

Kanyen'kéha: Awakening Community Consciousness

by

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Abstract

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This project represents the first documented community wide language survey in the Kanyen'kehaka (Mohawk people) territory of Kenhtè:ke. Language revitalization efforts began in this community over a decade ago and with no previous benchmark on which to evaluate the successes of the current programs, it was believed that completing this exercise would allow the community to successfully continue to rebuild the language and culture. There are currently three levels of formal language programs: preschool, primary and adult that are producing speakers at varying levels of proficiency. This is a huge step from a decade ago when language was at a very critical state with no known living mother tongue speakers in the community. The goal of this project is to investigate the importance of Kanyen'kéha to the people of Kenhtè:ke. This project is important to all stakeholders to evaluate efforts, attitudes and motivations to continue to build on current regeneration and revitalization efforts.

Dedication

For Fletcher

Wa'tkwanonhwerá:ton
We all welcome you

ó:nen kariwe's tsi nahe wa'akwaterhá:rate ne ahsenakerá:te
tsi yohwentsyàte.
We have waited a long time for you to be born here on Earth

Tekwanonhweratons tsi kenh ihse's
We all welcome you here

tok nikawennake
That is all

*An excerpt from the birth ceremony speech
in which I welcomed and introduced my grandson to Creation
on September 15, 2014*

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During ceremony we set aside time for kahretsyarónhsera (encouraging words). This academic journey has been a ceremony for me and I would like to encourage everyone to use

kind, gentle and encouraging words with each other as we find ways to live true to our original instructions.

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Introduction

Konwanonhsiyohstha yónkyats. Karahkwine Catherine Brant kénha¹ yontátyats ne Akenistenha tahnnon Lennox Hill kénha ronwá:yats ne Rakeniha. Wakenyahton Kanyen'kehá:ka niwakwenhontsyoten. Kenhtè:ke² nitewakenon, Kenhtè:ke kenekare.

Konwanonhsiyohstha, “they beautify her house” is what they call me, my traditional name given to me by my older sister. My deceased mother is Catherine Brant and my deceased father is Lennox Hill. I am Turtle clan of the Mohawk Nation. I am from Kenhtè:ke and that is where I live. In a more formal introduction I would continue on to tell you about my family, my children and who my grandparents are and so on. For the purpose of this paper I will say that both of my parents and all of my grandparents at least six generations back are Kanyen'kehá:ka³. I can trace my ancestry back to 1784 when my people, “the Mohawks of Fort Hunter” from the Mohawk Valley in Upper New York State, arrived at our resettlement at the Bay of Quinte, Ontario. This was a direct result of the American Revolution and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, which prompted our forcible removal from our native homelands (2010 Mohawk Landing brochure, MBQ Research Department). It is customary and respectful that before I address a group I place myself in relation to who I am within my family, clan and Nation.

¹ Kénha is a term used out of respect when mentioning the name of a person who has passed.

² Kenhtè:ke is the traditional name of “Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory”.

³ Kanyen'kehá:ka translates to “People of the flint” more commonly referred to as Mohawk.

Kanyen'kehá:ka are relational people. Our original instructions as given to us by the Creator include our relationship and our responsibility to the land, the cosmos and everything in between. These instructions embrace our oral traditions passed down by our ancestors and include our Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén⁴, our Creation Story and our cycle of ceremonies. All the teachings we received from the Creator revolve around our duty and responsibility to respect and live in harmony with everything that has been provided for our use in the natural world here on Mother Earth (Myers, 1984 p. 10). These original instructions are my worldview, my epistemology.

One of my earliest recollections of paying attention to my language and culture occurred when I was eight years old and I began to learn the traditional songs and dances of the Kanyen'kehá:ka. My grade three teacher, Lorraine Hill kénha, was the wife of Chief Earl R. Hill kénha, a very prominent figure in the language revitalization movement in Kenhtè:ke. Mrs. Hill obtained some audio taped music of our traditional social dances to which she taught us both the songs and the dances. She began to get requests from schools and organizations for us to perform. She made us each a buckskin outfit and we were off. It was a time of education of our ways in learning these traditional songs and dances and sharing this part of our heritage with those who were interested. It was at this same time, the early 70's when the Department of Indian Affairs was attempting to bring French language instruction into the federally operated day schools. The First Nations politicians began to organize because they were concerned about

⁴ Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén translates to “what we say before we do anything important” and is our way of greeting and acknowledging the Creator. This ceremony is typically done to open and close gatherings of people.

the on-reserve education being provided to Indian children. Chief Hill stood strong in his resolve that if the children in the community were going to learn a second language it wasn't going to be French! The result of the actions of Chief Hill and other political leader's was the policy paper "Indian Control of Indian Education" by the National Indian Brotherhood in 1972. These were the first steps taken in our community in what I now know as the revitalization and regeneration of language and culture. Since that time community language and cultural revitalization efforts have ebbed and flowed in Kenhtè:ke but it has been in the last decade that the community has seen dramatic results in the revival of Kanyen'kehaka'néha⁵.

Language revitalization, for the purpose of this project, refers to the development of programs that result in re-establishing a language to one that is used in all walks of life in a community. Language regeneration implies that with each generation the language is being nurtured and is growing. Language revitalization programs are essential to the regeneration of our language. Yet, for language programs to be truly successful there has to be community support. Community language immersion programs have the ability to revitalize our spoken word, however only the will and desire of community members can regenerate the language and our worldview. The goal of this project is to investigate the importance of Kanyen'kéha to the people of Kenhtè:ke. Since there have been no studies on this to date, there are no benchmarks from which to gauge success. This project is important to all stakeholders to evaluate efforts, attitudes and motivations to continue to build on current regeneration and revitalization efforts.

⁵ Refers to "the ways of the Kanyen'kehá:ka".

The most important understanding that has come out of my work on this project is the awareness that it is our worldview that we must revitalize through the conduit of our language. Through the loss of our language we have become disconnected from our relationship to everything in the natural world, and, our worldview. The manner in which we restore our language, to one of everyday usage, has to reflect our worldview. We cannot expect to adapt a foreign way of thinking (English) into a language that does not have such concepts and hope for a complete understanding of its (Kanyen'kéha) importance in our lives. To truly awaken community consciousness we need to revitalize our language through our worldview.

"I watched this happen in a group of 19 students, you have to change your entire way of thinking first before you can even start to learn the language, the way you understand language, the way you understand the world"

Tayoserón:tye, 2014

Language Revitalization in Kenhtè:ke

Some of the community's earliest historical documents indicate that one of the first wishes of the Chiefs upon our resettlement in 1784 was for a school-master and missionary who could speak Kanyen'kéha. "But those of the Mohawks who are gone to Kenti intend to remain there, in hopes of having the advantages of a Missionary, School-master and Church". (Extracts from Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; complete information for citation not available; this publication probably held by Diocese Office in Kingston, 1785, p.48). In 1843 Saltern Givens, missionary to the Mohawks stated:

"the teachers we have had, inform me, and I believe it to be the case, that the Indian children are quite as apt at learning (other things being equal) as the white children. Their ignorance of the English in which all the instructions in the Schools is given is a great impediment to their improvement; when they acquire it, their progress is satisfactory".

Givens was making efforts to secure funding to establish a residential school in Kenhtè:ke as in his words "the children should be removed to it at an early period, from the

injurious influence of their homes, and carefully and thoroughly reared in industrious and religious habits”(Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1847). In a 1921 letter written by C. C. Parker, Inspector, Indian Affairs, in reference to a General Council Meeting of the Kenhtè:ke chiefs that same year, for three hours they talked almost entirely in Mohawk, indicating that at that time Kanyen’kéha remained a language of business.(LAC RG10 Volume 7933, File 32-34 part 2 Reel C-13507). I believe that the 1920 amendments to the Indian Act legislation which included mandatory schooling for every Indian child between the ages of seven and sixteen years and the banning of hereditary rules of bands was a major defining factor in the declining Kanyen’kéha spoken in our homes and in our community. It is also possible that the invention of the radio in the 1930’s increased the prestige of English in our homes, further adding to the declining status of Kanyen’kéha. An area of further inquiry would be to look at the effects that the Depression (1929-1939) may have had on community life and the status of language use.

By the 1950’s it seems people were only quietly conversing amongst themselves in our mother tongue. During this period a friend remembers her mother and others chatting on a telephone party line and only speaking Kanyen’kéha so that anyone listening in would not understand them. My oldest sister, born in 1947, remembers a time when the neighbouring settlers learned basic Kanyen’kéha in order to do business with our people such as the buying and selling of eggs or milk. Both of my grandfathers, born in the late 1800’s were mother tongue speakers; my paternal grandmother was also a mother-tongue speaker, while my maternal

grandmother learned the language after her marriage to my grandfather. They all made the choice to not speak Kanyen'kéha to their children resulting in my parents not speaking the language. I am therefore three generations removed from a mother-tongue speaker. Karen Lewis, my oldest sister and our community librarian wonders "Does the distance from the speaker have anything to do with motivation to learn?" (personal communication Oct 15/13).

Today in Kenhtè:ke there are no mother-tongue speakers but there is a growing population of second language speakers and an emerging second generation of second language speakers. I use the term "second language" as a commonly understood term when English is the spoken language of the Indigenous community; Kanyen'kéha will always be considered my true first language.

In 1991 the Tyendinaga⁶ Mohawk Council hired a fluent speaker from a sister community to teach Kanyen'kéha as a core subject in the federally operated elementary school. In 1993 there was an initial effort by parents to open an immersion school that would be based in cultural knowledge. This school operated for two years with challenges of human and financial resources until closing in 1995.

⁶ Tyendinaga is the more commonly used English version of Kenhtè:ke.

In 1996-1997 we began to lose our Elder speakers which began the concern about the state of language in the community. As it was, the Elder speakers had not been using the language as their primary method of communication. Maybe they chose not to speak because there was nobody to speak to or maybe they chose not to speak because they could no longer speak the language proficiently. There is also the possibility that they chose not to speak because of associated trauma inflicted by Western thought that treated the language as useless. In response to the loss of the Elder speakers, a group of community members began to organize. This was in the late 1990's and the group consisted of community language activists who were parents, advocates and educators. They decided to kick start a language awareness campaign with a "language hero" dinner to which they extended an open invitation to the community. The idea was to celebrate a person who was making language a life-long priority. The event succeeded in raising the interest in the language and from this point, weekend and evening language programs began to be offered, along with fun family events to continue to promote the importance of language and culture.

In 2002 the group completed a long-term strategic plan for community language revitalization. Very simply put, the multifaceted plan was to begin with the adults, teach them to speak, provide them with teacher training, develop curriculum and open an immersion school for the children. All of the planning and organizing work was being done by volunteers who all had daytime jobs and only evenings and weekends to try to reach their goals so they soon realized

that they needed to hire staff. They decided on a name, Tsi Kionhnheht ne Onkwawén:na⁷ Language Circle, “keeping the words alive” and formed a volunteer board. In 2003 they applied for and received charitable status from Revenue Canada, a move made in order to operate independently including applying for funding. That year funding was received to hire a full-time coordinator. I was granted an interview but due to my inability to speak Kanyen’kéha, I was not successful. In 2004, however, I was approached by the coordinator who was resigning and was encouraged to apply for the job again. In September 2004 I took over the job as the only full-time employee, the same month that the inaugural full time adult language program was launched in the community.

The adult language program was developed as a community-based program but the benefits of being affiliated with a post-secondary institute soon became clear. Accreditation would provide the students the opportunity to gain post-secondary credits while making them eligible to receive a monthly stipend from the community’s post-secondary funding, which ended up playing a huge part in making it possible for the adult students to attend. Brock University was already providing a part-time language instructor for the program so having the support of strong allies at Brock University made a partnership agreement move ahead very quickly. TTO would retain control of program delivery which was an important factor in the partnership. Funding was obtained locally to hire three part-time mentors who were also enrolled

⁷ Tsi Kionhnheht ne Onkwawén:na is now known as Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na (TTO), a dialectic difference.

as students in the program. A “Certificate in Mohawk Language” was awarded to the successful students of the ten-month, eight credit program and the program was delivered in this format from 2004 to 2007.

However, after the first year, we began to hear from the students that ten months was not nearly long enough to gain any level of proficiency in the language and so we started to investigate other options. In September 2008 after many months of meetings, developmental work and planning, the first two-year Diploma in Mohawk Language - now known as Shatiwennakarátats⁸ - was offered in partnership with Trent University.

We had subsequently applied for funding for an immersion program for preschoolers and in the spring of 2008 we were notified of funding approval. After contracting the services of two fluent speakers from a sister community, we opened the doors to “Totáhne⁹ Language Nest”. This was an exciting time for language revitalization in the community as we were successfully producing proficient speakers across two generations concurrently. It was when the first group of Totáhne children were approaching school age that the parents, along with the staff, began planning for an immersion school. Several graduates of the 2008 Shatiwennakarátats cohort had continued on with their post-secondary education and subsequently enrolled in the Immersion

⁸ Shatiwennakarátats – translates as “they stand the words back up”.

⁹ Totáhne – translates as “at grandma’s place”.

Teacher Education Program offered by Queen's University and were enthusiastic to teach. In searching for funding for the program, several meetings were held with Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), who were hoping to convince TTO to work with them. However there were very apparent differences in the vision for the immersion school and what would be expected from AANDC therefore, in September 2011 Kawenna'ón:we Primary Immersion School, operating as a private school, was opened and ready to accept children from Kindergarten to grade 4.

The curriculum for Kawenna'ón:we has been developed by the teachers and in consultation with a network of fluent teachers and speakers from other Kanyen'kéhaka communities. It is centred on our original instructions including the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen and the Rotinonhsyón:ni¹⁰ cycle of ceremonies. The children learn through culture-based education; language, culture and traditional teachings are embedded in every aspect of the school.

Today all three language programs are taught by graduates of Shatiwennakará:tats. The traditional community can conduct the cycle of ceremonies aóskon Kanyen'kéha (entirely in the Mohawk language) with speakers who are graduates of Shatiwennakará:tats. Attending

¹⁰ Rotinonhsyón:ni refers to the people of the longhouse, the Iroquois Confederacy of which the nations include Oneida, Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca and Cayuga.

ceremonies at the longhouse is part of the school curriculum and the children understand the ceremonies and the speeches in most cases at a deeper level than their parents and grandparents because of their knowledge of the language. Many times the children are called upon to help with a song or to lead a dance.

Over the course of the past fifteen years Kenhtè:ke has come from a place of a handful of older speakers not using the language to one with a growing population of proficient second language speakers and an emerging second generation of second language speakers. Using the measurement of a parent to an offspring as one generation I estimate that it has been four generations since we have had a generation of mother tongue speakers, taking us back to the early 1900's when it was used in business and in the homes.

Will the children in our immersion school become the new generation of mother tongue speakers? I believe we cannot be confident that our traditional ways will survive until we have a generation of Kanyen'kéha speakers who are continuing to carry out our original instructions as intended by the Creator. It is only through knowledge of Kanyen'kehaka'néha that one can make the connection between language and true Kanyen'kehá:ka identity. And so I question whether or not present day regeneration methods can provide the connection between pedagogy and epistemology that is required in order to be once again looking at the world through Onkwe'hon:we eyes. People with no knowledge of the spoken language believe they are living life true to our original instructions which I believe is not possible.

“As someone who can speak the language it makes me able to think about things a lot differently than maybe somebody who can’t speak the language and it’s hard to make somebody who can’t speak the language understand what you’re talking about when you say something like that because you don’t have the same worldview and the mindset to Creation as a whole because it [the language] really does change the way you look at everything”.

Karihwawihson, 2014

In December 2012 the Rotinonhsyón:ni Confederacy Chiefs requested that Rick Hill and Bob Antone, Indigenous leaders and scholars, prepare a pre-session to the Recital of the Kayenerakòwa (The Great Law), “to help people understand what has impacted us as Rotinonhsyón:ni and to look at how we can remove some of the damage to our world that blocks our learning” (R. Hill, B. Antone, power point presentation August 2014). I believe that people need to understand that colonization will be perpetuated until such a time that we can identify and remove those things in our world that are keeping us from living as we were intended. This includes learning our language from our perspectives and not just learning the language as a way to communicate orally with each other. Some people still see no use or benefit of learning our traditional ways and some still associate it to witchcraft, a belief that I am certain was passed down through families from the missionaries.

“I think it [Kanyen’kéha] does define me as a person whether I know it or not, as a person, and right now it’s because I only have a basic knowledge, I feel like I am disrespecting my ancestors by going around saying I am Mohawk”

Aaron Maracle, 2014

This project was undertaken to ultimately make positive changes toward language revitalization and regeneration in the community, by looking at the past and the present to plan for the future. In learning from what others have accomplished, we can identify limitations and challenges we may face as we seek to regenerate our critically endangered language.

Background

In this section I will discuss some key factors that need to be considered by people looking to revitalize and regenerate their Indigenous languages. Having knowledge of pre-existing elements connected to language loss and language shift will help shape successful language programs. Language shift as defined by linguist Joshua Fishman over 50 years ago, refers to the process whereby consecutive generations of speakers steadily lose proficiency in their mother tongue in favour of another language, such as English, in the case of many Indigenous languages in Canada.

This discussion begins with a very brief overview of effects of colonization and leads into a consideration of the loss of our languages on identity. The discussion then shifts to research that indicates a co-relation between language loss and individual wellness including mental and physical health. The section concludes with a critique of various tools of assessing language endangerment that can help a community begin planning for the regeneration of the language.

Colonization/Decolonization

John Mohawk kénha was a prominent Indigenous academic, historian and activist who was very involved in the international political movement of the Rotinonhsyón:ni. In “*Basic Call*

to Consciousness” he defines colonialism as “the process by which we are systematically confused” (p 68). He further defines confusion as “an agent of control”. Today we continue to live in a state confusion by placing more value on the controlling systems, such the Western education system, that took our languages and our whole philosophy of life away from us, than our own structures. The movement towards decolonization and positive change is slow. I believe it is because people who do not have knowledge of spoken Kanyen’kéha cannot fully understand the concepts that make up our worldview, of that which is important to us as a people.

Sakokweniónkwás (Tom Porter) is a respected Kanyen’kehá:ka Elder and is a person that I hold in the highest regard. In his book, *And Gramma Said*, Sakokweniónkwás talks about how descriptive our language is and he uses the analogy of Kanyen’kéha being like a big screen 3D movie whereas English is like a 6 inch black and white television. We are all very much entrenched in the English language and I believe actual decolonization will only come to those who understand the literal translations of Kanyen’kéha. The colour red in Kanyen’kéha translates to “the colour of the blood that flows in my body” and blue translates to “the colour of the sky”. In Kanyen’kéha you can hear the water flow and you can smell the trees. One of my favourite examples of the richness of our spoken language, one that Sakokweniónkwás shares in *And Gramma Said*, is the term for burying a dead body (p 92). I remember how he tells this story and how he used to wonder when he was a young boy, why, if we loved someone so much, would we throw their dead body in a hole in the ground and throw dirt on them. It wasn’t until he thought about the literal meaning of the term “tentsitewahwawén:eke thi rón:kwe” literally translated to mean “we will take his body and we will wrap it in the garden blanket of Mother Earth”. In order

to decolonize we have to start thinking from within our language. We doubt the validity of our Indigenous knowledge yet we hope for a better and brighter future for our children. In our history our Elders were our teachers but in today's world parents allow their children to be controlled by the Canadian education system. Linda T. Smith spoke at a session at the University of Toronto in February 2014 and she reminded the room full of emerging Indigenous scholars that we have to understand that colonization created a whole new set of identities in our communities in terms of genders, roles, hierarchies, etc. Jan Longboat a traditional Elder of the Rotinonhsyón:ni was speaking to a group of scholars at an Indigenous writing retreat in August 2014 and she reminded us that how we behave unlocks the energy of our existence (personal communication, August 2014). We have lost our connection to our land and to our identity and we have lost our good mind. In Rotinonhsyón:ni culture when one speaks of a *good mind* it refers to self-regulation to live in harmony with all elements in Creation including each other. Our relationships and connections are what shape our worldview. Colonization took away our voice in more ways than one. We have hard choices to make: white settler society based on ownership, individualism and economic gain or empowerment through our languages and our worldview. Robert Antone (2013:p 10) states that “the challenge is decolonizing the way we think about our knowledge”. I believe that when we think of our Indigenous knowledge, within our worldview, we recognize it is not something to which there is a concept of rights to or ownership over. It is the gift given to us by the Creator.

Tehotakera:ton (Jeremy Green) a highly proficient Kanyen'kéha speaker from Kenhte:ke is raising his children in language and culture; he is also an academic who has developed a plan

of how we can rightfully reclaim our place in society through a concept of the education of our children. According to Green (2004: p 26) “the revitalization of Kanyen’kéha is the path to our liberation”. He proposes an *Indigenous Emancipatory Pedagogy*. Green states that the source of our individual power is through “o’nikon:ra” (our spirit) a gift given to us individually by the Creator, and that we must approach the education of our children through the theory of o’nikon:ra which is ultimately the transfer of the knowledge of our original instructions through our language.

Identity

Identity is present in many different aspects of a person’s life. “Every time you open your mouth to speak you say something about your identity” (A. D’Arcy, personal communication, January 2015). As a fair-skinned, light-eyed Onkwe’hònwe, I know that identity is also linked to physical appearance. When attending high school out of my community, I would wear things, such as beaded hair ties or beaded necklaces as a way to confirm my identity to others. Knowing ones mother tongue and speaking it immediately puts you in a different place in Indigenous communities, especially for those whose mother tongue is endangered.

“I have a different place in the world, when I go to other communities and I can speak [Kanyen’kéha] that immediately gives me an acceptance.”

