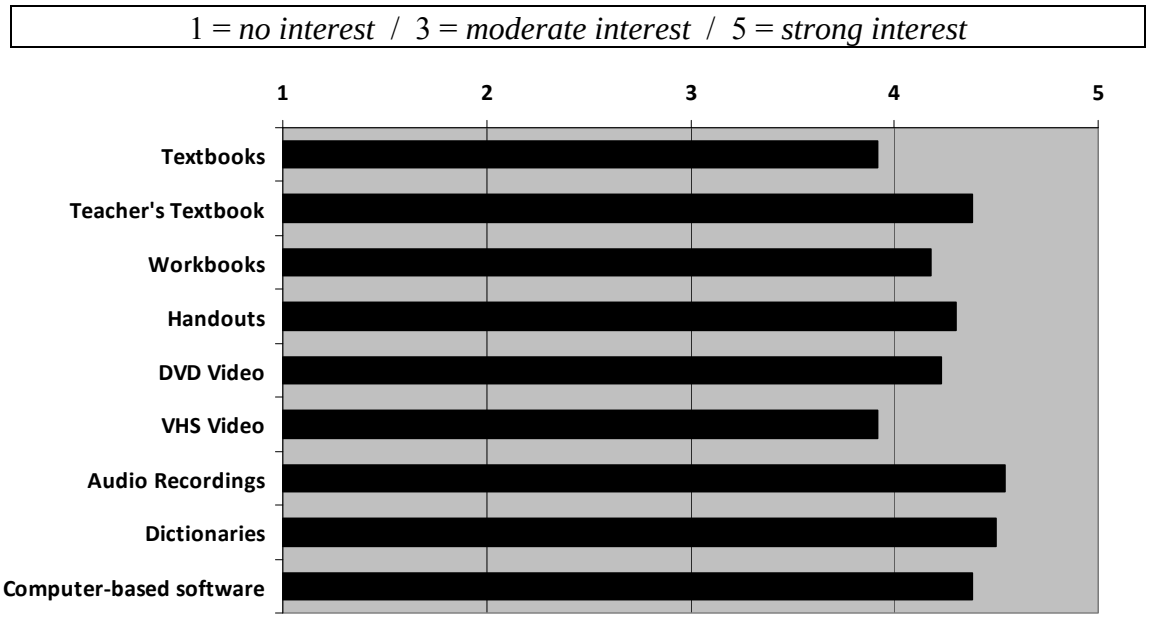
Figure 9 summarizes the responses to Question 24, which asks about the quality of materials available to the respondent's program. Overall, computer-based software options are regarded as being of a lower quality, with one of the respondents selecting that it was of the *lowest quality.* Textbooks were generally ranked in the *moderate quality* range, with no highest or lowest quality selections (standard deviation = 0.71). Teacher's textbook, workbooks, DVD video, and audio recordings were all rated *moderate quality* or higher.

Figure 9 Quality of the materials available to teachers (N = 13)



Next the responses concerning desired materials are summarized in Figure 10. All of the responses regarding workbooks, handouts, teacher's textbooks, audio recordings, and dictionaries rated a *moderate interest* or higher. Although audio recordings and dictionaries both had higher means, computer-based software had the highest amount of selections for *strong interest*.

Figure 10 Level of interest in certain materials (N = 13)



Question 21 asked about what community resources the respondent knew of for students to use or learn the language. Table 6 lists the responses to this question. Although a few respondents selected *I don't know*, the most well-known available resources mentioned were *community members and relatives* and *cultural events.*

Table 6 Opportunities to use the language outside of the classroom (N = 13)

	# of respondents aware of opportunity
language-immersion	1
cultural events	10
speaking to community members, such as relatives	11
community center programs	2
after-school classes	2
church	2
home environment	1
don't know	3

As discussed above in 2.1.2.3.1, it could be argued that native speakers are a crucial resource for learners and educators alike. Respondents (N = 13) were asked approximately

how many native speakers they knew of in Question 22. They were given six options, *don't know, none, 1-2, 3-5, 6-25, 26+*. The majority 38% selected that they *don't know*. 23% selected *6-25*, 15% *3-5,* and the remaining options each had only one respondent select them.

Respondents were also asked how involved they believed native speakers were in their classroom (Question 23), based on a scale from 1 = *not involved* to 5 = *completely involved*, as well as the option *don't know*. Table 7 shows that the majority of respondents believe that native speakers are generally less than moderately involved.

Table 7 Level of involvement of native speakers in the classroom (N = 13)

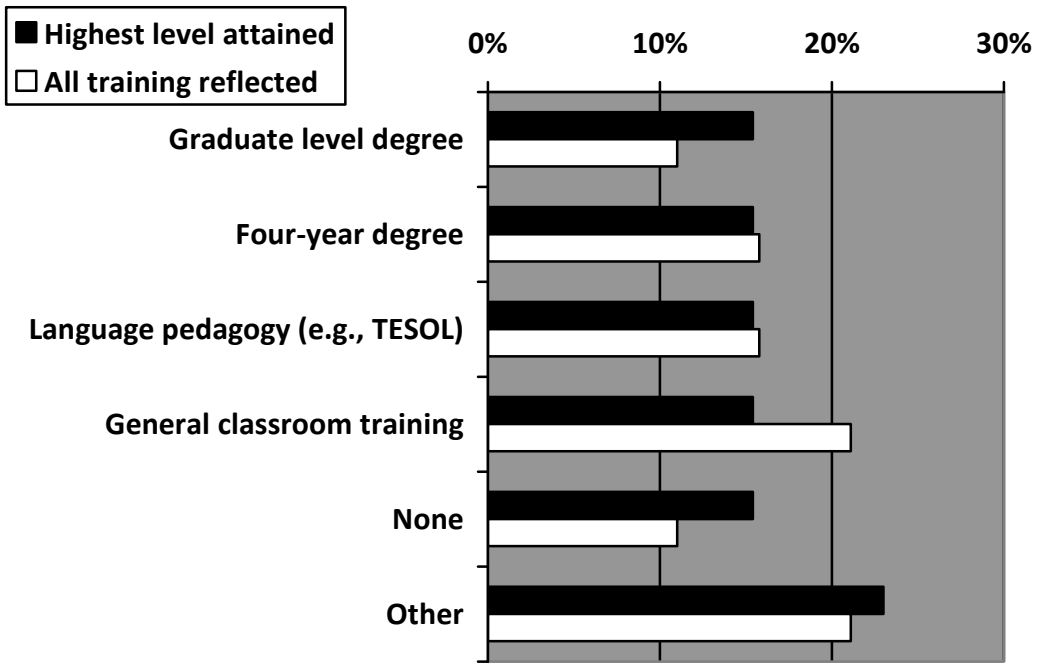
don't know	not involved	somewhat involved	moderately involved	strongly involved	completely involved
2	2	6	1	0	2

Question 32 asked respondents about the level of training the instructors in their program have. Respondents were able to select more than one of the options. Figure 11 shows a comparison of the selections. The x-axis reflects the percentage of respondents who selected that option as best describing the instructors for their program. On the y-axis, two comparisons are made. The upper bar of the two reflects the highest level[25] of training attained. As an example, if a teacher is listed as having a four-year degree and general classroom training, only the four-year degree was counted. The highest options are listed at the top of the y-axis (e.g., *graduate level degree*). The second bar is a cumulative total of all the training each teacher has received. There is fairly even representation in all categories.

