LANGUAGE SHIFT:
A STUDY OF THREE GENERATIONS WITHIN A CREE FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

This study examines and describes intergenerational language shift across three generations as evidenced in three Cree speakers from three generations of the researcher's family. The premise that not all language shift situations are voluntary informs this thesis. The primary objective is to find out how Cree language use is shifting to the English language. Part of this objective involves uncovering the Euro-Centric practices, policies, and ideologies which have contributed to the change in language use. This research addresses the effect external political-economic relations have had on Indigenous languages and on the Cree language.

The methodology used is qualitative, involving members of the researcher's Cree family. This qualitative study employs a Cree story, narrated in Cree by three generations of the family. Other data is obtained from informal interviews, field notes and personal insights about language shift and language use. The qualitative approach allows the researcher to blend her voice with the participants, weaving her thoughts throughout the thesis to develop views of language, its use, and shift. It applies the principle that each language has its own particular way of framing, naming and understanding the world in totality. It advocates maintaining Cree for future generations to understand the relationship of man to the environment and the development of knowledge.
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DEDICATION

Ninīkikwak Ōma Ōcī
Masināhikan
kakīpīkiskīnwanawicik
Niidoowīwin.

This thesis is dedicated to my parents
Angelique and Angus Merasty
whose love and wisdom of the Cree Culture
inspired and supported my quest for an understanding of the
Cree Language.
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CHAPTER ONE
The Effects of Language Shift

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I wish to begin my journey with my story, the places where I grew up, the language I spoke, and my experiences with the English language, which has led me to venture into the area of language shift. I also provide the background for the study by describing the Niįwak, 'the Cree' of the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation and attempt to give an overview of the linguistic characteristics of the Niįwak. I describe some of the factors that caused socio-linguistic changes to occur within the community. These socio-linguistic changes involved the changes in language and changes within language functions. These changes are part of the question of this study in the quest to find out how language shift can be examined in a story, supported by interviews, within one Cree family.

This chapter situates the study within Pelican Narrows, a First Nation community of the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation. It describes the ancestral language of the researcher, the participants and the community. It establishes that the traditional community language is Niįwîwin which was used exclusively by the people until recently. The description of the community includes how the English language has affected the Cree language, how the community has
attempted to address the maintenance of the Cree language along with the present situation. The socio-linguistic changes within the community and within one Cree family are viewed as being connected to educational, social, economic and historical factors which have impacted Indigenous communities locally and globally.

1.1.1 *Nîkînak*: 'My home'

When I was growing up in Sandy Narrows and later in Pelican Narrows, the only mode of winter transportation was the dog team. The community heard the little bells on the colorful pompoms, attached to the dog harnesses, long before the traveler(s) arrived on a cold and clear winter night. The bells were the first sign that visitors were coming or that hunters were returning home. Someone would cry out, “*Nitōtamok, sîwîhpîcîkîwak,*” “Listen, they are making the bells ring!” The sound of those bells on the harnesses of the dogs brought joy and jubilation to the community as they signified impending visits and the exchange of ideas, stories, and news of relatives from other parts of the region. *Nitōtamok, sîwîhpîcîkîwak* aroused excitement because the bells were a symbol of the synergy between Cree relations, Cree ecology, and Cree cultural understandings.

Women and children enjoyed visitors from other communities. It was an opportunity to share and exchange ideas about child-rearing practices, beading patterns, and other home related ideas or practices. As a young girl in *Wapâwakâsîk*, or Sandy Narrows as it is known in English, my life revolved between my grandmother's and parent's house. My mother, grandmother, and
aunts directed me in the social and linguistic expectations of a girl, in addition to being educated in appropriate behaviours, norms, and acceptable speech. The appropriate language used for different contexts, with children, women or men, was important in developing relationships and maintaining harmony. My mother was the most important woman in my life as we spent many hours together caring for my little brothers and sisters. Also, the pattern of daily living and staying at home all the time made her welcome all visitors, savouring the opportunity to visit with them in her home.

_Wapāwakāsīk_ was a totally Cree speaking community, comprised of two extended families who nurtured the cultural context for the natural acquisition and transmission of the Cree language. Our task as children was to imitate our Cree role models by making traps, fixing nets, making moccasins, moss bags, and cooking food while at the same time discussing the motions and actions of each activity. We learned the importance of each action, event, and social practice. The daily enterprise of listening and talking was augmented by adults enabling us to learn the sounds and meanings thus connecting the words to the practices. Cree language experiences rooted my beliefs and values which have sustained me during the struggles of my journey. In addition, the early childhood experiences built up abilities and competence to recognize Cree ways of knowing, especially through the development of strong interrelationships with our people. Cree life has provided me with the capacity to value the worth of my being as I am affirmed within the culture of my people. Thus, I truly believe that the Cree language is fundamental to the development of the Cree person.
1.1.2 Kohtak Aski 'Another World'

Over my life span, Cree-immersed life experiences gradually gave way to another form of learning. The first experience of this other world began with my journey through the school system. Slowly but surely, the English language began to push aside the Cree language. It rendered a tremendous impact upon my language when I had to relocate out of the Cree community to attend school and later to work. The first few years of experiencing English as linguistic immersion was very difficult. In contrast to Cree, the English language has its own way of relating experiences, actions, and thoughts. In many ways, the foreign social and linguistic environment left me 'out on the lake without a paddle.' Everything connected with the school system was completely contrary to our experiences in our communities. It was a traumatic experience for a young learner.

The lack of interactions with Elders, parents, and other adult role models added to the 'fuzzy' part of my journey in the schools that were English-only. Without cultural role models, I was not able to reflect on my experiences in my own language. While living in the city, the only role models were non-Aboriginal teachers, boarding school supervisors, and boarding home families. Unlike nurturing parents, these people were more concerned about Aboriginal student behaviors and their jobs. They limited their interactions to providing the required duties such as teaching or supervising and ensuring that we followed rules of good conduct. The curtailment of culturally meaningful social interactions, which
were a result of attending school away from my home community, contributed to
a journey as a young adult fraught with misgivings and misguided paths.

The Cree belief that everything moves in circles has been a significant
social foundation throughout my life. The word, *kakɨwɪstâkon*, 'it will come back
to you' works in positive and negative ways. It entails that if energy is expended
in an attempt to do good deeds, then good things will happen. Likewise, if you do
or say something bad, chances are that something negative will happen in your
life. As a Cree person, this saying is important to me because later in my life, I
was able to return to the Cree linguistic environment that I had left years before. I
returned to Pelican Narrows with my husband and children. Returning to my
roots was a time of renewal.

During my time of reconnection and renewal of my cultural heritage, I
became aware of the dynamic nature of culture, that it is not possible to return to
things as they were, because things change, people change, and languages change.
These are accepted facts of life. The problem with the language change was not
that Cree had created new words, which it had, but that other sociological
influences had created an environment for language change. The natural changes
of the language included the snowmobile that had replaced the dog team and had
become the mode of winter transportation. For example, the word for the
snowmobile is *kâmôstâkonakocɪk*, 'that which runs on top of the snow' (Angus
Merasty, 2000). This new word illustrates incorporating the environment and
method of propulsion into a concept that fits the Cree worldview. These kinds of
changes are acceptable because they develop in the rhythm of understanding of the new things that enter our life experiences.

As the erosion of the Cree language occurs so do the way communities connect to ancient knowledge and ways of knowing that embraces relationships, connections and awareness that encompasses complete worldview. It was as a teacher that I began to notice my own views changed towards the value of learning to speak English which I originally promoted as essential to acquiring a Canadian education. Gradually, though, I became aware that the Cree language was beginning to lose its value and prestige amongst both students and staff. It saddened me to see that fluent Cree speaking children, with their Aboriginal sense of humour intact, were experiencing alienation by other students and some teachers. They found that their classmates and teachers did not understand their sense of humour nor their behaviours, which had detrimental effects. The ancestral language is adversely affected when this kind of negative attitude by one's own people, is directed towards those who speak fluent and often only Cree. These adverse effects preclude an environment of total immersion in the Cree language as well as traditional knowledge, values and norms. Consequently, there is a greater chance of today's children forming different perspectives and understandings. However, a window of opportunity still exists, it may not be too late for the winds of change to bring a renewed breath of Cree.

The Euro-Canadian based school system has played a significant role in displacing the Aboriginal language and culture. The assimilative attitudes, preferences, and speech habits have changed not only the language habits but also
the cultural patterns in the Cree community. For example, there are instances when concerned parents complain that their children are adapting to the teachings of the school system to the extent that they no longer know how to adhere to traditional Aboriginal practices. Instead of preparing the children for life, the school has actually placed distance between students and parents or grandparents. The lifestyle changes, which have occurred due to a movement away from traditional hunting and gathering pursuits, have also contributed to changing worldviews making it easier for language shift to gain acceptability in some families within the community. Increasingly, I realized that as more people adopted English, language change did affect the interrelationships of all things. I became concerned with language shift as I have noticed more people accepting English as the principle mode of communication in all language interactions.

Every language system adheres to particular rules to ensure effective communication (Gumperz, 1972, p. 219). Linguistic groups are also conscientious of the process of how sounds, words, and sentences are structured. The words and sentences are formed accordingly to reflect the mutual understandings of both the speaker and listener. This necessitates the understanding of cultural worldviews, behaviors, norms, and perceptions. This study is naturally conscious of cultural experiences along with the verbal formation and patterning of Cree sounds and words. It is cognizant that Cree people are concerned with linguistic standards, which has led to an examination of the linguistic aspects of the Cree language. It is partly a response to an Elder at a Cree development workshop in Prince Albert in the winter of 1999 who
entreated the teachers and other participants to find ways to educate children of their language. The Elder expressed his feelings for maintaining standards when teaching Cree, especially to children. He said: "Kwayask tayāmīcik, mwac māmāsīs," "[Children] should speak properly, not in an improper or inadequate manner." If Elders want children to be able to develop linguistic competence in Cree, it is not only proper but it is necessary, to learn to recognize sounds, words, and the structure of the Cree language. This serves the cultural aspirations, attitudes, and perspectives of Elders and other educators. This study also speaks for my father, an Elder, who wants nothing better than to hear his grandchildren speak with him in Cree.

My life began as a Cree-only speaker, then I became a bilingual speaker of Cree and English. I have learned to live in two worlds, but I am never completely at ease in the English world. The Cree language still speaks to my spirit. I can relate to experiences and express myself better in Cree than in English. I feel a bond with Cree speakers and I feel elated when they are willing to share their experiences with me in the Cree language. The essence of Niįaw 'Cree', of being connected with other Aboriginal people, allows me to appreciate Niįwīwin 'Cree language'. Perhaps it is the understanding that we, as Niįawak 'Cree people,' have no need to explain ourselves when we are with others of the same tongue. We know we are accepted for who we are.

1.1.3 Niįawak: 'The Cree of the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation

Until recently, it was feasible for small speech communities in
Saskatchewan to survive in relative isolation, preserve their own language, and use a language of wider currency for communication with the outside world when necessary. However, centralization of life in the twentieth century makes this kind of situation increasingly rare, accelerating the decline of less commonly used language such as Cree. *Niįdawak*, 'the Cree' of the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation have experienced the impact of outside influences and lifestyles and will continue to feel their force as the world becomes increasingly smaller.

Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation is a diverse First Nation with several communities throughout Northeastern Saskatchewan. *Niįdowīwin*, "the Cree language" of the Woods Cree dialect is the ancestral language of this First Nation. The "th" as used by Wolfart & Ahenakew (1998) is represented by "ð". *Niįdowīwin* was once the exclusive language of the home, church, and community public spaces; until the latter part of the twentieth century, *Niįdawak* served the people well and until recently they had no need for another language. Linguistically, *Niįdowīwin* provided the means for discussing, analyzing, solving, judging and pondering about the concepts, experiences and events of the world. However, in recent years, the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation membership has undergone a vast change demographically and linguistically among the young people who manifest the greatest change in the language.

The gradual but unrelenting transition from the Cree language to the English language is happening at this moment. I noticed the change in the speech habits of young people when I visited the *Opawîkoscikan* School in Pelican Narrows in February 2000 for a career symposium. It was evident from the
conversation around me that Cree was still the dominant language in the community. However, the conversations around me did suggest that the social fabric of the Cree language was torn. The young people, no longer dependent on Cree as the main vehicle of communication, were using the English language as well as Cree, to speak to their friends, while others were using only English. Nowhere did I hear a conversation between young people spoken completely in the Cree language. Through school and media influences, the English language permeated the lives of these young people. But, if this was a trend, this pathway once taken might be hard to retract. If the gradual use of English proceeds, unsuspected and uninterrupted, then the Cree language will not remain the dominant language for more than this generation of young people in the present community.

Opawikoscikan School in Pelican Narrows as a First Nation school began its mandate to deliver cultural and Cree language programming in 1982, when it took over administration from the Department of Indian Affairs (INAC). The school experiences of children are less frightening and more relevant for students with the increase of Aboriginal teachers, but local Cree-speaking professional teachers and teacher associates are required to teach provincial and local curriculum in English. In so doing the use of the English language becomes the acceptable language of school. Thus, the pendulum has swung towards the teaching of English for the student population of approximately 800 students from Nursery School to Grade Twelve. The Cree-language teaching experiences offered a few minutes per day by teacher associates in elementary classrooms are
not enough to counterbalance the English language curriculum. Partially due to the limitation of fiscal resources in middle years and secondary levels, only one Cree language teacher is expected to teach all students from Grades 7-12. Although a sincere attempt to increase relevant cultural experiences and to offer support to Cree language programming began in 1989, the impact has also been minimal upon the students. However, students from Grades 4, 6, and 8 students attend regular cultural programming, reinforcing cultural teachings and activities such as fishing, cleaning food, snaring, and sewing. The cultural teacher keeps the program accessible to all grades, willing to provide support as needed or requested. Certainly, there has been an attempt by the school and community to provide human, fiscal, and material resources to Cree language programming but it may not be enough.

The multiple physical, social, and educational barriers that existed in decades past, which worked against the acquisition of the ancestral language have been removed. The school is no longer under direct colonial influence and children are encouraged to speak Cree. In fact, taking Cree as a subject is mandatory for all children. Colonial practices which involved herding children off to Indian Residential Schools, as in the past, have vanished (Furniss, 1992). Today, in Pelican Narrows, there is social acceptance about the naturalness and appropriateness of learning Cree, with children being encouraged to learn and speak their ancestral/home language freely at school, home, and community.

Nevertheless, a significant number of people have maintained the Cree language quite well despite the powerful influences from outside the community.
A multitude of linguistically competent Cree speakers exist and the majority still maintain Cree as their 'sole and soul' language. They believe it is essential for the preservation of their culture. My parents, my brothers John, Percy, William, and Jonah, and my sisters, Caroline and Nancy, are excellent Cree speakers. These people enjoy communicating with their children and grandchildren in their own ancestral language. The community has some monolingual Cree speakers, although their numbers have decreased over the years. Many of those within the twenty to thirty year range prefer Cree to English, but there are a few who have chosen English. It is the younger generation of speakers, under eighteen years of age, who have begun to display a preference for the English language, using it to explain concepts.

Pelican Narrows is similar to other First Nation communities with a variety of language speakers characterized by the use of Cree, English, or a mixture of the two languages (Hiet & Blair, 1993). The English language within this Cree speaking community has created various language characteristics, which cannot be simplified by merely labeling everyone as a Cree or an English speaker or a bilingual. The usage of English by the citizens of Pelican Narrows reflects the influence that English has had on the community, but may also reflect some resistance by some members in learning the English language. In an attempt to describe the language characteristic of the community the bilingual range outlined by Hiet & Blair (1993) serves as a model. Thus, in Pelican Narrows, there are speakers who may: "1) be monolingual in [Cree]; 2) be monolingual in English; 3) speak a dialect of English; 4) be bilingual in [Cree] and English; 5) speak
(Cree) and some degree of English; or 6) speak English or a dialect of English and some degree of [Cree] "(Hiet & Blair, 1993, p. 104). Many of the younger speakers are either English-only speakers with a scant knowledge of Cree words. The linguistic diversity that favours English begins to establish norms that accept English as naturally as it does Cree. No matter how one views the situation, there is one thing that is certain: the English language has made headway into domains formerly understood as Cree space.

To prevent the simplification of the linguistic characteristics of the people it is important to acknowledge the diversity of language patterns of people within a particular culture and language. This is especially crucial as this study is rooted in the Woods Cree of the people from Pelican Narrows who originated from Wapâwakâsîk. This study does not reflect all speech patterns of all people in Pelican Narrows, although it is necessary to reflect on the incident of language shift as it is happening in the community. Two of the participants grew up in Pelican Narrows and I also grew up in Pelican Narrows but at a time when the number of young people was far less than today. The tremendous growth of the young population within Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation, in all its communities, has compounded the problem of ensuring intergenerational transmission of the Cree language. They are the ones who seem to be more willing to accept new speech patterns and lifestyles.

So, the Ničawak of Pelican Narrows are as diverse as any other Aboriginal group and even though many of the younger generations have not learned their ancestral language, the community demonstrates that its mother tongue is still
Niōwiwin. They maintain their dialect in the community and school. Yet there are problems with trying to maintain the Cree language as the provincial curriculum dictates the structure of the school system. Although, the aspirations of Elders are to retain Niōwiwin as the mother tongue, this aspiration is not going to be easy to attain as many speakers seem to have accepted English as one of the community languages. Niōwiwin is also an important part of the community, giving it its own identity among Aboriginal people.

1.2 The Language-of-Work Hypothesis

During the 20th century a widespread pattern of language shift has occurred among the Indigenous communities of the United States and Canada, including Saskatchewan. According to Palmer & Scott (1991), the "language-of-work hypothesis" posits that, if the national language is used as the language of work for virtually all jobs in a minority-language community, the national language will, within a few generations, replace the minority language as language of the home as well, resulting in a language shift. This language shift involves a series of steps. 1. indigenous language groups moving from kinship-based economies to wage-based economies; 2. a significant portion of community members using a language other than their mother tongue in the workplace; 3. a change in views as to what language skills children will need to prepare for the future; and 4. parents making the national language the language of their children. In addition, Palmer & Scott (1997) argue that other factors promoting language shift may include improved transportation and communication, government
policy, intercultural marriages, etiquette and intolerance.

1.3 A Global Phenomena

Initially, the shifting from an Indigenous language to a colonial language was a deliberate attempt by the colonial powers to annihilate the Indigenous languages through the forcing of imperialist policies and practices (Maurais, 1996). Then, the covert practices of social, economic, and political systems took on the task of instilling the ideology of positioning the European languages as the most important and valuable languages of the world (Fishman, 1991). Recently, the threat against Indigenous languages has doubled with the globalization of world trade, commerce (Fishman, 1991), and media. It is becoming harder to prevent language shift as a phenomena when "native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers, and even understanders) or uses every generation" (Fishman, 1991). The task becomes more difficult as the number of Indigenous language speakers decreases with each generation. And as each community loses its Elders, the intergenerational transmission process is weakened.

Locally, the phenomena of language shift is a major threat even to those Indigenous/ancestral languages, such as Cree, which are considered strong today (Blair, 1997). According to Maurais, 1998 those Indigenous communities that are perceived as maintaining a strong ancestral language will probably experience declining use of their languages within a few generations. Inevitably, the decrease
in language usage will lead to a loss of the ancestral language, especially if efforts are not taken to curtail the declining process. Additionally, as the use of the language of the ancestral/Indigenous cultures decreases, other aspects of the culture will be impacted. Language shift threatens the communication patterns as well as the way people view the world (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Fishman, 1991). It is critical to view the phenomenon of language shift as a threat on the lives of Aboriginal people.

The threat against Indigenous languages becomes harder as proficient Indigenous speakers decrease as Elders leave us and the younger generations adopt the English language. In addition, the continuous changes in the socio-economic sectors places increased pressure on the Indigenous languages as young, educated people move out of their traditional speech communities to seek employment. The social, economic, educational and historical factors continue to exert significant impact on the Indigenous languages as Indigenous people try to find a place for themselves and their families in urban centres. In the end, it places a greater responsibility on current Indigenous speakers to assume the duty of transmitting their ancestral language to the young people regardless of their location.