Tayohserón:tye, 2014

Connection to land is one universal marker of Indigenous identity around the globe. Identity and place are two different but related concepts. In the Maori worldview, just as it is in the Rotinonhsyón:ni worldview, it is important for a person to place themselves by identifying family, history and land. Margaret Mutu is the Professor of Maori Studies at the University of Auckland where she teaches and conducts research in the areas of Maori language, history and traditions. According to Mutu (2005:p 119) "...identity in the Maori world was extremely important - so important that it is encapsulated in formulaic expressions for each tribal or sub-tribal grouping". Genealogy, history and land are the most important markers of Maori identity and one of the intentions of the identifying introductions in Maori society is to make connections between the speaker and the audience. Today a conversation in Kenhtè:ke, when meeting someone for the first time, may start with the simple question of 'Who are your people?' in a somewhat jestful manner but on a deeper level your identity places you in terms of family, clan, nation and territory, bringing a sense of acceptance and belonging.

Ethnolinguistic vitality "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Giles, 1977 as cited in Sachdev, 1995, p43) refers at its core to group identity. According to Ehala (2009: p 40), "first and foremost, it [ethnolinguistic vitality] is a theory of social identity maintenance, although in many cases this coincides with language maintenance". Ehala identifies a link between identity and language shift and several variables that perpetuate language shift including a power difference between the dominant and minority group; the vitality of the group and the current state of assimilation.

English is not referred to as the killer language by people involved in language revitalization for no reason.

From our descriptive Kanyen'kéha names one can ascertain many things about a person from personal traits to clan membership. A young six-year-old boy was to have his name "stood up" at the Midwinter ceremony. He was a student of Kawenna'ón:we Primary Immersion School and so he knew the teachings about the significance of receiving a name through ceremony. He very proudly approached me prior to the ceremony and stated "I'm getting my name today!". This was a clear indication to me of the value he placed on his Kanyen'kéha name. His identity through his name continues to remain very important to him. There are, however, some adults, who once they receive their name, no longer attend ceremonies at the longhouse. This indicates a level of prestige placed on receiving a name through ceremony void of a desire to live according to our teachings. Kaweienon:ni Cook is the Kanyen'kéha Specialist for the Akwesasne Mohawk Board of Education. She has recently noticed there is a prestige to being able to say you are a student in a Kanyen'kéha program but not always the will or desire to learn to speak (personal communication, Feb 14, 2015).

Language and Wellness

To date there is very little research conducted on the link between having the ability to speak one's mother tongue and health and wellness. Those of us working in community language

programs can easily identify the link in everyday situations encountered with someone who is learning the language and have many stories to corroborate this belief.

“I know when I go from long periods of time not speaking the language to long periods of time of only speaking the language I can really tell the difference in the way that I am, in the way I carry myself and the actions that I do.”

(Karihwawihson, 2014)

“I’m a much more patience human being than I was before I spoke the language and I’m a much better mom since I’ve learned the language and partner, and friend.”

(Tayohserón:tye, 2014)

The most cited research in this area is the study linking knowledge of Indigenous language and youth suicide (Hallett, Chandler and Lalonde, 2007). This investigation out of British Columbia made a correlation between several cultural continuity factors to the rate of youth suicide. Knowledge of Indigenous language was one of the factors analyzed and the conclusion was made that in communities where language was still being used conversationally the rates of youth suicide were low to absent (p 398). Healey and Meadows (2007) explored the perception of language loss on the well-being of a group of Inuit women. They found that not only did loss of language affect their sense of well-being, it also affected their sense of identity

and created the feeling that they didn't know where they belonged. In this study, language, well-being and identity were very strongly linked together by the participants. McIvor, Napoleon and Dickie (2009:p 7) defined a protective factor as a condition that builds resilience. They discussed that while the tie to language and well-being, is not a heavily researched area, the tie between the two appears to be one of utmost importance to Indigenous people. They concluded that language and culture are undeniably key protective factors for at-risk (of health crises) communities. In a more recent study out of the University of Alberta's Faculty of Medicine & Dentistry several researchers concluded that (Indigenous) languages need to be urgently protected as a cultural continuity factor in the prevention of diabetes among Indigenous people (www.sciencedaily.com).

Building a Language Revitalization Strategy

Colonization, decolonization, identity and wellness are important factors that should be considered as communities move forward with a plan for language and cultural revitalization. It is important to identify and be aware of how, based on a person's history, these elements may affect their perceptions of language and culture. If a plan is not well thought out, keeping in mind the history of how these factors have affected a community, no plan to revitalize or regenerate the language and culture will be truly successful. One part of a well-thought out plan is knowing the language situation in a community. And one way to find out about the language situation is through a language assessment or survey.

Assessment broadly refers to the measurement of knowledge in a certain discipline. Language assessment can gauge use in a particular context such as home, school or community. In a narrow context, language assessment can include the testing of ability to listen, speak, read and/or write a language. In the broad context of language revitalization, as is the case here, assessment refers to analyzing where a community is at in terms of language loss which is an important step to building a community language strategy. There are a few different assessment tools that have been created by scholars and others to determine viability of a language. Arienne Dwyer is an Associate Professor at the University of Kansas and a specialist on language documentation and revitalization who has developed language vitality tools. While Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) remains to be one of the most discussed tools of assessing endangered languages, Dwyer (2011) discusses strengths and weaknesses in GIDS, UNESCO's Nine Factors and Lewis and Simon's Extended GIDS (EGIDS). It is therefore important for communities, researchers and language activists to clearly assess the situation so as to effect change through planning of language revitalization. GIDS is a scale that indicates eight levels of language disruption. These levels range from (Level 1) the language being used nationally to (Level 8) the only remaining speakers of the language are Elderly. UNESCO's factors evaluate a language's vitality and state of endangerment; UNESCO assesses language attitudes and the urgency of documentation. The EGIDS, shown in Figure 1, proposes two additional levels to Fishman's original GIDS with level one indicating that the language is used at an international level and level ten where there is no sense of identity associated with the language. I believe that the EGIDS is much more appropriate for today's situations because it

adds levels that reflect language regeneration and revitalization and focuses on more than language loss and language shift.

Figure 1: Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Level	Label	Description
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.
5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

Figure 2: Alternative Labels for Special Situations

Level	Label	Description
5	Dispersed	The language is fully developed in its home country, so that the community of language users in a different country has access to a standardized form and literature, but these are not promoted in the country in focus via institutionally supported education.
9	Reawakening	The ethnic community associated with a dormant language is working to establish more uses and more users for the language with the results that new L2 speakers are emerging.
9	Second language only	The language was originally vehicular, but it is not the heritage language of an ethnic community and it no longer has enough users to have significant vehicular function.

The diagnostic decision tree developed as part of the EGIDS immediately looks at the identity function which includes literacy, status and official use and not just intergenerational transmission. See Figures 1 and 2, from <https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status>.

If I were to assess the current level of language disruption in Kenhtè:ke using the EGIDS, I would put the community at the “reawakened” stage of regeneration. There are currently children acquiring the language in immersion education settings, and this learning is being supported in homes by parents who are second language speakers. Both the children and the adults are able to use the language orally for day-to-day communicative needs.

“All the young ones and the babies who have the opportunity go to school and listen to it and hear it every day and to be able to see them using it at different functions and even everyday play...to see them little ones, the young babies using the language, it is gratifying, knowing that what we are trying to do is working”

Kevin Brant Sr., 2014

In order to determine in a more scientific manner where a community is in terms of language revitalization, different methods of gathering information to analyze can be utilized. The methods used for this project included a paper survey, Talking Circles and Conversations; these will be described in the following section.

Methodology

Through My Onkwe'hòn:we Eyes

What led me to the Masters in Indigenous Language Revitalization at the University of Victoria was not the prestige of earning a degree but the opportunity to gain academic knowledge which could lead to continued success in our efforts to regenerate our language in Kenhtè:ke. Over the past ten years, from working so closely to the language, I have gained a greater understanding of the true value and importance of living life true to our original instructions and why it is so important that we pass this down to future generations. In order for a strategy to be successful (in the full sense outlined above) it has to meet the needs of the intended audience, which in this case is my community. It was my goal in this project to include community members as active co-researchers. Therefore, I have attempted to include the voice of the community at every stage of this project.

“I’ve heard a lot of people say they’re glad you came back and are doing what you are doing and now people are saying oh well, my niece is doing this, and my nephew is taking the language course and it actually bringing the community together, people don’t realize it, but that is what it is doing, which is a great thing!”

G.M., 2014

I presented my intentions to two distinct community groups, the “Indian Act” Band Council and the traditional people of the longhouse and I requested their support both in person and in writing. I offered an open presentation at the community library where everyone was invited to hear about my work and to provide their input prior to the data collection stage. I had open hours at the community library one night a week for three weeks where I invited community members to come and learn about my intended research and provide me with suggestions, questions and guidance. I have continued to keep the community aware, informed and involved by providing updates in the community newsletter and announcements and questions posted on my personal Facebook page.

Indigenous Research Methodology

An Indigenous research paradigm and Indigenous based methodology must be grounded in Indigenous philosophy. As an Indigenous academic it is my responsibility to advocate for the survival of my people and to translate not only between languages but between worlds and cultures. Throughout my project I have to be mindful of my dual role of being a language activist and an Indigenous researcher in my community.

Bagele Chilisa is an Assistant Professor at the University of Botswana and holds a Masters of Arts degree in Research Methodology. She is the author of *Indigenous Research Methodologies* (2010), in which she states that Indigenous research targets a local phenomenon,

keeps in mind the context of the research, can combine different research theories and is informed through Indigenous knowledge. This notion of post-colonial Indigenous research methodologies was beginning to make sense to me but what was not immediately clear was the academic jargon. I began to understand that within Indigenous paradigm ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology come together in a relational sense. Manu Meyer is a native Hawaiian scholar who based her doctoral dissertation on Hawaiian Indigenous epistemology and it was her explanation that helped me to begin to make sense of the theoretical terminology. She introduced the idea of epistemology by posing the question of what is the difference between knowledge, knowing and understanding. According to Meyer knowledge is something we have learned but not experienced. Knowing refers to having lived and experienced something to which we can say we understand because of the lived experience. Epistemology is the Indigenous intelligence that brings meaning to our lives.

“When you speak your language and you understand the ceremony in your own language, that is like the deepest level, I think, that is the wholeness”

Tayohserón:tye, 2014

I attended the 2013 Conference on Iroquoian Research, an annual event that has taken place in New York State since 1945. At this conference Darren Thomas’ session titled

“Ogwehonweneha: A Hodinohsoni Research Methodology¹¹” added to my expanding understanding. Thomas presented his Master of Arts thesis in which he translates Hodinohsoni reality, ways of knowing, values and methods of acquiring knowledge into an Indigenous research methodology. He discussed how Indigenous scholars can create opportunities to inform strategies through the Rotinonhsyón:ni worldview. Our Indigenous knowledge is the cornerstone of our civilization in which one will find a complex but simple connection to all elements of the universe. Trying to dissect the pieces is what makes it complex while living with a good mind and conducting oneself according to our original instructions is what makes it simple. A Rotinonhsyón:ni good mind is not a state of being, it is a way of life.

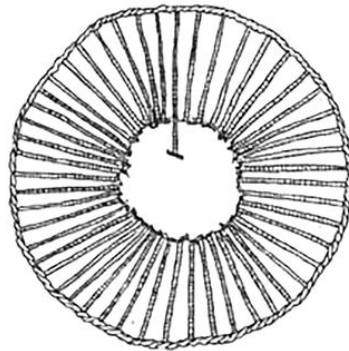
The explanations by these Indigenous scholars supported my belief that it is not possible to look at these concepts separately through my Onkwe’hòn:we eyes. The basis of Indigenous research is to promote social change relating to the oppressed. Indigenous scholars such as Linda Smith and Bagele Chilisa describe ways to conduct research through Onkwe’hòn:we eyes which should be nothing new to an Indigenous person who lives their life with a good mind.

In the book based on his Master’s work, *Research is Ceremony* (2006), Shawn Wilson discusses the importance of relationality. He proposes a new Indigenous research paradigm which he illustrates through use of a circle. There is no beginning and no end as each element of the research blends into the next. The concept of a circle and relationality are not new concepts

¹¹ Ogwehonweneha and Hodinohsoni are the Cayuga dialect of “Onkwe’hòn:we” and “Rotinonhsyón:ni”.

to Indigenous people which is very clearly illustrated by the Rotinonhsyón:ni Circle wampum. Wampum are bits of polished shell roped together into strands, belts and other shapes. They have many meanings including recording events and pledging promises. Wampum is an object of honour, tradition and spiritual significance. In the Circle Wampum, there are 50 equal strands that represent the 50 Royá:ne (Chiefs) of the Rotinonhsyón:ni and the one longer strand that represents the people. One interpretation of this particular wampum is that when we are born, our hearts are in the middle of the circle, with our language, our ceremonies, our culture and our ways. The Royá:ne are holding hands around the outside of the circle, protecting both the people and our ways. If we do not follow our ways, our original instructions we will find ourselves outside of the Circle and therefore outside of the protection of the Royá:ne and the Creator. As Wilson states (p 76), “we could not be without being in relationship with everything that surrounds us and is within us”.

Figure 3: Rotinonhsyón:ni Circle Wampum



(From www.indiantimes.net)

There is another group of Indigenous scholars that are my mentors. They have not conducted academic research but they have made a huge difference in my life and in their communities. I speak of people who have affected my journey and added to my Indigenous knowledge through stories, visits, ceremony and simply walking through the bush identifying trees, plants and medicines. This in my Onkwe'hòn:we eyes is valid research that results in valid knowledge. It is this knowledge that will respectfully challenge the academy. I intend for my research to “add to the rafters” which refers to a section of the Kanyenerakòwa that discusses broadening the scope of the law beyond its original intent but I use this term metaphorically as adding to the knowledge base of the academy. My research is also anchored on a commitment to the community so I must act on the conclusions and recommendations for this to have been a worthwhile undertaking.

The rules and procedures of conducting ethical research and even the methods of research can seem daunting. Our tradition is an oral one and one of the ways we have been colonized is through the writing of our stories which were then misinterpreted and used against us. This is part of our history and now as Indigenous researchers we are being asked to write our research according to the rules of the institutions. Because of this it may be necessary to transform some of the practices of the academy. However, if we as Indigenous people are living our lives true to our original instructions, we have the collective good of the people first and foremost in our minds with strong ethics, values and morals. Indigenous scholars will continue to educate the academy and add to the knowledge base of our people.

Data Triangulation

The data for this project was collected in three different ways. Triangulation refers to using more than one method of data collection when studying one topic. The purpose of using different methods of data collection was to capture different dimensions of the topic of language revitalization and not to just cross-validate the data from any one method with the other.

The Survey

Mary Linn is currently working for the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. She was on the Indigenous Languages Institute field survey project team that authored the *Awakening Our Languages* series (2002). Linn wrote the *Conducting a Language Survey* handbook, in which she identifies a community language survey as an important first step towards development of effective language planning. A language survey can provide baseline data helpful in identifying language shift and attitudes towards language and is a great tool for future planning. Surveys serve many purposes including engaging community through awareness, providing an opportunity for everyone's voice to be heard and finding creative ways to meet the needs of a community. This project includes as the first documented community survey focused on Kanyen'kéha in Kenhtè:ke. The survey was developed firstly by reading through existing surveys conducted by other Indigenous nations and seeing what may be relevant to Kenhtè:ke. A draft was provided by email to a cross-section of several community members for feedback and input prior to being finalized. I attended a language seminar at the University of Oklahoma at the

time of the survey development and was fortunate to have an informal conversation with Mary Linn. Her advice, based on the critical state of language in Kenhtè:ke, was that I focus my questions in a manner that would lead to ways to create new speakers and not to focus on investigating what we presently have in terms of speakers. Her advice validated my thoughts and ideas. I followed it.

Between March 18 and April 1, 2014, 2,100 surveys were distributed to 881 homes in the community. The survey included yes/no, short answer and open-ended questions. The demographical questions were designed to provide basic information including age, sex, level of education and ancestry. The language competence questions would help to determine who is presently speaking while the domains of use would indicate where, who and when people are speaking. The language attitude questions and the section on learning the language could provide information helpful in planning future programs using methods identified as most helpful to learners. The section on revitalizing the Mohawk language was formatted to allow for input and ownership of future programming. The survey was twelve pages long with 41 questions and according to small trial run of five people, took approximately 20 to 45 minutes to complete. The full survey appears as Appendix 1, along with other documentation related to the survey dissemination.

Completion of the survey was completely anonymous and voluntary; no prize or incentive was offered. This was important because I wanted to hear from people who were genuinely interested in the topic and not just interested in the possibility of winning a prize. A

map of the territory was used to section off areas and the survey was delivered house to house by myself and a group of twelve volunteers. I allowed each of the volunteers to choose an area for delivery and for the most part they chose to concentrate on houses in close proximity to their own homes. Some volunteers were happy to deliver to any area I needed help with. The volunteers were contacted by me initially through a text message and they all very quickly responded that they would be happy to help me out. Instructions to volunteers included leaving a copy of the survey for everyone in the household twelve years and older regardless of ancestry. In the case of no answer at the door, they were to leave two copies in the door or the mailbox. In the case of the homeowner not wanting to participate, I suggested that the volunteer do their best to just leave a copy and inform the homeowner they did not have an obligation to complete it. This in itself could plant a seed of interest should they decide to pick it up and read it. There were only two reported incidents where homeowners flatly refused a copy of the survey. It was indicated in the survey completion instructions that more copies could be provided for others in the household if required by contacting the researcher. It was not the responsibility of the volunteer to help anyone complete a survey, however volunteers were encouraged to help those who indicated assistance would be required to complete it or alternatively the volunteer could let me know and I would ensure that help was provided. As it was, volunteers were happy to sit with those people who required help at the time of survey delivery. Delivering the surveys, especially to my close neighbours, was one of the highlights of the survey dissemination for me. The first night I went out I only made it to five homes because of the invitations to come inside, have a tea and look at pictures of grandchildren. It would have been disrespectful of me to decline, especially when visiting the home of an Elder. This, to me, was very much an important aspect

of my position in the project and an illustration of how I was able to walk in both worlds. I was conducting academic research for the community, but I am first and foremost, a member of my community.

Talking Circles

In traditional Rotinonhsyón:ni gatherings where discussion and/or decisions were going to be made, procedures and protocols ensured that every person had an opportunity to be heard and an obligation to listen. It provided the teachings of patience and respect. This was the intent of the Talking Circle and the reason it was chosen as a second method of data collection. The format would seek out deeper thoughts in a small group setting where people would feel safe to share their honest opinions without repercussion. It was announced that the purpose was to share individual thoughts on the questions posed while not responding or reacting to other answers but focusing on adding to the dialogue in a positive manner. The people that participated in the Talking Circles self-recruited by indicating on a form included with the survey their interest in further being involved in the research project.

A total of 21 people initially indicated their interest in participating in a circle. I attempted to call each of the 21 people, leaving messages and following up with a second call. Everyone I spoke to was very interested and enthusiastic but not everyone was able to attend a Circle due to various reasons such as poor health or scheduling conflicts. I did my best to arrange convenient times for the majority of people and was able to schedule a total of 12 people for two

Circles chosen at random with their availability being the only factor as to which Circle they attended. There were three no-shows and the Circles ended up with six people participating in the first one and three participating in the second. These individuals represented a good cross-section of the community from youth to Elder. The Talking Circles were held on June 10 and 11, 2014 in the boardroom of the community library, an inviting and neutral community space. The act of the voluntary participation in the Talking Circle was an indication that they were interested and had an opinion on language revitalization in the community that they would like to share. See Appendix 2 for a copy of the Talking Circle questions.

Conversations

Margaret Kovach is of Plains Cree and Saulteaux ancestry and she is the author of *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts* (2010). As explained by Kovach, “conversation is a non-structured method of gathering knowledge...the term interview does not capture the full essence of this approach” (p 51). For this project, people who were interested in having a conversation with me self-recruited by providing their name and contact information on a form included with the surveys that were distributed on which they were to indicate if it was a Talking Circle or individual conversation they would like to participate in. From those papers I received one name of a person strictly interested in a conversation but 20 people indicated either a Talking Circle or a conversation. I attempted to contact each person through a telephone call or an email message as indicated on the form they completed. I was only able to schedule one conversation from these names. I went back to the

names of people who were unable to attend a Circle and was able to schedule three more conversations. Two of the conversations occurred at the homes of the individuals at their request and two at my office at the request of those two individuals. Each conversation was audio recorded. I later listened to each conversation as a whole and made some preliminary notes about my first impression of the conversations. I then read through the notes from each conversation carefully and started to label relevant pieces, sayings, perceptions, etc. I labelled information if it was repeated information, if it was surprising, if the interviewee explicitly stated something or if a response reminded me of a theory or concept. See Appendix 2 for proposed Conversation questions.

Discussion of Results

The discussion of the results of this community-based research is addressed to anyone who is interested in learning about the findings, but most importantly it is addressed to my community so that we can, together, continue the work of language and worldview revitalization and regeneration. The data is used in a qualitative manner (analyzing in a way to understand the thoughts of the participants and not just focusing on the numbers, and looking at the interrelated aspects of the data) to inform future language planning decisions. The discussion will help think through the analysis and allow others to review and learn from the work. It has been documented such that others could replicate it if so desired. This is in keeping with Indigenous methodologies as a service to the wider Indigenous community, working towards reclaiming ancestral languages, cultures and worldviews.

When planning a community wide survey, there are many factors to consider that will affect its outcome, including subject, sample size, number of questions in survey tool, method of distribution and collection to name a few. In an Indigenous community another important factor is the researcher's connection to the community. When analyzing the data there are also many factors to consider, including response rate. One generally accepted definition of a *response rate* is the number of surveys returned in comparison with the number of surveys distributed.

However, K.K. Biersdorff, a social science researcher with over 40 years of experience, argues that *representativeness of respondents* rather than response rate is the better way to evaluate the accuracy of a surveys results.