[25] The term *highest level* is used to describe a training or education level that requires the longest amount of time to complete and is more specialized or formal. This is not intended as an evaluation of certain methods of training.

One teacher was noted as having received a First Peoples' Language, Culture and Oral Traditions Certification (2.1.2.3.2).

Figure 11 Percentages of teachers with a certain level of teacher training (N = 13)[26]



Also, the respondents were asked to gauge what the proficiency of their main teacher was in the language (Question 33). The mean for these responses was just 3.23, 3 being *moderate* proficiency.

[26] Because the respondents may be affiliated with more than one teacher, the amount of teachers is unknown and the percentages only reflect the 13 respondents' perceptions of their teachers.

5.3 Educators' attitudes and beliefs about indigenous languages

This section deals with the attitudes of the respondents regarding the language program. Of interest are perceptions and beliefs regarding access to the program, expansion of the program and how important, if at all, it is to offer the language.

5.3.1 Program access

Related to issues of identity and culture, discussed in 2.2, Question 11 concerned who is eligible to take the language class if one was offered. Are all students or only indigenous students allowed to enroll in the class (de Leon, 1997)? Or, are only indigenous students who are members of a tribe or nation that historically spoke the language able to take the language class (Barrett, 2006)? Table 8 shows the criteria for who can enroll in the courses in question. Of the schools sampled for this project, 11 (or 76%) of the 13 programs were open to all students at the school where it was offered, regardless of heritage or indigenous status. 2 programs had restricted access. A reason given for limiting access to only indigenous students was that funding for the program results from Title III and as such dedicated only for Native Americans. Neither of these respondents selected that they were against offering the language to non-indigenous students.

Table 8 Criteria for eligibility to enroll in the class (N = 13)

Any person in the community, including both students and non-students	1
Any student attending the school offering it	10
Only indigenous students	1
Only students who are enrolled members of the tribe that has historically spoken the language	1

Question 14 asked respondents, *how did the general public feel about the decision to offer the language to non-native students?* Table 9 shows the educators' responses. While one respondent reported that the public completely opposed teaching the language to non-indigenous students, 8 of 9 respondents believed that it was generally supported.

Table 9 Educators' perceptions of the attitudes by the general public regarding offering the language to non-indigenous students. (N = 9)[27]

no opinions were voiced	2
they completely opposed it	1
they moderately opposed it	0
there was equal support and opposition	0
they moderately supported it	1
they completely supported it	4
don't know	1

Finally, when asked about expanding the program so that it is offered in other schools in the district in Question 10, the majority strongly favored the idea (the sample mean was 4.45 on the scale with a standard deviation of .82).

5.3.2 Value of teaching the language

One of the key questions of this study, and arguably the most difficult to get accurate responses for, is: "How important is it to offer indigenous languages?" The subjects were informed that the questionnaire was confidential and it was hoped that they would feel comfortable speaking openly about some of the topics found in the study. As it is, the general

[27] Because all of the questions were optional, not all were answered by the respondents and so the number is lower than some of the other questions.

response to Question 29 was that teaching indigenous languages are at least *very important*. Table 10 shows the individual responses.

Table 10 Importance of offering an indigenous language (N = 13)

not important	0
of little importance	0
moderately important	0
very important	3
of the highest importance	10

The idea of the value and cultural connections of minority languages, which was discussed earlier in 2.2, was touched upon by some respondents. When asked, *do you think indigenous language education should be offered? Why or why not?* (Question 30), some discussed the cultural value and link that the language has to the community. This latter point will be explored further in 6.2.1.1.

Respondents who were affiliated with schools not currently offering an indigenous language program were asked: "Has your school or district considered offering an indigenous language?" (Question 34) As shown in Table 11, the bulk of the responses were "no". Only one of the respondents mentioned that there were active plans to add a program.

Table 11 School or district plans to start a program (N = 25)

yes, we are investigating options	1
yes, but we have no immediate plans	2
yes, but we are not able to at this time	4
we had a program before, but it has since ended	3
no	13
don't know	2

Now that all of the results have been presented, the following section will look at how they might inform the larger questions this study sought to answer. First, what languages are

taught in Washington state, and what do those programs look like (4.3.2)? Second, why are some languages taught while others are not (4.3.3)?

6 Discussion

In this section I attempt to answer the broad research questions that prompted this study: what language programs exist (6.1), and what are possible reasons for why a language program exists or not (6.2).

6.1 State of indigenous language programs in public K-12 schools

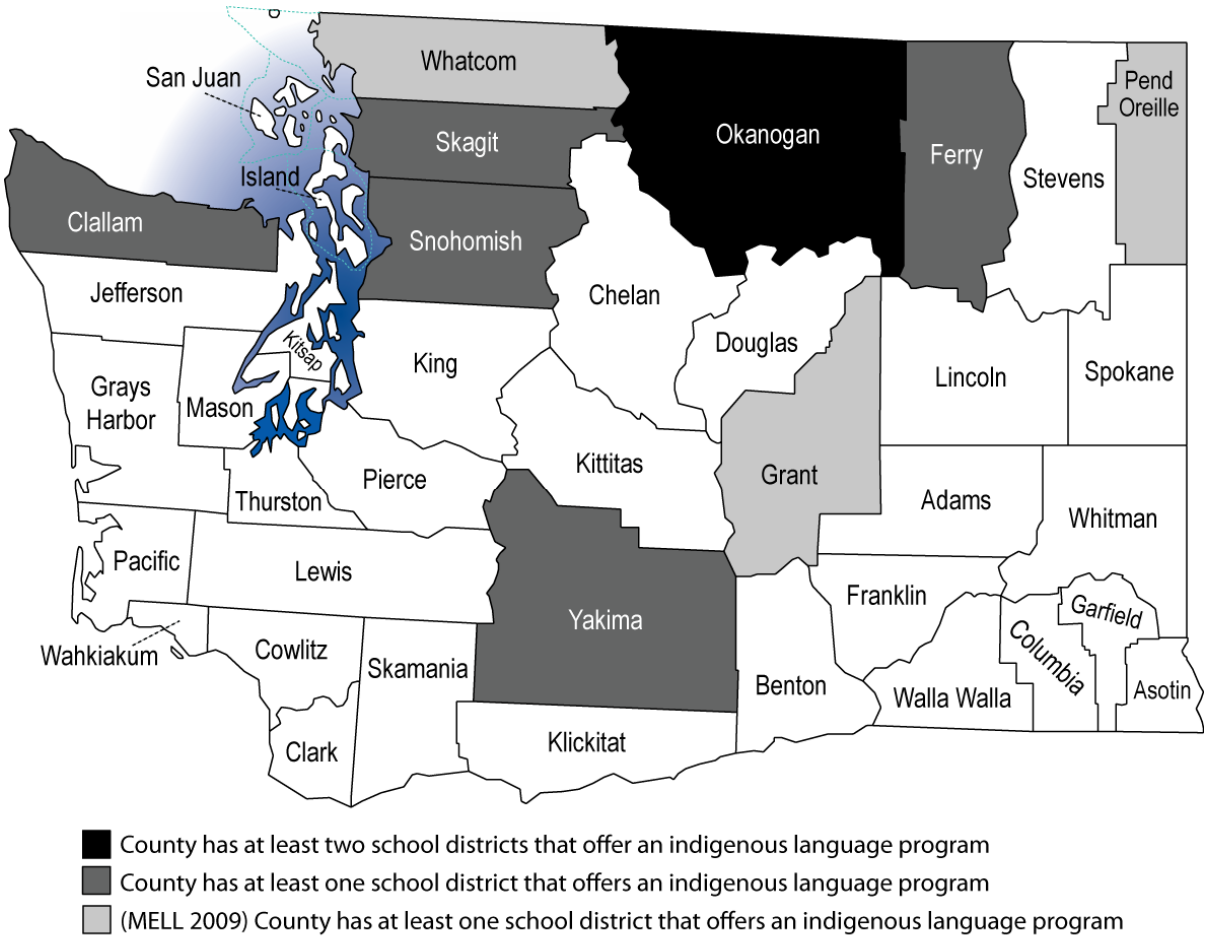
6.1.1 is an overview of existing programs and 6.1.2 will provide a brief sketch of what a program reported to this study generally looks like. In 6.1.3, this information will be analyzed in relation to the scarcity of programs, and some brief predictions will be made concerning the future of indigenous language programs in Washington state.