1.4 Description of the study

This study illustrates intergenerational language shift across three generations of Cree speakers who are members of the same family. My father, my sister, and my daughter, who represent three generations of my family, were asked
to relate a legend, that was a traditional Cree legend familiar to all, in the Cree language. The legend was selected by the researcher, in cooperation with the participants. The oral Cree legend was transcribed in Cree using the Roman orthography, the Pelican Narrows style, to reveal language changes and changes within functions and within words, structures and meaning. Secondly, the participants were interviewed on their perceptions of language shift within their own family and community. In this study, language shift refers to the process, which marks changes in language use in situations leading to the gradual disappearance of a language (Richards et. al., 1992, p. 204). Studies in language shift indicate that the language of the dominant language often damages or adversely affects the stability of Indigenous languages (Blair, 1997; SILC, 1991; Williamson, 1991). As the dominant language affects the ancestral language, a community then experiences changes in usage which may lead to language shift. Most studies of language shift have concentrated on changes over many years from generation to generation (Fishman, 1991; Parsons-Yazzie, 1998) or have focused on the socio-linguistic changes of many subjects in various linguistic communities (Blair, 1997; SILC, 1991). This study focus on one family's actual and perceived language shift by addressing the following research questions:

1. Is language shift occurring in this Cree family and can it be ascertained from their relating of one story?

2. What are the perceptions and attitudes of three Cree speakers regarding Cree language and language shift?

3. What are the educational, social, economic and historical factors
that contribute to language shift?

This chapter situates the study within the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation community of Pelican Narrows, specifically within one Cree family using qualitative and a socio-linguistic approach. It is qualitative because it involves the participants from the story telling to the interviews, the re-reading of the transcriptions and the examination of the text. It is socio-linguistic because it seeks to find instances of language changes in functions and language changes within the context of words, structure and meaning. In attempting to identify language shift within one Cree family, this study has attempted to refrain from presenting cultural knowledge which is important to Ničawak 'Cree' people of the ö dialect in Northeastern Saskatchewan.

1.5 Definition of Terms

In this study a number of terms are significant. As a result the following definitions are outlined for the purpose of this study.

**Aboriginal**: are the people in Canada who trace their ancestry to the time before colonization (Ermine, 2000) and the constitutional term used to describe Indigenous peoples in Canada.

**Borrowing** is "a word or phrase which has been taken from one language and used in another language" (Richards et. al., p. 40)

**Code-switching** is a switch from one language to another. Code switching can occur between speakers, where one speaks one language or when a speaker uses one language and switches to another in the middle of a the speech act or in
the middle of a sentence (Richards et. al., 1992, p. 40) For example, "Inwapamâwak sihtak trees" 'I see the trees'.

Cree immersion program means that the child's first language, such as Cree, is used in the classroom until the child is ready for the new language. The language of instruction is the Indigenous language (Heit & Blair, 1993, p. 110).

Dialect is the "varieties of the same language. Dialects are not different languages, but are variations of a single language, exhibiting varying degrees of differences in the areas of pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and discourse patterns" (Heit & Blair, 1992, p. 112)

Dominant Language: the language that one has greater ability or the language which is greater importance than another (Richards et. al., 1992, p. 201)

Euro-Canadian refers to Canadians who may or may not be of European descent but have come to adopt, accept and promote teachings, which promote ideas, strategies, principles, and norms based on the Western European perspectives. It is synonymous with Western and Euro-Western

First Nation is the term which refers to the Aboriginal people in Canada who signed treaties with the Crown and have claimed this term. It is a term which has been taken as the preferred name by the largest First Nation organization in Canada, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN). It is preferred to the term "Indian" which is associated with the Indian Act and has a colonial connotation to many First Nations (Monture-Angus, 1998)

Indigenous refers to the people who "have[a] historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider
themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them (Martinez Cobo, 1987, quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). These are the first peoples of the land.

**Language shift** is the phenomenon that marks changes in language use, in language situations and the changes occurring within words, structure, and meaning (Richards et.al, p. 204).

Lexeme is "the smallest unit in the meaning of a language that can be distinguished from other similar units. It can occur in many different forms in actual spoken or written sentences, and is regarded as the same lexeme even when inflected. For example, *give, gives, given* belong to the lexeme *give*" (Richards et. al., 1992, p.210)

Lexicon is "a mental system which contains all the information a person knows about words" including pronunciation, grammatical patterns, and meanings Richards et. al., 1992, p. 213)

**Minority Language** is the language spoken by people who form a minority group within a country as opposed to a majority language (Richards et. al., 1992, p. 219).

Mother tongue refers to the language one learns first, identifies with, and "is identified as a native speaker of, by others" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

**Morphology:** "The study of MORPHEMES and their different forms (ALLOMORPHS) and the way they combine in WORD FORMATION" (Richards et. al., 1992, p. 237)

**Niįawak** are the Cree people who use 6 'th' dialect. It is the name that the
people have given themselves.

Niįwįwin is the Cree language, the ancestral language of the people who live in the central and northeastern areas of Saskatchewan.

National Language is often the official language of a country recognized by the state and promoted as such or it could be the main language of a country (Richards et. al., 1992, p. 240).

Phonology: to establish and describe the "distinctive sound units of language" (Richards et.al., 1992, p. 275).

Western Education are the principles, ideologies and practices prevalent in formal education, based on European sources postulating individualism, universalism, objectivity, superiority, and intolerance (Lise Noel, 1994) The term Euro-Western or Euro-Canadian is sometimes used.

1.6 Summary

This chapter situates the study within Pelican Narrows, a First Nation community of the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation. It describes the ancestral language of the researcher, the participants and the community. It establishes that the traditional community language is Niįwįwin which was used exclusively by the people until recently. The description of the community includes how the English language has affected the Cree language, how the community has attempted to address the maintenance of the Cree language along with the present situation. The socio-linguistic changes within the community and within one Cree family are viewed as being connected to educational, social, economic and
historical factors which have impacted Indigenous communities locally and globally. The discussion include the assumptions that language shift is occurring within one Cree family, that language shift poses a threat to the ancestral language, and it is a critical time to be concern about language maintenance. Reality dictates that the Cree and English language must co-exist but they should do so without the Cree language being displaced by the English language.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This section describes the phenomena of language shift as it affects minority-language speakers. It gives a short section on the nature of language, the value of Indigenous languages, and the language changes that have occurred locally and globally. The literature reviews provides evidence of language shift resulting from the colonial and imperialistic enterprises of the English, French and Spanish Empires. In addition, there is a description of code-switching which is evidence that the language is changing.

2.2 The Nature of Language

This study is based on the premise that all people belong to speech communities that have chosen to express their thoughts and experiences in their own way. The manner by which community members choose to express their ideas, events, and or understandings are dependent on their common experiences. For example, my mother comes from Deschambault, but has lived in Pelican Narrows for many years, therefore, her pronunciation of words vary from her sister living in Deschambault Lake. Differences of speech occur among
communities and between individuals within the same community. This is a natural feature of language. As Hymes (1972) has written, "Peoples do not all everywhere use language to the same degree, in the same situations, or for the same things" (p. 33). Thus, language use varies depending on the situation, the audience, and the purpose of that particular encounter. Individuals do incorporate the acceptable forms of speech but that "[s]uch differences in the place of a language in the communicative system of a people cannot be assumed to be without influence on the depth of a language's on such things as world view" (p. 33). Accordingly, although individual and community linguistic differences exist among Cree speakers, the way the worldview is formed by the language would essentially be the same.

Language forms the worldviews. Niîdînîhîwin, the Cree language, is closely connected with the experiences of the natural and supernatural world. In the natural world, words constructed to express and describe in-context experiences are framed within a particular worldview. "In the Indigenous worldview, humans perceive the sensuous order of the natural world through their eyes, noses, ears, mouths, and skins" (Battiste & Henderson, 2000). Thus, the language exists in a "sensory relationship" to the world. Since there is an ecological relationship with the world, Niîdînîhîwin forms a worldview based on the experiences of the people who have depended on the lakes and forests for their survival.

Language is also the essence of who we are. It is through our languages that we come to understand our role within our families and society. It shapes our understandings of our relationships with others and the world. It forms our
concepts of human justice and our responsibilities to each other. The language that shapes identity can determine the direction of the life journey of a person. Through the language, the essence of who we are can bind us to our cultures or it can sever our relationships with our traditions. Language has the power to form the identity of a person (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p.140). When there are conflicting or negative messages about one's ancestral language, and thus to the connections and relationships embedded in that language, Indigenous people may accept the definition of their identity by another language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Language is about communication, which is a very subjective activity involving sounds formed into particular patterns to form words and thoughts. Thus, it is essential to allow participants for an interview to have time to think about the process (Ermine, 1998). Words are significant to the speaker and how they wish to communicate is their choice. Thus, how each speaker chooses his/her words and thoughts and how they decide to represent themselves with those words is significant to this study. I recognize that using examples of utterances and words may create an impression that I am attempting to reduce the value of the language (Ermine, 1999). However, describing phonemes, morphological changes and lexicons of the Cree language is by no means a diversion from the stance that there is more to Cree than a few sounds. The description of how people have chosen to express themselves gives us a meta-analysis of how Cree is constructed, as well as illustrates the changing patterns in speech use among generations. It will provide insight on whether acceptance of
the English language into Cree speech sounds and patterns has affected how we communicate in our own Cree language. Furthermore, Cree speakers who understand the linguistic structures of their own language can build analytical skills to assist them maintain current acceptable speech norms and to recognize how the English language is eroding the Cree language.

Language is intrinsically connected with the worldview that is formed by natural experiences of the world. It is through the worldviews that languages are used to create identities and involve people in a personal, subjective manner when they use their languages. The land had provided the experiences and epistemologies for survival and the means to name our realities, relationships, existence and our identity.

2.3 The Intrinsic Value of a Language

Aboriginal languages are sacred to Aboriginal people. They are a central source of survival for the people, as well a critical link to a knowledge base given to us by our Creator who blessed us with language and, in them instructions for our development and survival (Battiste, 1996, p. 469).

The languages Indigenous peoples received from their Creator enables them to communicate with each other, the world around them, and with the Creator. The languages contain all the thought patterns that enable people to recognize the wisdom given to them by the Creator to use for their survival (Sioui, 1992, p. 9). In this context, Aboriginal languages offer ways of doing, seeing, and acting in the world and forming the norms and values of the culture.

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The interrelationship of language and culture cannot be separated. They are intrinsically connected to each other (Fishman, 1991; Kouritzin, 1999; Sioui, 1992).

There are understandings of the culture embedded in the language, which are essential for learning about the land, relationships and experiences. Without the language, many understandings are being lost as language shift advances in Aboriginal communities. The "link to the knowledge base" (Battiste, 1996) would certainly be lost without the language. The Cree language, for instance, gives us information on how we should treat each other, the world around us and the things we need to survive. It teaches us to respect all things of the physical and metaphysical world and not be concerned about ownership. The Cree language is a very important part of the culture. Harvey Knight (1996) discusses the language as the key to understanding the culture.

There is a correct and respectful approach to oral traditions, which Wolfe recommends in his introduction. First, to gain a deeper understanding of history and culture through the stories of its people one must first learn the language of the family, tribe, or nation to which the stories belong. Language and culture are inextricably interwoven and interdependent (p. viii).

Elder Wolfe interviewed by Knight (1996) explains the interconnectedness of language and culture, which can be understood if one knows the language. There is an implicit meaning that full understanding of the "history and culture" is attainable only through the language of the storytellers. There are words and phrases which exist in the Aboriginal languages which have no equivalent meanings in English (Battiste, 1996), therefore, it is necessary to know the language if deeper understandings of the cultural epistomologies is to be attained.
The Indigenous languages have the ability to know, name, and understand the earth, skies, people, animals, and birds from a particular worldview. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) wrote the "language is more than communication" (p.317). It entails the understandings contained in words the Creator provided to our people are essential to our conceptualization of ourselves and the world. These epistemologies and traditions of our culture passed on from generation to generation are learned within the context of the culture. The interconnectedness and interdependence of culture and language are essential in knowing the world and coming to accept the beliefs and practices of our ancestors. There is no other language that can transmit the same understandings of the physical and spiritual worlds which serve to maintain balance in the individual and group. Indigenous people comprehend the duality of the world differently from other cultures. It means we can understand the words of wisdom of the Creator who provided the language to our people and passed on to our elders (Battiste, 1996). The interconnectedness and interdependence of culture and language that Knight (1996) talks about relate to epistemologies contained in the beliefs and practices of our ancestors. The holistic worldviews about the physical and spiritual world are explained by words within our languages. The language is a legacy given to our grandfathers and grandmothers by the Creator.

2.4 Practices that Affected the People of Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation

In situations where the English language shift has proceeded to eliminate the Aboriginal language, it has also been understood as being synonymous with
the process of colonization, which ends in assimilation (Landry & Allard, 1992). That is, the assimilation process would be evident when more and more Cree domains are replaced by the dominant English language use. The English language and colonization worked together as powerful external and internal forces imposed on Nations internationally and locally, until the cultural meanings, beliefs and values are replaced. N’gugi (1986) refers to this kind of situation as the 'cultural bomb', while Fishman (1992) aptly calls it "white genocide", and Battiste (1986) calls it "cognitive imperialism" but, by whatever name is used, the result is the same. For this thesis, I will use cognitive imperialism to discuss the assimilation process. It has the capability to destroy the cultural and language systems of Indigenous peoples.

Historically, cognitive imperialism was possible because English was never an 'additive' language, that is a language that was added to the ancestral without replacing it. It was forced into the lives of the Indigenous people (RCAP, 1996). This situation created 'subtractive' learning (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) where the English language is learned "at the cost of the mother tongue which is displaced" (Skutnab-Kangas, 2000, p. 72). The assimilative educational process enacted on Indigenous children was contrary to the way Indigenous people wanted their children to be educated, contradicting their Indigenous ways of teaching a language within the context of the culture.

The Eurocentric school system changed people socially, economically, and linguistically. It was instrumental in disabling a traditional support system especially in child rearing and language transmission practices. It manifested
itself in families reluctant to pass on their ancestral language to their children (Parsons-Yazzie, 1996-97). Instead, the formal educational system failed to prepare Indigenous people with adequate processes to provide for themselves and their families in a modern world. While the school system established English as the language of the school and work (Fishman, 1977), it reduced the capacity of the Indigenous language as a viable mode of communication. As Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) states, "minority education often reduces or destroys that part of minorities' cultural competence which has to do with the cognitive component in relation to their own mother tongue." Thus, the formal educational system can destroy Indigenous cognitive and language competence.

The people of Pelican Narrows have a long historical relationship with the Euro-Western educational system. Half of the twentieth century was marked with children being sent to residential schools in other parts of Saskatchewan or to other provinces. My mother attended a residential school in Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, 200 miles east from her home, from 1936 to 1944. Countless children like my mother lived without their parents for at least ten years of their lives, from ages 6 to 16. I only spent a couple of years in a residential school but it still affected my relationship with my family. For many children in Canada, the residential school system disintegrated the 'language in culture' (Fishman, 1991) by disassociating the children from the framework of their kinship family. An 'Indian Day School' constructed in Pelican Narrows in the late fifties followed the same practices as the residential school, practices which come from embedded Western ideologies which exist to this day (Monture-Angus, 1999).
emphasis was/is always the learning of the English language. The 1972 paper on Indian Control of Indian Education (NIB) brought some changes in the philosophy of the schools to teach and maintain the Indigenous language and culture. However, the focus on the English language dictated by the provincial curriculum undermines this intention.

The 'school' has been relatively successful in keeping students longer than it did in the past but this success comes with a price. It means that members are staying in school longer and learning the practices, beliefs, and customs of a different culture. The number of graduates increased as the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation offered high school programming. Granted, the number of high school graduates is still relatively low, but the success in the last ten years has surpassed all the previous years while Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) administered the school. Success in school extends the time student is exposed to the dominant culture through the formal educational system making it easier to obtain new ideas and adopt new practices. It opens up opportunities to switch preferences in language use from the ancestral language to the English language (Williamson, 1991). Thus, success also entails that the younger generations are becoming more proficient in the English language.

There is evidence that young people are adopting English language quickly in many parts of the world (Blair, 1997, Smith, 2000). Here in Saskatchewan, young people in a Northern community spoke more English than expected (Blair, 1997), and it would seem to be the same in Pelican Narrows. This development may be attributed to a longer school life experienced by young
people along with the need to find strategies to make school life meaningful. As they develop social networks complete with ideas and desires similar to teenagers everywhere they adopt lifestyles contrary to their parents. Outside influences affect teenagers in Canada; the same way it affects teenagers everywhere as in New Zealand, by the media (Smith, 1999). She writes that teenagers are affected as "television beams in live from America with the latest world news, world murder trials, world icons, world music, world sports, world weather and world shopping" (Smith, 1999, p. 98). Teenagers, everywhere, are living in a different world from their parents, metaphorically speaking. They dress, speak, and act differently. They listen to different music and they have access and the knowledge of the latest entertainment technology.

The young people also seem to be more apt to adopt new patterns of speech. For instance, the words in use today by young people are 'wassup' and 'whatever'. In Cree, the words were 'wátiyí' and 'kíyam' but today's young people are using English slang words instead of Cree words. Furthermore, some Cree speaking teenagers use sentences uniquely theirs, by mixing Cree and English regularly. For example, they might say, Antí, over the hill, káyítóta, by the tree, káwapamo 'Just over the hill, by the tree, you will see him/her". This sentence should be, Íítínin tákotámatin, ikóta sítik káwapamow. "Go on top of that hill where you will see him/her by the tree". The adoption of English words and structures seems to be part of the teenage and young adult lifestyles. The Eurocentric experiences of the young are beginning to have an effect on the social dynamics in the community.
The Cree people subjected to Euro-centric educational experiences have absorbed ideas and practices that contributed to the language shift in Pelican Narrows. Researchers (Battiste, 1996; Fishman, 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) have asserted that the ‘school’ can displace minority/indigenous languages when a dominant language becomes the ‘language of the school’ and the community. It creates a climate of opposing expectations going against the aspiration of Elders who want children to be taught their own language. Instead, the school has created an environment which has left the children with hardly any Indigenous language skills, as in many Aboriginal communities in Saskatchewan (Blair, 1997; SILC, 1991). Consequently, the ‘push for English’ curriculum has eroded the traditional Aboriginal worldviews, breaking down the traditional circle of family support system. In addition, outside influences resulting from the media along with economic changes have affected lifestyles and language use of young people (Smith, 2000).

2.5 Languages at Risk

Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation recognized the erosion of the Cree language and attempted to offset the impact on the ancestral language. In 1982, it took control of its schools from Indian Affairs, and proceeded to establish Cree and Cultural programming as an integral part of the curriculum. It made Cree language courses mandatory, and supplanted its goal by hiring Cree speakers. However, the educational and political efforts were/are unable to offset the speed with which language shift is occurring. The reliance on the school as the major
force of change did not take into account the force of popular media among youth and their force of modern Canadian American Culture. In failing to recognize external forces on the youth, perceptions of a successful Cree language formed. The perception in the security of the Cree language was confirmed by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP, 1996) which reported that Cree would be one of the three Aboriginal languages to survive the next century (RCAP, 1996). Sometimes, however, reports (RCAP, 1996) can create false assurances about the ability of a language to withstand the pressures of language shift. Maurais (1996) has aptly pointed out, "the majority of the Amerindian languages of North America will disappear in no more than a few decades. In Canada, virtually all aboriginal languages are considered to be at risk" (p. 11). Thus, the efforts of Pelican Narrows, through the school and community, must create new strategies to combat language shift, ensuring that its ancestral language is perceived to be as important, if not more important, than the English language.

As the new century dawns, there is evidence (Blair, 1997; SILC, 1990) that the younger generations are speaking increasingly more English than Cree, creating a chasm between the Elders and the young people. Monolingual Cree speakers feel the acute pain of not being able to communicate with their monolingual English speaking grandchildren. As my father said, “mwāc aniyi osā nimiōwī- dītamāwawahk. Ṭāpō Candi awa, kapī inīdōwīyahk nāmωāc ĭnīdōwīt. Osām pokō ĭyākādāsīmot. Īkwa oho kāyāmīcīcīk nōsīmak nāmωāc ninistōtāwā tanisi kātwīcīk wīða ĭkā- ĭyakādāsīmōyān.” (G1S-6-10) "I am not pleased with them [grandchildren]. For example, Candi, we speak Cree to her all
the time. She will not speak Cree. She speaks English most of the time. And my grandchildren, the ones who go to school, I don't know what they are saying because I don't speak English". Thus, the young children are speaking English and are unable to communicate with their grandparents. In my extended family, there are children who are learning English as a first language from Cree speaking mothers and fathers (Heit & Blair, 1993), changing traditionally Cree speaking domains. At some point in time, the intergenerational responsibility for transmitting the ancestral language disappeared. Consequently, the younger generations are not learning Cree as their mother tongue.