In 2008 the Tyendinaga Mohawk Council solicited Native Management Services, Ohsweken, Ontario, to conduct the “Review of Life Long Learning”, an education-based community survey. In order to set context for my project I will provide some information about the 2008 survey here. The Life Long Learning (LLL) survey was initially delivered door-to-door leaving two copies per house along with a postage paid envelop for return of the completed survey(s). Other recruitment methods included telephone interviews, monetary incentives for survey completion, in-house sessions with community organizations and focus groups with grades 7, 8 and the private high school students. Recruitment was scheduled for 4 weeks but continued for a period of 8 weeks in order to meet the target number of surveys required by the Tyendinaga Education Steering Committee. Along with the consultants there was a full-time Project Coordinator and interviewers on staff to assist with the telephone and/or on-site interviews.

In their written report to the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, Native Management Services state that the unwritten standard response rate in social science based research is 30%, a figure that is rarely achieved, especially in Indigenous communities (Review of Lifelong Learning, 2008). According to the written report, the goal was therefore, 30% of households or

270 survey responses. The final outcome was 217 from on-reserve and 24 from off-reserve, for a total of 241 survey returns. The study was measured on the basis of number of on-reserve households. In the final report, Native Management Services references the First Nations School Association's annual survey in the years 2005, 2006 and 2007, which received response rates of 27%, 22% and 43% respectively. The measurement of sample and data reliability for the LLL survey was 24.1% of on-reserve households.

In the community language survey reported on here, there was only one point of direct contact with community residents i.e. when the survey was delivered to the home by me or one of the volunteers. Survey delivery was complete within 14 days. The only personal gain for anyone to complete a survey, which was totally voluntary, was to have their voice heard. There have been very few studies that have evaluated the effect of incentive on the quality of response (Singer, 2012) however it is my personal belief that in this instance it would diminish the importance of the topic. This belief was validated by a written response in one of the returned surveys that said, "Thank you for not offering some prize for responding. I feel it minimizes/degrades the responses in and of themselves". Completed surveys were to be returned to one of six drop-boxes in the community or by calling for pick-up. Without having conducted any prior research on response rates I optimistically indicated in my ethics application to the University of Victoria an estimated 400 survey returns, which I had calculated as 25% of the on-

reserve population over the age 16 years¹². If measuring consistently in the manner of the 2008 LLL survey (per on-reserve household), the actual rate of return for this language survey was 15.5%:137 returned surveys from 881 homes visited.

Considering all of these factors and in comparison with the 2008 LLL survey, I am confident in the reliability of the data collected in this language survey. I know that the people who took the time to complete and return the survey were genuinely interested in the survey and that the data they provided through the survey came from their heart. When you work in an area such as language revitalization you very quickly become conscious that quality not quantity is so very important. For instance, when a language is at such a critical crux as is the case in Kenhtè:ke, working with language learners in a more intimate program setting can be considered much more efficient for meeting goals than focusing on classroom size requirements of a regular school program where quantity is the main factor. Producing fewer yet highly proficient speakers is invaluable.

The areas in which to concentrate this survey were decided upon after studying various survey tools from other Indigenous Nations (e.g. Oneida, Cherokee and Sauk, to name a few).

The following narrative report on the survey has been broken down into the subject areas:

¹² In March 2014 the community membership clerk estimated 1,600 people 16 years of age and older living in the community.

demographics, language competence, domains of use, language attitudes, learning Kanyen'kéha and revitalizing of Kanyen'kéha. In some cases the responses have been collapsed from a 5-way distinction to a 3-way distinction in order to further clarify the data and highlight important results. For the full description of each question/response, please see Appendix 3.

In analyzing the survey findings, I was reminded that it is just as important to pay attention to the zeros as to the high response rates as both carry valuable insights. From the survey results, not one respondent:

- indicated they were not interested in learning language
- saw no use for Kanyen'kéha in today's world
- would not answer in Kanyen'kéha because everyone listening would not understand
- would not answer in Kanyen'kéha because they didn't want to speak it in public
- felt embarrassed to hear Kanyen'kéha being spoken in public

These zeros are clear indicators of the value and significance that Kanyen'kéha has in the lives of community members whether they are currently speakers or not and indicate that people still uphold the importance of our mother tongue. The following discussion will address the various sub-sections of the survey.

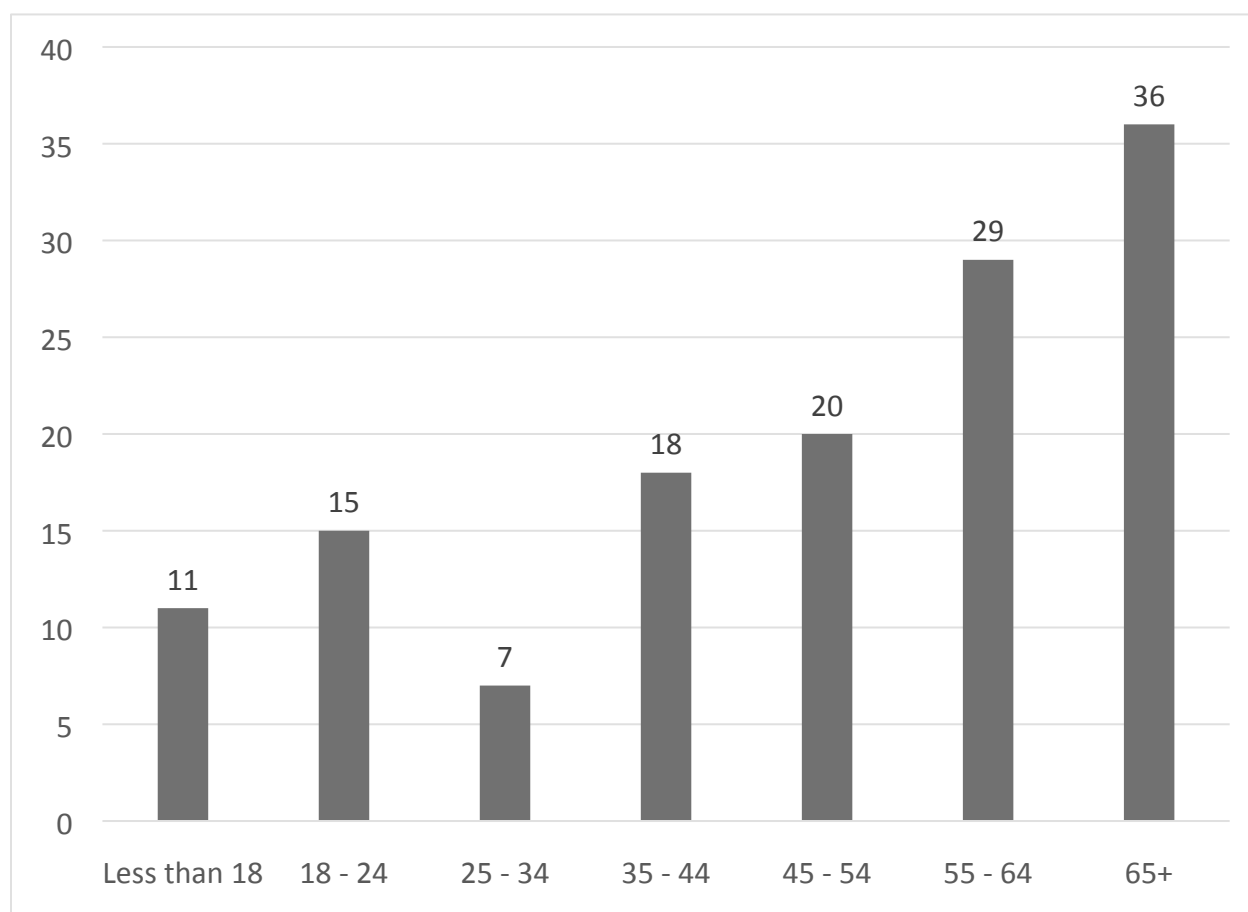
Demographics

Nearly all language surveys include demographic information, that is, information concerning the person taking the survey (ILI Handbook Series, Conducting a Language Survey, p 18). The intent of the demographic section of this survey was to get a snapshot of the characteristics of the target population which in this case was people residing in the community aged 12 years and over. According to the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte membership clerk, the total community population as of January 31, 2015 was 2,162, with 1,896 aged 12 years and older (email correspondence February 2015).

The returned surveys represent a wide cross-section of Kenhtè:ke (see Figure 4). The majority came from women, 58% (n=79), with the remaining 42% coming from men (n=58). Survey respondents ranged in age from 13 to 81 years, though the largest response came from people aged 65 years and older (26%, n=36) who would have been born before 1950. This could be an indication that these people, who my research indicates, may have been the first generation to experience major language shift in the community. For the most part, people from this age group did not have the opportunity to learn the language in its most natural form, that is, in the home from their parents and grandparents. This large response rate could be an indication that there is a sense of loss and being deprived of a birthright by these people and the act of completing a survey is an opportunity for them to contribute to our efforts today. The smallest response rate (5%, n=7) came from people in the 25-34 year age range. This group represents a life stage when many have young, busy family lives and is not interpreted, in this instance, as

non interest in the subject. Notably, there was a good response from younger community members, aged 13–24 (19%, n=26). This period can be an ideal time for language learning with the potential to lead to language regeneration, since it generally precedes having children.

Figure 4: Age of Respondent (Q1.2)



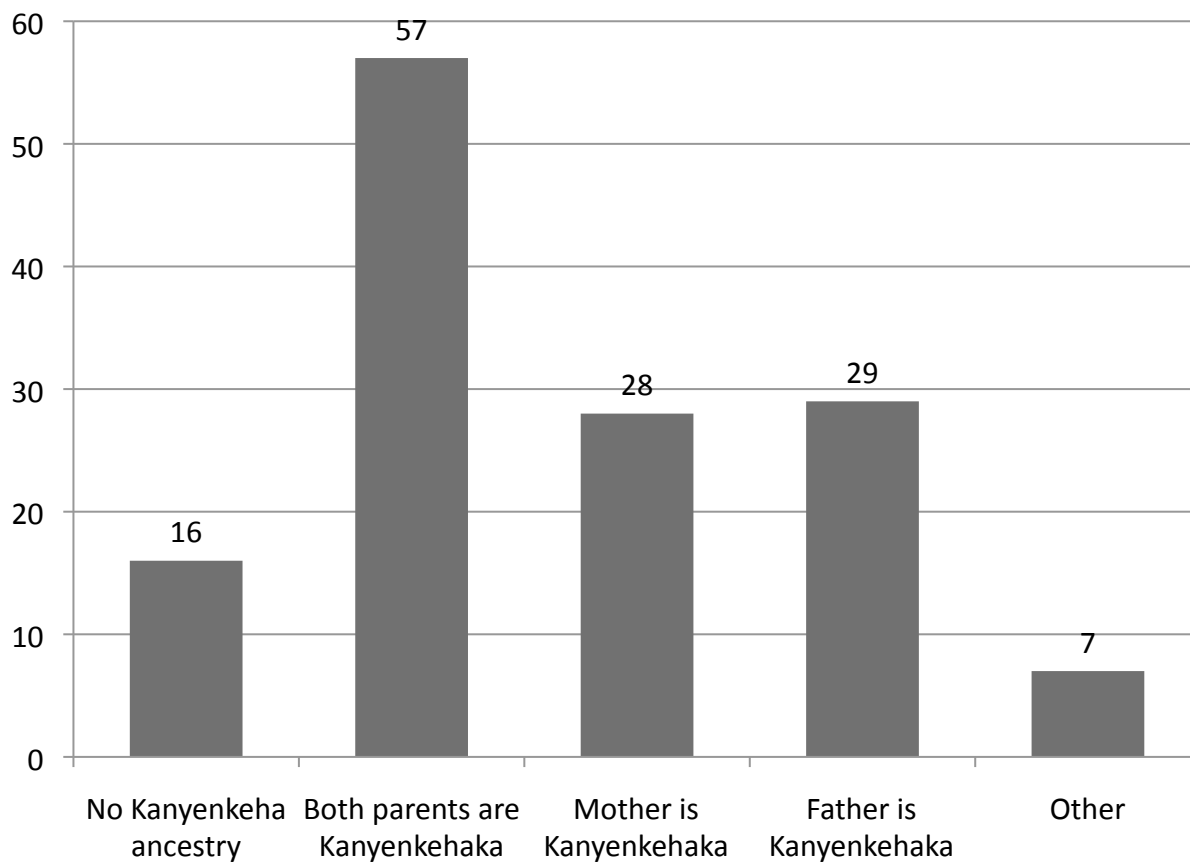
Of the 89% (n=122) of respondents who are registered Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, 84 grew up in Kenhtè:ke and another 30 grew up in the neighbouring communities of

Shannonville, Deseronto, Belleville, Picton and Napanee with the remaining 8 growing up elsewhere including other parts of Ontario, Canada and the United States¹³. This is a clear indication that a large majority of respondents have firmly planted family ties in the community and surrounding area and could potentially benefit from local language and cultural programming.

Reported in Figure 5, a full 86% (n=118) self-identify as Kanyen'kehá:ka, with 42% (n=57) claiming both parents as Kanyen'kehá:ka. A further 20% (n=28) claim mother as Kanyen'kehá:ka, and 21% (n=29) claim father as Kanyen'kehá:ka. This indicates that the respondents represent, in a large part, people with ancestry who have a vested interest in language revitalization efforts. The 12% (n=16) response rate from people who claim no ancestry but took the time to complete the survey is also an important indicator that there is interest in the issue of language revitalization throughout the community, regardless of ancestry.

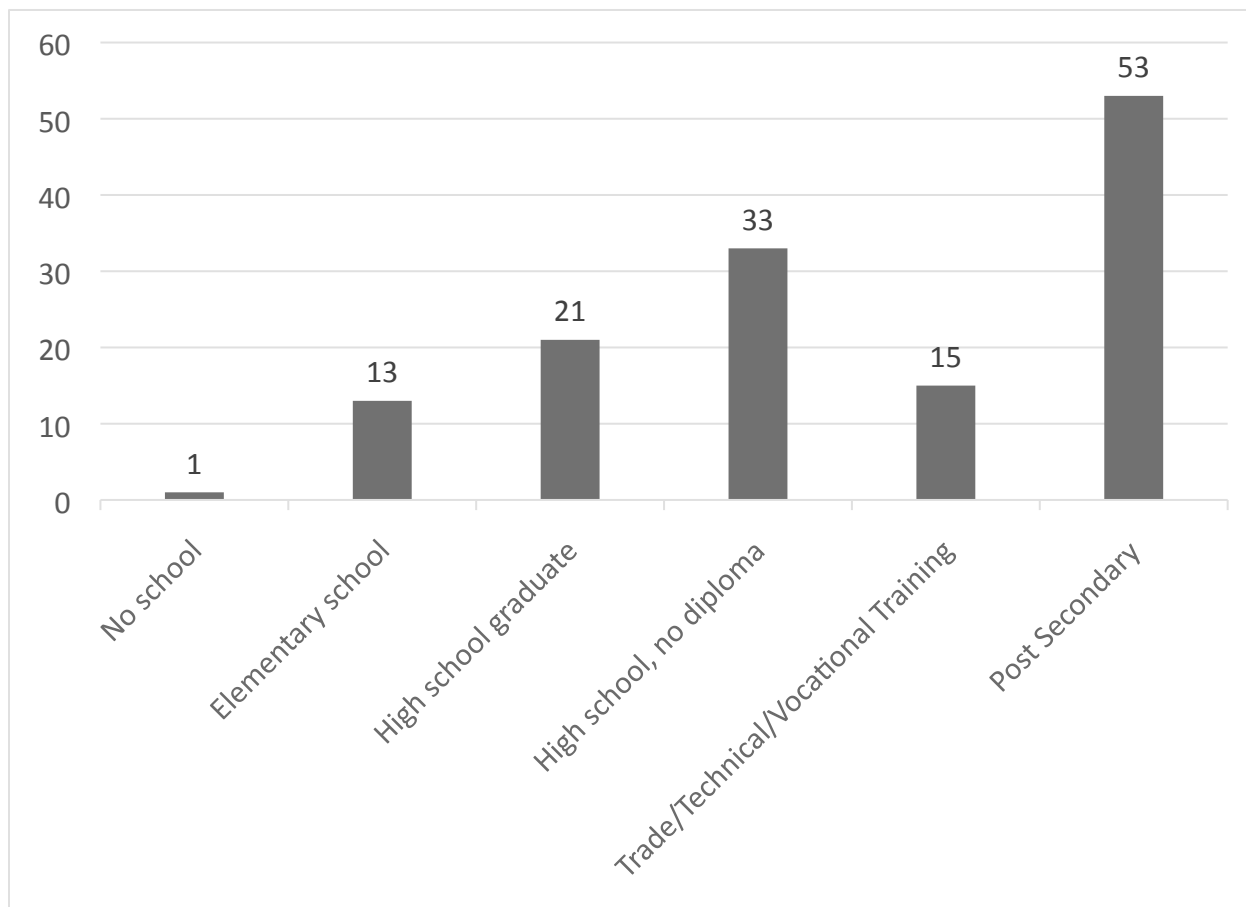
¹³ Whenever a figure does not add up to 100% it is due to non-reponses which are not factored into the discussion section. See Appendix 4, which includes the full response for each survey question.

Figure 5: Ancestry (Q1.7)



The respondents represent a range of educational backgrounds, including post-secondary education (40%, n=53), trades people (11%, n=15) and high school graduates (15%, n=21). See Figure 6. Occupations ranged widely, including Social Workers, students, homemakers, business owners and retirees, to name a few.

Figure 6: Level of Education (Q1.3)



The demographics illustrate the representativeness of respondents. The figures indicate that a large majority of respondents have blood and familial ties to this land and would have a strong connection to this community. These are people that have been raised here, whose families have lived here for generations and who will most likely raise their families here. All of the respondents are people who could gain a stronger sense of identity, improved self-awareness

and who could offer valuable contributions to the community by being grounded in language and cultural programming. These are the people who need to have their voices heard.

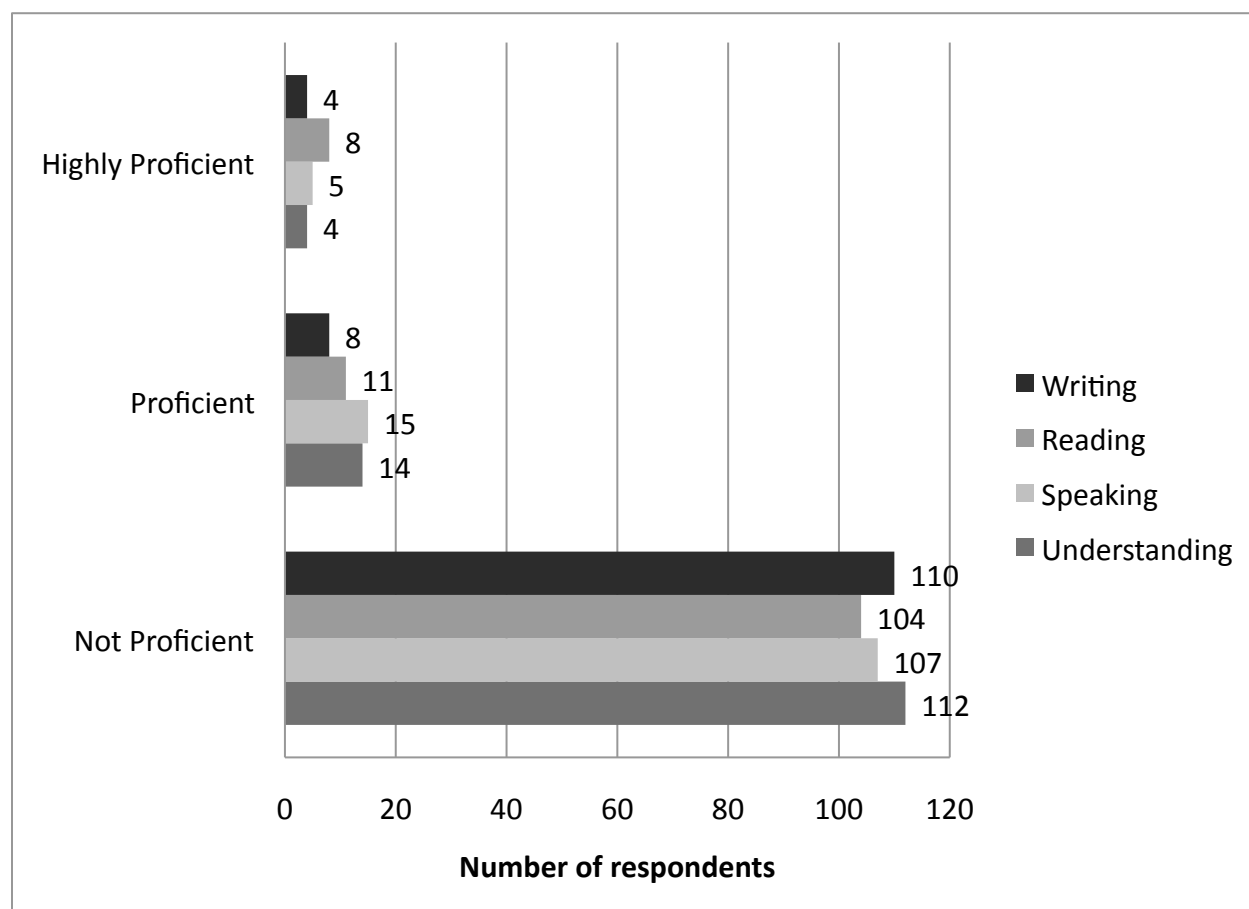
Language Competence

This section of the survey looked at the current situation in regards to the ability of an individual to speak Kanyen'kéha and his/her perceived proficiency of his/her current use of the language. Past experience with assessment indicates that most second language speakers rate themselves low when self-assessing. Proficiency in a second language can be measured in many ways, both formally and informally. Informal assessment can be as simple as holding a conversation with a fluent speaker and formal assessment can be an in-depth "oral proficiency interview", an assessment tool used by the American Council on Teaching a Foreign Language (www.actfl.org). For the purpose of this survey, competency and proficiency were based on self-assessment.