6.1.1 Locations of indigenous language programs

In this section, two maps will be presented that reflect the location of known programs in Washington state public schools. Both maps are based on the combined data of this study and research conducted by the MELL project (described in 3.3). The first map (Figure 12) shows which counties have a school district where an indigenous language is offered. The second map (Figure 13) shows the location of individual schools which offer an indigenous language. While these maps are incomplete due to the limitations of this study, they are the most complete figures currently available related to what indigenous language programs exist in Washington state public schools.

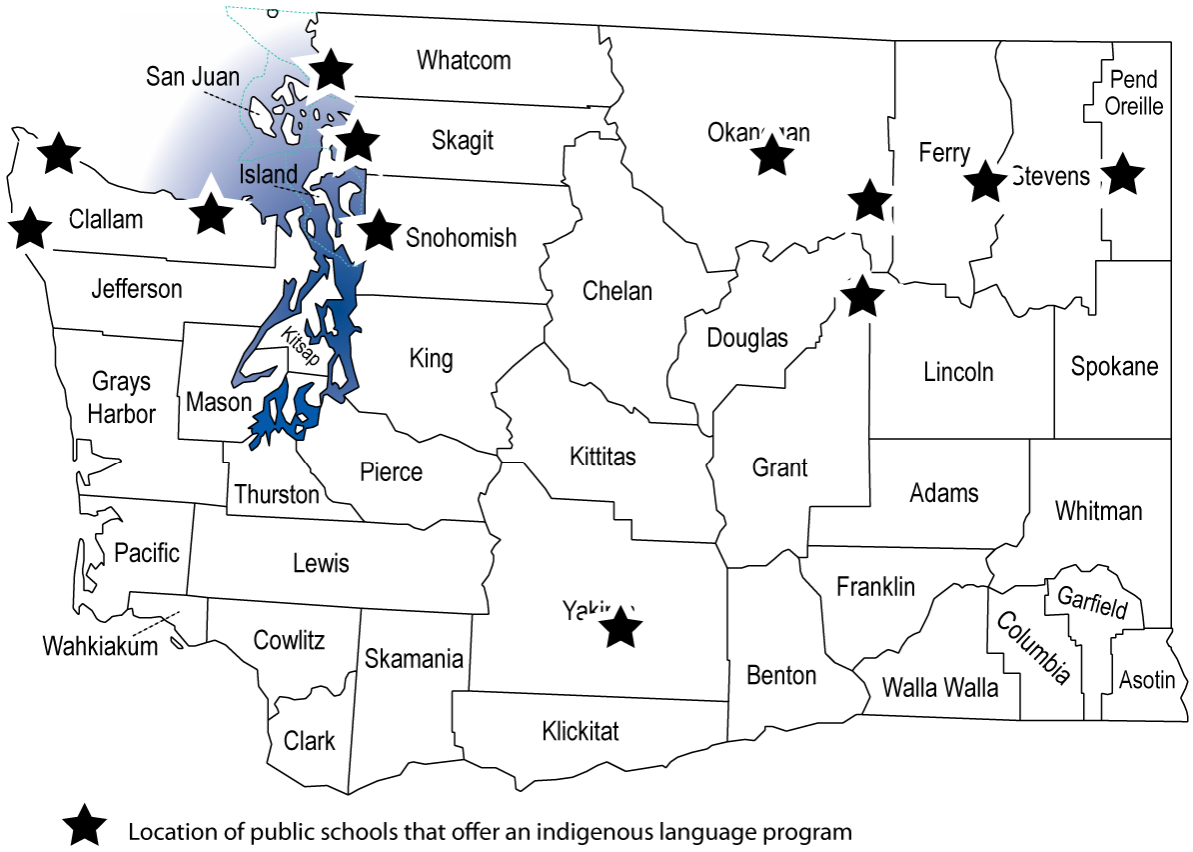
Figure 12 is a map of Washington state divided by counties. This map is organized in this manner in order to be consistent with the presentation of similar data by the MELL project. The single black shaded county had respondents reporting at least two districts where programs are offered. Medium gray shaded counties have districts where an educator representing at least one district responded to this survey and reported that they offer an indigenous language. Light gray shaded counties had programs offering a "native language" reported to the 2009 MELL study.

Figure 12 **Washington state counties that have school districts which offer an indigenous language program**



The next map (Figure 13) shows the locations of the individual schools known to offer a program. Except for the schools in Yakima county, all are located in the northern half of the state. While future research is needed to fully explain this northern tendency, one possibility is that most of the languages in 'the southern region of the northwest' (northwest coast region) were extinct as early as the late 20th century (Thompson & Kinkade, 1990). Another reason may be the proximity to Canada (especially British Columbia) which has a comparatively more active formal education policy for indigenous languages (FPHLCC, 2010).

Figure 13 **Map of Washington state public schools that offer an indigenous language program**



If a historical comparison is made with the results of this study and the MELL study, only 6 of the 24 languages at time of contact (3.1) are known to have programs now: Lushootseed, Makah, Okanagan, Quileute, Sahaptin, and Straits Salish. Based solely on the data from this study, it is possible that more languages than these are currently offered. This is because some respondents listed the language being taught as "Salish", which is a language family and could refer to a variety of languages (see Figure 1). Salish languages of Washington state that had a few older speakers in the early 1990s were Northern Straits, Clallam, Lushootseed, Quinault, Upper and Lower Chehalis, and Cowlitz. Those that were

believed to be extinct in the early 1990s included Twana and Nooksack (Goddard & Sturtevant, 1996).