The disruption of intergenerational responsibility to maintain Aboriginal languages has occurred in other Indigenous languages as well as among Navajo parents who transmitted the English language to their children instead of their ancestral language (Fishman, 1991; Parsons - Yazzie, 1997) privileging English over Navajo. The curtailment of intergenerational responsibility means that "all languages are at risk" (Maurais, 1996). This particular study of language shift challenges the security of the Cree language. The voices in this study warn about language shift and the possibility that language shift is a sign that a language may be eradicated within a few generations.

2.6 Socio/Historic Language Shift

The use of the English language followed the cannons and swords of colonization around the world (Cooper & Conrad, 1977; Fishman et. al. 1977;
Maurais, 1996). In the past five hundred years, English, Spanish, and French languages established themselves in many countries around the world (Fishman et. al., 1977). Their impact has been devastating to American Indigenous languages, for it left many Indigenous people without their languages. Maurais (1996) notes that since the 16th century to the 20th century 300 languages have been lost (p. 8). However, it has been the English language which has remained established in many parts of the world, especially in "former Anglophone colonies (Fishman et. al., 1977, p. 87) such as the United States and Canada. English has had more of a worldwide impact on indigenous languages than either French or Spanish. In Canada, a "former Anglophone" colony, only 6 out of 213 languages have more than 10,000 speakers with 62.5 % of Aboriginal families using English as a mother tongue and only 23% using their Aboriginal language as mother tongue (p. 2). Like a forest fire, the English language has spread and consumed minority languages as it blazed through the lives of Indigenous peoples, leaving nothing behind except the scorched forest. The English language has exerted its force by dominating and eradicating the minority languages, leaving the populations with nothing to turn back to when the promise of English language proficiency had faded (Battiste, presentation). It is not by accident that indigenous people in Canada are unable to cope with the problems of modern society when the values, worldview, and history of their peoples inherent in their languages have been and are being annihilated by another language. Even though the military impositions have stopped, the impact of the colonial languages on
minority languages and cultures still remains an increasing threat around the world.

Studies of language shift have shown that this phenomenon occurs wherever a dominant language has exerted its presence among minority language groups. Research has been done in Saskatchewan (Blair, 1997; Freedeen, 1991), Australia (Clyne 1979), Austria by (Gal, 1979), United States (Fishman, 1992; Parsons-Yazzie 1997), and Western Europe (Williamson 1991), verifying that language shift is an assimilatory force to the existence of minority languages. In some instances, assimilation has completely eradicated the minority/ancestral/home languages in all domains within just a few generations (Fishman, 1998; Freedeen, 1991).

Fishman’s (1991) study of the Navajo and Yiddish speakers of the United States provide an excellent example of groups, which have experienced language shift. The Navajo and Yiddish speakers exist within a large English speaking population with an emphasis on the learning of English. This study focused on the examination and analysis of documents along with personal interviews of Yiddish and Navajo populations to ascertain the extent of language shift. Fishman found that the Navajo and Yiddish speakers were experiencing “the displacement of [their] mother tongues by English” (181). Of particular interest is The Navajo situation, the largest Indigenous language group of the United States, whose population experienced a significant decrease in mother tongue speakers. Fishman (1991) points out that the shift to the English language occurred rapidly.

In 1976, English competence was rated ‘high’ among 42% of those who still spoke primarily Navajo and, in addition, another 23%
already spoke English primarily, with 10% of that number being English monolinguals. Although Navajos are still among the more maintenance-effective minority mother tongue groups in the USA today, their growing Anglification began to set in a generation ago. Of the parents of current school-aged children (4-17 years old), 11.5% use more English than Navajo (or even only English) in their daily lives. Among the school-aged children themselves, this is true of 34%. Indeed, among those children both of whose parents are English-dominant bilinguals, 84% primarily speak English ... (Fishman, 1991, p. 189).

The degree of language shift is considered high when 84% of the children of 'English-dominant bilingual' parents prefer English. This is a strong indication that English language shift is advancing, rapidly decreasing the number of Navajo speakers as more children learn English. This situation exists even with the Navajo being "the more maintenance-effective minority mother tongue groups in the USA today" (p. 189). Parsons-Yazzie (1996-97) also ascertained that "the presence of one English-dominant parent, especially in cases where the mother is bilingual, leads to a huge proportion of the children speaking English only" (64).

Fortunately, the Navajo recognized language shift as a crisis, and are attempting to reverse the situation (Fishman, 1991, p. 190).

Fishman (1991) also noted that intergenerational transmission of the Yiddish language declined comparable with the Navajo language situation. He writes that even with "well over five million" Yiddish speakers, there are "probably no more than 100,000 Yiddish speakers of near-native competence among them." Additionally, the "active use or facility in the language has long been lost by most of them and, in the lion's share of cases, many never have existed to begin with (given that the definition of 'mother tongue' utilized by the United States" (196). Although 100,000 Yiddish speakers is relatively higher
than with Aboriginal language speakers in Canada, this example indicates the power of dominant languages to overcome minority languages. Undoubtedly, the decrease of competent speakers demonstrates Yiddish is not being learned by the younger generations as a first language.

The erosion of the mother tongue is also a concern with other minority language groups, where dominant languages have overpowered the mother tongue. Williamson's (1991) longitudinal studies of language shift found a decline in ancestral language usage in several language groups (p. 84). The study showed that the language preference of the participants changed from childhood to adulthood from ancestral language to the operation language of commerce. For example, while 65 Gaelic speakers preferred their home language as children, this number decreased to 48 adult Gaelic speakers who preferred Gaelic when they attained adulthood. Similarly, the number of Welsh speakers who preferred their ancestral language declined from 65 to 51 from childhood to adulthood. The change in language preferences demonstrates a language shift from the mother tongue to the official language rendering the mother tongue vulnerable to external forces. Further, learning and speaking the mother tongue as a child does not guarantee it will remain the preferred language of the same person when he/she reaches adulthood. It implies that fewer people are speaking to their children in their own language putting the minority language at risk.

The risk of language shift to language loss seems greater with immigrant families. After immigrating to Australia, German and Dutch speakers experienced a rapid language shift to the English language (Clyne, 1992). Clyne
also noted that the Dutch families were apt to switch to English more rapidly than the German families. Statistically, 27% of German-born immigrants and 43.55% of Dutch-born families spoke only English. The percentage of English-only speakers was even higher for children born in Australia; 62.28% of the children with two German parents were monolingual English speakers and 80.79% of the children with two Dutch parents spoke English only (p. 19). Australian-born children of these immigrant parents preferred the English language, allowing their ancestral languages to be taken over by the dominant language. This research demonstrates that a complete language shift can occur within one generation as with the cases in Australia.

Gal (1979), on the other hand, has ascertained that language shift may take several generations similar to the Hungarian experience. German replaced the Hungarian language in Austria after 400 years of bilingualism (p. 2). The only difference between the Australian situation and the one in Austria is that the latter has experienced stable bilingualism for four centuries whereas English has been the dominant/colonial language in Australia. Evidently, no language can withstand the pressures exerted by dominant languages. Language shift is a reality in all parts of the world, even in areas where bilingualism has remained stable for a long time.

Blair (1997) utilized the Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruptive Scale for Threatened Languages to determine the state of Aboriginal languages in six communities. The scale places a minority language on a specific stage depending the amount the Aboriginal language is used with Stage 8 being
assigned to the most, threatened languages. Blair (1997) placed “Wahpeton” on Stage 8, describing its language as being the most threatened and having very “few speakers;” Cumberland House is placed on Stage 7 where “the minority language is used by the older, and not [by] the younger generation”; Stanley Mission and La Loche are graded at Stage 6 indicating that “[t]he minority language is passed on from generation to generation and used in the community” and even though “[t]he language is still spoken by children . . . [it] is changing quickly” (p. 82). Only Red Earth and Black Lake are at Stage 5 where the language is dominant among all generations and literacy is being encouraged (p. 82). It is important to note that the scale also measures language according to its use in print materials and the media. Thus, as an oral tradition, Red Earth, Black Lake, Stanley mission and La Loche are maintaining their language. However, the study does serve as fair notice that Aboriginal languages are changing faster than ever before. The study by Blair (1997) re-affirms the findings by SILC (1991) that the Indigenous communities in the Northern Saskatchewan are experiencing the phenomenon of language shift from the Indigenous language to the English language.

Blair’s (1997) study is the most recent and comprehensive study of language shift in Northern Saskatchewan. The study examined language usage or change several Aboriginal communities; however, Pelican Narrows was not involved in the study. Blair’s study is an excellent follow up to the socio-linguistic survey written by Fredeen in 1991 under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee (SILC, 1991). Its purpose was
to ascertain the state of Aboriginal languages among six language groups in Saskatchewan. The 1991 SILC survey determined that nine communities were in an extremely critical condition, that is, these communities had "very few or no fluent speakers under age 50". English was the "main language in most homes with "no strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community" settings (p. v). Two communities were reported to be in a critical condition having few or no fluent speakers under the age of 30 and with English usage displacing any "pattern [s] of Indigenous language use in [the] community" even with "infrequent use of [Indigenous] language use by those under 17 (p. vi)." There were four communities which were in 'serious condition' with less than half of those under 17 being fluent speakers. As well, two communities were reported to be in a "fair but deteriorating condition" with the "majority of those under 17" fluent in the Indigenous language but "a significant minority who speak only English" with a "shift to English among some children" (p. vi). Only three communities were in good condition but even in these areas "some children reported as infrequent speakers of Indigenous language in several contexts, or some social contexts characterized by more use of English than might be expected" (p. vii). Thus, this survey suggests that the state of Aboriginal languages is critical in Saskatchewan and there is a need to be concerned about language shift to English even in communities that are still maintaining their mother tongue.

From Australia to Europe to the United States and Canada, whole populations are experiencing gradual declines in use of their ancestral or
indigenous languages as the English language is being preferred by younger generations, especially those under 17 years of age (Blair, 1997; SILC, 1991). In Saskatchewan, language shift from the Indigenous languages to English is a reality (Blair, 1997). If this situation continues, the dominant language will eventually move beyond the stage of an intruding language and consume the Indigenous languages, affirming the perspective that Aboriginal languages are at risk (Maurais, 1996). The decline in the use of ancestral or indigenous languages is becoming abundantly obvious as the English language becomes the preferred language of the younger generations.

Many researchers (Blair, 1997: Clyne, 1992; Fishman, 1992; Gal, 1979; Parsons-Yazzie, 1997; Williamson, 1991) have illustrated that language shift is a worldwide experience. It occurs wherever a colonial/dominant language, such as English, French, and Spanish, erode an ancestral or home language. The young people are communicating in the dominant language and even adults are making a switch to the dominant languages even when their preference was the ancestral language while growing up, such as in my case. The process of language shift has reached the stage in some cases, where bilingual parents are transmitting the dominant language as Parsons–Yazzie (1997) confirmed with her study of Navajo speakers. The progress of language shift may vary from one generation (Clyne, 1992) to several generations (Gal, 1979) but, in the end, the home language is absorbed by the dominant language. The state of Indigenous languages in Saskatchewan has also reached critical conditions (Blair, 1997) in
some communities. It may not take several generations before the English language in some areas displaces Cree.

2.7 A legacy of colonialism

Often we need reminding that Aboriginal peoples around the world did not wake up one day and decide that they had enough of their own languages. They were coerced, forced, and pressured to give up their languages. As colonized peoples, they had no choice but to bend to the power of their oppressors. In Canada, parents were forced to release their children to the residential school authorities. When they arrived at the residential school, they found that they were forbidden to speak their own languages (Furness, 1992; Johnson, 1998). The result of years and years of effort by the colonial powers to eradicate the Aboriginal ways of life and languages, by whatever means possible, was devastating. The atrocities inflicted onto Indigenous people are a result of imperialist ideas, practices, and beliefs that left the people fractured. The ideologies were a result of the imperialism that created colonialism, establishing Europe as a part of "a modern state, of science, of ideas and of the 'modern' human being" (Smith, 1999, p. 22). Colonialism, seeded by imperialism, provided the environment and mindset to support control and intervention in every aspect of Indigenous life:

Colonialism was, in part, an image of imperialism, a particular realization of the imperial imagination. It was also, in part, an image of future nation it would become. In this image lie images of the Other, stark contrasts and subtle nuances of the ways in which the indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with, which make the stories of colonialism part of the grander narrative and
yet part also of a very local, very specific experience (Smith, 1999, p. 23).

Colonialism as an imperialistic enterprise served the imperialists well by creating false assumptions and caricatures of peoples worldwide while establishing punitive and lethal practices that subjugated those who would stand in the way of fulfilling the European enterprise.

Colonialism is not part of the natural order of things. It was created to justify the treatment by colonial powers towards colonized people around the world. It served to maintain order and produce societies that were able to justify atrocities to Indigenous people based on myths of empty lands and savage people without languages.

Colonialism is an artificial context constructed by European elite using political ideology and human-made legal rules. Colonial ideology attempts to immunize the colonial consciousness and order from criticism or reconstruction by threatening nihilism as the only alternative. Colonists use brute force and terror to maintain this artificial context, and law justifies the process. (Henderson, 1996, p. 13)

‘Nihilism’ and "brute force and terror" are strong words and concepts depicting emptiness, fear, and coercion. This means that a valuable thing like language can be destroyed though "brute force and terror" with nothing to replace it once the concepts and ideas are lost. The loss of a language leaves people with images based on the imperialist colonial images, which have not been in favor of Aboriginal people, instead of Indigenous ways of knowing. The result could be emptiness within the souls of affected human beings as it was in Saskatchewan. In this context, language shift is coerced and fits the schema of the colonizer; it occurs as part of the whole process implicating European’s attempt to create a
world where non-European cultures and languages cease to exist. Thus, it is important to look at language shift as part of a larger picture involving the historical, cultural, political, and socio-economically factors in society within the paradigm of colonialism.

The lives of Aboriginal peoples around the world have been profoundly affected by the coming of the Europeans who colonized Indigenous soil. Wherever colonialism was constructed, conflicts between the language of the invaders and the affected population are apparent (Hamel, 1995; Dorian, 1998; Grenoble & Whaley, 1998). In Mexico, Hamel (1995) recounts that Spanish invaders were in conflict with the Aztec language system from the initial contact. Hamel points out that:

Since the beginning of colonization some 500 years, approximately half of the Indian languages have disappeared. Although the linguistic conflict between the language of the conquerors and complex sociolinguistic relations in the Aztec empire was inevitable since the first day of the Conqista, massive language loss started only after Independence (1810), particularly in the second half of the 19th century; and it increased during the 20th century as a result of the radical reforms in land ownership education following the Mexican Revolution (1910-20) (p. 153).

In Mexico, it was the infiltration of the Spaniards, a European and colonial power, which caused the initial deterioration of the indigenous languages, resulting in language loss in many areas. As Hamel (1995) points out, this process is continuing into the 20th century. There is danger that the 56 languages which still exist in Mexico will be eradicated in the same manner as those languages which have been killed off (Hamel, 1995, p. 153). The colonizer has created an image which makes his language, history, and organizations superior to
Indigenous peoples. Dorion (1998) presents the superior attitude of the Europeans and how their belief systems had a detrimental effect on Indigenous languages. She states that:

The histories of French and English are histories of growing monopoly on legitimacy and prestige by a single dominant speech form, all others being relegated to inferior status. The standard language is typically considered a rich, precise, rationally organized and rationally organizing instrument: dialects and ethnic-minority languages, by contrast, are considered impoverished and crude, most likely inadequate to organize the subordinate world itself and certainly inadequate to organize other worlds (p. 8).

Europeans regarded Indigenous languages as inferior and unable to create any type of order in their lives or others. The colonial mind measured the value of the Indigenous languages by their own ideologies, ensuring the continued maintenance of their own languages. If the European language was the only one able to create, sort, and plan, there was no need for other languages, except to use as a transition to the superior languages. Many missionaries learned Indigenous languages to teach Christianity in the east coast (Battiste, 1986). The European ideologies affected the Maori people of New Zealand. The English language almost totally eradicated their languages. Grenoble and Whaley (1998) wrote about the Maori situation:

Initially it bears the rubber stamp of a prototypical case of language attrition: the indigenous Maori (a Polynesian language) has been gradually replaced by the language of the island’s colonizers, English. This replacement stems from a combination of macro-level factors, including governmental and educational policies, and the attitude of majority speakers to the indigenous population (p. 49).
Thus, the Maori have felt the impact of the attitude of English speakers with their disdain of the Indigenous population. They, like other indigenous populations, have felt the effects of the European policies and attitudes developed through colonialism. When the attitudes toward Indigenous languages are negative, the principles within policies become the embodiment of these attitudes.

In Canada, the Indigenous populations have also experienced many atrocities that have led to the loss of languages (Sioui, 1992). Those languages, which are still in use, are exposed to the continuous onslaught of colonial attitudes and ideologies. One of the most atrocious measures brought on any social unit by the federal government was the forced removal of children from their families to attend religious administered residential school.

This atrocity broke up the family units, removing the ability of the families to teach their children their languages, beliefs, norms, and practices. The Residential schools were arenas for the inculcation of European values and customs and the unlearning of indigenous cultural connections (Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1996).

The churches and the government of Canada, through assimilative practices sought to eliminate the languages by forbidding children to speak their languages. The RCAP (1996) reports that the colonial intentions of the government and churches were the same, in particular, to the education of Aboriginal children. Formal education was, without apology, assimilationist:

The primary purpose of formal education was to indoctrinate Aboriginal people into a Christian, European worldview, thereby ‘civilizing them.’ Missionaries of various denominations played a role in this success, often supported by the state (Ch. 5; p 3).

The purpose of the missionaries was to assimilate into white society by
indoctrinating them with the European worldview. With the signing of treaties, the Government of Canada utilized the services of the missionaries, a partnership formed to achieve the same aspiration. "[T]he federal government’s goal turned to the churches, which shared the government’s goal of imparting Christian, European values" (RCAP, 1996, chap. 5, pp. 3-4). The methods for 'civilizing' the children involved military routines, domestication curriculum, random violence, exploitation including punishment for speaking the language of their ancestors. Children were penalized for using their own languages in addition to being removed from their cultural roots. They were alienated from their communities to attend school many miles from their parents, who, being under the colonial control of Indian Affairs were powerless to do anything about the situation.

For nearly a century, parents and grandparents in reserve communities were legally compelled to turn their children over to the custody of residential school authorities. Children were beaten for speaking their own language, and Aboriginal beliefs were labeled 'pagan' (RCAP, 1996).

The residential school personnel had total control over the children who were completely isolated from their cultural roots. Most Aboriginal people suffered a severe, almost fatal, blow to all their languages. The RCAP (1996) confirms the long-term negative impact of the practices forced onto Aboriginal children. The report states that, "The effects of these coercive efforts at social engineering continue to be felt generations later" (chap. 5, p. 4). The actions taken against Aboriginal parents were an atrocity derived from the colonial attitude about the hierarchy of people and languages (Dorion, 1998). This attitude
continues to permeate the lives of Aboriginal people for English is often considered the only viable practical and necessary language.

The impact of the cultural indoctrination experienced by indigenous people in Saskatchewan has filtered into the education system, where the language of instruction is English and for too many years, all the teachers were from the dominant society. Language teaching in the Aboriginal languages is still rare in public schools and is offered only in selected schools. For example, my daughter Amy has attended the Prince Albert Central Institute and Arthur Peachy School, neither of which offers Cree classes. The only schools to offer Cree in Prince Albert are Queen Mary and Riverside Community schools. Unless a student is attending a First Nation school (referred to as Band Schools by most people), the opportunity for taking an Aboriginal language class is slim. Gradually, through an immersion or submersion in an English-only curriculum, children are losing their ability to speak their ancestral languages (Blair, 1997).