As indicated in Figure 7, there was a clear indication that the majority of respondents assessed themselves as not proficient in any of the four areas of literacy: understanding, speaking, reading and writing. See the Survey, (Q2.2) in Appendix 1 for definitions of the proficiency guide. In our community of no mother tongue speakers, this supports the fact that formal language learning for adults has only been available for ten years, which isn't a lot of time for a language to regenerate. The highest indication of proficiency was in speaking,

however, it was still relatively low (11%, n=15). The further reduced number of people that assessed themselves as highly proficient indicated his/her highest proficiency in reading (6%, n=8). I believe that the current efforts of language revitalization, in many cases, result in highly proficient readers and writers of the language but not as many speakers. This may be an indication of the shyness and/or shame of the adult learners to use the language orally even if not in a perfect form (i.e. many are afraid of making mistakes)

Figure 7: Self-Assessed Competencies in Kanyen'kéha (Q2.2)

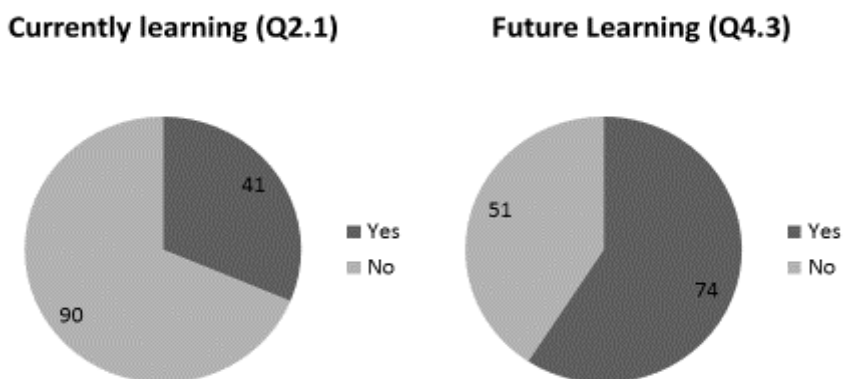


As shown in Figure 8, while 66% (n=90) are not currently trying to learn Kanyen'kéha, 54% (n=74) see themselves speaking Kanyen'kéha in the future. In many instances people have indicated that they have aspirations to learn the language when the time is right. This indicates that they anticipate opportunities to do so in the future.

“I had a dream that we were at my son’s graduation, his high school graduation and I was speaking Mohawk to him and he spoke Mohawk back to me and that was just like, that’s it! That was my time.”

(Julie Brant, 2014)

Figure 8: Currently Learning (Q2.1) and Future Learning (Q4.3)

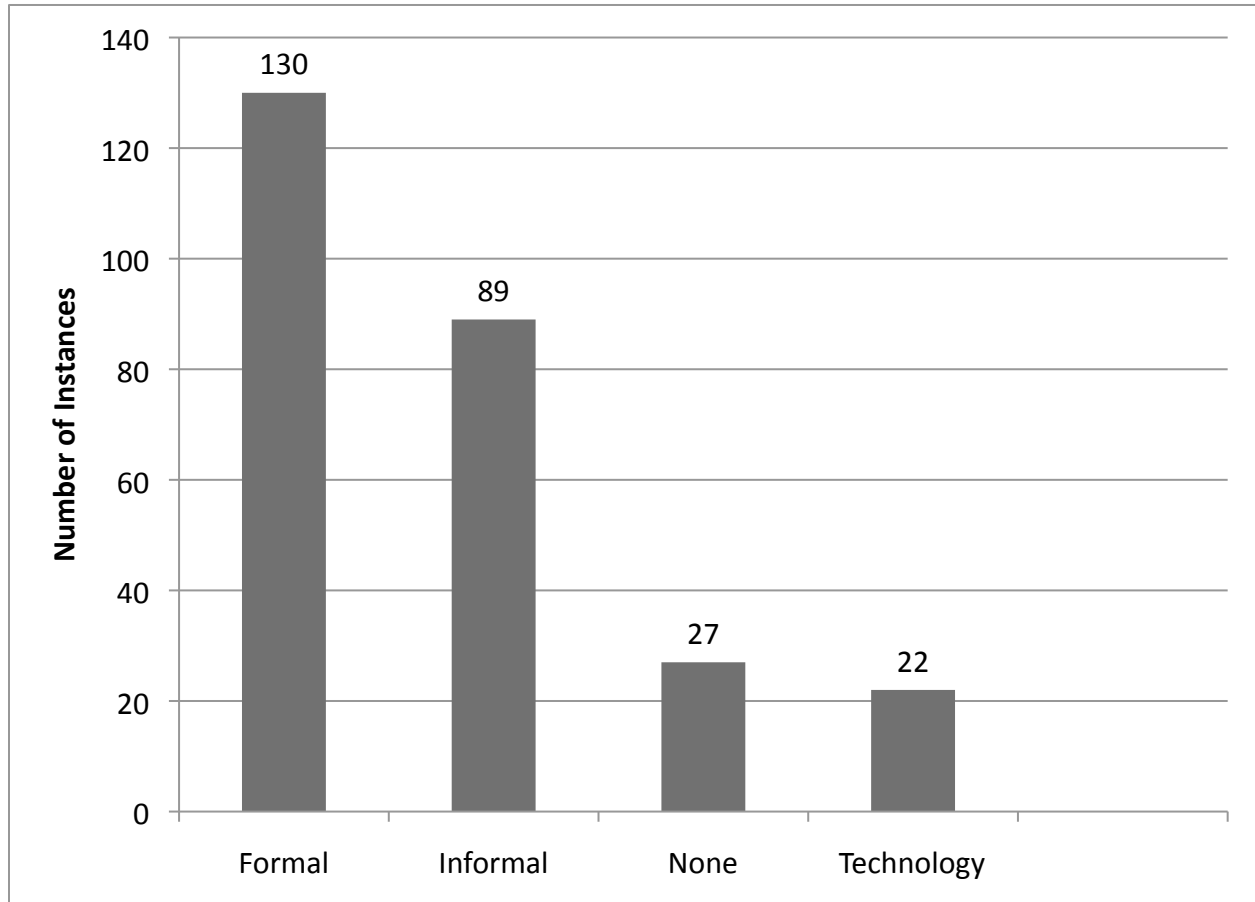


Orthography is a key part of any language revitalization effort. In August 1993, Kenhtè:ke hosted a Mohawk Nationwide exercise, “The Mohawk Language Standardization Project” at which a number of recommendations were put forth and which are still referenced

today (a complete copy of the conference report is available at www.kahonwes.com). Because of the standardization of the orthography, speakers, academics and linguists throughout the Rotinonhsyón:ni have been able to develop books and dictionaries, many of which are used in the community language programs.

As illustrated in Figure 9, while 20% (n=27) of respondents indicated they have never used any methods to learn Kanyen'kéha, the remaining 80% (n=110) indicated they have used, in some instances, a combination of various methods in the past. These methods include formal (school, TTO, community class and ceremony), informal (self-study, at home with family) and technology (Facebook, Rosetta Stone, iphone, Ipad, Ipod). Nonetheless, it is clear from the results that people are relying on formal methods to learn the language to the degree needed to claim proficiency in any area of literacy. Clearly, community members are taking advantage of formal language learning opportunities as the most common method of language acquisition, which is the current norm in Indigenous communities involved in language revitalization. Sadly, there was only one person who indicated he/she learned the language as a child listening to parents speaking in the home. See Appendix 4, (Q2.3) for a detailed breakdown of all methods used for learning Kanyen'kéha.

Figure 9: Methods Used to Learn Kanyen'kéha (Q2.3)

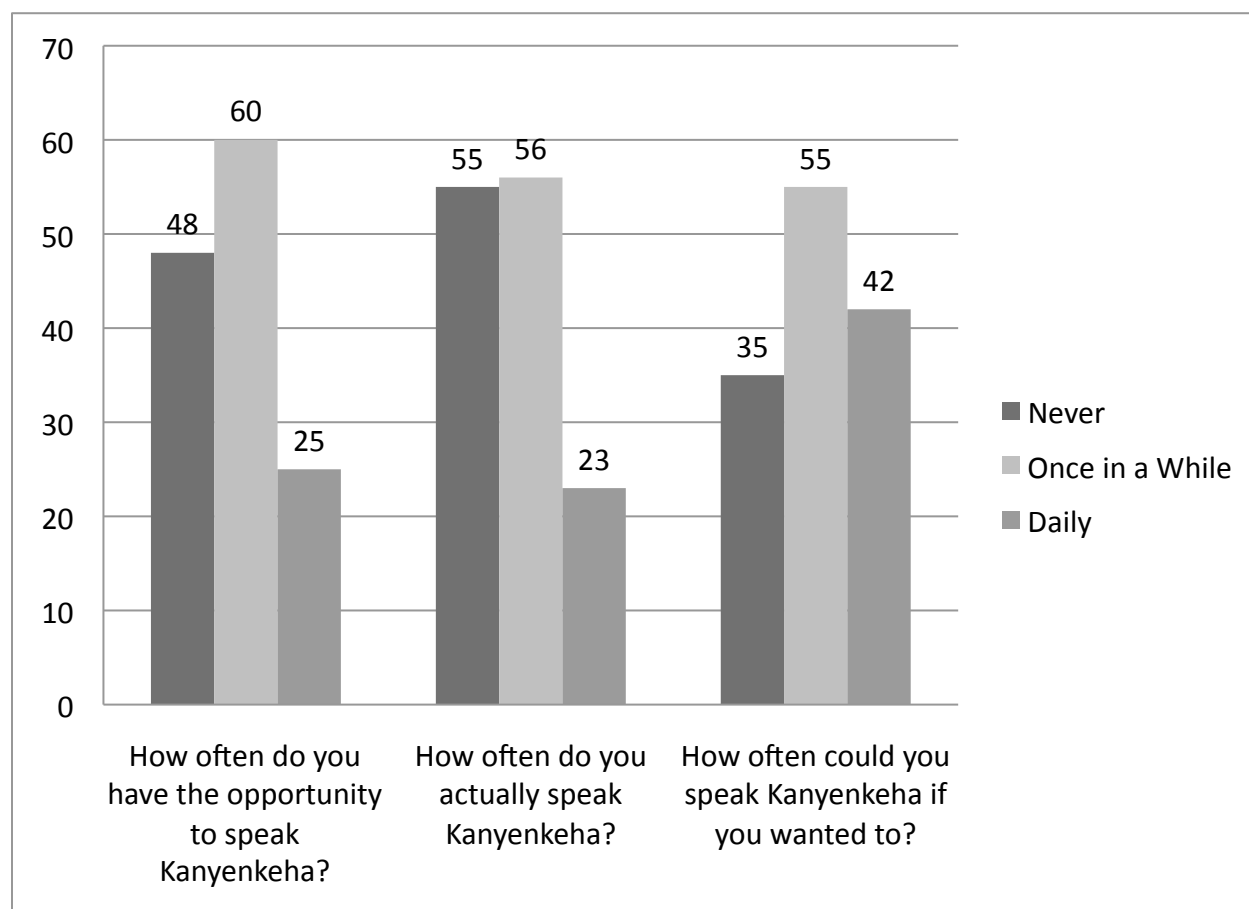


Domains of Use

The section on domains of use looked at where people were speaking or hearing Kanyen'kéha and with whom they may be using the language. The purpose for these questions in a survey is to determine where language is thriving and where it may be struggling which ultimately will lead to identifying specific programming needs. As illustrated in Figure 10, 35%

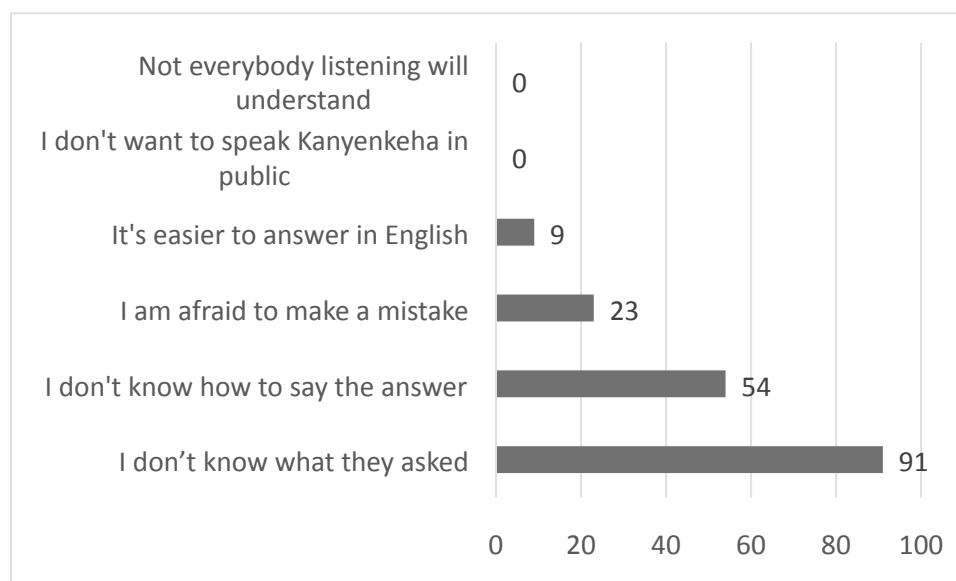
(n=48) of respondents overall reported that they never have an opportunity to speak in Kanyen'kéha, while 43% (n=60) said they have an opportunity once in a while. However, 18% (n=25) reported an opportunity to speak almost every day (e.g. school, home, work and/or in the community). This figure is not trivial. It is an important indicator: even though the majority of respondents did not report feeling proficient in the language, a non-negligible number of community members are finding ways to incorporate Kanyen'kéha into their daily lives.

Figure 10: Domains of Use (Q3.1, 3.2, 3.3)



As shown in Figure 11, when asked what keeps him/her from answering in Kanyen'kéha when asked a question in Kanyen'kéha, 66% (n=91) indicated they don't know what was asked, 39% (n=54) indicated they don't know how to say the answer and 17% (n=23) indicated that they are afraid of making a mistake (cf. Language Competence, above).

Figure 11: What Keeps you from Answering in Kanyen'kéha (Q3.4)



These responses seem to support the responses for proficiency by the large majority of respondents who indicated their knowledge of the language may only include greetings and ceremonial passages but not daily conversational speech. When considered in concert with those

for use, they underline the need and the desire for language programs in the community. The following section, on language attitudes, adds further support for this interpretation of the results.

Language Attitudes

The purpose of the language attitude section of the survey was to see who, where and why people feel Kanyen'kéha should or should not be spoken. These questions in the survey will lead to program planning as the responses indicate what the community feels is important and appropriate.

As illustrated in Figure 12, when asked the importance of learning to use Kanyen'kéha, the highest indications were that it is very important to understand, speak and read the language whereas learning to write is considered less important. Further, the most important motivator to learn the language was to keep it from disappearing, 68% (n=93) as shown in Figure 13. A further 51% (n=70) of respondents would be motivated to learn so as to use the language with friends and family. Almost a quarter of the respondents indicated a variety of factors, including being able to participate in ceremonies and cultural activities and to understand the culture and heritage better. These responses indicate a clear belief in the community that language is importantly linked to identity and culture. Highlighting the strength of this belief, over half of respondents (n=74) see themselves speaking Kanyen'kéha at some point within the next 2 to 10 years, further indicating anticipation of on-going language programming in the community.

Figure 12: Importance to Learn Kanyen'kéha (Q4.1)

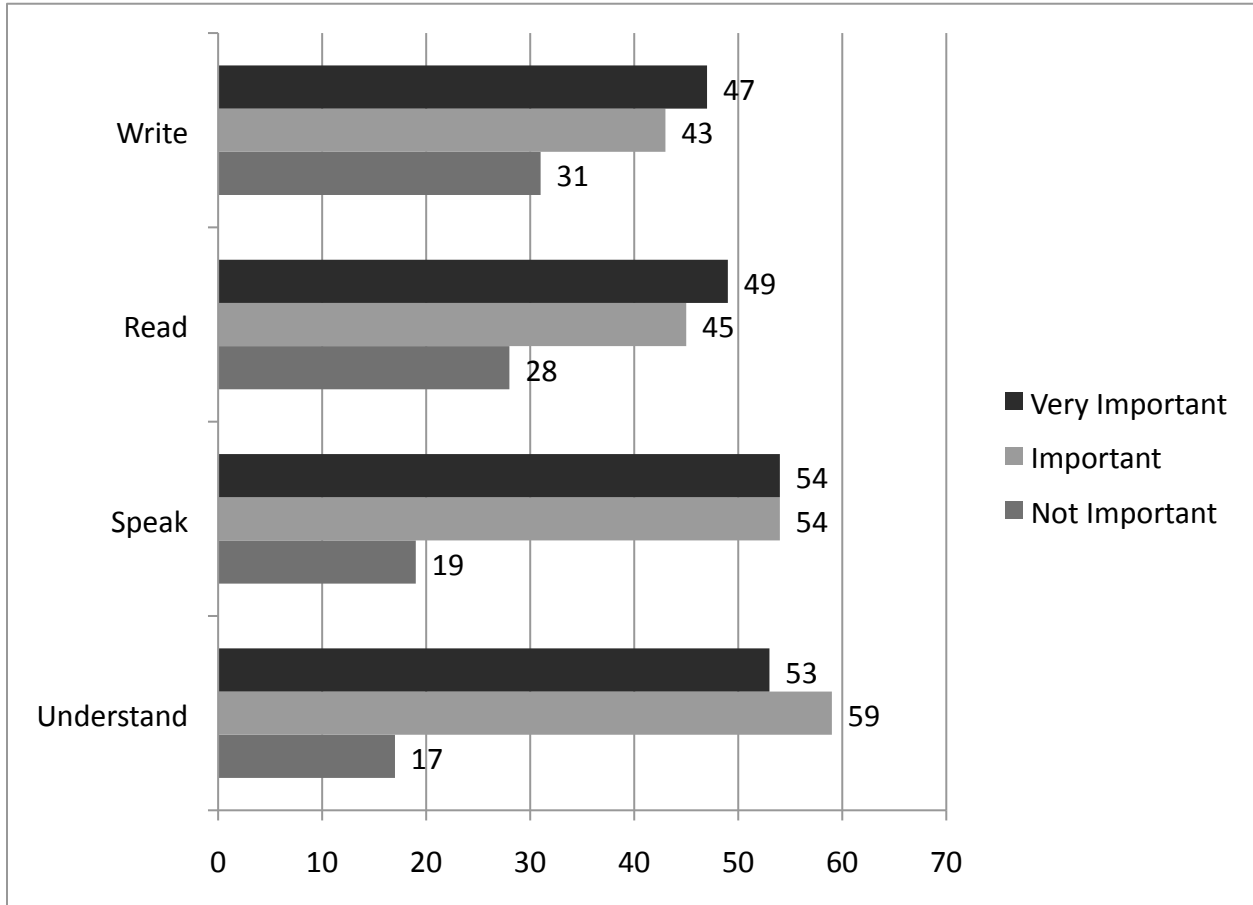
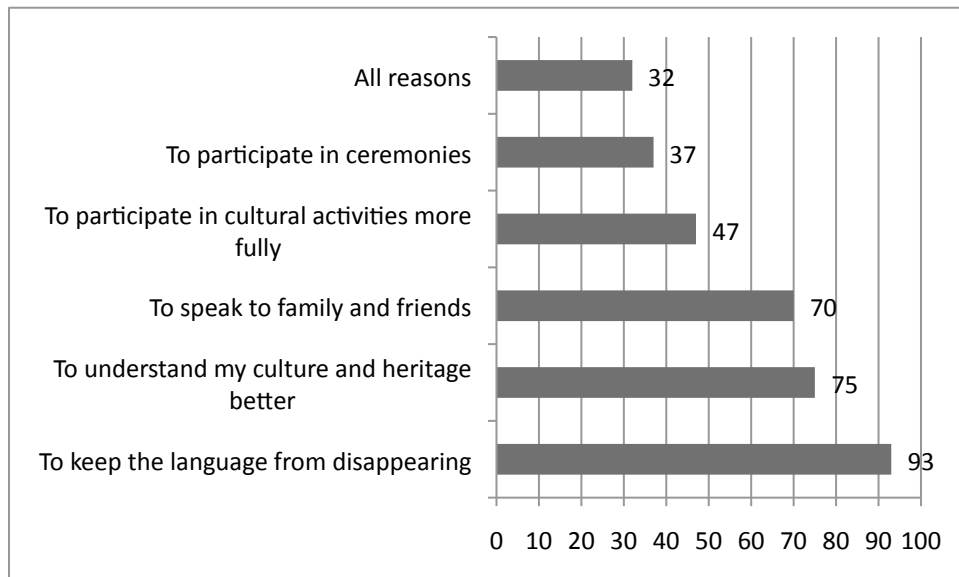
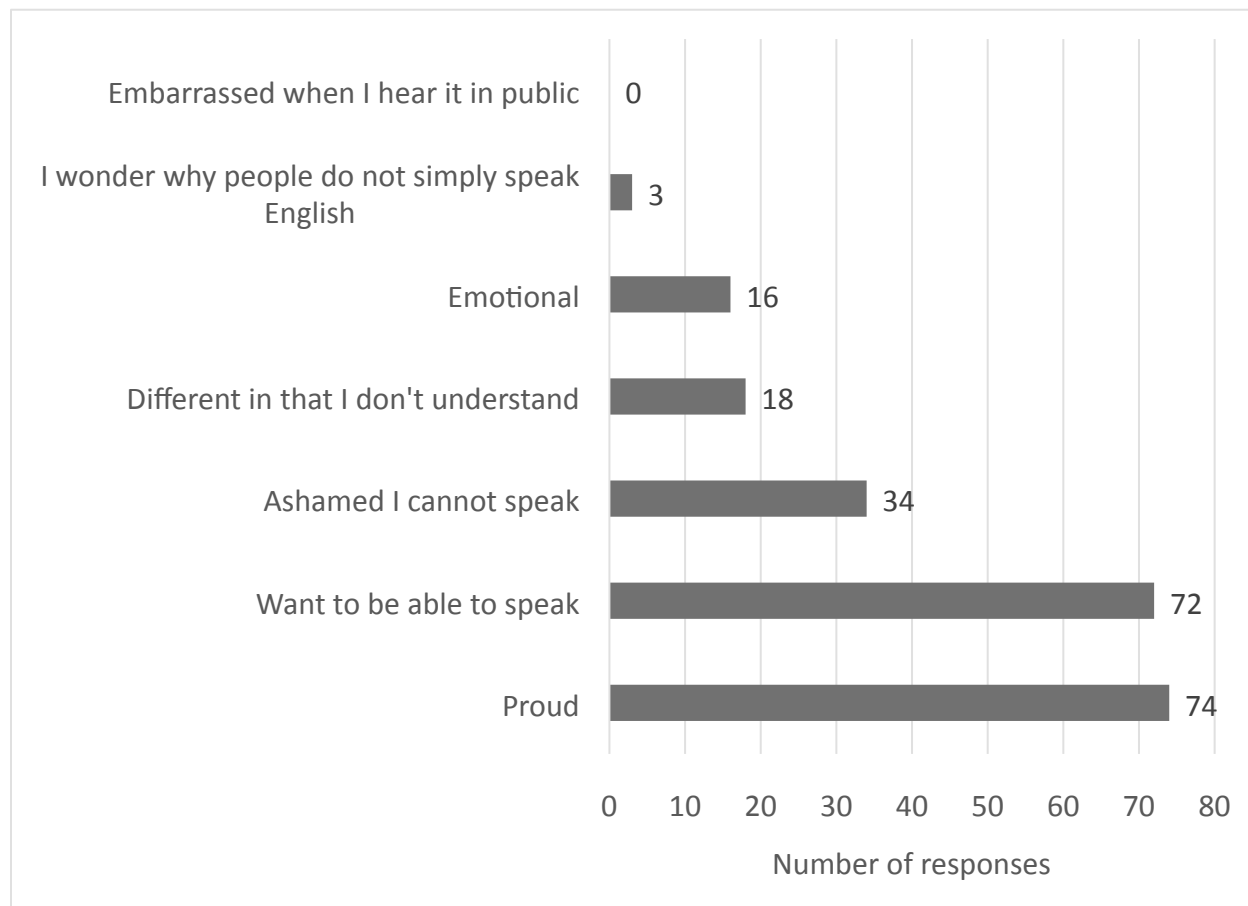