6.1.2 Characteristics generally exhibited by the reported indigenous language programs

The indigenous language programs in Washington state public schools described by the respondents to this study have on average existed for about 14 years. They generally utilize a traditional approach to classroom instruction (5.1) and allow both indigenous and non-indigenous students to enroll. They are generally offered more often to high school or elementary students than to students enrolled at a middle school[28]. The primary method of assessment is oral and standardized assessment of any kind is uncommon. Finally, on average, the reported programs were believed to be only *moderately successful* (a mean of 3.23 on the 5 point scale) in meeting their declared goals (5.1).However, it appears that these indigenous language programs generally deviate in other areas from more-commonly-taught languages which also use a traditional approach (e.g., Spanish, French, etc). For example, the reported indigenous language programs are likely to have a dominant pedagogical focus on culture, as opposed to grammar or literacy. These programs often lack materials and other resources, including textbooks and native speakers.

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[28] A more theoretical concern is the notion of acquisition. Recent language acquisition research (Herschensohn, 2007) has shown some potential benefits for exposing children to a language earlier in their life, and should be considered when planning which grade levels a program is offered to.

6.1.3 Program scarcity

Indigenous language programs appear to be rare in Washington state public schools. This study learned of only 8 districts[29], out of a total of 56 which were contacted, that offer an indigenous language. As for individual public schools, 17 schools were reported by the respondents to this study as having a program[30]. To put this number into perspective with non-indigenous languages in the state, MELL's 2009 survey of public high schools shows that while indigenous languages are offered in as many schools as less-commonly-taught languages, such as Latin, Russian or Arabic, the total number of indigenous programs is less than one-tenth of the total for the next most-commonly taught language (American Sign Language) (MELL, 2009a). Crucially, the creation of new programs does not seem likely (5.3.2). Most programs are over a decade old, and only three of the reported public schools offering a program were started more recently than 10 years ago (5.1). Only one respondent mentioned having any plans to start a program.

6.2 Why do some public schools have indigenous language programs and others do not?

As outlined above in 6.1, there appears to be few indigenous language programs in Washington state. This section seeks further understanding of why there are only a few programs. Why do some indigenous languages have programs while others do not? Also, if a language has a program or two in a public school, why are there not more? The results of this survey highlight two primary factors which seem to apply to these questions. The first

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[29] Approximately 13 total districts are known to offer a program if the MELL data is included.

[30] Approximately 23 total schools are known to offer a program if the MELL data is included.

factor is the attitudes regarding indigenous language education and revitalization efforts held by the educators responding, and to some degree beliefs about the attitudes of policy makers and community members (2.1), which appear to have a largely positive influence, and will be discussed in 6.2.1. The second factor is institutional support (2.1.2), and will be the focus in 6.2.1.2.2 and 6.2.2. In general, there is a lack of resources for indigenous language programs, which has a negative effect on the likelihood of a program existing. However, some forms of formal support (e.g., legislation) appear to be having a positive effect.

6.2.1 Attitudes about indigenous language education in Washington state

Attitudes regarding language can be complicated and have a variety of effects on language policy and revitalization efforts (this is discussed in more detail in 2.2). In the responses, a connection was often made between culture and language. This connection may have a positive effect on the likelihood of a program existing or being maintained, but it may also present some risks or negative effects. Attitudes related to the link between language and culture will be discussed further in 6.2.1.1. Finally in 6.2.1.2, there will be a brief discussion of attitudes related to out-groups.

6.2.1.1 Culture & language

A perceived link between language and culture, such that the vitality of a language can affect the vitality of its related culture, is a common theme found in the literature (2.2). This perceived link and how it relates to indigenous language education is the focus of this subsection. 6.2.1.1.1 briefly explores some possible connections between culture and positive language value. Following this is a discussion of how this perceived connection may be

related to resources (6.2.1.1.2), program access (6.2.1.1.3) and classroom pedagogy (6.2.1.1.4).

6.2.1.1.1 Culture and positive language value

One way a perceived cultural connection to language may positively influence the likelihood of an indigenous language being offered is as a group motivator or rallying point. For example, many respondents argued that since there is a link between language and culture, if a language dies the culture may die with it. Most North American indigenous languages do not have much economic value yet may have a strengthened status variable for cultural and historical reasons (2.1.1). This perceived value of the language for its cultural importance may have a positive effect on the likelihood of a program being offered (2.2). Thompson & Kinkade (1990) suggest that it was a renewal in pride regarding indigenous languages which played a large role in a surge of language programs in the 1960s.

6.2.1.1.2 Culture and resources

One common problem for most of these programs is a lack of resources (this topic will be explored further in 6.2.2). Textbooks, audio files, dictionaries, trained instructors and especially native speakers are rarely available and materials are of generally poor quality (5.2.3). Core linguistic pedagogy, such as grammar, literacy, phonology, etc., requires an instructor with a fair level of training and knowledge of the language or, if nothing else, properly designed materials. Since these types of training and resources appear to be fairly rare, it may seem to be a more practical alternative to construct a large portion of the instruction around culturally oriented or “simplified” language. For example, a teacher could design lessons which include vocabulary and phrases specific to a cultural topic, event, or

activity (e.g., plant vocabulary for a hike, clothing, regional geography, etc.). It could be argued that emphasizing the cultural over the linguistic could have a negative effect on the chances of the program resulting in speakers with substantial fluency in the language (this issue will be explored in 6.2.1.1.4). Yet, if the resources are not present to offer a more pedagogically-robust program, culturally-oriented classrooms may be a much-better-than-nothing alternative.

6.2.1.1.3 Culture and program access

Another positive effect of a perceived link between culture and language is in program access, which in turn may influence the likelihood of a program existing. Some respondents commented that teaching indigenous languages is a good method for exposing non-indigenous people to the culture and history of each tribe. One respondent made an explicit note to label indigenous languages as "world languages" (Table 4, 2.2.1), stating that "by learning a world language everyone has a chance to experience a 'world view' that can't be translated to English". The importance of teaching a respective language to anyone, regardless of tribal affiliation, was a common theme expressed by respondents in the optional comments. As a relatively recent example of classroom makeup and access in a Washington state school, non-indigenous students made up more than half of a classroom in Spokane in 1997 where the Spokane dialect of Salish was being taught. It was argued that an interest in learning more about the local indigenous culture was a primary reason for their attendance (de Leon, 1997). In fact, the majority of programs described for this study allowed non-indigenous students to enroll. For the two programs that do not allow non-indigenous students access, stipulations accompanying the funding was given as the reason for this

decision[31]. None of the respondents stated they were against offering the language to all students. Some potential benefits of open access to all students include the cultural understanding discussed above, more potential speakers, and a larger number of potential students at each school. This latter benefit may be related to the likelihood of a program being offered. If a language program is open to any student then the possible enrollment pool extends beyond the indigenous students culturally related to a language in question at a particular school, and with more students there may be an increase in the level of demand.