2.8 The Impact of the Wage Economy

The economic pressure of living in the North has also placed tremendous pressures on Indigenous languages. Without a functioning economic system on most reserves, Aboriginal people need to find jobs beyond their communities. They depend on the labor market in order to access decent jobs, which often entails replacing the Cree language in the work place with English. Fishman (1998) states “[t]he ubiquity of social dependency relationships in fostering language shift is truly amazing” (p. 206). Thus, the need to attain benefits
afforded to people of the larger society has affected the languages of people.

From bartenders to daycare workers and administrators to nurses, and in all occupations - people are switching from their ancestral language to the dominant languages, for the opportunity to access employment in the dominant English-speaking world. Success in assimilating into the dominant society results in severing or weakening ancestral connections. It leads to an ideology that success is based on the ability to be 'like them', which often entails dispossessing the Indigenous language.

The concept of weaker and stronger language systems necessitates that one language has the power to affect benefits in the economic sector, while the other is relegated into a powerless position. The English language is the language-of-wider communication for most people in Saskatchewan, it is perceived as the stronger system over other languages. Fishman (1989) refers to minority language speakers as being part of a weaker system in relation to the dominant language or the language with the power to affect benefits. He refers to citizens of the dominant language system as A's and the minority language speakers as B's. The Indigenous people, the B's, for example, could become more successful in the English speaking world if they begin to assimilate as they take on the behaviors of the A's, the Euro-Western peoples. Assimilation into the larger society becomes a greater a risk for the Indigenous language, if and when the Indigenous communities come to think of individuals who are like the A's, better and smarter than the non-assimilated members. To this end, Fishman (1989) states; "When the weaker system begins to reward B's for A-ness, insiders for their 'outsidedness'
then its dependency is sealed and language shift with respect to its mother tongue is certain” (p. 207). If Aboriginal people think that a person who is like the 'white' people is better than someone who portrays Aboriginal mannerisms and patterns of speech, than language shift is assured. The rewards, such as obtaining employment, within the Aboriginal community are given to those who act more 'white' than Aboriginal.

Aboriginal people in Canada and throughout the world feel the effects of colonization by imperialist image building. Practices and attitudes have also resulted in the devaluing of Aboriginal languages. Even though many Aboriginal communities like Pelican Narrows have been attempting to reverse the negative effects, young people are still turning to the English language as each year passes (Blair, 1977; Mackenzie & Jancewicz, 1996). The colonial social practices and political interventions have contributed to language shift (Henderson, unpublished; RCAP, 1996) and the effects remain in the lives of the people. No social unit wants to believe that they are useless and powerless, but the continuous bombardment of colonization enacted on peoples everywhere for over 500 years have taken their toll (Hamel, 1992; Henderson, unpublished, RCAP, 1996). The resistance that has sustained Aboriginal people is wearing away. As Mackenzie & Jancewicz (1996) aptly note, “The study of the phenomenon of language shift among linguistic minorities in other parts of the world, show, however, that pressures on populations to assimilate to the majority language often remain in place despite a policy of institutional support” (p. 294). Such is the case in Saskatchewan. Despite some efforts to ameliorate the language decline, language
shift is a reality. However, the decline in language use must be seen within the broader context of colonialism, imperialism, and globalization rather than as a problem derived from individual motivation.

The legacy of colonialism lives on. It is embedded in the beliefs of Western society and manifested in the norms, attitudes, and patterns of behavior in Canadian society (Monture-Angus, 1999). Colonialism has ingrained a deep-seated belief that European languages are superior to Indigenous language (Henderson, 1996; Sioui, 1992; Smith, 1999). This rationale is implanted in the minds of Indigenous people, who are feeling the effects of this legacy. Indigenous people need to know the effects of colonialism on their languages and understand that colonization influences the way they look at the world. The implanted ideas are the impetus for the assimilative efforts of government and the churches. The Indigenous languages contain the means of fighting off the continued efforts of Canadians to make Indigenous people become like everyone else, assimilated.

2.9 Attitudes on Language Transmission

Another aspect of studying language shift is the role that attitude plays on the transmission of the mother tongue from one generation to another. Parsons-Yuzzie (1997) ascertained that parents accepted the language choices of children and did not take steps to make them speak in Navajo. She states that "the child controlled the language spoken, and the language choice for the child was English" (p. 64), suggesting that the parents allowed the children to speak English and did not insist on Navajo being used by the children even when parents spoke
to them in that language. She disagreed with these liberal attitudes of parents who allowed this to occur, emphasizing that they had cultural responsibilities towards their children. In her conclusion, she asserts that parents have a unique role as members of a particular culture who have been decreed by certain "birthrights and responsibility" to their children, including the transmission of the Navajo language (p. 64). Parsons-Yuzzie (1997) concludes that it is not the role of school or institution to undo the damage caused to languages but rather all Aboriginal speakers work individually and together to promote the use of the Indigenous language. This finding is important to the current study because it shows that when Aboriginal speakers do not take an active role to arrest the erosion on their language, leaving the school or some outside force to effect change.

Parental responsibility for the transmission of the ancestral language to their children goes hand in hand with other cultural norms and patterns. However, the oppressive policies, and attitudes of the European based governments and the influx of European migration has contributed to the curtailment of cultural norms (Cooper & Conrad, 1977; Erasmus, 1989; Fishman, 1997; Hampton, 1995; Reyhner, 1995). Given the oppressive environment that Aboriginal people experienced within their own countries, the effect on cultural activities and practices is also affected. Story telling was displaced by the introduction of Euro-Western education into the lives of Indigenous people forming the habit of obtaining information through books, and/or lectures. This transition of the oral tradition to the adoption of the written culture very effectively negated the importance of traditional oral storytellers.
As a case in point, my father is a wonderful and exemplary storyteller. However, he stopped telling us his stories when we were going through formal schooling. Now, that we are older, we are asking him to tell us stories. The cultural practices that were curtailed were a result of changes brought on by the physical changes such as moving to a new community, adhering to time for educational purposes, and the work-for-wage economy. Many parents believed it was their responsibility to make life easier for their children, which meant being able to succeed in school. Consequently, Aboriginal parents adopted the belief that the sooner the children learned English, the easier it would be for them to attain success (Battiste, 1994). The language choice for some parents swung the pendulum from Cree to English, based on the notion that English would give them the opportunity to achieve benefit academically and economically in the dominant society (Williams & Snipper, 1989). Unfortunately, by encouraging English only, the cultural responsibility of transmitting the ancestral language became a thing of the past in many communities, especially in urban areas.

2.10 Dialects of Languages

When bilingual speakers use two codes within the same speech act, their code-switching demonstrates the availability of two languages and the ability to incorporate them into the structure of one language or another. They may also form a new speech variety in the ancestral language (Heit & Blair, 1993). Code-switching may become a norm for most bilinguals who code-switch and borrow among themselves and they usually accept this behavior, especially if it
widespread in the community” (Grosjean, 1982, p. 310). If code-switching becomes acceptable to the community by its frequent use, it could have an effect on the language, which has less prestige or power within the socio-economic milieu of the community.

For the purposes of this study, the definition by Richards et. al., (1992) will be used where code-switching “is a switch from one language to another" and that "switching can occur between speakers, where one speaks one language or when a speaker uses one language and switches to another in the middle of a the speech act or in the middle of a sentence same conversation or interaction” (p. 40). This may be utilized by some of the variety of language speakers outlined by Hiet & Blair (1993). The linguistic varieties may involve code-switching between words, phrases, or sentences (Grosjean, 1982), and may include morphological and phonological changes (Douand 1980: Myers, 1982), which may change the structure of the language.

The first example deals with the code-switching among the Metis. Douand (1980) found code-switching to be prevalent among the Metis. But the Metis people characterize a special type of code-switching leading to a new language, Michif, a positive aspect of their culture. Douand (1980) asserts that code-switching amongst the Metis in Lac La Biche, Alberta, contributes to an understanding of the uniqueness of the Metis people, and at the same time provides excellent comprehension of the uniqueness of the Cree language (502). No doubt, the Cree language has contributed to Michif in sound and structure, at the phonological and lexical levels. Douand (1980) writes “French and English
borrowings into Cree were largely lexical, whereas Cree is mainly phonologically and morphosyntactic" (502). That is, the Metis people used the French and English nouns while using Cree verbs for creating their sentences. In taking lexical items from three languages, Cree, English, and/or French, the Metis produced sentences contributing to the communicative competence of the Metis people. The creation of Michif reflects how different languages create a new language to meet the social needs of people. It also demonstrates that code-switching entails incorporating utterances from two or more different languages and is not always a transitional step toward a language change but may remain with these characteristics indefinitely.

Sometimes code-switching may assist communication among non-fluent speakers, other times it could be perceived as a problem. (Williamson, 1991) This may happen when the speaker attempts to maintain a balance between languages (p. 11) since code-switching occurs at the utterance level, demonstrated by the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the speaker. If speakers are unable to communicate adequately during the process then code-switching becomes a problem. However, there is no problem if the speaker can express her/his ideas better by employing two codes (Grosjean, 1982). Whether the aspect of using two varieties of linguistic codes is a problem is not a major issue. Grosjean's (1992) main points indicate that the bilingual speaker may find it necessary to resort to either her/his first or second language to make herself/himself understood and other times when code-switching is required to express ideas
explicitly. Thus, the use of different linguistic varieties in the same interaction may be an asset to the bilingual speaker, assisting him/her in delivering messages.

When is code-switching a problem? Grosjean (1982) points out that monolinguals display negative feelings and attitudes towards those people of their own language group who switch from one language. The monolingual speakers label code-switching as a "grammarless mixture of two languages, a jargon or gibberish that is an insult to the monolingual's own rule-governed language" (146). The attitude of the monolingual minority language speakers is connected to their feelings about their ancestral language which they feel should be spoken without infusion of lexicons (words) or phrases from the another language (Williamson, 1991, p. 93). According to Grosjean (1980) even some bilinguals have negative attitudes towards code-switching, referring to it as laziness, embarrassing, dangerous, or not pure, (p. 147). There are some bilinguals who believe that code-switching is not good for their home language and “have very strict norms concerning language use, such as parents and teachers, reserving it for close acquaintance and those who also code-switch” (p. 147). Evidently, the negative attitude of monolinguals and bilinguals is based on their belief that code-switching can erode the language.

Code-switching can create a problem for Cree language stability when too many English words or lexicons are inserted into Cree language sentences. As such, it 1) illustrates a loss of prestige of the monolingual/indigenous language; 2) shows disrespect for individuals who prefer the minority/indigenous language; and 3) sets the environment for the dominant language to infringe on the ancestral
language. So, notwithstanding the many reasons why people code-switch such as, the punch line sounding better in the mother tongue; the lack of an appropriate word, or for changing status (Grosjean, 1980, pp. 155-157) there is a concern with code-switching. Especially since prestige, disrespect, and intrusion are directly connected to the power of the dominant language. Code-switching is not as benign as many would think. It has the potential to form foreign communication patterns, which can open the doors to language shift.

2.11 Summary

This section has reviewed the literature on the nature of language, its value and influence on worldviews. It has also discussed the issue of language shift including the practices, ideologies, and beliefs from an historical, educational, social, and economic perspective. Language shift is recognized as a worldwide phenomenon, which started with European expansion and continues today through the colonial practice residual of bygone colonial expansions. The school system is a product of colonialism that has affected Aboriginal people’s languages, practices, and thoughts. As such, much of the ingrained practices, ideologies, beliefs and understandings embedded in the foreign social and educational systems have been implanted into the minds of Indigenous peoples.

Yet, Aboriginal people look to the educational system for achieving many goals, including self-determination. Indeed, there is irony in our reliance on the educational system, knowing that it has been the source of our colonization, assimilation, and cultural destruction. However, as Aboriginal people gain more
control over their own educational systems, they will be able to determine the direction of their children's education. Even with past events, Aboriginal people have patience, determination, and persistence and in time, their aspirations will be achieved through their languages.
CHAPTER THREE

Method

Introduction

This section will describe the researcher in relation to the study, the problems with language paradigms and studies, and the search for an appropriate method that will reflect family and community language shift. It is also problematic in that the method needs to identify colonial influences in language loss without placing the blame on the colonized individuals involved in the study. The research method chosen reflects Aboriginal worldviews and perspectives. The qualitative method involves the family in a tangible manner and gives credit where it is due. It also enables the researcher to position the research within an Aboriginal perspective.

3.1 Background of the Researcher and Her Relationship to the Study

I relate to this study in many ways. I am a Cree from Pelican Narrows in Northeastern Saskatchewan. I relate to this study as a Cree, wife, daughter, sister, mother, and a member of the Peter Ballantyne Cree, a former resident of Pelican Narrows and as a teacher. I know the history of my particular family and how they came to reside in Pelican Narrows and how they sought to retain their language, which has not been entirely successful.
I have been married to Edward Swan for twenty-eight years. He was born in Elizabeth, Alberta, a Metis community of Cree and English speakers. His mother tongue is Cree, albeit the Plains Cree. My children are Joseph (Joey), Steven, Carla, and Amy, who have learned their ancestral language but have also been through the educational and colonial experiences similar to other First Nation children throughout Canada.

My four children have learned their Cree language fluently and I hope that they pass it on to their children. Joe, Steven, Carla, and Amy have learned to speak Cree through their interactions with my parents, their friends in Pelican Narrows and other community members. Amy and Steven, the two youngest children, learned Cree as a first language in Pelican Narrows. Joey and Carla, the two oldest children, lived in Elizabeth Settlement, my husband's community, in their early years where they learned English as a first language. Joey and Carla learned how to speak Cree quickly when we moved to Pelican Narrows in 1979. The three oldest children are truly bilingual, being able to switch easily from Cree to English without an accent. Amy, the youngest, is shifting towards the English language since 1993 when we moved to the city of Prince Albert, curtailing daily extended family contacts and experiences. Joe, Steven and Carla are currently attending the University of Saskatchewan, while Amy is starting Grade 10. My children are representative of many children of the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation in their ability to speak Cree, providing the inspiration and shouldering the aspiration that I have for all Cree children and grandchildren to become bilinguals.
My first teachers were my parents, Angelique and Angus Merasty, who immersed me in the Cree culture and language. They have always been supportive, regardless of where my journey in life has taken me. They have always been there to help whenever we, their children, asked for it. I am the oldest of 13 children, two of whom left this earth a long time ago. There are six women and five men in our family. Two of my brothers, John and Percy, have continued the traditional economy pursuits of my father. They are fisherman and trappers, living off the traditional land of the family. My other siblings are involved in the wage economy, on and off reserve, in various fields.

My siblings have also contributed to my learnings and to the understanding of Cree concepts. My sister Margaret has been a real inspiration to us. She has always managed to maintain a positive outlook on life and even when things seem bleak, she finds a way to help people and to smile for others. She is bilingual but strives to keep Cree an important part of her life.

I have been a teacher for many years, but I have never taught Cree as I have always felt that I did not have the expertise to pass on the language and linguistic aspects in a correct and appropriate manner. I did assist in working on the Cree 10 curriculum in Pelican Narrows. All schools in Saskatchewan, including the First Nations schools, must follow the provincial curriculum; so I have taught the curriculum set out by each province that I taught in. I have two post secondary Education degrees, and I am working on a Master of Education. I have worked in Aboriginal communities in Alberta and Saskatchewan, first under Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, then as an employee of the First Nations
school authority. I have also been a principal, and currently I am working for my First Nation, the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation in the Post Secondary Student Support Program.

In my precarious journey through life, I have seen the Cree language become less and less important to some people, but remain vital for others. I have seen it cease to become the first language of some of my nieces and nephews, while others have been afforded the opportunity of the intergenerational transmission of the language. I have seen how it has affected my immediate family and have wondered why attitudes have changed regarding the importance of the Cree language in lives of my people. But I have also seen how the Cree language remains a vital part of some people, who continue to practice it and pass it on to their children and grandchildren. As a teacher, I endorsed the use of the English language but I also saw the need to retain the Cree language. I arrive at this point in time as a person with multiple positions but my priority has now turned to the re-establishment of the Cree language as the mother tongue of all Cree children.

3.2 Problems with Studies on Language Shift

In the past, studies in language shift have concentrated on the following three main topics differentiated by language shift, language contact/loss and language death. These terms are problematic as they all abide by a set of rules that serve their particular interest in research. However they do serve some purpose in understanding the linguistic and social aspects of language shift.
The language shift paradigm is analogous to Fishman (1966, 1985) whose extensive work in this area includes how language relates to ethnicity (1965) along with the 'revival' of languages. His research has involved large bodies of language data, using survey type interviews (see Fishman, 1989, p. 532) and correlating multiple variables in the data (p. 586). Fishman's research entails large groups of people (1991) and tends to exclude consequences of language shift and concentrates not so much on "total shift but with gradual development (shifting)" (Clyne, 1992). The language shift paradigm uses terms such as 'domains' 'skills' 'main language and/or 'dominant language' along with 'passivization' and 'revitalization'. This paradigm has not considered "the examination of linguistic consequences though correlations between language contact and shift studies show a reduced use of a language in all or some domains accompanying transference" (Clyne, 1992, p.18). Instead it has examined the sociological aspects of language shift which involves the functional use of languages.

The methods employed by the language contact paradigm are based on the perspective were once limited to "language as a system" with emphasis on the "lexicon", and which, according to Clyne (1992) was expanded by Haugen (1953) to speech "embracing psychological and sociological factors" (Pg 18). Now it has interest in "contact processes" and "interactional aspects" (Clyne, 1992: 18). The language contact paradigm can be related to Indigenous studies since it is the contact with Europeans that acted as the catalyst in the decline of Indigenous
languages. However most of the studies have used this in the context of immigration (Clyne, 1992).

In the language attrition/loss paradigm, Clyne (1992) the need to define partial and total language attrition and the requirement for longitudinal studies creates a problem (p. 18). To measure the extent of language attrition/loss relies on the 'parents language' 'pretests and posttests' 'data from competent speakers' and selected 'control groups.' The measurement process requires a positivist framework comparing individuals to 'norms.' It does not ask the question of who decides what the norms are and whose measurement is being used. In addition, there must be close scrutiny and diligence in setting a standard set of measurements to ensure continuity from the beginning to the end of the study.

Each of these paradigms increased understanding of "language in general and language change in particular" (Clyne, 1992, p. 17). They also give an overview of how linguistic changes can be studied. However, since each one is directed at a particular aspect of the phenomenon of language change, they employ different methods in analyzing data. These paradigms have driven studies in language change, whether it was about language loss, shift, or death, and each vary according to the particular interests of the researchers and the nature of the studies (Fishman, 1979; Clyne, 1992; Edwards, 1992). There is no doubt that these studies have contributed to the processes, causes, and consequences of language change, however there are still gaps in the research on this phenomena.

All three paradigms are related to the effects a dominant language has on a
minority/ancestral language. These paradigms are significant to this study because I view them as being interconnected: language contact is linked to language shift or language attrition/loss. Without contact with another language, the phenomenon of language shift cannot occur. Likewise, even though the language shift paradigm may deal with groups made up of individual people, if enough individuals display loss or attrition in their ancestral language, the impact on the community can be detrimental. Language shift is connected to individual loss of a language (Fase et. al., 1992). However there is also a problem in using these paradigms to understand the causes of language shift. Although they can be used to find linguistic features affected by language shift, caution must be exercised to prevent misunderstanding in accepting language shift as inevitable or as 'natural' without implying "a causal agent, other than the speakers themselves" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 367).

There are other problems with previous studies on language shift which are presented below below.

1). The studies on language shift have an inherent bias in an imperialistic, empirical perspective. Leets and Giles (1995) use a 'self-report' containing predetermined variables, which are correlated against or with each other (p. 55). Pre-determined variables require the interviewee try to understand the variables from the interviewer's point of view. The paradigms with their view of language as being developmental can be a problem.

2). Many studies (Blair, 1977; Fishman, 1992; Parsons, 1998; Williamson, 1991) relied on large amounts of data collected through the survey
method, which prevent in-depth reflection of people's own language shift (Cummins, 1995; Parsons-Yazzie, 1997). In addition, the concentration on several communities, "to ascertain the trends and patterns of language use in the home and community" from "20 communities" as in Northern Saskatchewan (SILC, 1991, p. 2) is a huge project. Further, access to financial and human resources is not possible for this study.