Figure 13: Motivators to learn Kanyen'kéha (Q4.2)



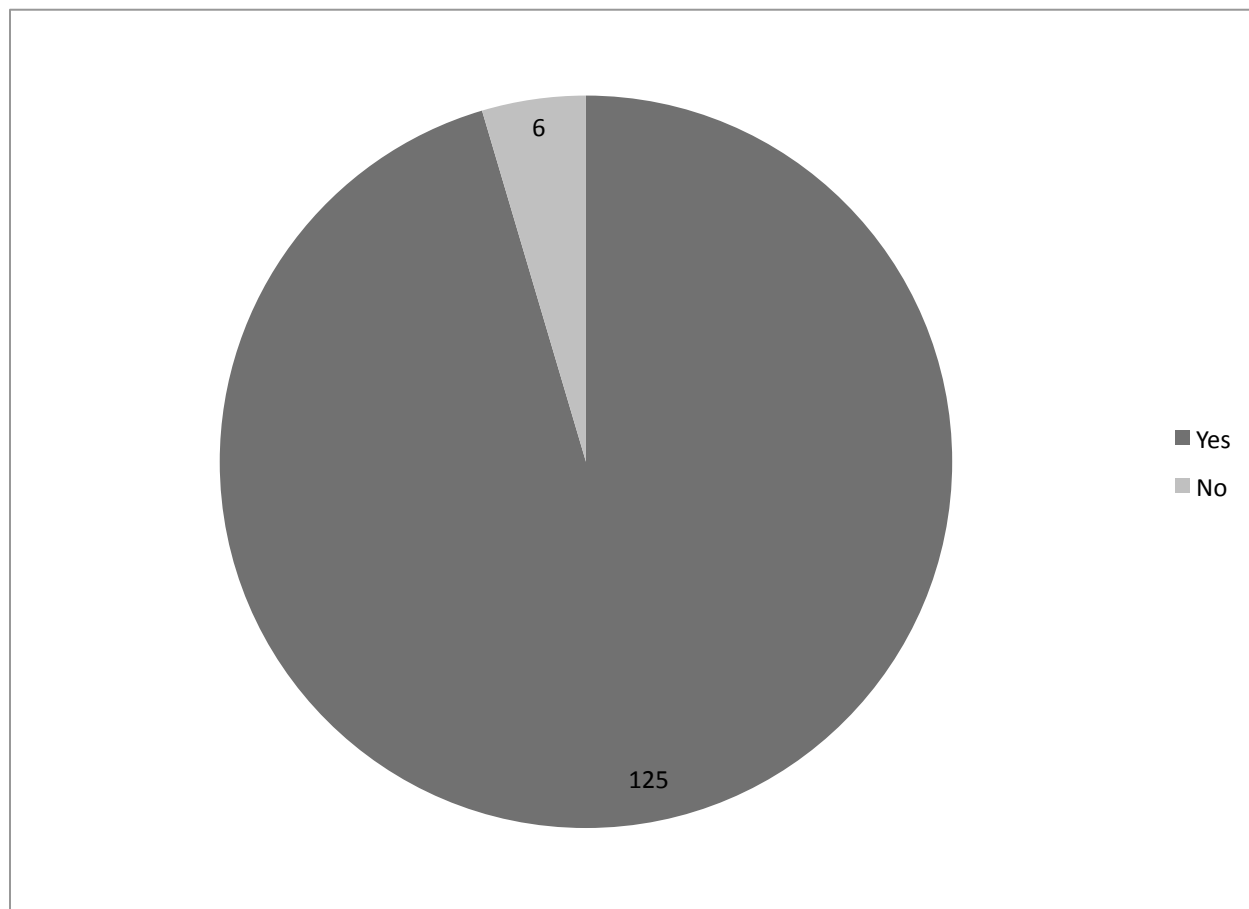
As shown in Figure 14, there were various emotions tied to how people feel when they hear the language spoken all of which highlight the critical role of our language in determining our sense of self and community as Kanyen'kehá:ka: 54% (n=74) feel proud, 53% (n=72) want to be able to speak and 25% (n=34) feel ashamed they cannot speak.

Figure 14: How Do You Feel When You Hear Kanyen'kéha Spoken (Q4.8)



The large response of 85% (n=117) who believe a non-Kanyen'kehá:ka should learn the language if they have the desire to do so, may be indicative of the number of inter-marriages and/or the number of non-Kanyen'kehá:ka who work in and for the community (cf. Revitalizing Kanyen'kéha). There was trivial number who indicated non-Kanyen'kéha should learn the language only if they are married to a Kanyen'kéha. This is an indication that people recognize that we have supporters and in order to ensure our language thrives, anyone wishing to learn should be encouraged and welcomed to do so. See Figure 15

Figure 15: Should a non-Kanyen'kéha Learn the Language (Q4.7)

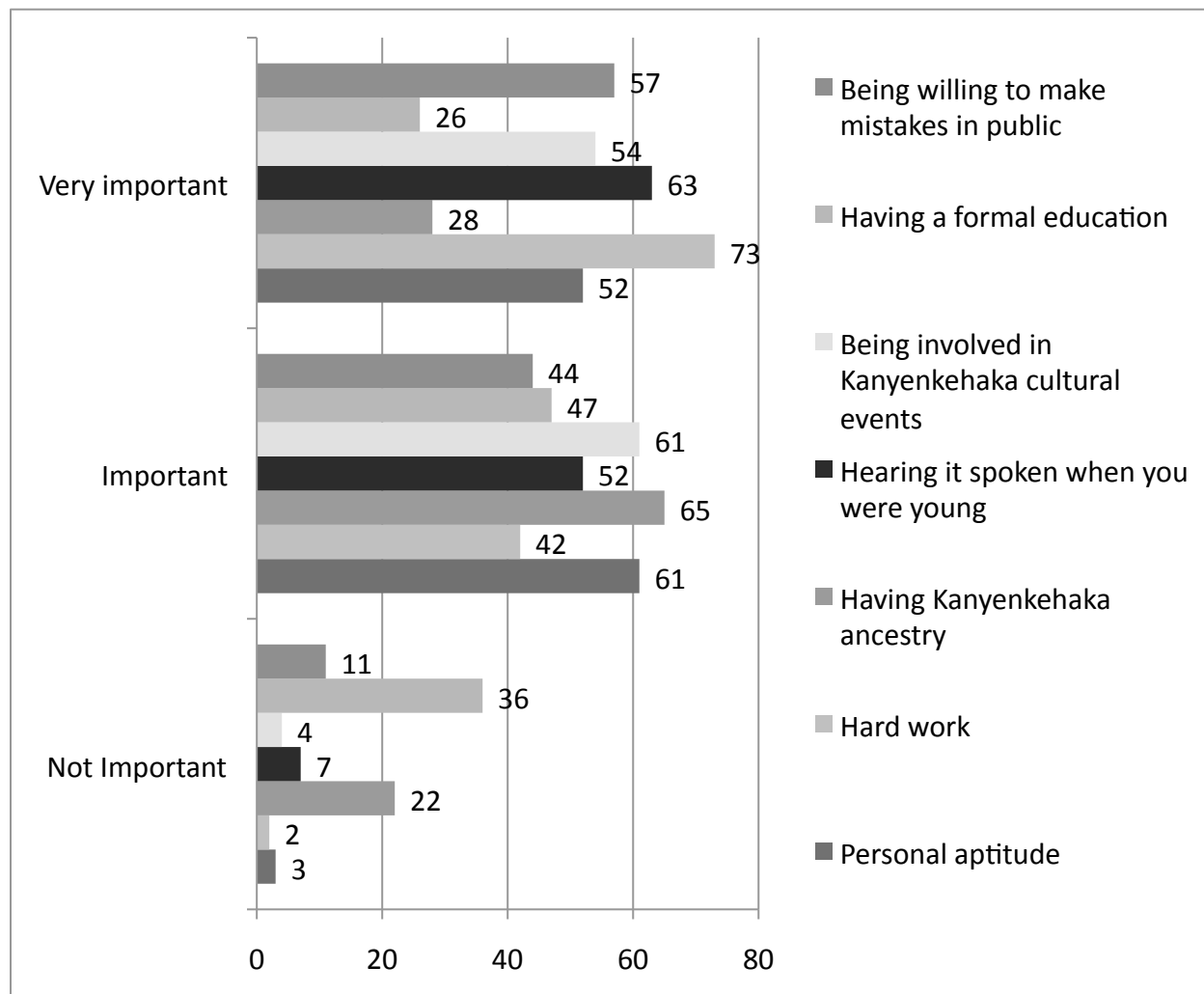


Learning Kanyen'kéha

When asked to rate various factors with respect to how they may help one successfully learn Kanyen'kéha, 53% (n=73) indicated hard work as being very important, followed by 46% (n=63) who believe hearing it being spoken when you were young is very important. See Figure 16 for a further breakdown. This could be an indicator of the number of people who are currently trying to learn the language and who presently will not have the opportunity in Kenhtè:ke to hear

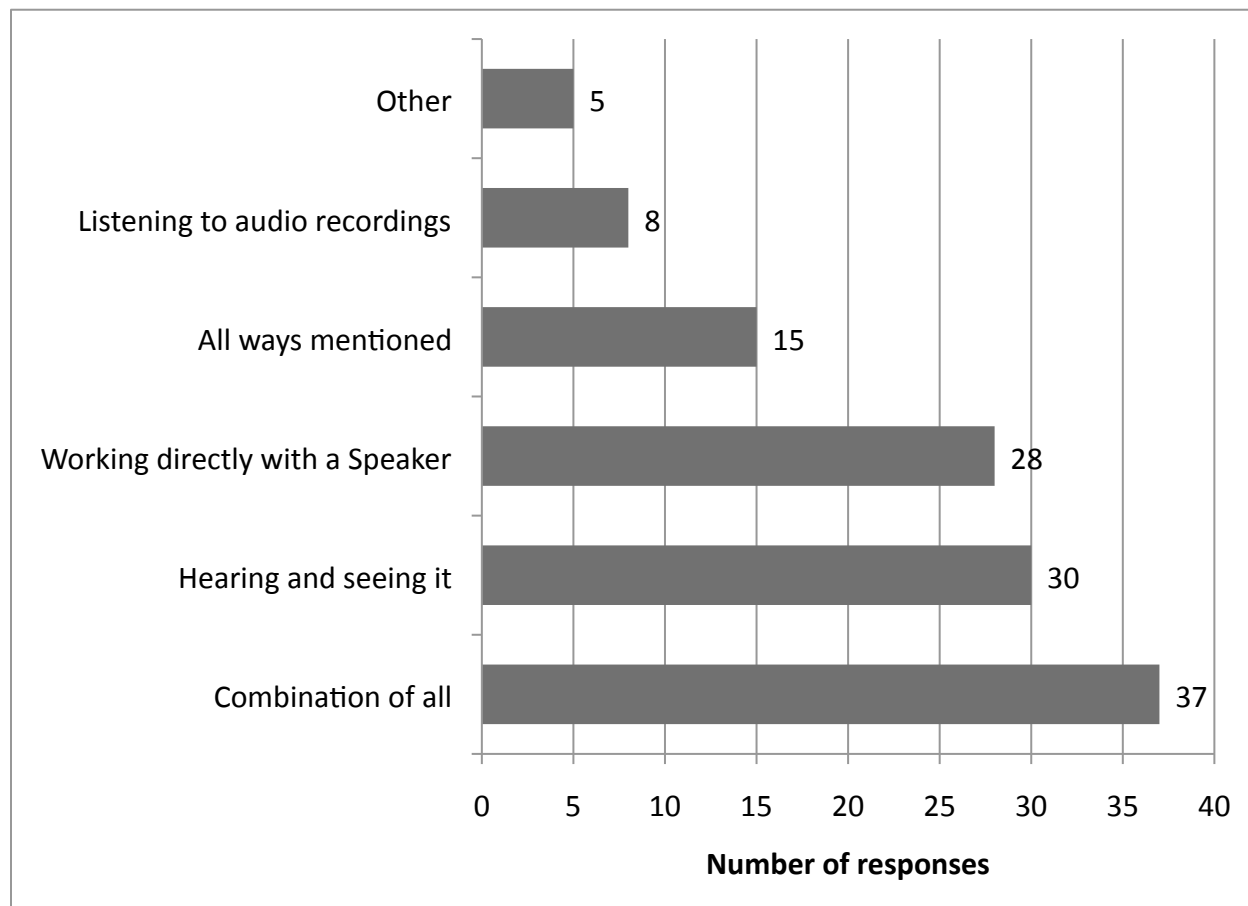
it as a language spoken in the home. A total of 38% (n=52) indicated a personal aptitude for learning was felt to be an important factor while having a formal education ranked as least important when learning to speak. This is an interesting observation coupled with the large number (39%, n=51) who have indicated a post-secondary education level. Adult language programs in various communities have partnered with post-secondary institutes; it is a matter of deciding what the ultimate goal is for language revitalization while taking into consideration all pros and cons of doing such, including the financial expense of tuition fees and stringent requirements of the academy which could affect the delivery and outcome of the program.

Figure 16: Factors to Help Learn Kanyen'kéha (Q 5.1)



Indeed, 27% (n=37) of respondents indicated (Figure 17) that they would best learn to speak using a variety of methods such as listening to audio recordings, hearing it, seeing it and working directly with a fluent speaker. A full 22% (n=30) indicated the best way for him/her to learn would be to be immersed in the language. Another 20% (n=28) believe that working directly with a speaker would be their best way to learn.

Figure 17: Methods Most Useful to Learning Kanyen'kéha (Q5.2)



Many communities are investing in Master-Apprentice programs (MAP) whereby a fluent speaker is paired with a motivated language learner. They spend a number of hours together on a weekly basis over a period of time. This method of language acquisition has many proven successes and while it is one for Kenhtè:ke to investigate, because of the lack of fluent speakers in the community, a program of this nature would have to be developed specifically for this situation. For instance, with the technological advances of today, Skype is one innovative methodology that may be an option for a MAP in Kenhtè:ke. The First Peoples Cultural Council

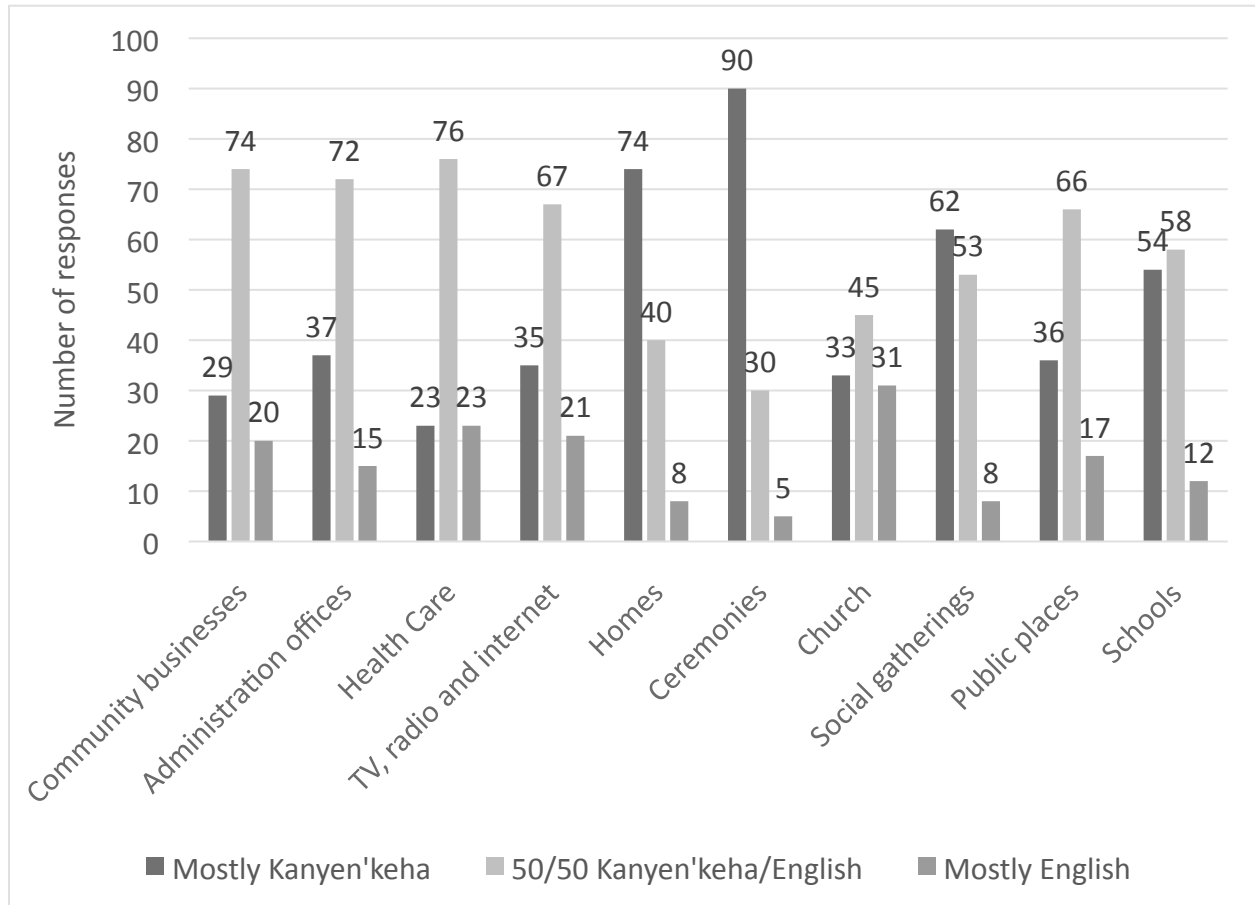
(FPCC) in British Columbia (www.fpcc.ca) offered a Master-Apprentice program in 2008, based on the model developed by Dr. Leanne Hinton and the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival. Since that time, FPCC has put through 60 MAP teams which they are now calling a Mentor-Apprentice Program. The second language speakers in Kenhtè:ke would greatly increase their personal levels of proficiency with the involvement of fluent speakers on a regular basis, a notion they have shared repeatedly. A community investment has already been made in this group of people, to get them to their current proficiency level and it is crucial to future language revitalization efforts that the investment continues, to increase their proficiency to fluency.