While all of the respondents felt that it was very important to teach these indigenous languages, particularly resonant was that a major benefit of teaching the language, in addition to the reinforcement of the related culture, is a positive effect on indigenous student identity (2.2). One respondent specifically commented that some cultural values cannot be divorced from language, and another stressed that a language program is one of the most effective means of preserving the identity of indigenous peoples. There was a clear concern that various entities, such as the federal government, putting official restrictions on language use (2.1.2) as well as a diminishing of general cultural ties for indigenous students (2.2.3) have had negative effects on the vitality of the language in addition to student identity. Some respondents argued that for these languages and cultures to survive, acceptance and respect are both a necessity, particularly from the younger generations of the indigenous communities. It was suggested that this acceptance and respect may be taught in the classroom, and that they both can reinforce student identity and self-esteem. One respondent noted that improving students' self-esteem was one method of determining whether their

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[31] In one case funding was allotted for heritage learners only, while another school stated the restriction was due to Title III funding, which may refer to the following document: (OELA, 2008).

language program was successful (2.2.3). However, this idea of using a language program to teach culture and identity may have complications which will be explored further in the next section (6.2.1.1.4).

6.2.1.1.4 Culture in the classroom

As discussed above, the perception that language is important to culture may have a positive influence on the likelihood of a program being offered. However, along with the potential benefits (6.2.1.1.2), this belief may have risks or even negative effects when it takes a dominant role in the classroom. On the questionnaire for this study, culture was on average the most emphasized factor in the classroom (Figure 3). When asked about the ideal outcome for students completing their program, a strong majority of respondents noted the goal of their students learning about culture and enhancing their identity through understanding of the culture and positive self-esteem, while language fluency or linguistic skills was underrepresented. House (2002) saw a similar focus on culture with a Navajo language revitalization program and cautions that although culture is important, the purpose of these courses is to develop proficiency in the language and placing too much of an emphasis on culture can detract from actual language learning.

The concern about the practical application of the language and culture extends outside of the classroom as well. Respondents to this study indicated that the majority of outside domains where the language could be used were cultural events (Table 6). As discussed in 2.2.1, these domains are important, but without support for the language in other community domains, ceremonial domains on their own are unlikely to be sufficient to maintain, let alone revitalize the language.

6.2.1.1.5 Summary

The link between culture and language appears to have positive effects on indigenous language programs by increasing the perceived value of marginalized languages (6.2.1.1.1), providing alternatives to those with limited resources (6.2.1.1.2), and as an argument for increased access (6.2.1.1.3). Although culture-oriented instruction may be preferable to nothing (6.2.1.1.2), if student fluency in the language is a goal, a pedagogical balance should be struck between culture, grammar, literacy, speech, etc. (6.2.1.1.4). In other words, perhaps it should be periodically reassessed whether the purpose of a respective program is for language education or cultural education. Finally, of vital importance is to recognize the need for diverse domains, beyond those which are cultural and ceremonial, in the local communities that can support authentic communication (2.1).

6.2.1.2 In-group and out-group attitudes with regards to the economic and social status of indigenous languages

Moving beyond the topic of language and culture, the focus of this section is on how the results from this study may highlight some attitudes concerning indigenous languages, their status, and related formal educational programs (2.2) held by both in- and out-groups. Of primary interest is how these attitudes may affect program existence. 6.2.1.2.1 contains a brief analysis of how the status of indigenous languages may be changing in Washington state public schools as well as attitudes concerning them with regards to non-indigenous languages. In 6.2.1.2.2 the topic of control and interaction is raised. Specifically, how do the respondents feel about various groups (both from within and without the indigenous communities) having control of or participating in the programs? 6.2.1.2.3 contains a brief evaluation of how the value of these indigenous languages may be changing in the

educational domain and whether these changes may have an effect on current and potential future programs.

6.2.1.2.1 Indigenous and non-indigenous language education

This section briefly looks at how the status (including the value) of indigenous languages may relate to non-indigenous languages and associated policies. There appears to be an effort to equalize the status of indigenous languages in relation to other non-English languages taught in Washington state public schools. Some of this work is supported by utilizing certain terminology (e.g., "heritage mother tongue"), systems or even forms of access (6.2.1.1.3). For example, traditional classroom instruction (5.1) (as opposed to weekend classes, community offered courses, immersion camps, etc.) is the most common type for the programs described by the respondents. The traditional setting places an indigenous language in-step with recent Washington state legislation, and on similar symbolic footing as other more commonly-taught languages (e.g., Spanish, Chinese, French) in the school domain (Wiley, 2005). Although it is not clear what the ideal language education situation is (e.g., immersion vs. community-based) (FPHLCC, 2010), the prominence of traditional education could be considered a positive trend for the following reasons. Traditional courses offer regularly scheduled classes, increased eligibility for college entrance equivalency (3.4), as well as access to funds generally slated for other more dominant languages. The traditional classroom setting may also be well suited to train students in ways that can be transferred to larger societal roles (e.g., official education and "institutional completeness"), particularly in out-group domains (e.g., colleges and universities) (Landry, et al., 2007). All of these changes and efforts may help equalize the perceived status of indigenous languages in relation to other commonly taught languages.

6.2.1.2.2 Formal and informal support

There is some interplay between some of the attitudes regarding a language (e.g., status of the language) and the type(s) of institutional support (2.1.2) associated with it. Over the past few years formal support (i.e., support from the state or other official entities) for these languages in Washington state has seen some positive incremental steps in the form of legislation (6.2.1.2.2.1). The responses to this survey also suggest that the informal, or local, support for these languages seems to be fairly strong and this type of support will be focused on in 6.2.1.2.2.2.

6.2.1.2.2.1 Legislation

Some of the responding educators were aware of recent legislative efforts regarding indigenous languages and education (5.2.1), and these efforts have apparently had a positive influence on program expansion. One example of action stemming from this formal support is the expansion of programs to the high school level in order to take advantage of the change in the college language requirement outlined in Washington state senate bill 5269 (3.4). However, while there is some knowledge of the bill by these respondents, it is by no means universal. In order for this legislation to be most effective, K-12 educators as well as college admissions administrators need to be made aware of it. If colleges and universities assisted in the promotion of this information, that effort may have an added positive effect on the value of the language in a majority domain. Perhaps these changes and increased enrollment in the K-12 setting may eventually translate into programs at some of Washington's higher

education institutions[32]. Dorian (1987) suggests that changing official positions on languages can affect local attitudes, so these developments are welcome, but as discussed earlier (2.2.1), top-down efforts can be risky and should not be the sole focus of revitalization and maintenance programs.

6.2.1.2.2.2 Local control

Even though many of the respondents could be considered as being affiliated with the larger out-group (e.g., a non-indigenous superintendent) and while out-group or "top-down" control was generally acknowledged as being positive, their responses showed a clear preference for local networks (Figures 9-11) and local control (2.2.1). One respondent suggested that there "should be a school board decision for each school district" concerning whether an indigenous language should be offered or not. In fact, for entities or groups in a support related role with regards to these programs (e.g., the local community, the OSPI, etc) the weaker the connection with the community associated with the language, the less involved and helpful the entity was perceived to be by the respondents. This is consistent with much of the literature which supports local control, while simultaneously recognizing the importance and dangers of out-group influences (2.2.1). This favoring of local support (communities, etc) may improve the situation by strengthening and expanding connections and support outside of the school domain. Strong local, as well as out-group, support can have a positive effect on the likelihood of an indigenous language program existing.