3). These longitudinal studies are also often dependent on a control group to examine usage features of the mother tongue in specific domains (Blair, 1997; Fishman, 1997; Parsons-Yazzie, 1997). The study of Navajo (Fishman, 1997, Parsons-Yazzie, 1997) relied on data derived language, focusing on domains specific to parents to ascertain the children's language shift to English.

4). In addition, academic outsiders, that is, researchers who are not part of the community could affect the outcome of data. Some researchers relied on translators (Williamson, 1991) to obtain the data. Other than the ethics issue, having an 'outsider' swooping into a community to 'take' out the community knowledge for their own benefit (Smith, 2000), the participants may also become the 'observed' under the 'gaze' of the researcher (Chow, 1993, p. 34). Chow (1993) writes, "Whether positive or negative, the construction of the native remains at the level of image-identification" (p. 34). Research is very much a matter of image building where the identity of the indigenous person is always in relation to the researcher and the ways research is done. Being a part of the community and family increases the involvement of the participants and eliminates the existence of power relations that is prevalent between the
Indigenous people and the Euro-Canadian society.

5). The use of the English language is also problematic when collecting language data from Cree participants because it places the dominant language in a power position. When the dominant language, instead of the Indigenous language, is used to obtain data, it excludes the examination of how important the participants are to the study. Further, the use of a foreign language may not be as effective in obtaining relevant or reliable data.

6). Linguistic studies "have not adequately considered social context, nor have they looked at the effect of language loss" (Kouritzan, 1999) from an insider viewpoint. These studies tend to view linguistic elements as fragmented (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992) and have not connected to the way linguistic elements are part of the language, which sets the pattern in the social interactions of people within families and communities.

The previous studies have provided adequate information on the many benefits of using data collected through the survey method with multiple participants. These studies emphasize that language shift is a worldwide reality. However, language studies on using an oral story common across generations to determine if language shift is a reality within Cree spaces have not been done. This study fills that gap.

3.3 The Challenge to Find a Method

Obviously, it is a formidable task to find a respectful way to describe intergenerational participants telling an oral story in the Cree language and to
attempt to examine the stories as a basis for the changes in language use among generations. The other challenge I am faced with is the need to address issues of language shift adequately, reflectively, respectfully, and holistically.

The first challenge is to situate this study within an Indigenous frame of mind that will acknowledge the important contribution of the participants to this project. Some of studies previously mentioned, for example, Clyne (1992), and Williamson (1991), have used paradigms with a set of rules binding researchers within a particular framework. Consequently, this requires the researcher to fit her study into a pre-established paradigm. As a Cree speaking researcher working from the inside of the Cree culture, it is a challenge to work within a system that expects to find a framework which is acceptable to academia. Smith (1999) has captured this dilemma: "As the ways we try to understand the world are reduced to issues of measurement, the focus to understanding becomes more concerned with procedural problems. The challenge for understanding the social world becomes one developing operational definitions of phenomena which are reliable and valid" (p. 42). This relates to the situation that I find myself in as I search for a method that will do justice to the study.

The second challenge in finding a method involves identifying themes important to the study of language shift using an oral story and personal interviews. This is a study of language change and loss of lexicons but the changes are deeper than the surface features. Thus, the identification of themes through the examination of linguistic features is a challenge because it involves looking at fragmented instances of speech to ascertain language shift. When
fragmentation is part of a process, it has a tendency to centralize the focus on the individual and this presents a problem when my intention is to establish a "causal agent, other than the speakers themselves" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). It is part of the struggle to find not only a method but also the words to make sense of the changes "while also attempting to transform what counts as important in the world of the powerful" (Smith, 1999, p. 39).

The third challenge is to find a way to describe language not as a "thing" which has a natural life span, that grows, and dies in the same way that our bodies decay and expire, but to describe language as an incorporeal entity intrinsically important to peoples everywhere. Thus while there may be evidence of changes in language use, the challenge is to situate these changes as part of a bigger picture that includes colonization and its impact on Indigenous and minority languages.

It is always a struggle for Indigenous writers doing research given the way past research has been done in our communities. The challenges Aboriginal people face are intrinsically connected to the work they do in academia and where they choose to situate themselves. It is very hard to use research as the pathway for the transformation of the thought-ways of academia when we ourselves are involved in the very 'project' which has relegated us to the margins.

3.4 Description of Methods Used

Using a Cree story as data, this study examines Cree language changes among family members. It also invites the family members to share their
perspectives and attitudes of the Cree language and their own usage. So, putting together the sociological and linguistic features of the family members and the community requires reflecting on the way this study is approached. It was necessary to consider the study in regards to data, family, issues, and strategies.

The data was collected using the Cree language from three family members. It relied on face-to-face storytelling and interviews as a method instead of a survey, recognizing "language as a constantly intersection between linguistic elements, identity, culture, history, reality, information and communication" (Kouritzan, 1999). The ability to sit down with the participants in a relaxed manner also provided the possibility of the flow of information not possible with a formal survey.

This study is emic. It involved the personal/social perspectives and attitudes of family members in an attempt to gain understanding of linguistic changes and personal roles within the shifting landscape they find themselves (Henderson, 1996). At the same, it is crucial to maintain the Indigenous way of thinking to ensure that the knowledge is situated within the family and community without impressing it as a lone enterprise by the researcher. Thus, any knowledge about language shift gleaned from this study depends on the language use and Cree language perspectives of family members, who in turn, have obtained their behaviours and perspectives from the community. It is important to respect the family and the community values and aspirations evident in this study; therefore, I took the approach of including cultural practices, "values and behaviours as an integral part" of this study (Smith, 1999, p. 15). By recognizing these family and
cultural aspects and values the participants become an important part of the research and stipulate that I include them in the discussion of the study (Smith, 1999, p. 15).

In addition, I have attempted to locate the Cree language shift and loss as a result of causal agents (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), such as the colonial experiences, the formal educational system, the economic sectors, and other social systems, which contribute to the phenomena. No doubt that individuals are part of social systems that determines their practices and behaviours, but there are external factors beyond the control of individuals, which exert pressures on the individuals and the choices they make regarding language use. These external agents or forces have the power to entrench themselves within the worldview of individuals within any culture (Battiste, 1996; Henderson, 1996; N'gugi, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Every individual has access to a linguistic system. Therefore, the analysis of linguistic changes addressed some of the morphological and lexicals changes as well as the attitudes and perceptions of family members. The morphological features provide the meaningful structure to words and sentences, building lexicons connected to the lived experiences of people. It reiterates the importance of all aspects of the language.

I wanted to work with the Cree language as a transformative language, that change can be for the good for mankind, as in the story when Cicipiscikwan transforms into a sturgeon, creating a new living thing while giving up herself. The Cree language contains descriptive linguistic features essential for the
understanding of life in the Indigenous world. It is important to find out how language shift affects the people immersed in it and to find out if the loss of lexicons has altered the way they think of their language and its place within their world.

3.5 Description of the Participants

3.5.1 *Notahwi 'My Father'*

My father is Angus Merasty, born in *Wapawakasik*, or Sandy Narrows, Saskatchewan. Born in 1923, he is currently 77 years old. He represents the first generation in this study. He has lived in the general area of Pelican Narrows most of his life except for two years when he was in the Tuberculosis Sanitarium. At the age of 23, in 1946, he followed the traditional practice of asking my grandfather, Albert Ballantyne of Deschambault Lake, Saskatchewan, if he could marry my mother, Angelique. Thus, they married, and settled in Sandy Narrows, had thirteen children raising them in the traditional Cree lifestyle. He provided for his family through hunting, trapping and fishing. In the summertime, he and my mother planted a small potato garden. When he was home from his economic pursuits, he spent countless hours telling us of his adventures. Each night, the last thing we heard as children was the voice of my father telling a legend.

My father speaks Cree almost exclusively. He enjoys meeting with friends and exchanging stories and jokes. One time, a few years ago, I was privileged to observe the social intimacy of my father and a couple of his old friends. For about three hours, my father and his friends told humourous stories.
As laughter subsided after one of the storytellers had finished, another one would start a new story. This went on, back and forth, until one of the men said, "You won." At which point, the roomful of people burst into animated laughter. The interaction in that room was enough to make one's spirit feel glad to be alive.

My father continued as a fisherman and a trapper until he got sick with tuberculosis, a lung disease that placed him in a hospital for two years. He started his trapping experiences when he was very young. His grandparents, George and Mary Custer, raised him and taught him about making a living off the land. As a very young boy, he accompanied his grandmother into the bush, learning to hunt and trap small game, such as rabbits and grouse. When my father was about ten and deemed old enough to begin his journey as a companion to his grandfather, he began traveling with him on the trapline. His education included learning tasks related to trapping, fishing, and hunting and being responsible for the dog team. In addition, his training as an apprentice trapper included knowledge of medicinal plants and herbs, which have sustained him during his many years trapping and fishing. He also learned many traditional stories from his grandfather. In his young life, most of his time was spent in outdoor activities, always attending to some task, such as fixing nets, traps, or the canoe, and other numerous things that required constant upkeep. This habit of working on a task has carried him into the present day. When he is feeling good, he can be found working on his motor or the yard, or many other activities to keep him busy.

The Cree language was the community language, used daily by everyone
to describe events related to lives closely connected to the land for sustenance and livelihood, such as weather conditions, the hot fishing spots, weddings and many other cultural activities. I learned my language from my father as well as from my mother, whom I assisted with the daily chores of hauling water, cleaning house, and looking after the babies. Today, many younger generations lack the daily Cree language and cultural interactions with proficient Cree speakers that I enjoyed as a young child, resulting in a low adroitness of Cree language. This situation has made my father very upset with children and with us for not teaching our children to speak Cree so he can communicate with them.

The only time my father speaks English is when he is forced to communicate with non-Cree speakers when no one is around to translate. He communicates in the English language when he goes shopping and when he has to see a doctor. Recently, more and more English is being spoken in my parents house but normally when this happens, my father will not get involved in the conversation. If he does, he will converse in Cree only. He watches English television, especially hockey and wrestling, but he does not pay attention to the language. If I watch television with him, he will tell me his version of what is happening, which he ascertains by the actions.

He has been involved in the school system telling stories to the children. However, the style of relating stories in Cree requires long periods of listening which children in school rarely do. Therefore, he does not go to the school anymore, because the children are not good listeners. He says they have no respect for adults.
3.5.2  *Nisimis 'My Younger Sister'*

My sister Margaret is the seventh child of thirteen children. She spent the first years of her life in Pelican Narrows almost completely immersed in the Cree language at home and in the community. Her Cree linguistic immersion ended when she entered school, but until she was fifteen, her linguistic preference was Cree. This is the time she had to, forced by the lack of a high school facility, leave the community to attend high school in Prince Albert. She said she tried to speak Cree as much as possible, whenever she had a chance. However, she reported that most of the Aboriginal children lived at the Student Residential School and they preferred to speak English. She felt that she had to speak English for the sake of making friends and trying to get along with other people.

Margaret is a Cree-English bilingual having been through the formal school system, achieving a post-secondary Librarian Technological Diploma and has also worked in the school system for many years. In her job, she is required to read and/or tell stories to younger children, usually in English and Cree, *Ikwa kāya mīstāmāwakow masinā-ikana nīkan nīta-akādasīmon. Ikwa ispīk Niniđōwan. "When I read books to them, first I speak English, then Cree"* (G2-176-77). Margaret has developed a habit of speaking in one language, then switching to another one in an effort to ensure that children understand the concepts within stories. Her story is one of the longest ones. She is very deliberate and takes the time to explain concepts or ideas within the story. Margaret is very conscious of her role as a transmitter of the Cree language, although she finds it very difficult at times, being also conscious of her role as a
translator from Cree to English.

Margaret is married and has five children. Her oldest child is also a fluent Cree speaker who prefers Cree rather than English. This is a refreshing change. The younger ones have some facility of the Cree language but prefer to speak English. Actually, two of the girls used to prefer the Cree language until they moved to Prince Albert to live with their father who was enrolled at Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC). During this time, Margaret stayed in Pelican Narrows with the youngest children. The two youngest speak Cree and English depending on whom they are talking to (G2-I).

Margaret was very, very interested in being part of the study. Initially, she did not know the story that well so she took the time to spend some time with our father so she could re-learn it. She practiced telling the story to her daughter. At the time of the recording, she wanted her daughter with her because she wanted to be as natural as possible.

3.5.3 Nitanis 'My Daughter'

Carla is my daughter. She was born in Cold Lake, Alberta. She lived at Elizabeth Settlement until we moved to Pelican Narrows in 1979 when she was 3 years old. Elizabeth Settlement is a Metis community with the Plains Cree as the ancestral language. However, by the time Carla was born it had shifted from Cree to English. Therefore, Carla was in an English-speaking environment during the first three years of her life. The move to Pelican Narrows transported her into a
different linguistic community. She learned the Cree language quickly from her grandparents and friends.

Currently she is attending the University of Saskatchewan. She has taken Cree courses in High School and at the University which employ the Plains Cree orthography. Thus, she has learned some lexicons unique to the Woods Cree and some from the Plains Cree. Carla talks fast, characteristic of Cree speakers from Pelican Narrows, Mäka askaw, osäm sōhki kiniiddowan, osäm sōhki kitaam itikawiyan mäna. "You are speaking too fast, you say your words too fast, I am told" (G3-I44-45). She went through her story session in a short time. Carla takes pride in her ability to speak Cree and enjoys visiting with other Cree speakers. Her main domains for speaking Cree include home, her cousins' home, and her aunt's home in Saskatoon. mäna, my auntie, Uncle George. āpo mäna kawä pamäkwow kōtakak itiniwak. "with my auntie, Uncle George, and with other people (Cree)" (G3-I41-42). Thus, whenever she meets people who speak Cree, she will use her native tongue. Although, when she is with Cree speakers, the conversation may or may not be Cree. She speaks Cree to her brothers and her sister. Carla thinks that parents should be involved in teaching Cree to their children. Ikwa ananta omämäwa ikwa opānahwa iniidöwicihk, "(The children are speaking English) even though their mothers and fathers speak Cree". (G3-I68-69) She thinks that the Cree language defines Cree as a people and it is important to maintain it. She expects parents to transmit Cree to their children and questions why some parents are not taking that responsibility. Tāni niidwimotawācik ësa awāsīsa. Kispin kāskā tāwak tāniidöwimotawācik ësa, "They should be talking to
their children in Cree. If they know how to speak Cree, then they should be speaking to them in Cree" (G2-I146-147).

She feels that there should be immersion programs to support the home in teaching children how to speak Cree. Although she feels that English is important for economic purposes, Cree should be maintained for its cultural importance. She feels that the Cree language is intrinsically linked to identity: Niďow niďa, ikwâni kâniďowîyân, "I am Cree, so I speak Cree" (G2-I22).

3.6 How was the method selected

The nature of this study is qualitative. It describes the phenomenon of language shift as evident from a Cree legend narrated in Cree by selected family members and perspectives regarding their ancestral language. There is an attempt to be sensitive to the individuals who have participated in the study (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). The qualitative approach reflects the Cree perspective of the participants (Bighead, 1996; Ermine, 2000) and presents the language data in a respectful manner (Smith, 1999; Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). This is important as the legend is narrated in Cree and has to be interpreted by the researcher in the English language.

The extended family, as the main source of intergenerational epistemology and in maintaining balanced relationships, is central to the Cree perspective. Therefore, the multiple voices in this study contribute to the interpretation of language experiences in the phenomenon of language shift. The voices will provide some understanding of the events under study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).
An Aboriginal story, interviews and some field notes will be the sources of analysis.

The nature of this study requires a descriptive and a narrative analysis of the story and interview data. It will describe the story told by the individuals, their perspectives and attitudes about the Cree language. Through the narrative approach, the experiences of the partners will be recorded, transcribed, and described in storied form to make "sense of being full, a sense of coming out of a personal and social history" (Clandinin & Connelly, F.M., 1994). The researcher and her family are intertwined within this study, and by using the 'storied form' the relationship between my family and me is kept intact.

This study cannot stray from the standpoint that language is used and created by individuals to meet their needs and express their experiences (Hamel, 1995). The description of language as it changes to between generations is not an easy task. It requires that attention be given not only to the experiences of the individuals but also to the words they use, how they use them and perhaps why they use them. Therefore, it is important to place value on the verbal experiences of individuals to develop an understanding of "how they come to develop the perspectives they hold" (Bogden & Bilken, 1998). The Cree linguistic abilities provide the means by which family members choose to share their perspectives regarding language change.

This study involved my dad, sister, and daughter who provided the data to illustrate how language shift is occurring within one extended family over three generations. The participants' proficiency of Cree or lack thereof illustrated a
change in language use. At the same time, the individual perceptions about language shift enriched the study with attitudinal factors that may offer community members insight to the study. The study is also written in an emic dimension, a self-perception, of the role of individuals in the circle of life. It is similar to what Cajete (1994) refers to as 'tracking': "Everything leaves a track, and in the track is the story: the state of being of each thing in its interactions with everything else" (p. 54). Everything that a person does or says is part of that person and their actions/words do have an impact on the listeners/observers. The study described the Cree legend narrated by three members of my own family, representing three generations. In the tradition of my family, I had discussed my intention to write a thesis on the usage of the Cree language. Thus, I contacted each family member who was involved, either in person or by telephone, informed them of the study, their role within the thesis research, and asked if they would like to participate. After a few days, with time to think about the interviews (Ermine, 1996) each person was contacted again to find out if they had decided to get involved in the study. Once the consent was received, each person was provided with details about the study and arrangements were made to meet with each individual.

3.6.1 A Family Way of Asking

The method for this study has followed protocols which honour and respect the integrity of the participants. My relationship to participants required that I approach them in an unpretentious manner. The first step taken was to give
notice through informal discussions that I would be doing a study for my master's program and I would need help from family members. Then, I began to contact people by phone or in person informing them of my intention to go ahead with the research. I explained the nature of the study, which would involve telling a specific story in Cree. I inquired if they would like to participate in the study. Ample time was given to each participant to think about participating. Then I inquired if they knew the story Cicipiscikwan. Each family member knew the story or a version of the story. I didn't want to put the participants through a long series of questions nor did I want to "put them on the spot" by requesting a story of their own choosing. When people are asked to tell a story of their own choosing, it requires them to think of a story, which may be out of the particular socio-cultural context when it is initiated or enacted. So, I chose the story and the participants were audio taped telling the story in Cree.

My father, one sister Margaret, and my daughter were willing to participant. Initially, the plan was to involve a nephew or a niece as the third generation participant, but I was unable to find a nephew or a niece who knew the story or was willing to be part of the study.

Next, the participants and I agreed on a place and time for the audiotaping of the Cree story. The first session was with my father at his home in Pelican Narrows. My husband and I drove up one fine day to audiotape the story. After the preliminaries were conducted, that is, presenting fish hooks and chewless tobacco to my dad, and spending some time to visit with my parents, catching up on some local news, I went over the information in Cree. Then we began the
audio taped session.

Margaret is my sister, and I could have requested her assistance without following protocol, but she was given the same respect as my father. Thus, she received the information about the thesis, the purpose of the storytelling sessions and the follow up interview on her perspectives and feelings regarding languages shift. On June 11, 2000, when she came to visit me in Prince Albert, she decided that it was time for her to tell the story. When she completed her story, I gave her a pack of cigarettes, thanking her for her participation.

Carla and I talked about the thesis regularly. She even suggested which of the nephews or nieces might know the story. Unfortunately, the quest for a nephew or niece did not work out. She knew the story, so we both decided that she could be the third generation participant. I explained the research process to her, which required her to tell a story in Cree followed at a later date with an informal interview. She decided she wanted to be part of the study. There were no special protocols followed with Carla.

The story was then transcribed using the language of the Woods Cree with some attempt to follow the Standard Roman Orthography (SRO) of the Plains Cree (Okimasis & Ratt, 1999). The vowels and dialectal variations were recorded to accommodate the dialect of the Woods Cree. This process took many hours. The transcriptions were done verbatim. Because of difficulty in finding a dictionary reflecting the Woods Cree dialect, I humbly asked my brother, William Merasty, to assist with the spelling. He taught Cree in Pelican Narrows, so he was able to check and correct spelling errors. No attempt was made to use specials
notations "to indicate certain features of speech: nonlexical expressions as as "HM,hm" and "A:ah"; interruptions and overlaps" (Mishler, 1986, p. 37). A preliminary analysis was done to find some possible patterns in language shift, that is, noting the terminology of the second and third generation participants to ascertain code-switching.