Revitalizing Kanyen'kéha

The questions in this section were geared towards community wishes for future regeneration of Kanyen'kéha, in order to move forward, it is important to see what respondents felt the current strength of Kanyen'kéha was nationally as well as locally. It was felt important to see what awareness people had on efforts to use and/or revitalize Kanyen'kéha throughout all Rotinonhsyón:ni communities, to see if people understood that this is not something being attempted in Kenhtè:ke alone. The answer to the question of “how many people can speak Kanyen'kéha in the world today” did not indicate a clear understanding, with the majority of responses indicating anywhere between 100 to more than 3,000 current speakers. At the annual “Haudenasaunee Language Conference” held in Kanatysohareke, N.Y., one of the first items of discussion is the estimated number of speakers in each of the communities represented. At the

2012 Conference, it was estimated that there were approximately 35,000 Kanyen'kehá:ka in total with roughly 1% (350) speakers from within our 7 communities. Interestingly, after this meeting, one of the conference participants, once back home, decided to get a better estimate of his community's speaking population by taking his father, a mother tongue speaker, road by road through their community. He was so alarmed at his miscalculation that as Principal of one of his community's schools, he enrolled a number of his teachers in the summer language session hosted by Kanatsyoharè:ke to proactively increase the language proficiency of his staff who are Teachers of immersion education. There is current concern, however, that our spoken language, in order to thrive, needs to become one that is used in all aspects of community life and that we should not leave the sole responsibility for its regeneration on the education system.

Figure 18: Language of Daily Use (Q6.3)



The first key question in this section asked where Kanyen'kéha should be revived as a language of daily use. As illustrated in Figure 18, the top 4 places in which respondents felt the language should be all or mostly Kanyen'kéha, as shown in the black bars, were:

1. Ceremonies (66%, n=90),
2. Homes (54%, n=74),
3. Social gatherings (45%, n=62)
4. Schools (39%, n=54).

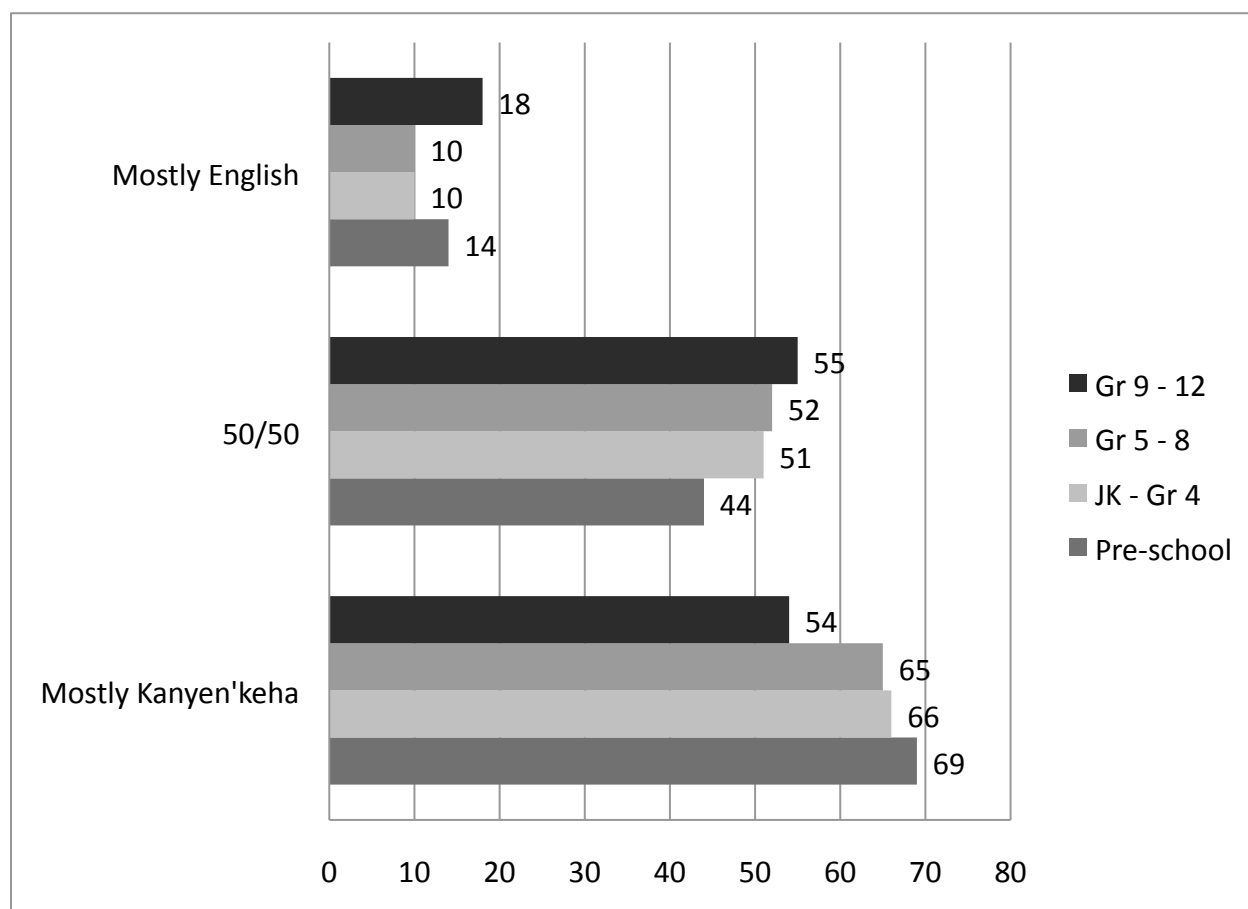
There was a clear indication that most respondents believe that Kanyen'kéha and English should be spoken 50/50 in many daily aspects of community life including health care (55%, n=76), businesses (54%, n=74), Band Administration offices (53%, n=72) and public places (48%, n=66). The responses indicate that there is a desire and an acknowledgement of the importance for the language to be spoken in the most prominent aspects of daily life. This further indicates that while people may not be speaking or understanding the language, they value its importance and they desire that it be used and heard throughout the community.

"I certainly see that the people here, the majority of people, value our language, they may not be doing what they can to learn it, but I think they appreciate the efforts of the ones who are doing it.

Christine Claus, 2014

The second key question asked in which language Kanyen'kehá:ka children should be instructed in four levels of formal education (pre-school, JK-4, 5-8, 9-12). Interestingly as shown in Figure 19, it is clear that people are in support of either mostly Kanyen'kéha or 50/50 Kanyen'kéha-English education for their children in all levels, with very few desiring a mostly English program. These numbers signify that while immersion education is still very new to the community, it appears a good foundation for its support is indicated.

Figure 19: Preferred Language of Educational Instruction (Q6.4)



However, it is believed there is still fear within the school aged parents/guardians that once the children leave the immersion school for Grade 5 at another school, their educational level will be below that of their peers. The personal stories shared by parents are a testament of the value of an immersion education and how positively it can shape a child's future.

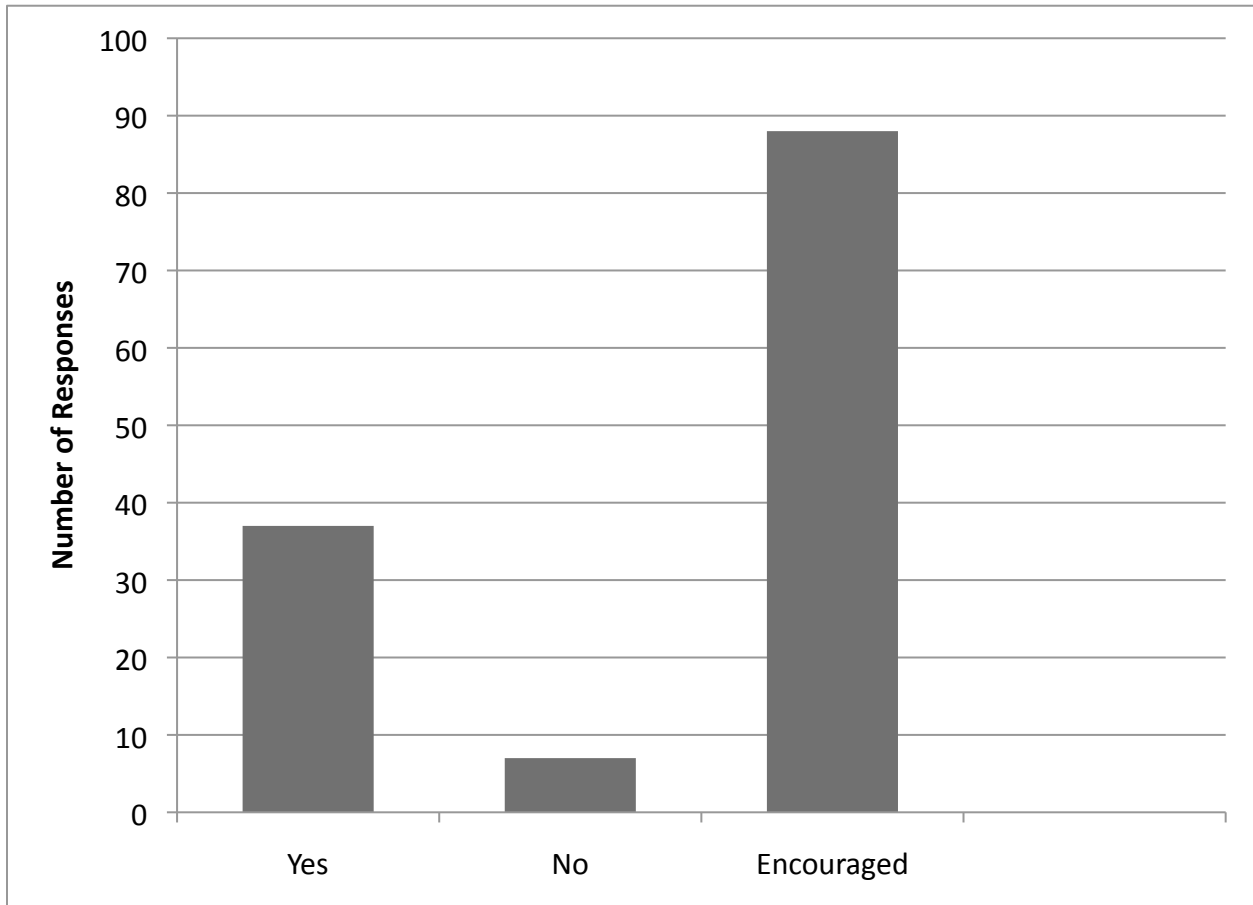
"The fact that they have some language and some cultural knowledge they are way more confident children...they know who they are!"

Tayohserón:tye, 2014

I refer to one parent whose child moved on to Grade 5 to a school that was out of the community and 100% English, who was behind in spelling for only a short time before being awarded "A's" or another parent who was somewhat disturbed and amused at the same time that her child was given the most improved award, even though, according to the teacher at the awards celebration, "this child came from an immersion school". This is a very strong indicator of the level of education required throughout the community around immersion education before its value can be fully embraced. (There were 10 non-responses in this section of the survey, which could be from respondents who do not have children, grandchildren or other family members currently involved in these levels of educational instruction.)

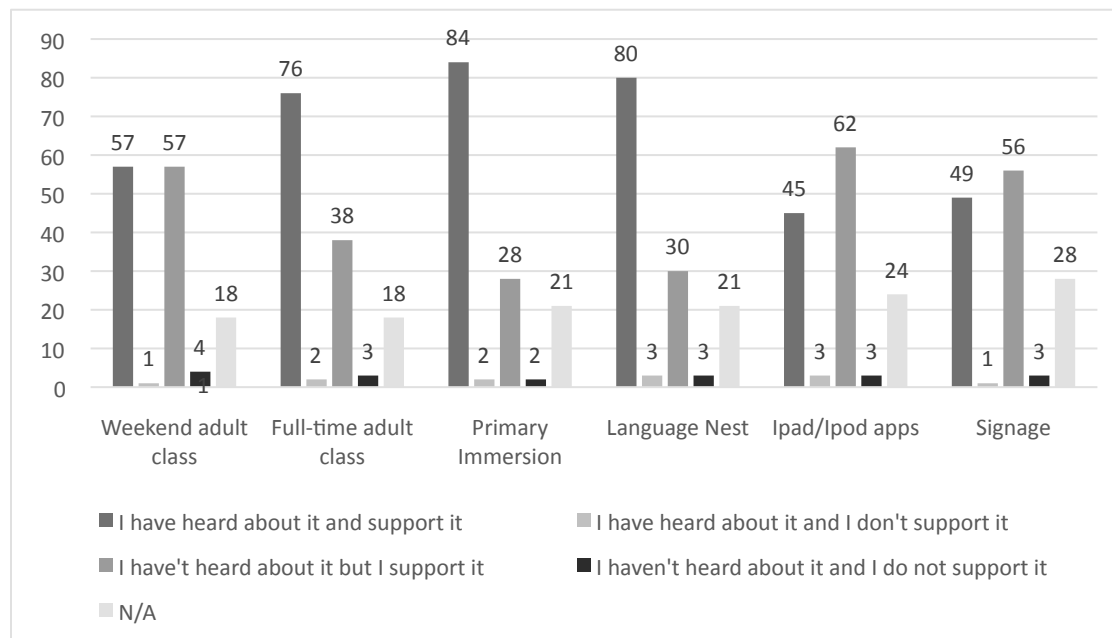
When asked about the requirement of community service providers to learn Kanyen'kéha, 64% (n=88) felt that community service providers should be encouraged to learn while an additional 27% (n=37) indicated, as shown in Figure 20, that it should be a requirement to speak Kanyen'kéha. Again, this is an indication that there is a desire for Kanyen'kéha to be heard throughout daily life in prominent locations in the community and that people should have an option to be able to conduct business with community service providers in either Kanyen'kéha or English. The act of offering Kanyen'kéha as an option for the language of business in the community would increase the value of language to community members, potentially increasing the interest in language revitalization.

Figure 20: Should Community Service Providers speak Kanyen'kéha (Q6.5)



TTO is the sole community organization whose mandate is the revitalization and regeneration of language, culture and tradition. Since 2000, TTO has developed and delivered various programs and initiatives to support their mandate. It is therefore important to know whether or not the organization and its efforts are known throughout the community.

Figure 21: Knowledge of TTO Programs (Q6.6)



When asked about the community language programs offered by TTO 61% (n=84) of respondents knew about and supported its three main programs: Shatiwennakarátats (adult language), Kawenna'ón:we Primary Immersion (JK – Grade 4) and the Totáhne Language Nest. What is interesting to note, as seen in Figure 21, is that 28% (n=38) of respondents were not aware of the programs, but indicated that they support such language programs in the community. This clearly indicates that TTO has some work to do in terms of marketing and promotion of their initiatives which will be discussed further in the Recommendations section of this paper.

The survey was a major portion of this research project. The demographic section identified a good cross-section of community members involved in the research which adds to the credibility of the data that was collected. Moreover, the majority of respondents have ancestral ties to the land. The language competency section identified that there is but a small number of people who consider themselves proficient in Kanyen'kéha, but a good number of people are trying to learn or have hopes to learn in the future. Even with the small number of speakers, those who can speak find ways to use the language throughout their daily lives. The majority of people are proud when hearing the language and those who cannot speak feel shame due to their inability, which shows that with knowledge of language comes a positive connection to self-identity. It is clear from the survey that people understand that it will take hard work to learn to speak but that our language is a gift that we must use throughout the community, as a language of business and in our daily lives.

Talking Circles

The Talking Circles began with the question of asking what it means to be Kanyen'kehá:ka, and more specifically if the ability to speak the language further defines who you are. One person very simply stated that you are Kanyen'kehá:ka by having the blood of your ancestors in you.

*It doesn't define me but it completes a big emptiness from when you
don't have your language to when you do have your language."*

Karihwawihson, 2014

One of the younger participants felt that while the language doesn't define who she is, she felt she would know more about herself if she could speak, which is an indicator of identity. She further went on to say that one would think about things differently if they had the language which indicates a link between language and thought, a theoretical area worth further research. Another person identified that even without having as much knowledge of the language as he would like, by living his life true to our original instructions that is what makes him Kanyen'kehá:ka. It was clear that all participants had a sense that there was a spiritual connection to something difficult to put into words and that language is linked to culture, tradition and worldview making it very sacred. It was also clear that knowledge of the language would be a benefit to anyone wishing to learn. This question struck many emotions within the individuals.

In gauging the attitudes towards the language, the Talking Circle went on to ask how people would feel if Kanyen'kéha disappeared, which brought out many emotions including a sense of loss, sadness, guilt, shame, grief and anger. None were ambivalent or accepting of such an outcome, which makes the current revitalization efforts that much more important. One

participant stated that without your language you have no culture, something we have heard many times and in many ways. She went on to say, “We can’t afford to find that out for a fact”.

When asked if there is evidence in the community that shows that people value the language everyone agreed there are many different ways in which the community shows value of language including:

- People choosing to name their babies with only a Kanyen’kéha name
- Graveyard tombstones with Kanyen’kéha names engraved on them
- Hearing people speak; babies starting to speak
- Many different opportunities to learn across age categories
- Families making language a priority and making a commitment to learn
- Ceremonies, hearing it at community gatherings
- The financial commitment by the local Indian Act leaders
- Visibility in public places such as the library, the school and the Band office
- Road signs in the language

One of the participants questioned the value of language in Kenhtè:ke as compared to other communities where it is still spoken fluently in the home and community. She wondered if the fight we are putting up to not lose it is an indicator of the important value we place on it. The language is not something our children are born with as it is in communities where the spoken

language still lives and is passed down by mother tongue speakers. Another participant, who is a speaker, witnesses the value on a daily basis when he is asked to do opening words at public events in the language and to help people with ceremonies. These requests are coming from people who cannot speak themselves; this is evidence to him.

“When I see kids or elders who can, especially kids because they will carry that for the rest of their lives, when I hear them speaking [in Kanyen’kéha] and they are having a hard time describing something because they can’t think of the English word to replace it, that is very strong evidence”

(Brandi Hildebrandt, 2014)

One person said she believes even those who aren’t learning the language appreciate those who are learning and that even though learning to speak is not a priority in her life, because of her age, it is still a priority for her grandchildren. She feels that we are the lost generation who want it enough to make it work.

While I was delivering the surveys I came across a lady in her mid to late 70’s who told me that she had no use for the language and that it wasn’t going to get young people anywhere in the world. I encouraged her to complete her survey as views such as hers were important to this study. With this in mind, I posed a question to the Talking Circles to ask if anyone else had come across such views in the community. Two people reported hearing negative comments in regards

to the language and yet there was a sense of respecting the place the comments were coming from.

“That talk of language not being important or language being detrimental is coming from a sense of, from people whose pride of being Mohawk was beaten out of them, physically, or verbally or emotionally or spiritually. So I don’t pay attention because I know that isn’t coming from a good space.”

Wihse Green, (2014)

A sense from the younger participants was that there are too many distractions in the world including the English language, the value of higher education and money. These are prominent factors that indicate the continuing effects of colonization that lessen the inherent value of knowing and speaking Kanyen’kéha.

“If there wasn’t such an emphasis placed on education and getting a good job and earning lots of money I would have attempted more so than I have to learn the language. But that doesn’t mean that I have forgotten and let it fade away”

Chloe Maracle, 2014

I opened the floor in the final round of the Circle to allow people to discuss anything they felt was important but not yet covered. Some of those thoughts were as follows:

- The shame felt by not knowing the language will provide the drive to learn it
- The passion for higher education does not trump the passion for learning the language
- Feelings of appreciation that there are opportunities for our children today to learn
- There are benefits to learning our language, both culturally and academically
- Trying to learn the culture in English does not defeat the purpose but the knowledge does not reach the depth it would if learned in the language
- There is clear optimism – if we continue on our current path, in ten years it will be hard to find someone who doesn't understand what you are saying in the language

Conversations

Life experiences definitely affect a person's attitude towards language and culture and so having these individual conversations would add further insights to the thoughts being gathered. Each conversation began by asking the person to tell me about them, their connection to the community and whatever they felt was important for me to know. For the most part they chose to tell me about their familial connections which is an indicator of identity and place. Of the four people interviewed, not one had spent their entire life in the community. One returned as a young child and the other three returned as an adult. This is an interesting observation considering the option to contribute further to my project was totally voluntary. It may be that these people are still investigating their place and identity in the community.

“My mom said, you are Mohawk, be proud!”

G.M., 2014

Two participants had two Kanyen’kehá:ka parents and two had one non-Kanyen’kehá:ka parent. These two both identified solely with their Kanyen’kehá:ka parent, not disowning their other heritage, but just not embracing it or identifying with it. There was mention of a feeling of a strong family connection, a sense of belonging in being a part of the community.

When asked what it means to them to be Kanyen’kehá:ka, the feelings ranged from being proud to having strong beliefs, to identifying a difference in one’s perception of the world by knowing the language. One of the participants is a proficient speaker and her perception of being Kanyen’kehá:ka was very strongly based on her knowledge of the language. She believes without a doubt that until you know the language you cannot wholly understand who you are as a Kanyen’kehá:ka. Another participant with little knowledge of the spoken language identifies a difference in people who are speaking back and forth to each other, in that they have a different relationship at the time they are speaking and she feels that you would see things completely different at such a time.

When asked about the health and vitality of Kanyen’kéha in Kenhtè:ke all four participants have noticed an increase in the past several years. One participant credits the current

language programming through TTO as the only factor in the revitalization of the language in the community.

The evidence that people value language could be seen in different ways. They identified health and wellness benefits, economic benefits and hearing children speaking during non-school activities. One participant could not see evidence of the value of language in the everyday but in looking deeper he has found a feeling of connection himself when hearing the language proudly being spoken in the community. Two have heard negative comments about the language being of no use in today's world. There was a strong opinion that if the language disappeared there would be mounting senses of loss, sadness and devastation. It is a right that we must ensure is here for our children and that it is a huge part of identity was also mentioned.

“I think when they are speaking like that [referring to ceremony] and like I said, even though I don't know what they are saying, I know that I believe in everything that they are saying. And I believe in those words, if I didn't they wouldn't have felt as deep as they do”

Julie Brant, 2014

One of the speakers I interviewed indicated a very spiritual and deep connection to creation that only came with knowing the language while the others who had minimal or no

knowledge of the oral language mentioned a connection to place, to land, to family, a sense of belonging but nothing near as deep as that of the speaker.

“If you can understand the value [of knowing the language] the desire will be there, I truly believe that, if you can understand the bigger picture of why we try to speak our language, why we need to keep speaking our language, you will inevitably want to learn it.”