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[32] Two indigenous languages known to have been taught at a Washington state college or university relatively recently, include Sahaptin which is currently offered at Heritage University (Heritage University, 2010), and Lushootseed which was taught at the University of Washington until the mid 1980s, with most students being identified as non-indigenous (Thompson & Kinkade, 1990).

6.2.1.2.3 Prestige with regards to social and economic language status

Another issue related to the likelihood of a language being offered is prestige. Of particular interest is how state action may be driven by the status of an indigenous language, and in return how official action may affect the status of the language in positive or negative ways. It may be the case that the recent legislation (3.4) allowing the language to be used for college entrance improved the economic and general status of the language. Respondents reported that this new utility of the language has influenced decision making with regards to program emphasis and expansion. While the status of indigenous languages in Washington state is arguably very low outside of their respective community and linguists, they do appear to have some value in the domain of education. If the prestige and status of indigenous languages increases in the educational (or a politically associated) domain then it should have a positive effect on program existence.

That being said, the attention on economic and social status should not be limited to the educational domain. While there appears to be no lack of interest on behalf of the respondents, and the majority strongly favored expanding their current program to other school, some of the additional comments provided by respondents referred to a lack of demand (2.2.3) as a reason for why their district or school does not offer a program. As mentioned in 6.2.1.1.3, one way of potentially altering the level of demand is by increased access and promotion to non-indigenous students. However, it seems likely that the level of demand has a stronger connection to a school's surrounding community and other non-education related entities. Perhaps an expanded level of awareness concerning education policies and options could be further communicated to non-educational entities to help

bolster support and increase the likelihood of future program creation as well as current program support.

6.2.2 Resources

The previous discussion on attitudes and status is also related to the issue of resources. The level of status and support an indigenous language has may have an effect on the amount of certain kinds of resources a program has access to. Based on the responses to the study, resources are a weak area for these indigenous language programs. A lack of resources was explicitly referred to by some respondents in the additional comments as a reason why their school or district does not currently offer a program. As specific examples, respondents mentioned that their schools had to end programs due to either a loss of financial support (2.1.2.1), school closure or lack of native speakers (2.1.2.3).

The results highlight two crucial issues beyond finances: a lack of materials for classroom use (6.2.2.1) and a lack of native speakers (6.2.2.2).

6.2.2.1 Lack of materials

A common problem which may affect the scarcity of programs (6.1.3) is the lack of materials available for teaching. While the materials the reported programs do have are believed to generally be of good quality, the reality is that very few materials are available. Even those which might be considered standard for more commonly taught language programs are lacking: audio files, dictionaries, and teacher's text books. Student textbooks were the least available type of material and when they did exist they were noted as being of the lowest quality. This is unfortunate, but reasonable as the time and financial constraints for the development and production of such a product is substantial. Also, of all the materials

surveyed, interest in acquiring student textbooks was the lowest. Although no explanations for their lack of interest were provided by the respondents[33], perhaps the lack of interest in textbooks in particular is related to the higher interest, on average, in digital materials, including e-books, software and video. Perhaps, it may be due to a recognition of the poor likelihood of a textbook being made available compared to other materials.

Material availability may also play a role in the pedagogical emphasis a program takes (6.2.1.1.4). For example, the lack of printed materials may explain why literacy is, on average, the least emphasized area of language education for the reported programs (Figure 3) (5.1). However, while there was little interest in student textbooks specifically, some respondents noted in the optional comments a desire for any other type of book written in the language in question, with even hymnals or prayer books being sufficient. Some programs have taken it upon themselves and have attempted to meet this need. For example, North Omak Elementary had produced a trilingual children's book which included a "Salishan" language (Omak, 2009), and high school students in a Makah language program translated a children's book into Makah from English (Pascua, 2010).

6.2.2.2 Lack of native speakers

Another factor that may have a negative effect on the number of programs is the absence or lack of awareness of native speakers of these indigenous languages. While native speakers are an incredibly valuable resource and could serve as models for language

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[33] Because of the length of the survey, having additional optional comment questions to follow up on the questions regarding material resources did not seem as crucial as some others, and as such was trimmed to reduce the time required of the respondents.

instruction, 38% of the respondents were unaware of how many native speakers were in their school's community. This could be because many of the respondents were administrators and may not be closely involved with the program in question. Although awareness was low, the perceived value of native speakers was emphasized; they were rated one of the most helpful groups (5.2.2). In fact, the loss of a native speaker was given as a reason for why one program ended.

6.2.2.3 Summary of resources

The situation for these programs with regards to resources is problematic. The lack of native speakers will likely only get worse as time goes on. If these programs, which may be one of a handful of domains, if not the only consistently active domain, for their respective languages, do not have access to native speakers and neither the program nor any other entity is producing enough new speakers than this situation will only worsen. It should be reiterated that solely relying on the formal educational programs to produce new speakers is risky and likely to fail (2.2). Yet, these programs may still play a crucial role in producing the next generation of teachers of the respective languages and should not be ignored by policy makers.

On the other hand, the lack of resources may be approached from many different angles and with respect to various entities. Beyond the materials that require technical or linguistic expertise. Formal entities, such as the state, can provide more consistent funding and other forms. Even non-profit organization and community members could participate in the creation of certain kinds of materials (multimedia, design, manufacturing, etc). In addition, the establishment of stronger network ties between programs and interested entities may allow for better sharing of materials and collaboration.

6.3 Summary

The main findings of this thesis are that formal indigenous language education in the state's public schools appears to be rare, as only 17 public schools were reported as offering a program. Potential reasons why so few programs exist may be related to a lack of basic resources and reliable funding sources. While over this time period there have been improvements in the areas of institutional support and access to technology, they have apparently not been enough to offset the decline in native speakers. Attitudes are generally positive regarding indigenous language education, but this does not appear to have much of an influence on the likelihood of a program being offered.

7 Conclusion

The main contribution of this thesis has been to gather new data on state-funded indigenous language instruction in Washington state. Although this study was relatively small in scope, the data will be useful to those wanting to learn more about the current status of indigenous language education in Washington state, and particularly what the attitudes held by some of the educators directly involved with it are. This thesis concludes with some recommendations for policy makers and educators in 7.1. In 7.2 there will be some ideas for future research on this subject.

7.1 Recommendations for sustaining or revitalizing indigenous languages in Washington state public schools

Indigenous language programs in Washington state appear to have some complications that are hindering their performance and development, such as resources. It is

apparently the case that communities and schools have not been able to educate students to the degree that there is a stable population of new native speakers of these indigenous languages. Based on the concerns raised in §6 above, the following few sections contain some suggestions that may help to improve the situation.

7.1.1 Expand awareness and network ties among programs and communities

One possible approach is to increase understanding and awareness of the problem beyond the scope of each individual program. The more that is known about the situation, the better the chances are for implementing effective solutions to the problems these programs face (e.g., a lack of resources). Language programs require substantial amounts of money, time and effort which alone justify careful, yet expedient, planning for both the long and short term.

A potential side benefit for revitalization and stabilization efforts for these languages is the creation of communal social identities between various indigenous populations (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Group identity can be strengthened by educators and community activists if they share successes in areas of cultural/linguistic maintenance and education (McCarty, 1998). Such communication may be conducted via the internet or at conferences like the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium or the International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages. These networks may also lead to more robust and effective political actions.