Margaret and Carla reviewed the transcriptions for accuracy. I read my transcription to my father, and I made changes as required. The changes were made to reflect the thoughts of the participants (Bishop, 1996). This involvement of the participants with the research process provided an opportunity for the participants to understand the outcome of the research (Bishop, 1996, Deloria, 1988; Ellis, 1997). Then an informal interview was conducted to obtain perspectives and attitudes about the Cree language.

In the first encounter with each family member, I audio-taped the story told by each person in the Cree language. My father's use of lexicons and Cree speech patterns such as word order helped to establish understandings of how the Cree language reflects *Niîdîwin*. The expectation was that his story would involve few or no lexicons from the English language, which proved to be true. My sister's language use showed evidence of undue influence by the English language in the speech of an individual, like her, who began her life as a monolingual Cree speaker and later learned English through the formal Educational system. My daughter Carla's speech also provided evidence that the English language has infiltrated the Cree language.
3.7 *Cicipiscikwan: As a Source of Knowledge*

Cicipiscikwan story is common to the people in Pelican Narrows. It is referred to as *acădokīwin*, "legend" passed on from generation to generation. This story as told by my father set the standard for the use of lexicons since he would know the words contained in this *acădokīwin*, well known in this part of the country. Also, the fact that Cicipiscikwan contains words seldom used in everyday speech will help to determine the types of words employed by the speakers. For example, the title, *Cicipiscikwan* of this *acădokīwin* is a word seldom found in regular, everyday speech.

The *acădokīwin* was analyzed for code-switching to determine the extent of its use in daily conversations and in the telling the story. The transcriptions were done verbatim in Cree Roman Orthography, utilizing the " réponse" dialect to reflect the actual pronunciation of the participants as closely as possible. During the transcription process, the English words are left as they were used, to reflect code-switching. No attempt was made to analyze the speech patterns of the participants to the extent that linguists have done (Aitchison, 1991; Gal, 1979; Hamel, 1995), but there was an undertaking to recognize and describe the interjection of English words into Cree speech.

The second tape-recorded interview was also done in the Cree language to determine Cree language use, perceptions and attitudes of the participants regarding the place that the Cree language has in their lives. I asked the participants to discuss their language preferences, perceptions and attitudes about the Cree language using informal and open-ended questions. Their discussions
provided the supporting data to the data obtained through the telling of Cicipiscikwan.

The data from the informal interviews were transcribed in Cree using Roman Orthography in the “8” dialect of Pelican Narrows. Then the participants reviewed the transcriptions. The participants were given an opportunity to change, delete, and /or include the information they had provided. They removed the names of their friends and clarified some lexical items. Otherwise, the interviews were transcribed as they were in the tape-recording. The reason for the review of the transcriptions was to ensure that I had transcribed what I had heard accurately. When the participants reviewed the transcriptions, it ensured that their words and thoughts were accurately reflected in the study.

The informal interviews were also transcribed verbatim. I had some difficulties in setting up the transcriptions. I am grateful to my supervisor, Verna St. Denis, for suggesting that I use the letters of the alphabet and Arabic numerals for each line in the transcription. Thus, the transcriptions were designed using the following codes.

G1=Generation 1  G2=Generation 2  G3=Generation 3
S = Story  I = Interview

The numbers were placed in brackets, (2) to refer to the number of the line where the quote can be found. For example, in this method, if I made reference to a quote provided by my father, I wrote G1 for Generation one, as he is the first generation of the participants. Then, I wrote a dash after G1, followed by an S or I depending on whether the data was derived from the story or interview. Thus, a
quote found on line 5 from the story that my father told would be written as G1S-(5). The data taken from an interview was written as (G1S-5).

Then, the transcriptions were analyzed to ascertain language usage of the Cree language and the effect of English into Cree speech. Sociolinguistic descriptive analysis was used to ascertain if functional features changed from one generation to another and if each generation chose different lexicons. The story was also used to describe differences in language use. This part of the analysis was limited to: 1) morphological changes, for example, ĭwîšopìwit, 'to shop' has the root, 'shop' derived from the English language, while the affixes, ĭwî and ĭwît are from the Cree language and 2) partial or complete code switches, as when a speaker switches from Cree to English, as in "Ĭtā anima kātoskîyân, library". These linguistic patterns of language use provide a sample of the Cree language situation within one Cree family.

The data from the interviews about attitudes and perceptions was analyzed for themes and/or issues. This included the personal thoughts of the family participants and their observations of the situation in or out of Pelican Narrows. The data was analyzed to determine the socio-economic factors that contribute to language shift.

Thus, the data was analyzed and described in three ways. First, it described evidence of English words or structures within Cree language use which may indicate language shift, secondly, it described the extent of language shift over three generations and in the community; finally, it described the people's perceptions of and attitudes to their ancestral language. This analysis
serves to identify factors which may contribute to language shift. The transcriptions from the interviews were the supporting data for describing perceptions and attitudes, which contribute to language shift and language maintenance within one Cree family.

This chapter has described the many concerns that I, as an Aboriginal person, have about research, in light of how historical research has been conducted among Indigenous people. Certainly, it is not only about seeking appropriate methodologies that would do justice to the people from whom I sought assistance, but also to those who may read this thesis for future reference. The concerns about protocols was particularly difficult as there is no specific method for requesting participation among Woods Cree families, except to talk about the enterprise, and then request the assistance at the appropriate time. I did ask my father if there were protocols in requesting the aid of individuals but he was not aware of special procedures which had to be followed. Thus, the problems with protocols vary with each family and community, and it would be to the best interest of the researcher to seek information before proceeding with a research project. Research is a sensitive enterprise, and one of the main problems with this research is the need to be truthful without hurting those who were involved. Thus, it necessitates utmost respect for each participant, explaining procedures and obtaining permission from the each one.

I have described data collected and transcribed carefully, and as accurately as possible, taking care to include each word of the story and interview. I described the problems with an Eurocentric inquiry and how I chose to proceed
with it. Given that there are no studies available using this method, there were problems in finding a method that would justify the question of language shift.

There was careful consideration given to those who participated. As I analyzed the transcriptions, I was very aware of my role as an Aboriginal researcher who needed to translate and interpret the language data without demeaning or romanticizing the participants, the issue, and the questions.
CHAPTER FOUR
The Presentation of the Data

Introduction

This chapter summarizes the data, offers the analysis of speech patterns, description of personal styles of story telling and relates some similarities and /or differences between the participants. It also describes the linguistic features of the Woods Cree and the use of the language systems available to the participants. Further, it attempts to describe the perceptions of the participants in regards to their languages. Finally, it deals with some of the findings obtained from the storytelling sessions, personal interviews and field notes.

4.1 Oral Tradition

The study involves three individuals who were audio taped telling a story in Cree. It is appropriate to use a Cree story familiar to the participants. Oral stories are an integral part of the Cree culture. The children and adults heard stories on a daily basis; normally it was Elders of the community who told the stories. When I asked my father how he came to know so many stories, he said:

\textit{Nimösömpan Ṁ̆ma kākīwíṯānawit. Tātwaw kākap̱śiyak. Ikwāni māna nīḵ' acimōstak. Āpo māna Ṁ̆ta kā ayak. Tātwaw kāp̱̱ tokākot awāsīsā kāḵ māṯ̱ pītākosīt māna iyacimōstawat. Piyakwan māna kīśī aya īmaṯ̱ acimōstawat} \textit{(Telephone conversation, July 2000).}
My grandfather told me. Each time we camped, he would start telling stories. Even when we were here [Sandy Narrows]. When children came in, his voice could be heard telling them stories. [He would] tell them stories, as if he was talking to adults.

Like his grandfather before him, my father is always willing to share his stories with any one who wants to listen. Oral stories offered an opportunity for children to stay connected to their cultural through the companionship offered by the Elders. Lenore Keship-Tobias relates the importance of story telling:

Storytelling was never done for sheer entertainment, for the stories were and are a record of proud Nations confident in their achievements and their way of life. Stories contained information and about tribal values, patterns of the environment and growing seasons, ceremonial or religious detail, social roles, and geographical formations, factual and symbolic data, animal and human traits (Quoted in Lanigan, 1996, Pg. 109).

The story Cicipiscikwān is similar to other cultural stories, which provides information on cultural values and the origin of animal species. Most importantly, it informs us how Wisahkicak (pronounced 'Wee sah kee jak') came to be.

Wisakīcak is more than a trickster in Cree oral stories and people who have heard about him through the Wisakīcak stories are curious about his beginnings. He is the central figure who at once 'foolish' and a 'hero', but always makes things right at the end. In this particular story, the central figure is Wisakīcak's mother Cicipiscikwān (pronounced 'Gee gee pis gee kwan') is the main character but it binds Wisakīcak to a family and informs why he had no human brothers and sisters.

Each person takes something out of a story according to his/her need for information and/or advice. For the adult women I know who are familiar with this story, the message they derive involves the behavior of women in relation to
men. It is one of the ways that women learn of certain acceptable or unacceptable behaviors.

*Cicipiskwan* is appropriate for this study as it is well known and a common story similar to the common knowledge that medicine people can share with outsiders (Huntley, 1996). Some things in Cree culture are sacred and cannot be shared or written for fear of misappropriation, misuse or abuse of the knowledge. This story can be shared due to its wide availability to many people. Huntley (1996) sought the advice of an Elder to determine the kind of knowledge that would not infringe on traditional knowledge. The Elder responded that it was disrespectful to write of "common knowledge [which] is passed on from generation to generation" (Huntley, 1996, p. 35). *Cicipiscikwān* is a story, which has been shared with many people from generation to generation making it a common story and appropriate for use in the written form.

This story, unlike many others that are told at certain times or seasons, can be told any time. My father would tell this story at the request of family members or friends regardless of the time. He has told me the story many times at various places during different times of the year. I have heard this story at *Wapāwakāsik*, (Sandy Narrows) at his house in Pelican Narrows and once in my office in Prince Albert. Likewise, Margaret and Carla have heard this story at different times, and in different places. When I audio taped the stories, time and place were not an issue.

My father related his story in the kitchen of his home in Pelican Narrows. My mother enjoys listening to these kinds of stories and she joined us when we
were about halfway through the process. My father was at ease with the process of the audio taping. The audiotape did not bother him and he was very calm as he told the story. The noises around the house did not disturb his story telling. He continued with his story, although people were talking in the next room, the dishes were rattling and the telephone was ringing. None of these disturbances bothered him.

My father told the story to my sister Margaret. She started her story with \textit{Nipapa, oma ikiw\textit{\textit{itamawi}. 'my father told me this story'} (G2S-1). At first, she felt inadequate to tell the story but eventually she decided that it was time to tell the story. She told her story with her daughter on her lap to make her feel a sense of naturalness to the tape-recorded session. Again, the choice of how they wanted to tell the story was respected. The time in this case does not refer to linear time, it refers to the rhythm of the personal feeling that situation and mood is right for the telling of the story.

My daughter Carla has heard the story from me and she had read it in school at various times. She also heard the story from others, albeit told somewhat differently than my father's story. A couple of years ago, she even wrote the story for a Native Studies class during the summer. She also mentioned that she enjoys telling the story to her friends when an opportunity rises, such as when someone is talking about male-female relationships. In effect, she can tell the story regardless of linear time.

Thus, this story can be told anytime, anywhere, and to anybody because it does not include traditional environmental or sacred knowledge. It is a common
story told by an Elder or any other person upon request or whenever an incident evokes memories of the events in the story. The everyday quality of the story is demonstrated by my father telling his story in the kitchen, with Margaret telling the story with her daughter on her lap, and with Carla sharing it with her friends. The telling of Cicîpîscikwân is a good example of an oral tradition, a story passed on from one generation to another.

4.2 The People Involved: Their Story, Their Words, Their Self-Identification

4.2.1 The Structure of Woods Cree

The analysis of the data will focus on very few aspects of the Cree language of the Woods Cree, concentrating on using the language data to discuss some of findings of the study. However, it is important to point out some differences between the Woods and Plains Cree languages to establish the uniqueness of each dialect. It also seems necessary to explain some of the unique aspects of the Woods Cree given the fact that most of the written material has been in the Plains Cree languages (Ahenakew & Wolfart, 1998). In addition, by giving a small overview of the similarities and differences, it creates awareness of the diversity of the Woods and Plains Cree and prevents a simplistic view of all Cree dialects. All languages contain the ways that people choose to express their thoughts and explain their learning and epistemologies. It is no different with the Woods Cree. Henderson (1996) discusses the Mi'kmaw language as being 'holafrastic' (pg.96), a system that can be build from verb phrases. He makes reference to other Algonquian languages, of which Cree is one. The structure is
utilized by the speakers who

build up verb phrases from what we could call implicate roots, containing the action or motion of the flux, and have hundreds of prefixes and suffixes to choose from to express an entire panorama of energy and motion (Pg. 96).

Similarly, the Cree language contains verbs that begin with an action such as, kiskikwē, 'to cut off/chop off, or sever' and builds the context with the affixes available to the speaker of the language. This is illustrated by the following words.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kākaskikwūtahokot} & \quad '\text{he/she severed her/his head}' \quad (\text{G2S-95}) \\
\text{kākiskwayānipādit} & \quad '\text{lost her head; went crazy}' \quad (\text{G3S-33})
\end{align*}
\]

These two words used by the storytellers show that a root can be used in a number of ways to create a sense of "energy and motion" (Henderson, 1996, p.96). Each word is distinctly different in meaning, yet it has the same base to work from which to build up the meaning.

4.2.2 Lexicons of the Woods Cree

There is diversity among and within languages; just as there are variations among dialects within a particular language. As mentioned in the previous section, the similarities between the Woods and Plains Cree are reflected in the construction of key words or root words which are changed according to the topic, situation, or subject or object. The following list of words demonstrates that Woods Cree is structurally similar to Plains Cree except for minor phonological differences. The Plains Cree words are taken from Okimasis & Ratt, 1999, p. 61.
The ū as in 'bed' as used in Plains Cree is not used in Woods Cree within Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation, therefore, the ū as in 'bead', is used in this thesis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Woods Cree</th>
<th>Plains Cree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itōhtī</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kakitōhtan</td>
<td>you (sg) go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itōhtīw</td>
<td>She/he goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itohtīwak</td>
<td>They are going-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb, itōti, 'go' is in "constant movement or change" (Funk & Wagnalls, 1968) as the affixes are added to each new situation, but the root word remains constant and is ever present to accommodate the needs of the speakers. In this sense, both the Woods Cree and the Plains Cree are alike.

People develop unique lexicons to reflect their own cultural needs based on their environment. The Woods Cree speakers are situated in the land of lakes and forests and most of the Plains Cree Speakers are situated on the prairies. Thus each linguistic group will "derive most of the linguistic notions by which they describe the forces of an ecology from experience and from reflection on the forces of nature" (Battiste & Henderson, 2000). The linguistic notions are connected to the linguistic function of words, which could account for the changes in the sounds or in the words that are created.

The lexicons cīscanakw-anīyāpis, 'a moccasin lace' and ipahkisot, 'jumping into the air, as a fish' appear in my father's story. These words elicit the vivid cultural and ecological concepts, and actions available within the experience of the traditional Woods Cree culture. *Ipahkisot*, brings up a complete set of
events, from the simmer of lake, to the rising of the fish into the air and returning to the water, and the perception of the individual watching the action. *Ipahkisot* is directly related to "an ecology from experience" lexicon. People with such explicit experiences derived them from a long association with the land, waters, fish and animals which are part of the conceptual framework that form all the sensory perceptions contained within *Ipahkisot*.

Naturally, there will be different conceptual understanding of certain words between the Woods and Plains Cree. Carla pointed out the difficulty she has in making herself understood by her friends who speak Plains Cree when she uses common Woods Cree words. She said, *Taskoc, i-pëwahnit; e-sikaciht, tatriwihak,* 'as in thin, they will say 'thin'. Both *i-pëwahnit* and *e-sikaciht* mean either 'thin' or 'without fat' but the lexicon *i-pëwahnit* is preferred by the Woods Cree. When Carla uses *i-pëwahnit*, it forces her to explain the meaning of the word to her friends in English. The preferred lexicon of the Plains Cree is *i-sikaciht*, 'without fat' which also exists in Woods Cree but is usually reserved for describing the physical condition of animals, not people. Although, this lexicon relates better to hunting activities, it could also be associated with the phenomenon known as *Wtikōhwak,* 'cannibals', culturally understood as people whose hearts have turned to ice and have lost their humanity. Normally, this lexicon is a hunting concept where hunters normally refrain from killing animals that are *kasikacithit*, 'that are without fat'. All hunters prefer to kill moose, for instance, which are fat, *kawidinōthit* and spare those which are *kasikacithit*. Metaphorically, if a person were to refer to another person, *isikaciht*, there might
be misunderstanding as if that person wanted to eat another person the way a
*Wiitiko*, 'cannibal' would. Therefore, this cultural and ecology word is not used to
describe the physical condition of people.

Other than differences in some lexicons, the Woods and Plains Cree
languages share common lexicons and concepts for effective communication. No
doubt, it takes awhile to adjust to dialectical differences but mobility and in the
existence of the radio station in Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, the Missinippi
Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) with its language programming, understandings
between groups continues to grow. Yet, even with frequent contact between
groups and existence of language programming through the radio communication
systems, there are words, which remain specific to Woods Cree culture. The story,
*Cicipiscikwân* contains lexicons directly related to the lives of the people of
North.

4.2.3 Some Phonological Aspects

The stories are told in the speech of *Niyiôwak*, 'Woods Cree', thus the
Roman orthography represents features specific to this group. The "th" and the
"i" sounds are represented differently from Standard Roman Orthography utilized
in the Plains Cree dialect. Many publications of Cree stories reflect the Plains
Cree dialect (Ahenakew & Wolfart, 1989; 1998) and there are very few
publications of Woods Cree. Thus, this section will discuss a few similarities and
differences between the Woods and Plains Cree for the interest of those who are
not familiar with the "O" dialect.
Woods Cree is distinguished from other Cree dialects in the "presence of the ơ, a sound very much like the th in English they or either, in such words as aðisiðiniw, 'human being, person' or thìwahkanak (plural) 'pounded meat', which in Plains Cree have the sound y instead: ayisiyiniw, yìwahkanak "(Wolfart, 1988). The y-sound of the Plains Cree corresponds directly with ơ-sound of the Woods Cree, that is, whenever a ơ-sound appears, the y-sound of the Plains Cree can be substituted (Ahenakew & Wolfart, 1998). The ơ-sound does not exist in the Plains Cree dialect but y-sound occurs within Woods Cree as in pìyak, 'one'. In the vowel system, the vowels of the Woods Cree orthography are a, i, o which represent six sounds with the a long sounds marked with a micron as in íkwani, 'and then'. The ìj as in 'pin' in this study replaces [e] as in 'bed' prevalent in Plains Cree. For example, the word íkwa 'and then' is used in Woods Cree instead of the ekwa of the Plains Cree. In most case, all symbols representing the sounds are pronounced as they are spelled, except for the 'c' followed by 'i', pronounced as in the word, chico, /cheeko/, a sound somewhere between 'gee' and 'jay'.

The ơ-sound of the Woods Cree is in the same position as the y of the Plains Cree reflecting the dialectical nature of the Cree language. The vowels that are also noticeably different are the long í -sound instead of the long é-sound with the long ì preferred by the Woods Cree. The other sounds of the Cree language correspond to each other in both dialects. This section dealt with a few major differences between the languages to highlight the diversity between Cree dialects in Saskatchewan.
4.2.4 Morphology

The morphology of a language relates to the aspect of inflections and word formation. This is the interesting aspect as it does make a difference in Cree on which morpheme is used to describe, indicate direction or position. If the wrong morpheme is used, the listener is burdened with trying to assimilate the information the best way he can which can lead to misunderstandings.