Tayohserón:tye, 2014

The Talking Circles and the individual conversations provided further evidence of the importance that language holds in the community. There was a clear link to language and culture as being something that cannot be separated. There was also a very major link made between language and identity. People who have lived in the community for their entire lives, or returned as adults have made a connection that the language is something very sacred and that it is vital that we provide continued opportunities for people, especially children, to learn our language, culture and traditions.

Kanyen'kéha: Consciousness Awakened

“Every language contributes something to the world but the teachings in our language have the power to change the world, I absolutely firmly believe that”
(Tayohserón:tye, 2015)

This project set out to look at the present situation of language revitalization in the community of Kenhtè:ke, a community of no mother tongue speakers. It is important with contemporary issues to look to the future and not to the past, because although we can learn from the past, we have to keep thinking of the future. However, more insight may be gleaned by situating the state of language loss in Kenhtè:ke to the overall state of language within the Mohawk Nation. Why is it that the mother tongue speakers of Kenhtè:ke died out and yet there are still mother tongue speakers in many of the other Mohawk communities? A friend from another Kanyen'kehá:ka community refers to Kenhtè:ke as the community of no speakers to one that now has speakers. This has been no small feat as it has taken the dedication, commitment and desire of many people to reach this point.

The legacy of colonization continues today and can be seen today through lack of understanding in the community of exactly what we will lose if we let our language die. The shift

to an individualistic, money-oriented lifestyle is a consequence of colonization. This is a cultural shift from how we lived traditionally and it leaves very little room for the proper functioning of our original teachings.

Rotinonhsyón:ni worldview centres on relationships and connection. The impact of the English language in our present world lessens the importance of our language. We are overwhelmed daily with intrusive Western thought. If our knowledge is most effectively transferred orally how can we do it, through the foreign language of English, and have good results? And more importantly, how can we do it when so few have any knowledge of the oral language?

Language revitalization, for the purpose of this project, refers to producing fluency and proficiency in a language. Immersion not only creates fluency within individuals it also creates a community of speakers. The efforts in Kenhtè:ke have been in place for 10 years and we are enjoying amazing results. We now have children and adults speaking and intergenerational transmission of language is paramount to the vitality of any language. This documented research is now our benchmark and the only place to go from here is to increase our numbers: those learning language, those understanding our ways and also those who genuinely understand what is at stake with the loss of a mother tongue language. As defined throughout this project, through the voice of the people, it has been made very clear: there is a most definite need to continue to nourish the language for our future generations.

When asked in a recent interview by a photojournalist college student, in my capacity as Executive Director of TTO, what my hope is for the community in 50 years in terms of language revitalization, I had only one answer: that the children who are currently attending Totáhne Language Nest and Kawenna'ón:we Primary Immersion school were the fluent speaking Elders, who were our teachers, our longhouse speakers and our mentors who were raising their children and grandchildren with the knowledge of our language, culture and traditions. What has become clear to me is not just the explicit tie between language, culture and tradition but the fact that we need to educate our own people on this. It is not just “language revitalization”; it is worldview revitalization. We need to raise our children and grandchildren in the manner in which we were raised, with kindness, caring and compassion. We are placing a huge responsibility on our children and it is up to us to provide them with the tools to be successful. If we can give our children and grandchildren back the language, everything else, for them, will fall into place.

This work is intended first and foremost for my community to use as a guide to sustain our rich heritage and our very existence. The contributions of this work will add to the body of knowledge that uses surveys as a means to plan Indigenous community language revitalization strategies for critically endangered languages as well as to build upon knowledge of Indigenous research methods.

Recommendations

Through the present community language immersion programs we have created an environment for adults, youth and children to engage with the culture, history and ecology of place. We have proven, through the current immersion programs that a deep understanding of who we are as individual citizens of our Nation will come to those who are learning our language, which will in turn strengthen our Nation.

We need to remember that we are each one part of a larger thing. We need to increase the number of people who comprehend that the only way to ensure our existence as a Nation is not merely by learning how to speak Kanyen'kéha, it is by having an understanding of our worldview through our language. We need to find creative ways in which to do this and include those who are willing and able to help.

Empowerment is key to motivation so we need to find ways to empower people with the knowledge of “tsi niyon'kwarihò:tens”, our ways as Kanyen'kehá:ka. This has begun by teaching the children our cycle of ceremonies, however we need to also educate the community on the important relationship that exists between our language and our ceremonies. This

education ultimately will happen by taking part in ceremony, however, finding ways to educate outside of ceremony needs to be considered for those who do not currently participate. Our Creation Story shapes our worldview, so this would be a good starting point.

It is important that we find ways to promote the current programming throughout the community. We need creative ways to market language, culture and traditions that will appeal to all age categories and people from different groups and interests. The survey indicated great support for language and cultural programming, even when people were not aware of some initiatives, so finding ways to build on current promotional strategies will be very important moving forward.

The voices of our upcoming generations are crucial to the language revitalization efforts for our critically endangered languages. For the most part, the input from this project came from youth and adults and therefore is missing the voice of the children. While through the institution of the academy, it is difficult to include children's voices, I strongly encourage that when planning for future community programs, people find ethical ways to include the voices of those most important, our children and grandchildren.

It is my hope that this is a new beginning for language and worldview revitalization which leads to further language regeneration in the community and that we each find ways throughout the community to restore language, culture and traditions in our daily lives.

Taneto.

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Appendix 1 – Kenhtè:ke (Tyendinaga) Language Survey

Date: _____

1. Demographics

1.1 Are you _____ male or _____ female

1.2 What is your year of birth? _____

1.3 What is the highest level of school you have completed? Check one.

No schooling Elementary school (K-8)

High school, no diploma High school graduate

Trade/Technical/Vocational training

Post secondary education

1.4 What is your present occupation?

1.5 Do you self-identify as a Mohawk person? Yes No

1.6 Are you registered as a Mohawk Bay of Quinte Band Member? Yes No

1.7 What is your ancestry?

no Mohawk ancestry

both parents are Mohawk

one parent is Mohawk: mother or father

maternal grandparents both Mohawk

one maternal grandparent Mohawk:

grandmother or grandfather

_____ paternal grandparents both Mohawk

_____ one paternal grandparent Mohawk:

____ grandmother or ____ grandfather

1.8 What is your Clan? ____ Turtle ____ Wolf ____ Bear ____ I don't have a Clan

1.9 Where were you born? _____

1.10 Where did you grow up? _____

1.11 Where did your parents grow up?

Mother _____

Father _____

1.12 Do you participate in any of the following Mohawk cultural activities?

Check any that apply:

_____ Longhouse ceremonies

_____ Lacrosse

_____ Social Dances

_____ Language classes

_____ Arts and crafts

_____ Genealogy

_____ Preparing and/or preserving traditional foods

_____ Land activities, i.e. growing, harvesting, hunting, fishing, trapping, etc

_____ Other, explain below

2. Language Competence/Fluency/Vitality

2.1 Are you currently trying to learn Mohawk?

_____ Yes _____ No

If no check any that may apply:

- _____ Not at the moment but I have in the past
- _____ Not at the moment but I might try in the future
- _____ It is too difficult to learn
- _____ I am not interested in learning languages
- _____ There is no use for Mohawk language in today's world
- _____ I am afraid to make mistakes
- _____ The language classes are scheduled at a time when I am not available
- _____ I was not aware that there were resources available to learn it
- _____ Other: _____

2.2 What is your current competency in Mohawk? Check one per line using the following proficiency guide:

Not at all proficient - no knowledge of the language, may have some formulas such as greetings and ceremonial passages

Somewhat proficient – little or no speaking ability but can understand some of what is said in the language

Proficient – limited speaking ability, restricted vocabulary, can understand most to all of what is said in the language

Mostly proficient - can easily converse in the language in most contexts but with slight difficulties at times, good grammar and can understand everything in the language

Highly proficient - fully fluent, mastery of old and new vocabulary, can function effectively in the language in a wide range of contexts

	Not at all proficient	Somewhat proficient	Proficient	Mostly proficient	Highly proficient
Understanding					
Speaking					
Reading					
Writing					

2.3 Which of the following methods are you using or have you used in the past to learn Mohawk? Check any that apply.

- None
- School Grade/level: _____
- Tsi Tyonnheht Onkwawenna program _____
- Community class
- Facebook and/or twitter (i.e. Keeping the Kanien'kéha language Strong)
- Mohawk iphone/ipad/ipod app (i.e. ANKI, Quizlet, etc.)
- A dictionary, textbook or other printed material
- Rosetta Stone
- self-study, materials used _____
- at home (family members)
- through Ceremony
- Other: _____

3. **Domains of Use** *Where do you speak it? Where do you hear it? With whom do you speak?*

3.1 Overall, how often do you have **the opportunity** to speak in Mohawk?

- Never
- Once in a while
- At least once a week
- Almost Everyday
- Special purposes (i.e. ceremonies, etc.)

3.2 How often do you **actually** speak Mohawk?

- Never
- Once in a while
- At least once a week
- Almost everyday
- Special purposes (i.e. ceremonies, etc.)

3.3 How often **could you** speak Mohawk if you wanted to?

- Never
- Once in a while
- At least once a week
- Almost everyday
- Special purposes (i.e. ceremonies, etc.)

3.4 What keeps you from answering in Mohawk when someone asks you a question in Mohawk? Check any that apply.

- I don't know what they asked
- I don't know how to say the answer

- _____ I am afraid to make a mistake
- _____ It's easier to answer in English
- _____ I don't want to speak Mohawk in public
- _____ Not everybody listening will understand so I use English to include everyone
- _____ Other, explain _____

4. **Language Attitudes** *Who, where, why you feel it should or should not be spoken*

4.1 How important is it to you to learn to use Mohawk language?

	Not important	Somewhat important	Important	Very important	Extremely important
Understand					
Speak					
Read					
Write					

Why? _____

4.2 What motivates or would motivate you to learn Mohawk? Check any that apply.

- _____ I want to be able to participate in Ceremonies
- _____ I want to be able to speak to my friends and family
- _____ I want to participate in cultural activities more fully
- _____ I want to understand my culture and my heritage better
- _____ I want to keep the language from disappearing
- _____ Other, explain _____
-

4.3 Do you see yourself speaking the Mohawk language? Yes No

If so, how long from now?

in 2 yrs in 5 yrs in 10 years never

4.4 How important is it for you to know about the following traditions? Check one box per row.

	Not important	Somewhat important	Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
The Clan system					
History					
The language					
Social songs					
Ceremonial songs					
Traditional stories					
Traditional foods					
Arts and Crafts					
Social dances					
Lacrosse					
Other (explain)					

4.5 How do you feel about the following statement, “*Children who learn Mohawk are generally more successful in school than those who only learn English*”

I don't know

I disagree

I agree

Explain _____

4.6 How do you feel about the following statement, “Someone who speaks Mohawk is better prepared to face the realities of life”

I don't know

I disagree

I agree

Explain

4.7 Should a non-Mohawk person learn the language if they are interested in it?

Yes

Yes but only if they are Onkwehonwe (First Nations)

Yes but only if they are married to a Mohawk

No

Explain

4.8 How do you feel when you hear Mohawk being spoken? Check any that apply.

I wonder why people do not simply speak English

It makes me embarrassed when I hear others use it in public

I get emotional

It makes me really want to be able to speak it

___ It makes me ashamed that I cannot speak it

___ I feel different, as I would for any other language that I do not understand

___ It makes me proud to be a Mohawk

Other (explain below)

5. Learning the Mohawk Language

5.1 Rate the following factors as you think they help to learn Mohawk successfully.

Check one (1) box per row.

	Not important	Somewhat important	Important	Very important	Extremely important
Personal aptitude					
Hard work					
Having Mohawk ancestry					
Hearing Mohawk spoken when you were young					
Being involved in Mohawk cultural activities					
Having a formal education					
Being willing to make mistakes in public					
Other:					

5.2 How would you best learn to speak Mohawk?

___ listening to audio recordings

___ hearing it, seeing it around me regularly (i.e. immersed in language)

___ working directly with a Speaker

___ other _____

5.3 Which of the following Mohawk language skills do you think it would be most useful to learn? Check any that apply.

_____ Producing simple everyday commands (eg. Put on your coat)

_____ Talking about one's family and ancestry

_____ Being able to make a short speech (personal or ceremonial)

_____ Being able to teach the language to others

_____ Being able to engage in extended conversations on most topics

_____ Being able to understand most of what fluent speakers say

_____ Telling a story

_____ Producing very simple sentences

_____ Carrying on a simple conversation

_____ Introducing oneself

_____ Other _____

5.4 What topics would be the most useful to you that you would like to see covered in a language class?

5.5 If you are a proficient speaker of the language, what are some barriers to your continued learning?

6. Revitalizing the Mohawk Language

6.1 In your opinion, how many people can speak Mohawk in the world today?

_____ less than 50

_____ 50 to 100

_____ 100 to 500

_____ 500 to 1,000

_____ 1,000 to 3,000

_____ more than 3,000

6.2 Where do you think Mohawk is spoken in the world?

6.3 If Mohawk could be revived as a language of daily use, which language do you think should be spoken in the following contexts? Check one box per row.

	All in Mohawk	Mostly Mohawk	About 50/50	Mostly English	All in English
Mohawk owned businesses					
Band Administration offices					
Health care					
TV, radio and internet					
Letters/emails/text messages					
Homes					
Ceremonies					
Church					
Social gatherings					
Public places					
Schools					

Other					
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6.4 Which language do you think Mohawk children should be instructed in? Check one box per row.

	All classes in Mohawk	Most classes in Mohawk, some in English	About 50/50	Most classes in English, some in Mohawk	All classes in English
Pre-school					
JK – 4					
5 – 8					
9 – 12					

Which subjects? _____

6.5 Should community service providers be required to learn Mohawk?

_____ Yes

_____ No

_____ They should be encouraged but not required

_____ Explain

6.6 Since 2000 Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na has initiated a number of programs to support the revitalization of Mohawk language and culture. Have you heard about these programs and do you support them? Check one box per row

	I have heard about it and support it	I have heard about it and I don't support it	I haven't heard about it but I support it	I haven't heard about it and I do not support it
Weekend language classes (adult)				
Full-time language classes (adult)				
Evening classes for language (adult)				
Evening classes for language (family)				
Primary Immersion				
Language Nest				
Mohawk ipad/ipod apps				
Master/Apprentice program				
Children's Afterschool program				
Signage in Mohawk				
Speakers Series (history/culture)				
Singing/Drumming/Dancing				
Traditional crafts				

6.7 What other things could benefit the revitalization of the Mohawk language?

6.8 Is there anything that would make you want to learn Mohawk or would make you even more enthusiastic?

6.9 Any additional information you would like to share that may not be covered elsewhere in the survey.

Nyawenkowa (thank you very much) for your time in completing this survey.



OPTIONAL

As a second phase to this research study several talking circles (focus group) and individual interviews will take place to further discuss some of the issues covered in this survey. **The recommended minimum age for child participants of a focus group discussion is 12 years.** If you are interested in being involved in either please contact me at:

- callieh1310@gmail.com or
- (613) 771-9732 (h) at anytime

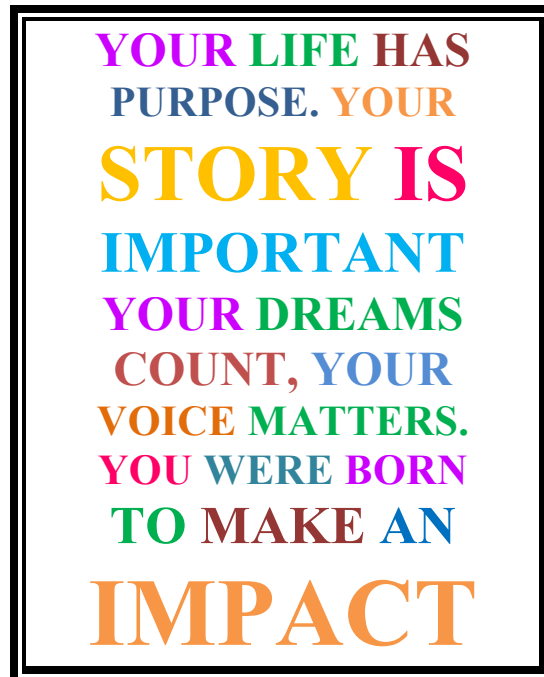
As an alternative you can place this page in one of the drop boxes located at:

- Kanhiote Library
- Tyendinaga Resource Fitness Centre
- Community Wellbeing Building
- Tyendinaga Elder's Lodge
- Mohawk Administration Office

I am interested in being a part of a talking circle/individual interview (circle one or both):

Name: _____
 Phone: _____
 Email: _____
 Other: _____

Kenhtè:ke Community Language Survey



As partial fulfillment of my Masters of Education in Indigenous Language Revitalization I will be conducting a community survey on language. The purpose of the research is:

- to determine the status and health of Kanyen'kéha (Mohawk language) in the community
- to learn the attitudes and feelings about language, and

- to determine the effectiveness of the present community language revitalization strategy.

All research activities will conform to the Human Research Ethics Board at the University of Victoria, B.C. and will be supervised by Faculty at UVic.

Surveys will be delivered door-to-door during the months of February and March 2014. **All community residents** regardless of age or membership with the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte are encouraged to participate in the project. There will be several drop boxes throughout the community (noted with the survey instructions) or please contact me to arrange pick up of your completed survey **by March 28, 2014.**

If you are further interested in participation in a focus group discussion or a one-on-one interview, please contact me.

Community engagement is vitally important to the success of this project. Your participation is very much appreciated.

Nyawenkowa
Callie Hill
(613) 771-9732
callieh1310@gmail.com

Kenhtè:ke Community Language Survey

Summary of Instructions

1. **IMPORTANT: Read letter = Implied consent to participate**
2. **Complete survey** – independently or with assistance if required

All residents of each community household 12 years of age and older are encouraged to complete a survey

Additional copies of the survey are available by contacting the researcher

3. **Submit survey** – drop off locations or request pick-up (613) 771-9732 or callieh1310@gmail.com
 - Kanhiote Library
 - Tyendinaga Fitness Resource Centre
 - Community Wellbeing Centre
 - Tyendinaga Elder's Lodge
 - Mohawk Administration Office

Letter of Information for Implied Consent

To: All Kenhtè:ke (Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory) residents:

You are invited to participate in a study entitled **Kanyen'kéha: Awakening Community Consciousness** that is being conducted by Callie Hill.

Callie Hill is a graduate student in the Department of Linguistics and Faculty of Indigenous Education at the University of Victoria and you may contact her if you have further questions by email at callieh1310@gmail.com or phone (613) 771-9732. As a graduate student, Callie is required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a Masters in Education. It is being conducted under the co-supervision of Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, eczak@uvic.ca and Alex D'Arcy, adarcy@uvic.ca.

This research has received some funding from the Tyendinaga Community Development Fund.

The purpose of this research project is:

- to determine the status and health of the Mohawk language in Kenhtè:ke,
- to learn the attitudes and feelings about the language and
- to determine the effectiveness of the present language revitalization strategy in meeting the needs and wants of the community.

Your participation will contribute to the revitalization of Kanyen'kéha in Kenhtè:ke and to the body of knowledge on using surveys in language revitalization efforts.

If you are a **community resident** of Kenhtè:ke **regardless of membership** with the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte, you are invited to participate in this study. Children and youth are strongly encouraged to participate and extra copies of the survey for others in your household are available by contacting the researcher. **THE RECOMMENDED MINIMUM AGE OF CHILD PARTICIPANTS FOR THE SURVEY IS 12 YEARS OF AGE. IF POSSIBLE, CHILDREN WHO CAN READ SHOULD COMPLETE THE SURVEY PRIVATELY/INDEPENDENTLY. NOTE THAT NOT ALL QUESTIONS MAY APPLY TO CHILDREN**

If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include the completion of the enclosed survey which will take approximately 30 – 45 minutes of your time which include multiple choice and open-ended questions. You are free to answer only those questions in which you are comfortable to provide an answer. If you wish you can request assistance to complete a survey by having someone read the questions to you out loud while you answer orally. Additionally you can request your completed survey to be picked up by contacting the researcher.

Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you including your time in completing the survey and returning your survey to one of several locations identified throughout the community:

- Kanhiote Library
- Tyendinaga Resource Fitness Centre
- Community Wellbeing Building
- Tyendinaga Elder's Lodge
- Mohawk Administration Office

The potential risk to you by participating in this research include the emotional discomfort that comes with the loss of a mother tongue language as a direct result of assimilation, colonization and residential and/or day school education of indigenous people. To prevent or to deal with these risks you are encouraged to answer only those questions that will not cause you any undue emotional feelings. If you require support as a result of participating in this survey, you are encouraged to contact the Traditional Practitioner's program at the Community Wellbeing Building, Meadow Drive, Tyendinaga Territory, Ont., 613-967-3603. The potential benefits of your participation in this research include having your voice and opinions heard and influencing future language programming initiatives.

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation. If you do withdraw from the study due to the anonymous nature of the survey, it will be impossible to remove data from completed, submitted surveys. The researcher may have a relationship to potential participants as family/close friend and/or supervisor/employee. You should not feel any obligation to participate due to a relationship with the researcher and the choice to not participate will not have any implications on your relationship(s) in the future. The survey does not ask for any identifying information which will protect your anonymity. The confidentiality of the information you share will be guaranteed if you choose to complete and submit the survey independently. If you request assistance in completion of the survey or if you request your completed survey to be picked up, there will be limits to the level of confidentiality that can be guaranteed. Data collected from the surveys will be transferred to electronic files and any identifying information removed from the open-ended questions will be removed prior to storage. The data will be stored on a password protected computer accessed by the Researcher only.