7.1.2 Increase resource availability

Another option is to find sources and entities that could assist in the acquisition or creation of additional pedagogical resources. As discussed in 6.1.3, the creation of new

programs does not appear likely. Instead, the most probable form of growth would seem to be via the expansion of current programs, but for this to happen, sufficient institutional support (especially financial) is crucial. However, expansion is less likely if the existing program has resource deficiencies. It seems that some of the programs that have survived so far have done so by adapting and making the best of the limited resources that are available (Johnson, 2010; Pascua, 2010; Underriner, 2010). These efforts will likely need to be spearheaded by local groups as the responses to this study suggested a lack of interest in outside help from out-groups (e.g., academia). The respondents to this study were only slightly interested in having language acquisition specialists assisting in the creation of materials (5.2.2). The reasons for this lack of interest may be related to the preference for local control, but would need further study to confirm why this is the case.

7.1.3 Work with formal and informal institutional support entities to promote the value of indigenous languages

Finally, an increase in the perceived value of these languages appears to influence work on language policy and educational efforts (6.2.1.2.3). Expanded and continued efforts regarding institutional support may help to boost the status of these languages (6.2.1.2).

7.2 Future research

This section contains some ideas for what could be done next in order to get a more accurate picture of the current situation in Washington state with regards to indigenous language education. Because the sampling methods used for this study were unsuitable for a quantitative statistical analysis, a follow up study with a statistically viable random sample could investigate whether economic, demographic (e.g., indigenous and non-indigenous

population), geographic (e.g., a school's proximity to tribal lands) and rural/urban factors have an effect on the likelihood of a program existing. For collecting responses from a random sample an online questionnaire will not likely be sufficient, and arranging telephone and/or face to face meetings may be required. It could also be useful to survey the effectiveness of these programs as well as student attitudes. In addition, a detailed audit of resources, such as curriculum, materials and teacher training could provide helpful information for highlighting larger patterns of strengths and weaknesses. Another direction to take would be to do a comparative investigation of nearby states and provinces. For example, the recent report from the First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council of British Columbia (FPHLCC, 2010) could be compared with, or even expanded upon in Washington state.

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9 Appendix

9.A The Questionnaire

Question 1

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

INFORMATION FORM

Investigators:

Russell Hugo, Department of Linguistics, rlhugo@u.washington.edu

*Please note that we cannot guarantee the confidentiality of information sent via e-mail.

Investigators' statement

We are asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this information form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether or not to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. You may email me and ask questions about the purpose of the research, what we would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not.

PURPOSE

This study has two goals:

1) To discover what Amerindian/Native American/First Nation/Indigenous languages are offered in public schools in Washington state.

2) To look for factors that determine why certain indigenous language programs in Washington state are offered and others are not.

PROCEDURES

If you choose to be in this study, please fill out the questionnaire. This will take about 5-15 minutes. It asks about language programs in your school/district and your opinions regarding language education. The interview has questions about facts, such as:

Does your school or district offer a Native American language?

Please answer such questions to the best of your knowledge.

The interview also has questions which are more concerned with your opinion, such as:

How would you feel about language specialists working with your school on curriculum development?

(not in support of) 1 2 3 4 5 (in support of)

For questions like these, we are interested in your opinions. We understand that you may not speak for your school or district and your name and school will not be connected to your response in any way. Your answer on this and any similar questions will be conpletely confidential and not linked to you in the final report.

You do not have to answer every question.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

This is an anonymous questionnaire. Your responses are not linked to your name.

BENEFITS

You may not directly benefit from taking part in the focus group or research. However, we hope that the results of this study will help you and others know more about what indigenous language programs exist in Washington state and what factors influence choices regarding indigenous language education. Hopefully, this information could be used to help existing and future programs prosper further.

OTHER INFORMATION

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You can stop at any time. Information you provide is confidential. The information is not linked to your name. If you have any questions, you can ask me now or later. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you can call the University of Washington Human Subjects Division (206) 543-0098. You can keep this Information Form for your records.

- I give my permission for the researcher to use my responses in the study and final printed report.
- I do NOT give my permission for the researcher to use my responses in the study and final printed report.

Question 2

What is the name of your school or district?:

Question 3

What is your role at the school or in the district?

- I'm a principal
- I'm a superintendent
- I'm a teacher
- I'm an administrator or coordinator
- Other:

Question 4

Are you a member of a tribe or First Nation?

- Yes
- No

Question 5

(For simplicity, "indigenous language" will be used to describe Amerindian/Native American/First Nation/Indigenous to Washington state languages for the rest of the survey.)

Does your school or district offer any indigenous language classes?

- Yes (Logic destination (LD): Question 6)
- No (LD: Question 34)

Question 6

What indigenous language do you offer?

(If you offer more than one, you will have the opportunity to share that information following this question.)

Question 7

How long has this language been offered?

Question 8

To what grade levels do you offer the language above?

(Please check all years that it is offered.)

- PreK
- K
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11

- 12
- Other:

Question 9

What type(s) of language program(s) is used to teach the language? (check all that apply)

- Traditional classroom instruction (about 5 hours/week, all year long)
- Extended classroom period (fewer classes per week, longer periods)
- Trimester schedule (one year's content is covered in 1or 2 trimesters)
- FLES (Foreign Language in the Elementary School - about 1-3 hours/week)
- FLEX (Foreign Language Experience -- language and culture)
- Full immersion (entire day spent in non-English classroom)
- Partial immersion (half-day English/half-day immersion)
- Dual language immersion (half-day English/half-day immersion; students about 50/50 native speakers of English and immersion language)
- Advanced Placement (AP) Language courses, International Baccalaureate, or College in the High School
- Heritage Language or Literacy program (describe below)
- Before or after-school language program
- Community-based language learning (e.g., Chinese Language School)
- Other types of programs, such as Online Learning (describe below):

Question 10

If resources were not an issue, how would you feel about the language in question being offered in other schools in the school district?

- 1 (strongly against)
- 2 (against)
- 3 (neither for nor against)
- 4 (in favor of)
- 5 (strongly in favor of)
- All of the schools already offer it.

Question 11

Who can enroll in these language classes?

- Any student in the district (LD: Question 14)
- Only indigenous students (LD: Question 12)

- Only students who are enrolled members of the tribe that has historically spoken the language (LD: Question 12)
- Any person in the community, including both students and non-students (LD: Question 14)
- Other: (LD: Question 15)

Question 12

What were the reasons for not offering the language to non-indigenous students? (check all that apply)

- I don't know
- The idea was never considered
- The idea was too controversial
- Not enough interest shown by the students
- Not enough interest shown by the parents
- Not enough interest shown by the administration
- Not enough space available
- Not enough money
- The program is focused on heritage learners only
- Other:

Question 13

If resources were not an issue, how would you feel about the language in question being offered to non-native students?

- 1 (strongly against)
- 2 (against)
- 3 (neither in favor of, nor against)
- 4 (in favor of)
- 5 (strongly in favor of)
- Other:

Question 14

How did the general public feel about the decision to offer the language to non-native students?