On the morphological aspect, there are some differences between the Woods Cree and the Plains Cree. The "-waw when the preceding part of the ending happens to end in the sound of k, and by -ik in all other cases. (In Plains Cree, it is -ik even after k, e.g., e-wapamakik 'as I see them') " (Wolfart, 1988). We, the Woods Cree say iwāpakwaw or ĭwapakwáy. Likewise, the ending wit, 'as a ', e.g., ināmīwit 'become a sturgeon', or 'to be like a sturgeon' which can also be use metaphorically as in ĭ-sikākowit 'being like a skunk' referring to those with a short temper. These are some of the common characteristics in Woods Cree.

These explanations of the phonological and morphological aspects of the Woods Cree are included to reduce the effort the reader has to make in understanding the Cree words, which will be used. However, it is also interesting to note that the lack of certain morphemes can make a difference in the way communication occurs. This was evident in the speech of one of the participants.

4.2.5 Storytelling Styles

In addition to the length of each story, the story-telling styles are
obviously different from one storyteller to another. Two storytellers elaborated or explained concepts, events, or characters while my father Angus did not. For example, the first part of the story told by the narrators describes the decision by the man to move his family to a place where they can reside. The words to describe the movement of the family used by the first generation participant, are ispîcihtân 'let's move' (G1S-1), kasîpwîpicîk 'they moved' (G1S-2), kapapîmpîciçik 'they moved around' (GIS-3). Each word contains a subject/s and a verb to describe the action. The storyteller provides no other explanations for these words. He uses them in the story but does not elaborate on the meanings of words. The listener is expected to understand the words. The first generation participant also uses î for the future tense and ka for the past tense. These are the only references to temporality. This story could have happened this morning, yesterday, last year or hundred years ago.

Margaret describes this incident in a different manner. The words she uses are different but they are descriptors of traveling, camping, or moving, as in relocation. Îpâpahmôtihot 'he traveled around' (G2S-2), ikîpâpâmî-acîkapîscîcit 'they used to move from one place to another' (G2S-4), and ikîtôtî-acîk 'they (people) would take them (there)' (G2S-4). The words relate to traveling and moving, but the explanation of what people used to do long ago makes the difference in the story-telling style in this story. Also, the manner in which the setting is established in kayâs 'long ago' (G2S-2-) plays a role in the story locating it at another time.

The third storyteller neither relates the intentions of the family nor does
she offers an explanation on the setting in her story. She makes no reference to the family moving anywhere or trying to establish a home for themselves. Her introduction gives the listener the impression that the location of their home was not important to the story. In her story, traveling is what the man does for a specific purpose, *kapī māna ikišipwiti*, *Ikimācī*, 'he used to go out all the time, he went hunting' (G3S-2) without including a formal explanation for the family being out on their own in the bush by themselves.

The three storytellers employed different words to establish the story. The first participant uses two words *Ikwāni itikwi* 'So it is, I guess' which presupposes the story happened without assuming to have complete authority over it. The second participant says *Mākawiča ipahmōihot* 'this person used to move around', leading to the explanation why the family lived by themselves. The third participant relates to the hunting aspect of the story because the only person who travels is the man. However different the introductions may be, the introduction a man, a hunter is included by all storytellers. Therefore, the interesting aspect of styles chosen by each participant illustrates their involvement and intentions in the story whether each one is telling a story

Margaret includes more details to explain events and takes longer to finish her story. Her story was 169 lines long in the transcription. Whereas the first participant is more direct and to the point with the finished transcription being 80 lines, but he includes the necessary aspects. The transcription of the third participant was 60 lines long. She gets down to the central aspect of the story without giving many details to things or events. The length of the story reflects
the personal style of each storyteller or possibly as a move away from the Cree language. Lexicons are readily available to those of the first generation participant who has experienced a cultural reality untouched by other cultures and languages. The specific Cree lexicons available to Cree speakers who have acquired their experiences from the land are not necessarily within the speaking vocabulary of those who have had the same experiences. The experiences of the second and third generation participants were very different from the first generation participant. This is evident in the different words they use in their descriptions. The additional detail Margaret uses in her speech illustrates the influence of the English language stories, which are normally full of detailed description. The opposite strategy is noted in the third generation participant who is not given to providing many details which does not indicate preference for one kind of story telling or another. Although there were differences in the story telling styles, these do not necessarily illustrate language shift from Cree to English.

4.2.6 Ecological Lexicons

Cultural lexicons are born out of ecology; the type of environment people live determines the terminology "for and of" their world. In Pelican Narrows the lexicons particular to that area would include multiple diverse relationships with the land, water, and certain types of animals and observations of all its diversity and processes. Lexicons are about observations-learned and socialized over time and space involving may diverse variations of animals, plants, and people. It is
these observations and intimate experiences that create over time relationships that are recorded in speech and memory. Those with extensive time and experience with the land and water and its natural aspects, their language will reflect that experience. Those with little experience will not take note of these variations, sticking closely to just actions of the character in the story.

Thus, the land is lexically connected to the ecology through the words that relate to the bush, the rocks, the water, and the skies. The lexicons, which illustrate the ecological connections in the narrated Cree story, are few but each of the participants did use some words that referred to ecology. For instance, my father describes the snake pit or nest as being in an *opwatiskiacimik misimitosik kāyathit*. *Kāpākamwāt anyi misimitoswa* 'a hole in a big spruce tree. He banged on the big spruce tree' (G1S-27). My father uses the ecological word *misimitosik* 'large spruce tree', and he also speaks about *okawaminakisiyak*, 'thorns' (G1S-55), *sakwa* 'overgrown with trees' (G1S-6), and *sipi* 'river'. Many of these are obstacles Cicipiscikwān has to go through to get to her children. The voice of the young Wisakīcak announces, *Tawīsīpīwan* 'Let there be a river' and in an instant a river appeared, *Sīpi isa ĵkota kāsāsistawītik* 'A river ran by' (G1S-63). The most interesting sentence contains a lexicon that I have not heard for a long, long time. My father narrated, *Ipahkisot, kāpī-ōīwanskwā-kocik. Kītwam, ipahkisot* 'She jumped out of the water, with her hair flying, again, she jumped out of the water' (G1S-78). *Ipahkisot* 'jumped...water' and *kāpī-ōīwanskwā-kocik* 'hair flying' are lexicons that are not used regularly. My father's use of cultural lexicons reflects his extensive experience with the land, water, and the natural aspects.
Ecological lexical use illustrates the loss of cultural words through the influence of the English language. Without those lexicons, it is difficult, if not impossible to comprehend the messages contained with such words, affecting understanding of our cultural realities. Carla's use of ecological terminology differs quite markedly from my father. She does use ecological terms interconnected with land such as aski 'earth' (G2S-6), mistiminayikwak 'trees' (G2S-7), and nōcimik 'in the forest/bush' (G2S-41), and one lexicon related to space, tipiskawi-pīsimōk 'the moon' (G2S-103). She also used words related to water: ātampik 'under water', tāwic 'far out, from the shore' (G2S-162) and pakastawīpađo, 'falls into the water' (G2S-163). These are common words to people who spend considerable amount of time by the lakes, as are tipiskawipisim 'the moon' and sīpi 'the river' which are used by all three participants. However these terms do not reflect an extensive knowledge of the land and its natural aspects.

Words for trees occur frequently but again, different lexical terms are used by each of the participants. My father says, misimūtoswa, when discussing big trees (G1S-27). Margaret's referent of mistiminayikwak 'spruce trees' is specific to a particular type of tree, while Carla employs the broad term mistikohk, which means a tree of any kind. Carla and Margaret situate the snake site in the woods. Margaret ascribes the site as nōcimik 'in the forest' (G2S-89) while Carla uses nōcimisik 'not far in (to) the forest' (G3S-9) indicating the snakes are in the forest, but not too far away. The word ̌pahkisot as a fish, which jumps or glides through the air, is not used by either the second or third participant. These
examples demonstrate that Margaret and Carla do understand the words used in reference to common concepts and categories but they do not demonstrate the same understanding and perceptions of the land and water as my father.

One more example of language usage which can indicate change in patterns of communicate is when Cicipiscikwan was chasing her children and trying to persuade them to stop. My father sang the words she used, while my sister and my daughter used a chant. In addition, each storyteller used different words in the song or chant. My father sang the song of Cicipiscikwan as one would sing a lullaby. He sang:

\[
\text{Cicipiscikwan niwihocimawak nipipimak}
\]

\[
\text{Cicipiscikwan niwihocimawak nipipimak (G1S- 52-53)}
\]

'I am the rolling head, I want to kiss my babies.

'I am the rolling head, I want to kiss my babies.

Margaret, on the other hand, recited this chant,

\[
A \text{ nipipisisimak,}
\]

\[
\text{Nōtnōto awa kisimis (G2S- 115 &116).}
\]

'Oh my babies!

Your little brother wants to suckle!

Although awa, 'this one' occurs in this chant, it is usually unnecessary when words such as kisimis 'your little brother or sister' are used.

Carla also uses a short chant when Cicipiscikwan is trying to get her children to approach her. Her chant went like this:
Astäm pūtōtik

Kisā-kītinaaw nikosisak (G2S-48).

"Come here, come this way,
I love you, my sons"

Cicīpiscikwān is calling the boys, telling them she loves them and trying to coax them to stop. Astäm and pūtōtik are normally inferred and understood as having the same intention, so either of them could have served the same purpose. The only noticeable difference between my father, the Elder, and the other two people are the additional words awa (G2) and astam (G3), utilized by the younger participants. However, the additional words, awa (G2) and astam (G3) still have a function. Extra words are used in speech for emphasis.

The types of lexicons chosen affect the storytelling styles. There is a noticeable difference in lexical choices between all storytellers. The ecological lexicon create a connectedness to the land, which in turn, determines the practices, principles, and beliefs practiced by the Woods Cree and these were reflected more by the story told by my father than by Margaret and Carla. Yet each story flowed well in spite of the different lexicons utilized by each storyteller.

4.2.7 Differences in Presentation of the Story

Each storyteller also chose a different way of introducing the story. My father went directly into the story in the traditional fashion beginning with ĭkwāni proceeded quickly into the setting.
Ikwâni itikwî piyak ana nāpîw itwit, ahw mât ispichti tan îkotî Tanitawi pahpamyowâk, itîw wîkimâkana. Ikwâni kâ sipwîpicicîk

(G1S-1)

'And so it is/was I suppose, this man said "Let's move there, someplace where we can support ourselves", he said to his wife. And then they moved away.'

In a straightforward fashion, my father tells about an event including the characters of that event. His story line provides no explanation of meanings of words, events, or locations. His story was not as long as I would have expected it to be.

My sister begins her story with a statement that qualifies who had given her the story.

Kipápânaw ikîwî-tamawît omâdîw, Nîpâpâ- oma ikîwitâmawît,
Kipápânaw ikîwitâmawît omîdîw. Ayî Wisâkîcâkwa óci.
Ikwâni osôma kayâs, piyâk napîw mwa nikiskisin (G2S-1)

"Our father told me this [story]." My father told me this. Our father told me this one. And it comes from Wisâkîcâk. And then it was, long ago, this one man, I don't remember [his name].

First she establishes her source, then she gets into the story with a reference to "kayas", situating the story which had happened a long time ago. Margaret, being a librarian, tells many different kinds of stories, in English, to children. Perhaps the temporal relationship is an effect that she picked up from reading English stories to children.

Carla begins her story similar to stories of the Western tradition as in 'Once, long ago', beginning her narration with piyakwaw 'once'. She declares,

Piyawaw mâna ôta kayâs. Wîsâkîcâk omîmâwa Cîcipiscîkwân, mwac òpâhpâwa, Câkâpîs, kapî mâna ikîsipwîtît, imahcit.
Once and long ago, Wisakīcak's mother, Cicipiscikwān, no, his father, Cākāpīs, used to go away all the time, to go hunting. (G3S-1)

Carla's story is similar to Margaret's story in establishing a past event and ensuring that the characters are named at the beginning. The reference to kayās, 'long ago' may be influenced by the school system where well known children stories begin the word 'once' many times as in Once upon a time or There was once a (Collier JuniorClassics, 1962).

Cicipiscikwān is the mother of Wisakīcak, the trickster of Cree culture. It is very interesting that both the second and third generation participants mention Wisakīcak at the beginning of their stories. Margaret names Wisakīcak by mentioning that the story is part of the Wisakīcak legends. She says, Ayi Wisakīcak ocí 'from [the stories of] Wisakīca'. Carla makes a straightforward statement that Wisakīcak is the child of Cicipiscikwān and Cākāpīs leaving no doubt about the family relationships. Then, she moves directly into the heart of the story starting with the hunting expeditions of Cākāpīs. Both of these participants mention the familial relationships of the characters immediately. Their intention to clarify the relationships of the characters is easily understood.

All of the participants find their own way of presenting the story but the second and third generation participants began their legends completely different from the manner presented by my father, the first generation participant. He commences the story in a fashion that make it seem like the event had just happened or could still happen. His first sentence ḋkwāni, itikwī piyak awa nāpīw
'And so it is/was I suppose, *this man said* omits a direct marker for the linear time when the story took place.

Next, my father proceeds to establish the setting, which happened in the bush, away from other people. The family lives alone, and things begin to happen when the wife is left too long to fend for herself and her children. However, my father neither attaches names to the people nor to the characters at the beginning of the story. He uses kinship terms to refer to the family members like *wikimakana* 'spouse/wife', *okosisa* 'sons' and *napiw* 'man'. He never does name the woman, simply, referring to her as the "rolling head". However, the woman whose head remained alive and was rolling around does refer to herself in the story as the 'rolling head' say, "*iicitiscikwaniyan*", "I am the rolling head." Thus referring to herself as the rolling head serves the purpose of naming. So, while he is careful to situate the family living alone in a traditional trapping and hunting territory, my father is not preoccupied with naming characters immediately to develop the story.

The legend related by my father followed a cyclic but coherent style. He began his story and the events connected easily from one thing to another, or one thought into another. He took his time, enjoyed the humorous parts, and did not spend too much time explaining words or the meaning of words. He ignored the noises around him. He obviously enjoyed the session. The way my father tells the story leaves the listener with a sense of being connected, as in being part of the incidents in the story. The result is an understanding of how the world came to be and why it is so very important to know the epistemologies of our ancestors.
Margaret also demonstrates her own unique way of telling a story. She adds a lot of information, including a direct translation to English in many of her Cree sentences. Her story was the longest, taking time to provide complete explanations of things, events, and people.

The endings of these stories are exciting with each storyteller concluding either by including events important to them or the final event they remembered. First, my father's story evolves into another story after Cicipiscikwān. He carries through to the story of Wisakīcak and his brother after they had survived the bout with the 'rolling head'. So his story starts with one and continues with another informing the listener of the interconnectedness of all beings. Life continues, changing from one life form into another, analogous to the rolling head shifting into a sturgeon. There is no death, just a transformation of one life into another, adding to the richness of earth. Therefore, mourning the passing of life is not part of the cycle of life, which keeps all things balanced. Likewise, later in the story we find that Čākāpīs has left the earth to reside on the moon. The ending of Margaret's story also refers to the continuation of other stories but she finishes when the rolling head changes into the sturgeon. Carla goes as far she was able to remember, and she qualifies that in her ending. She was unable to recall Cicipiscikwān's transformation to a sturgeon, but she remembered what happened to Wisakīcak and his brother, and she mentions that Čākāpīs is now on the moon. Thus, each storyteller recalls the endings differently.

The taping of the stories was very exciting. I have come to know my
family in a new way, making our relationships richer and deeper, and it left me with an understanding of each person's worldview.

4.3 Dialectical Differences

Code-switching creates differences in language use and it also indicates that a language is shifting to another language when it is used to an extreme. Code-switching can occur in different ways. A speaker may chose to switch within the word by adding or deleting some aspect of the linguistic structure, such as the suffixes and or prefixes. Sometimes, speakers will switch completely from Cree into an English sentence or phrase with the result that code-switching can occur at the morphological, lexical, and syntactic level.

Scotten (1998) ascertains that code-switching or using two linguistic varieties within the same speech act such as English and Cree happens in one direction and that only the nouns can be changed into English (pg. 295). This was not entirely true for the participants of this study. Only one of the participants decided to use an English word, converting it into a Cree word by attaching Cree inflections. Two incidents will be used as examples to demonstrate the different language choices for each person. The first incident deals with the aspect of the female or Cicipiscikwän getting her head chopped off. First as a point of reference, my father described these incidents as Piniyëpawiw ūkota, kāki-skikwītawāht, 'He knocked her down and there, he chopped off her head' (G1S-1), a straightforward description of the event in Cree. On the other hand, Margaret utilized different lexicons and languages to state Mwīch iyatipīkwīyatawit
Cut her head off as she was coming into the entrance.

This example of a Cree sentence followed by an English translation illustrates a shift from one language to another. The words "cut her head off as she was coming into the entrance" used by Margaret are completely English. As she finished off the sentence in Cree, she switched entirely to English.

Single or two word switches occurred seven times, phrase switches occurred nine times and sentence switches happened ten times. The following is the list of single or two word switches, with the number following the words indicating where the words are found in the Margaret's story. All of the English words were nouns; "spruce trees" (G2S-6), "firewood" (G2S-8), "sinew"(G2S-30) "tree" (G2S-42), "four"(G2S-120), "a river" (G2S-138), "sturgeon" (G2S-167). Single word switches did not necessarily occur all the time, but they may have been influenced by the presence of her daughter as an attempt to ensure understanding of the story.

Phrase code-switching occurred nine times during the story telling without any pattern as to the type of phrase that would be facilitate code-switching. For example, there is no direct relationship between "a piece of sinew", "with that axe"(G2S-60), "like a wire"(G2S-100), and "the boys kept running" (G2S-119). These examples demonstrate code-switching occurred at the phrase level but do not offer any particular cue that may have induced the code-switching.

Sentence code-switching occurred ten times as evidenced by the narration of the story with the English sentence followed or preceded by a complete Cree sentence with the same meaning. When she told the part about how
Cicipiscikwān got her head chopped off, she narrated in English, "He was cutting them off in half as they were coming out" (G2S -60 & 61), and then "He drained the blood into the pail," (G2S -64) and “He was halfway in and out at the entrance (G2S-81). These sentence switches from Cree to English certainly added a different dimension to the story.

Carla also discussed the incident when Cicipiscikwān literally lost her head. Carla at first spoke Cree and then made a code switch, changing the morphological feature of a word. She said that: Cākāpis, kahotināk, kākis-chop offwit (laughs), 'Cākāpis grabbed (the axe), he cut, chopped off her head". In this case, the words 'chop' and 'off' have been structured so they are in line with the morphological structure of Cree. "Chop" is a verb, so it meets the linguistic aspect of a verbal system, and "wit" has been added to off to make it fit the sentence. The morphological change maintains the idea and describes the situation accurately so Cree speakers can understand it.

When Margaret described this event, she said kīwī ṅāw kamahci-tītipipāhōit 'She named them as she started rolling' and continues with the sentence in English, "That one starting rolling-start rolling ..." The phrase explains where the direction the head was rolling. She used the same linguistic feature throughout her story. In fact, most of all of her sentence switches entailed a complete switch from the Cree language to the English language.

Carla also practiced a linguistic feature unique to her way of speaking or to her friend's way of expressing themselves. She applied the method described by Myers (1998) where the speaker incorporates the 'suffixes and prefixes' into
the Cree language. This feature of incorporating affixes to make the sentence sound like Cree speech was evident when Carla discussed the rolling head. She said, \textit{Cicipiscikwâñ ostihkwâñ animi\text{"i}iw i\text{"a}pahmi-rol\text{"i}wit}. (laughs) 'Cihcipiscikwan's head, that one, (rolled) all over'. She incorporated the word 'roll' into the Cree language by adding a prefix 'i' and a suffix 'wit'. Her sentences maintain a comprehensible Cree structure. In the examples above, there is some evidence of language shift especially if one's position is that English words within Cree speech indicates pattern in speaking or a preference, as shown by Carla's speech patterns. Margaret's switches are not within the lexicons. There are switches within sentences but there is no change to the Cree morphological system. It is a complete change from Cree to English describing the story events accurately, according to Cree syntax.