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: a future community gathering to provide a final report, the Researcher's Master's thesis, presentations at scholarly events and any future presentations conducted by the Researcher. Data from this study will be kept indefinitely at the office of Tsi Tyónnheht Onkwawén:na Language and Cultural Centre as it will represent benchmark data in the area

of community language revitalization efforts. Paper copies of the survey will be shredded with only the compiled raw data being kept and any identifying information being destroyed. The data will be kept on a password protected computer accessed only by senior administrative staff.

Individuals that may be contacted regarding this study include: Callie Hill, Researcher and co-supervisors Ewa Czakowska-Higgins and Alexandra D'Arcy. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

By completing and submitting the questionnaire **YOUR FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT IS IMPLIED** and indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researcher.

Your completed survey if returned by **March 28, 2014** will serve a more useful purpose to the data gathering phase of this project. I appreciate your participation in this community project and I look forward to sharing the final report with you at a future community gathering.

Nyawen,
Callie Hill, Masters Candidate, University of Victoria, B.C.
(613) 771-9732 callieh1310@gmail.com
Please retain a copy of this letter for your reference

Volunteer Instructions

1. This is a community Language Survey by Callie Hill - this is her Master's Thesis project for Uvic.
2. I only expect you to go to each house once, to drop off. If nobody is home just leave two copies. They can contact me for more if required
3. If people indicate they need help you can choose to help them or tell them they need to call me to set that up.
4. Each community resident 12 yrs of age and over (not just band members) will get:
 - a. A survey
 - b. An optional sheet - if they want to participate in talking circle or have an individual interview
5. Each house - one set of instructions
6. Drop boxes located at:
 - i. Band Office
 - ii. Community WellBeing Centre
 - iii. Elders Lodge
 - iv. Kanhiote Library
 - v. Tyendinaga Fitness Resource Centre
 - b. Or call/email Callie and she will arrange pick up of your completed surveys - by March 28th
7. A community gathering will be held in the future to discuss the findings
 All of these points are included in the instructions given to each household
 My cell is 613-848-1608 - call anytime if you have a question.
 Nyawenkowa for your help!

	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No		

Appendix 2 – Questions

Talking Circle Questions

1. What does it mean to be a Mohawk person?
 - a. Does the ability to speak Mohawk define who you are as a person?
 - b. Can you be a “real” Mohawk without speaking Mohawk?
2. How would you feel if the Mohawk language disappeared?
3. Are there elements of Mohawk culture that are particularly linked to the language?
 - a. What are those elements?
 - b. What makes them linked?
4. Does evidence exist that people in the community value language? If so, what is it?
5. What are the most important things that you want to pass on to your children and grandchildren?
6. Final thoughts to share?

Conversation questions

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself?
2. What does it mean to be Kanyen’kehá:ka (a Mohawk person)?
3. What are your thoughts on the health and vitality of the Mohawk language in Kenhtè:ke?

4. If you won the lottery and could provide anything for language revitalization efforts for the community what would it look like?

Appendix 3 – Survey Questions, full descriptions of condensed question/responses

Figure 7: Current Competencies in Kanyen'keha (Q2.2)

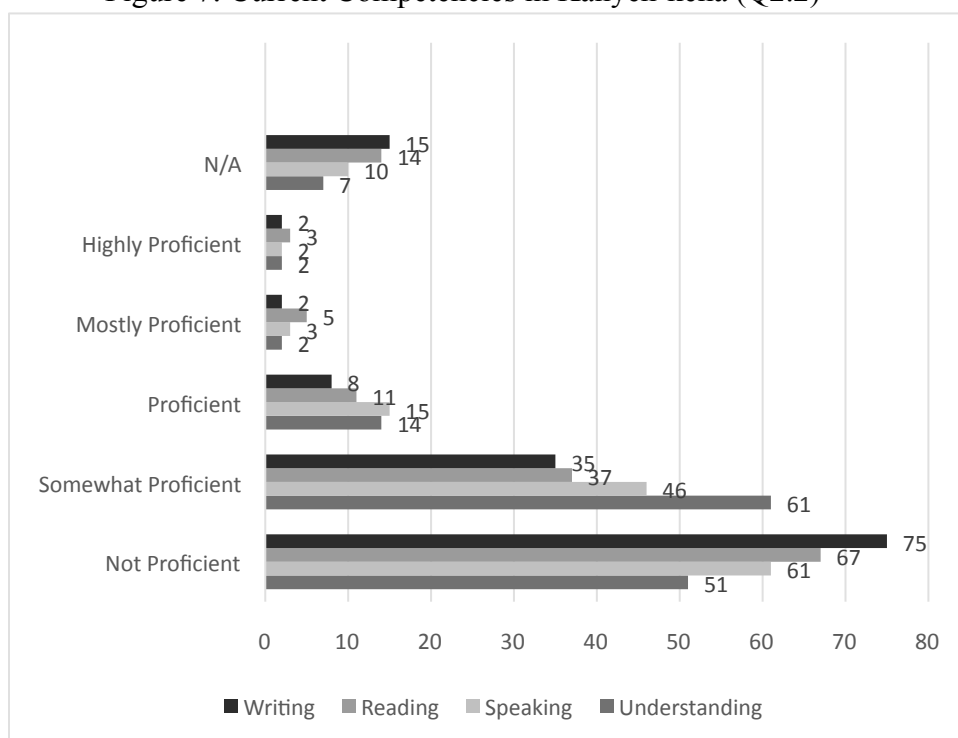
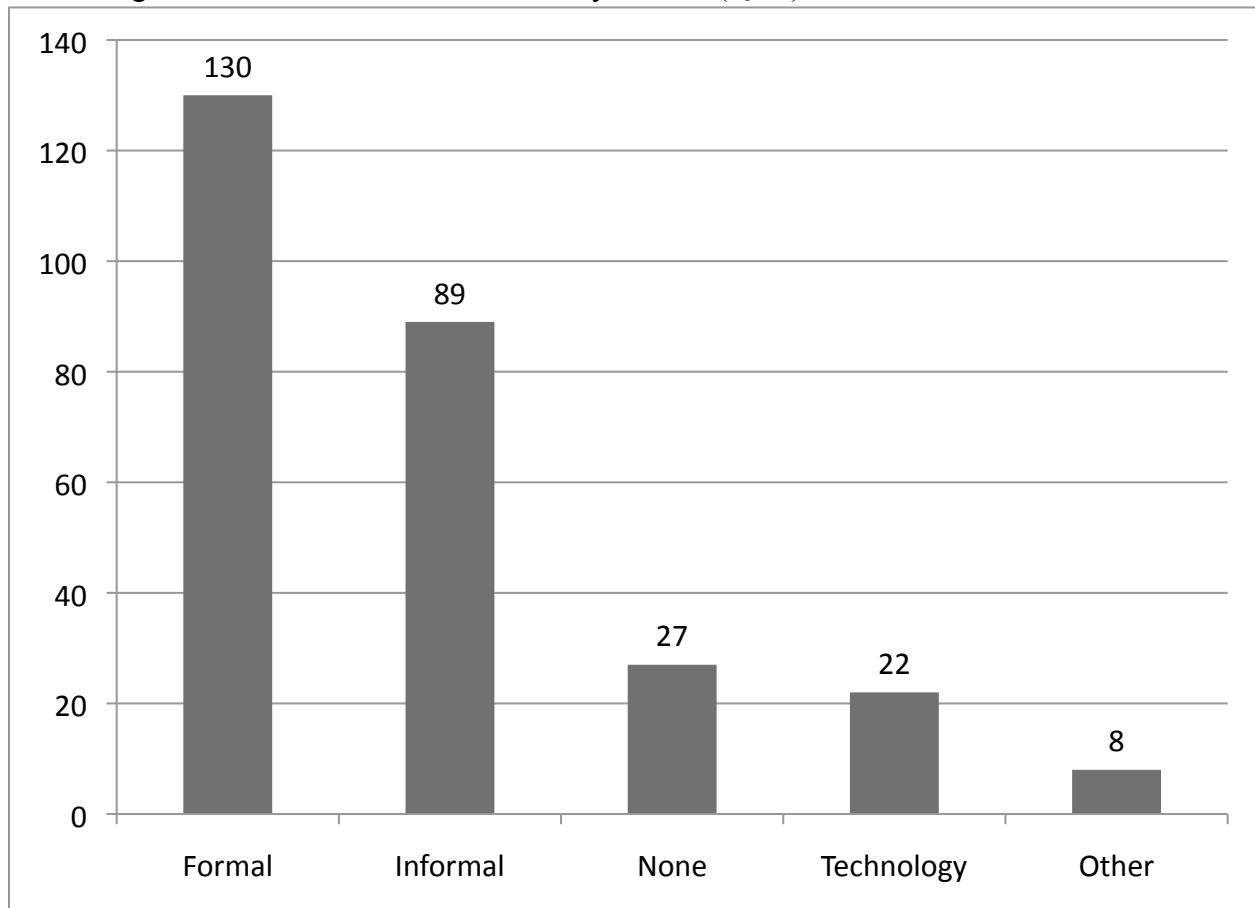


Figure 9: Methods Used to Learn Kanyen'keha (Q2.3)



Formal: School, TTO, Community class, Ceremony

Informal: Self-study, self-study with printed materials, at home with family

Technology: Facebook, Twitter, Iphone/Ipad/Ipod, ANKI, Quizlet, Rosetta Stone, youtube

Other: helping children with schoolwork, radio, listened to parents as a child

Figure 10: Domains of Use (Q3.1, 3.2, 3.3)

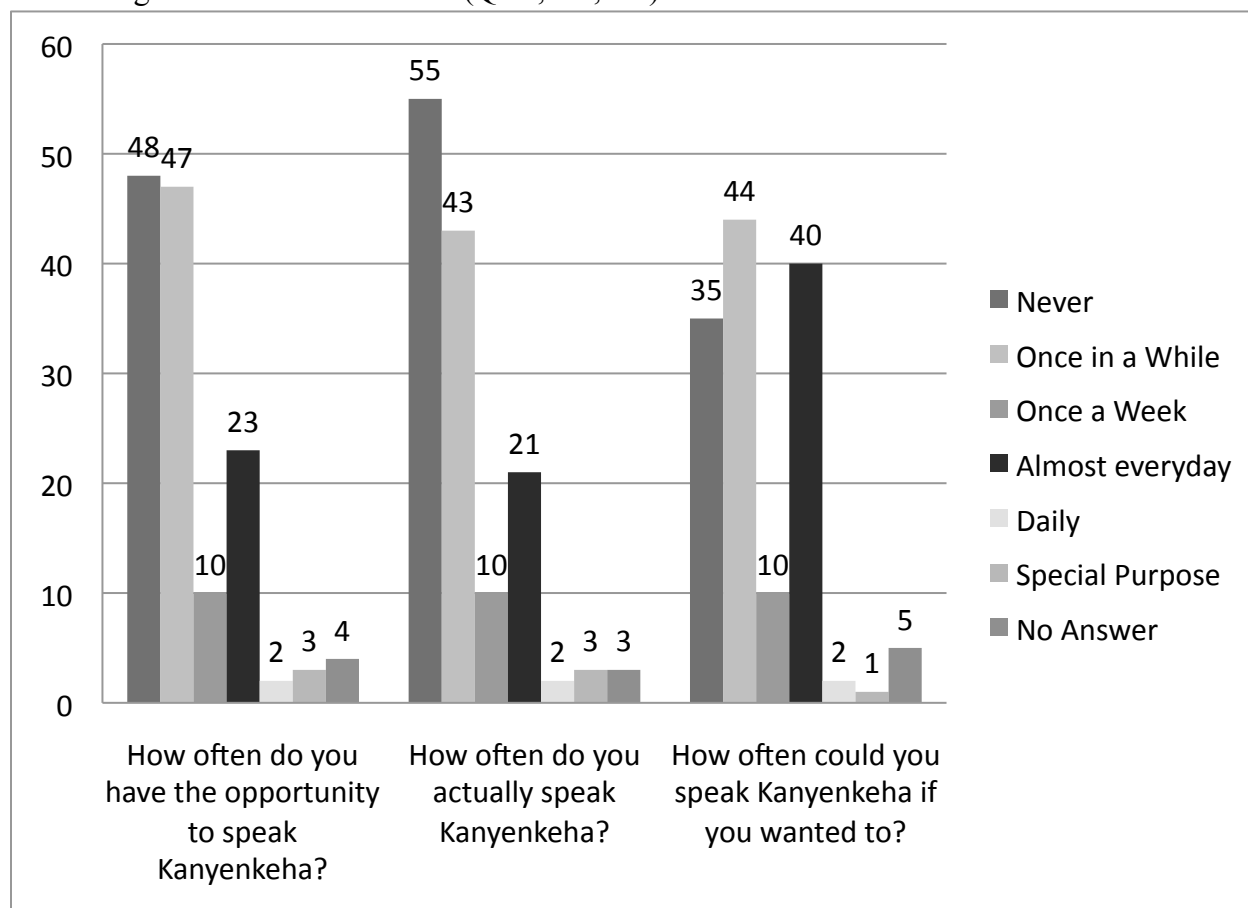


Figure 12: Importance to Learn to use Kanyen'keha (Q4.1)

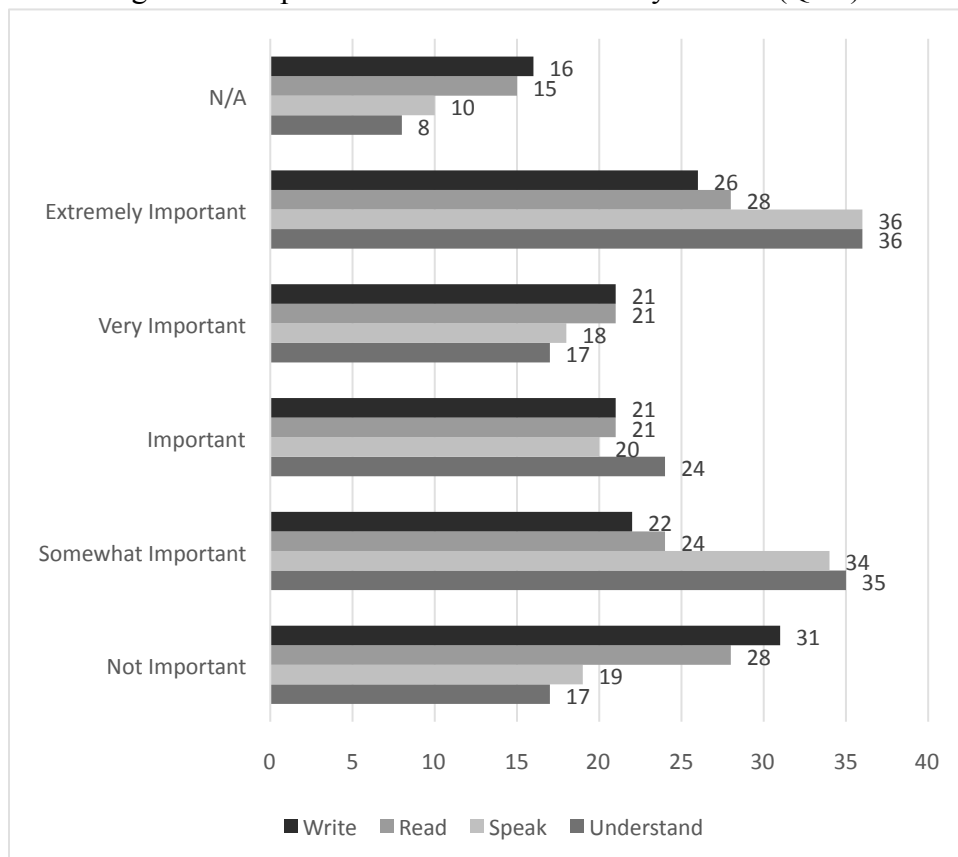


Figure 16: Factors to Help Learn Kanyenkeha (Q5.1)

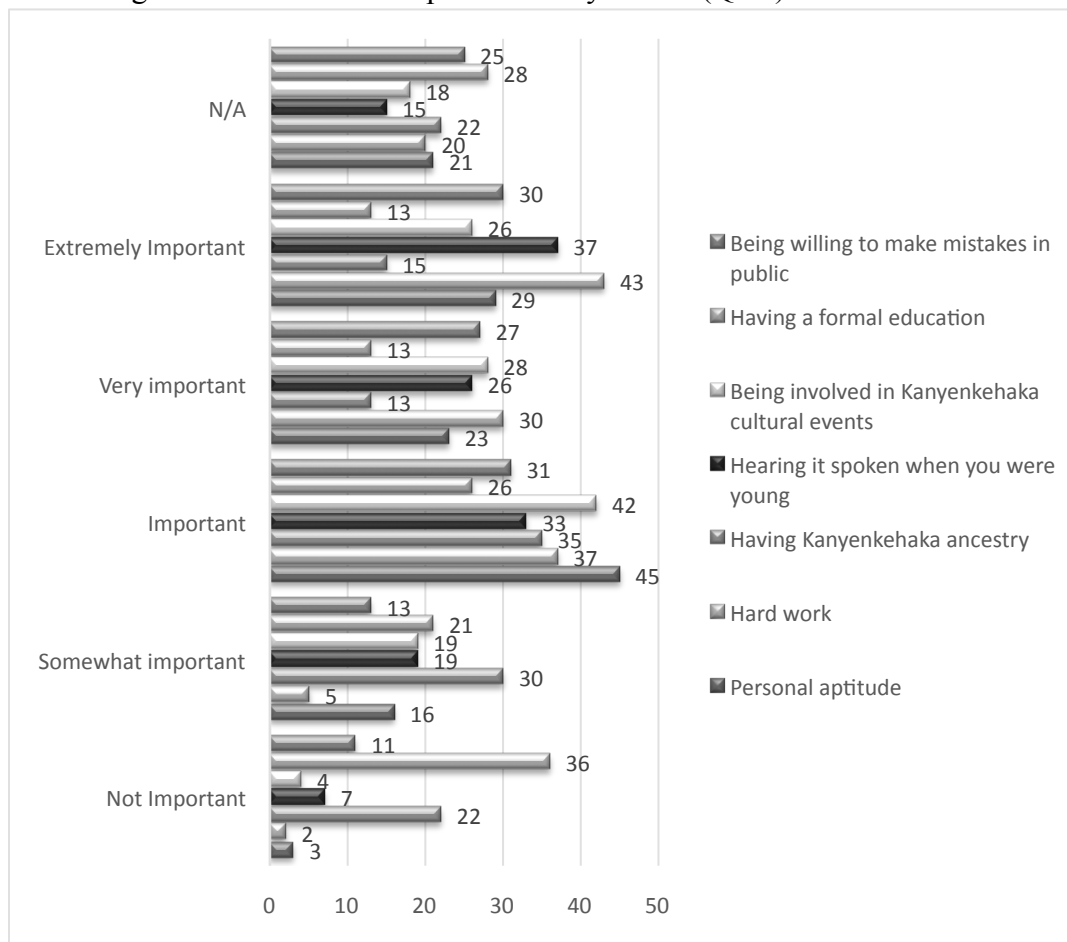


Figure 18: Language of Daily Use (Q6.3)

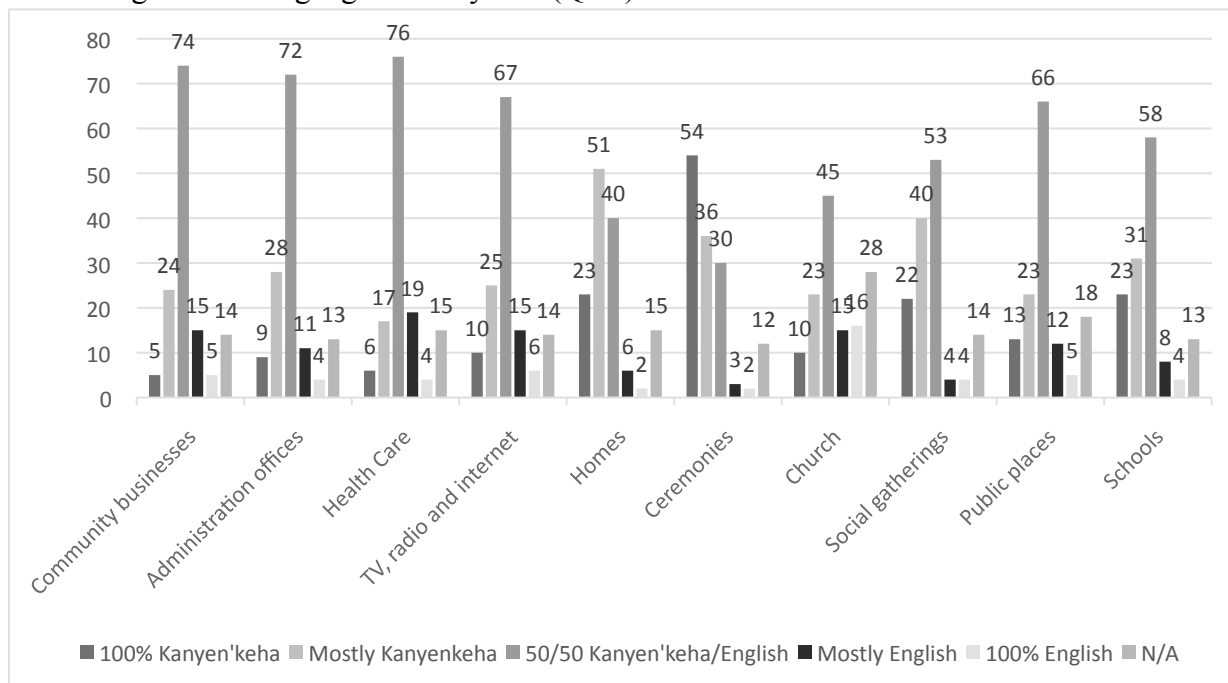


Figure 19: Preferred Language of Educational Instruction (Q6.4)