- I don't know

- No opinions were voiced
- 1 (they completely opposed it)
- 2 (they moderately opposed it)
- 3 (there was equal support and opposition)
- 4 (they moderately supported it)
- 5 (they completely supported it)
- Other:

Question 15

Please feel free to explain your answers regarding offering the language in more schools or to non-indigenous students:

(If you do not wish to write anything, you may skip this question.)

Question 16

Regarding the indigenous language program in your school/district, indicate how much emphasis is placed on teaching the following areas:

- The cultural aspects of the language?
- The grammar of the language?
- Conversation in the language?
- Reading/writing in the language?

(For each category respondents were asked to select a value on this scale.)

  - 1 (No emphasis)
  - 2 (little emphasis)
  - 3 (moderate emphasis)
  - 4 (fairly strong emphasis)
  - 5 (strong emphasis)

Question 17

Indicate what methods of assessing students' progress in your indigenous language programs are used:

- Written (paper-based) tests

- Oral tests
- Computer based tests
- Other:

(For each category respondents were asked to select a value on this scale.)

  - Used, standardized
  - Used, not standardized
  - NOT Used

Question 18

How is the success of the program measured? Check all that apply.

- The percentage of students completing the program.
- Students are able to use the language outside of the classroom.
- Students have an academic understanding of the language.
- Students produce some materials (written, recorded, etc) in the language.
- Other (you can explain in the next question):

Question 19

If you selected OTHER above, please explain here.

(If not, please skip to the next question.)

Question 20

How effective do you believe the current program is in meeting the goals you selected in the question above regarding measuring the success of the program?

- 1 (not very effective)
- 2 (partially effective)
- 3 (moderately effective)
- 4 (very effective)
- 5 (completely effective)

Question 21

What opportunities exist for students to use this language outside of the classroom? (Check all that apply)

- Speaking to community members, such as relatives
- Writing programs
- Writing (computer based discussions)
- Language-immersion camps
- After-school classes
- Church
- Cultural events
- Community center programs
- I don't know
- Other:

Question 22

Approximately, how many adult native (fluent) speakers of the language in question are there (to the best of your knowledge) in the community?

- I don’t know
- 1 (none)
- 2 (1-2)
- 3 (3-5)
- 4 (6-25)
- 5 (26+)

Question 23

How involved are adult native (fluent) speakers in the classroom?

- I don’t know
- 1 (not involved)
- 2 (somewhat involved)
- 3 (moderately involved)
- 4 (strongly involved)
- 5 (completely involved)

Question 24

If you have any of the materials listed below, please rate their quality.

- Textbooks for each student
- Workbooks for each student
- Handouts
- Teacher's textbook
- DVD Video
- VHS Video
- Audio recordings
- Dictionary
- Computer-based software

(For each category respondents were asked to select a value on this scale.)

  - 1 (lowest quality)
  - 2 (lower quality)
  - 3 (moderate quality)
  - 4 (high quality)
  - 5 (highest quality)
  - Don’t have
  - I don't know

Question 25

How interested are you in having access to the following materials? (If you already have it, please check "already have".)

- Textbooks for each student
- Workbooks for each student
- Handouts
- Teacher's textbook
- DVD Video
- VHS Video
- Audio recordings
- Dictionary
- Computer-based software

(For each category respondents were asked to select a value on this scale.)

  - 1 (no interest)
  - 2 (very little interest)
  - 3 (moderate interest)
  - 4 (higher interest)

- 5 (strong interest)
- NA or Already have

Question 26

What materials not listed above do you wish you had access to?

(Please write the type (e.g., 'Book'), and the description (e.g., 'a full color dictionary'), if known.)

Question 27

At your school, how involved in indigenous language education are the following organizations?

- The Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI)
- The Washington OSPI's Office of Indian Education
- The local tribal community
- The local non-tribal community at large
- The native speakers of the language in question

(For each category respondents were asked to select a value on this scale.)

- I don't know
- 1 (not involved)
- 2 (somewhat involved)
- 3 (moderately involved)
- 4 (highly involved)
- 5 (completely involved)

Question 28

For the same organizations, please indicate how helpful their involvement in indigenous language education in your school/district is:

- The Washington Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI)
- The Washington OSPI's Office of Indian Education
- The local tribal community
- The local non-tribal community at large

- The native speakers of the language in question

(For each category respondents were asked to select a value on this scale.)

  - I don't know
  - 1 (not helpful)
  - 2 (of little help)
  - 3 (somewhat helpful)
  - 4 (very helpful)
  - 5 (exceedingly helpful)

Question 29

How important is it to offer indigenous languages?

1 (not important)
2 (of little importance)
3 (moderately important)
4 (very important)
5 (of the highest importance)

Question 30

Do you think indigenous language education should be offered? Why or why not?

Question 31

How familiar are you with the Washington state law which encourages higher education to grant Native American languages the equal credit value as foreign languages by "Establishing the first peoples' language, culture and history teacher certification program"? (SB 5269 - 2007-08)

- This is the first I've heard of it.http://apps.leg.wa.gov/billinfo/summary.aspx?bill=5269&year=2007
- I've heard of it before.
- I'm very familiar with it.

Question 32

Have the teachers for your language program undergone any teacher training?

- None
- General classroom training
- Language pedagogy (e.g., TESOL)
- Two-year degree
- Four-year degree
- Graduate level degree
- Other:

Question 33

For the main teacher of the language, what is her/his level of language proficiency in the language?

(If you are the teacher, please describe your own proficiency.)

- 1 (Beginner)
- 2 (Low)
- 3 (Moderate)
- 4 (High)
- 5 (Native or Native-like fluency)
- I don't know

Question 34

Has your school or district considered offering an indigenous language?

- Yes, we are planning on starting a program.
- Yes, but we have no immediate plans.
- Yes, but we are not able to at this time.
- No
- Other:

Question 35

In general, what are your opinions about educators at your school meeting/working with language acquisition specialists on any of the following? (This is not a solicitation.)

- Curricula
- Dictionaries

- Software
- Discuss current language acquisition theory
- Language pedagogy
- Assessment of student learning
- Research on the grammar of the language

(For each category respondents were asked to select a value on this scale.)

  - 1 (We prefer to handle things internally)
  - 2 (not very interested)
  - 3 (Might consider it)
  - 4 (Would be interested)
  - 5 (Strongly interested)
  - I don't know

Question 36

Do you offer a second indigenous language?

- Yes (LD: Question 37)
- No (LD: Question 40)

Question 37

What is the second indigenous language that you offer?

Question 38

How does the program for the second language differ from the first?

(e.g., Teacher training, type of classes, materials, etc.)

Question 39

To what grade levels do you offer the language above?

(Please check all years that it is offered.)

- PreK
- K
- 1

- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- Other:

Question 40

Would you like a copy of the study results?

- Yes (LD: Question 41)
- No (LD: Thank you)

Question 41

Please provide the email or mailing address that you would like the study results sent to below:

(Again, this survey is anonymous and your address will not be retained in connection your answers.)

Thank you (42)

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this survey.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

My name is Russell Hugo and I can be reached at rlhugo@u.washington.edu

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http://depts.washington.edu/lingweb/