Carla actually used English words within the Cree structure in both instances: \textit{ichopofi\text{"i}wit} 'chopped off', and \textit{irolli\text{"i}wit} 'rolling'. In this instance, she added the inflections to make them Cree-like. She used verbs as the roots of her sentence. Both words are noticeable as English words. In explaining why she used these particular words, she said that she wasn't sure that the Cree word she had used or was going to use would be the correct one. Therefore, she resorted to an English word to ensure that her message was understood. Besides, she said, "That's the way they speak in Pelican". \textit{Ikosi kay\text{"i}sa-amicik Pelican!}

4.4 Story Summary: \textit{Cicipiscikwâñ "The Rolling Head"}

The story \textit{Cicipiscikwâñ} has been selected for this thesis. It
is a very powerful story when it is told in the Cree language. A summary of the story is presented here.

A man decided to take his family to a place where they would be able to take care of themselves and their boys. They travelled for many days with their two sons from place to place until they found a good place that they believed would be a good place to set up their home.

As a hunter, the man was gone frequently for long periods hunting for food. Eventually he noticed that his wife had not done any housework or any of the chores which needed to be done. However, he did notice that each time he came back, his spouse would be in big hurry to chop wood. Upset and curious, he formulated a plan to find out what his wife had been up to. So, one day he went trapping, returning with two beaver and leaving two behind which he wanted his wife to go out and get.

As usual, his spouse quickly picked up the axe, getting ready to chop wood. When he asked her to fetch the beaver he had left behind, she went reluctantly. After she left, he questioned his sons about their mother's activities while he was out hunting. They told their father that their mother spent a lot of time in the bush but did not allow them to go into the bush. They mentioned they heard her banging on something and saying "I am here, my men." So, the man prepared his sons, giving them instructions on how to protect themselves, and he gave them three things. One of them was a beaver tooth.

He told his sons that their mother would try to kill them, but they were not to listen, no matter what she said. They were to throw the things they were given
on the ground and asked for protection. The last one they were to throw was the beaver tooth. Then he sent his sons away.

After his sons had left, he went into the forest where he found a hole in a big tree. As he banged on the tree, snakes crawled out one by one. He chopped them up except for one little snake. Then, he drained the blood into a pail and made snake blood soup.

Soon, his wife came home with the two beaver. As soon as she arrived she grabbed the ax. He told her to eat and asked her what she thought she was eating. She said it was beaver blood soup. When he told her it was snake blood soup she went crazy, ran into the forest to check on her men. When she found out they were gone, she attacked her husband, who chopped off her head, and then chopped her through the middle of the torso.

Then he ran away from her. He ran until he saw something hanging down from the moon, which pulled him up to the moon. To this day people say, that Cākapīs can be seen on the moon carrying his pail.

In the meantime, the two young boys heard their mother's voice. Their mother's rolling head Čićipiscikwān, was chasing them. This head was singing to them, trying to get them to stop. Whenever the rolling head got close to them, they would throw their things on the ground creating obstacles. Eventually, only the beaver tooth was left to be used for protection. In desperation, they threw it on the ground and asked for a river which appeared immediately.

A gull came along which helped the rolling head across the river. Just before they reached the other side of the river, where the boys were, the rolling
head, *Cicipiscikwān* managed to jump on the back of the gull’s sore neck, which then flipped her into the river. They saw a head with the hair flying glide through the air and jump back into the river. Then, they saw a sturgeon *Namīw* come out of the water, glide through the air, and dive into the river, *īpakisot*. *Cicipiscikwān* had been transformed into a sturgeon.

4.5 Illustrations and Explanations

This section analyzes, evaluates, and describes the perspectives and attitudes from a socio-linguistic perspective. Perspective is closely aligned with worldview so an analysis of this aspect will adhere to their way of looking at the world or specifically how they see the importance of the Cree language in their lives. Attitude is similar to perspectives. Both aspects are difficult to ascertain from interviews, but the domains (Fishman, 1991) chosen for speaking Cree can be used in a limited fashion about the perspectives and attitudes that people have towards their languages.

4.5.1 Cree is our Identity

All the participants illustrated the importance of the Cree language as being important to the identity of a person. My father has always lived with his ancestral language, and I did not deduce at any time in the interview that he had to tell me directly that Cree is an important part of his identity as a person. He is Cree. If it were up to him, he would speak Cree all the time. There were times when his perception of speaking Cree portrays an inherent love for his language especially when he shared his feelings about the learning of Cree and of speakers.
For example, he strongly advocates the Cree language is an important learning for children. In responding to the question if he thinks that Cree language is important he says that Sōskwāc kwayask tākī kiskināw mācik awāsisak tayisi niyithowīchik. 'It is best that children are taught to be how to speak Cree correctly' (G1I-140-141).

In the second example, it is understood by his statement that even if people know English; they should speak Cree in the presence of Cree speakers. He recalled former friends, who have passed onto another life, who knew how to speak the English language but who always spoke Cree except for translating purposes.


"Those who spoke English, for example; Horace, and the one they used to call Jimmy, and Solomon Merasty. They spoke Cree all the time, People used to speak Cree all the time... they spoke English only for translating" (G1I-86-88).

In this example there is evidence that the Cree language was the language of the community and English has been used for pragmatic reasons, but not for cultural communicative purposes. Elders recall past experiences to give a foundation for learning and to increase their understandings of where the Elders are coming from. These lessons are an opportunity for people to join the Elders' aspirations for a Cree speaking environment while learning the English language for practical reasons.

The interconnection of identity to the ancestral language is a belief
that manifested itself explicitly through comments made by the second and third generation participants. The second-generation participant commented, *ikwâni, iïïï-tâhkwâ ika isâ Niyîšawkâ isâ wiďawâw.* 'They think they are not Cree' (*G2I-3, 4*). That is, when people are unable to speak Cree; they cease to think of themselves as Cree people which increases the perception that languages are interconnected with identity.

Carla is very adamant in her belief that a language is connected to the creation of the identity of the person. It is the language that serves to form who people are and how they come to understand themselves. She states,

*Nîmîâwîdîïî Nîdâwîwin. Àisk iksi kïisi kîski diïîmân tanîïwa nîda intînîw. Nîdaw nîña, ikwâni kaniâwîn (G3I-25, 26).*

'I like the Cree language. That is the way I know what kind of person I am. I am Cree, Therefore I speak Cree.'

Undoubtedly, Carla perceives her ancestral language as an important part of her identity as a Cree person. She also points that the language that people speak to identifies who they are. As for herself, being a Cree means that she should speak her ancestral language.

In conclusion, all the participants deemed the belief that a language forms the identity of a person important. Cree, for these people, has an inherent capability to enhance a positive identity interconnected with all relations, such as Carla being able to identify with other Cree speakers. The message about the importance of the Cree language to identity is important to these people is addressed indirectly by my father and directly by Margaret and Carla. In any, my father, sister, and daughter believe identity is connected intimately to the
immediately. At first they thought it was funny [the Cree], because they never heard “line up” [in Cree] before. Soon, they began to understand it (G2I-164-168).

Thus, Margaret has watched children learn to understand Cree quickly. She said that children can absorb Cree in a short time, Kakwataki osa mina wipac ‘very quickly’ In her situation, the children were able to learn the meaning of the words and to understand the instructions of the librarian. Margaret’s experience with the children corroborates the ability of children to learn Cree when the opportunity arises.

The interesting reaction of the children laughing when they were introduced to the Cree word needs to be explored. Why did the children laugh? Margaret explains that the children’s reaction to the Cree is Nistam wiđa kīwawi asi tamwak ‘At first, they thought it sounded funny’ (G2S 164-68). For some reason, the Cree language or the Cree words sounded odd or peculiar to the children and, as a result, they laughed. Fortunately, the laughter did not deter Margaret who continued with her instructions, which the children came to accept as part of their library experience. The reaction of the children was interesting, but it can be disturbing to people who are laughed at for speaking their language.

Laughter is sometimes used to mock a person, which can lead to a negative attitude towards one’s ancestral language. One can develop the Cree language accent, but the Cree language speech patterns should not be turned into a joke to hurt someone. The Cree linguistic features are perceived by some people to interfere with English language verbal ability. In the previous example, the laughter did not deter the students from learning. It is similar to the situation
described by the first generation participant in the learning of his grandchildren (G2I-164-168). Fortunately, laughter can be turned around to prevent a negative attitude to develop.

However, some students are not as fortunate as the students in Pelican Narrows are. When distinctive Cree linguistic features are produced while speaking English, and the outcome is ridicule, negative feelings about the ancestral language may surface. When the ridicule gets out of hand, it impedes students from learning Cree. In fact, feelings of shame prevent the widespread use of the indigenous language. However, in the words of the third generation participant, Cree speakers should never be ashamed of their accents. She advises.

*Ikā tāna nīpēwīscihk their accent tāskoc ispīk akādāsīmotwāwi. Ikōtā adisk tā- kīski-đītāmwak ĭtinēwak ināhta nīyōdōwit awinak. (G2I-131)*

'They should not be ashamed of their accent when they are speaking English.

That is how you know when one is an excellent Cree speaker.'

4.5.3 Our Language Teachers

Elders and parents influence children in various ways, some of which may be positive or negative. In any case, the influence on children's learning is determined by the type of interactions that children have with their grandparents and parents. In this section, I will discuss the various ways that grandparents and parents have on their children's ability to learn the Cree language.
My father has been instrumental in teaching many children to acquire Cree through daily contact and through cultural activities. He has lived for many years and as learning takes place through daily interactions with other Cree speakers, he has many years of contact with many different people. This has been the positive result of interactions people experience in a cultural setting. On the other hand, when negative feedback is part of the interaction, children do not learn the language well but at other times it may influence others to be more diligent in trying for fluency in the language. The need to acquire fluency as a result of negative feedback can occur if an esteemed Elder or parent is involved. When a significant adult is annoyed with the lack of linguistic ability of a person, it impels a need in the other person to learn to speak Cree properly. Thus, the motivating factor stems from necessity in an effort to please the esteemed Elder or parent.

Many times, my father becomes annoyed with individuals who lack understanding of Cree lexicons probably due to the lack of communication with these people. However, both the second and third generation participants have experience with my father's annoyance. These incidents influenced them to learn the Cree language to prevent future annoying encounters with my dad. The second-generation participant recalls an incident, which happened when she returned home from Prince Albert where she had attended school.


'It is the same with our dad. I, also, used to make our dad angry whenever I went home after I had finished school [in Prince Albert]. I did not know what he was saying to me' (G2I-88-90).
Apparently, the second-generation participant did not like the experience. She does not say specifically that she learned to speak Cree better, but the fact that she brought it up illustrates that she probably tried to understand Cree terminology better. She had also previously mentioned that she finds herself upset when her children fail to comprehend her instructions, which is why she said that "It is the same with our dad".

Carla memories about her experiences with her grandfather's disapproval are more explicit. She recalls an incident where her grandfather asked her to fetch something from the kitchen cupboard.

İyatosit kikway tanátaman on top of the cupboard. "Kikway animan kayitak, Nokom?" [she asked]. "Kikway anima" "Mwa", kayitwits. "James kikway anima?" [She asked James]. "Awas, nída níka otínin" [said her grandfather] Ikwa ḳòta ḥcí kwayask níka-tw-níyídówän.

"He wanted me to get something that was on top of the cupboard. What is it, Grandmother? What is it, James? Never mind, [said grandfather], I will get it myself. After that, I tried to speak [better] Cree " (G3I-88-91).

The third-generation participant finds herself alone in trying to understand her grandfather. Although other Cree speakers are present, no one offers help. After that, she decided she will learn to speak better Cree so she can understand her grandfather.

The learning of the Cree language begins at home. Grandparents and parents are the first educators of children.

Taskoc isa wída ocawa₇imisa niyiɗowii-mototawiw. Mód₇a wída mistayi ḥtá akâthásimono. Ñíthisk ḱòta ḥcí kâti-nistotetakot.'
Take ______ for example, she speaks Cree to her children. She does not speak English to them. In time and in this manner they begin to understand her" (G3I-155-157).

At home and through daily interaction with her children, this woman is providing the opportunity to children to acquire Cree in a natural interactive manner. Likewise, my father recalls the stories his grandfather shared with him and his friends, Ikwani Ḳi ṭpii ṭpiyikat nimosompan, Ḳi ṭpi ṭpiyikowāk ēt. Ÿyako mana kākī-ściōkōkowāk. Kayitāikāmkisit Ḳi pē-ṇtōtak, "He was the one who raised us. He brought us up. He was the one who told us stories. He also told us about his experiences" (G1I-70, 2). Thus, through many hours of listening to his grandfather telling and relating cultural experiences my father learned not only his language but also the skill of a storyteller. My father, with the other children who were brought up by my great-grandfather, learned to communicate and acquire the linguistic competence of their ancestral language by interacting with their grandfather. He gives credit to his grandfather for the knowledge he has obtained. Likewise, the third generation participant gives credit to her grandparents and parents for teaching her to learn Cree. She recalls

Kiitha īükwi ikwa nipāpā. Ikwa nōkom, ikwa nimosōm. ...
Athisk nōkom wikiwak kapi kakiyāhan. Ikwa ńka īyaka Ḹaśimocik.
(G3I-92-94).

'You, I guess, and dad. And my grandmother and grandfather because we were always at [our] grandmother's house. And they do not speak English.'

Thus, her regular interactions with her grandparents helped Carla to acquire the Cree language. She might have felt impelled because her grandparents do not speak English at home.

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The participants clearly believed that children acquire the speech patterns of their parents. Thus, parents who speak Cree more than English will nurture the Cree language. Similarly, parents who code switch between different languages, influence children to accept this practice as normal. Thus, the parents can determine the speech patterns of their children:


'You can see with ___. She speaks English except when someone speaks Cree to her. Susie hears her [mother]. Now Susie hardly speaks Cree. And it is the same with Tami who hears the way I say things. She is starting to do the same thing'

Margaret provides a good example on the power that parents have in influencing speech patterns and behaviours. In this example, two young people are modeling their parents' speech habits. When they hear their mothers speak English most of the time, they both begin to adopt that language. Modeling is an important factor in developing speech patterns and habits, the experiences of the two young people informs the importance of parents to be aware to the language they are transmitting to their children.

There are avenues for learning the Cree language, through modeling parental speech or with the interactions with grandparents or formally through the school system. For most children, a language is acquired through the daily intercultural and intergenerational interactions with significant others. But as young children spend less time with their grandparents, they are more apt to
communicate with their parents in the language they hear at home or by the language that is most prevalent at school.

4.6 Findings of the Study

This has been a rewarding experience. I have the responsibility for listening to what I have heard and put it into a perspective that recognizes my family's input into this study. I must take the words of my father, sister, and daughter and formulate an understanding of the issue of language shift. Certainly, the issue of language shift is an issue with the people involved and it will be realized through the analysis. Since the purpose of this study was to find about language shift in one family, this part has concentrated on the interviews, although some of the supporting evidence came from the informal interviews.

This study asked three research questions. I believe that all three of these questions are partially answered through the storytelling. However, one small study is not sufficient to give a general picture of the state of the language in one community. This study did provide a description of the phenomena as evidence through storytelling in one family. There is also evidence that linguistic features are important in studying language shift, and just as important as finding why and how it is happening. In addition, it relates to our own understanding of the importance of our own languages in developing our own lexicons in response to the pressures of the physical and metaphysical worlds.

This study has demonstrated a number of things. First, that there is evidence of language shift in this family. The kinship system of the Cree people
is very large, and many people affect each other. They share their languages, their cultural behaviors, and their values. Families also share and exchange lexicons and language behaviors, which in turn, can affect the language shift phenomena. In this family, there was evidence that each preceding generation demonstrated more shift than the previous one.

Secondly, the oral story of Cicicipscikwān was an excellent choice because it was short, well known, and contained enough ecological words to find instances of speech being affected by the English language. The English language influence is evidence by the choice of English lexicons, the structure of the story, the storytelling styles and the length of the story.

Thirdly, code-switching from the Cree language to the English language illustrated there is some shifting form the Cree language to the English language. Code-switching took place in the school, at home, in the community, and in public places wherever two Cree-English speakers met. The code-switching occurred within words and sentences demonstrating that there is a dependence on the English language to complete conversations.

The fourth thing demonstrated by this study is the perceptions and attitudes about the Cree language which have some effect on language shift. When people are ashamed of their language and the surrounding environment supports feelings of shame, and when that language no longer provides the means to find jobs, there is a tendency to adopt the more prestigious or status English language. On the other hand, positive feelings about the Cree language is not a guarantee that language shift will not happen.
Finally, there is evidence that the structure of English and school socialization of these structures has a bearing on cognition affecting the structure used to tell stories. Some of the storytelling styles reflect Euro-Canadian reading strategies and structures while one did not. This would indicate that the storytelling styles learned in the school system have an affect on the cognitive aspect of the person.

I used data from the interviews and storytelling collected from my father, sister, and daughter, who all enjoy storytelling. There is ample evidence of their enjoyment both in telling the story and in being able to do it in their own language. The process of language shift is affecting them on a personal basis, but they also demonstrate an excellent working knowledge of the language. There is a change in the use of ecological lexicons which reflects the extent of length of contact and experiences with the land and water. There is also a tendency by the younger generations to follow the styles learned in the school system in telling stories including concentrating on characters and describing the landscapes.

The interviews offered insight into the perceptions and attitudes about the Cree language and language shift but they also offer insight into the domains where language shift has occurred. These interviews lead into the very fabric of the community providing excellent examples of how people feel about Cree, English and their own speech patterns. It provides an in-depth look into the beliefs of people about the value of the Cree language.
CHAPTER FIVE
The Analysis of the Study

Introduction

This section discusses the major findings of this study. The findings are described in relation to language shift phenomenon reviewed in chapter two. It relates how the phenomenon of language shift affects Niyišiawak lifestyles and languages. There is some finding of language shift within one Cree family and some evidence of its existence in the community. The following analysis focuses on the social, economic, political and educational factors that have occurred and have acted as an impetus for the existence of language shift. As a result, the speaking of the Cree language has been altered in this family.

The significant findings of this study are: 1). in spite of the reality of language shift, the Cree people still value their language; 2). that socialized Euro-Canadian language and social systems, their beliefs, and practices, affect speech behaviours and patterns of the people even in the Aboriginal language; 3). that socio-economic changes affect lifestyles and language use determining the course of change in the Aboriginal language; and 4). that positive attitudes and perceptions toward the Cree language has prevented the complete eradication and devaluation of the Cree language but may not prevent language shift.
5.1 **Describing Understanding**

The study has also shown that, in spite of the influx of the English language into community life, this family holds a deep, inherent belief in the Cree language. The Cree language is important to them for many reasons. It forms the identity of the people as Carla said, *Niḍo, Niyidoow. I am Cree.* It is through the language, no less than anything else, that *Niyoowak* know who they are, where they come from, and how they come to find esprit de corps. The relationship they develop through the group spirit, the camaraderie they have with other Indigenous people, serves to sustain them amidst the seeming negativity towards the Indigenous peoples which permeates Euro-Canadian society. Carla, for instance, enjoys speaking Cree with her Cree speaking friends, *Täskoc Laurie, ikwa Ree.*

*Wi ᶠ awaw ni ᶠ wimototawawak Ṭopō kotakak itiniwak* "I talk Cree to Laurie and Ree. And also with other people (Cree people)". Carla talks Cree to those people she know understand the language. It is a sharing knowledge of a language that enables her to confirm her relationship with others. This is the reason why she feels that *Niowin* forms her identity. This is consistent with the views of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) who states that language has the power to form the identity of the person.

The Cree language assists in providing knowledge about the land and its connection to the culture. It contains ecological words and understandings for example, *uşakos* to describe the feelings, connections, and the conditions in the natural world. Without these special understandings the "central source of survival for the people" (Battiste, 1996) would not be available to the people. It is
intimate experiences with the land, water and the natural aspects of the world which contain the teachings of cultural knowledge which can only be understood if one know the language (Knight, 1991). Without the intimate knowledge of the language, then the teachings abundant in the oral stories of our people would be lost, simplified or distorted. The ecological words contained in Cícipiscikwān demonstrate that "one must first learn the language of the family, tribe, or nation to which the stories belong (Knight, 1996), to fully comprehend the meanings and teachings entailed in the stories. As such, the experience of my father with the environment is expressed through his choice of words in retelling the story.

The Parsons-Yazzie (1996-97) study determined that children, not the parents, controlled the language used in the family. This does not necessarily indicate that Indigenous peoples believe that the loss of a language means the loss of a culture. It may merely indicate that the control by children is the principle of autonomy and non-interference that Indigenous people have toward all people (Rupert Ross, 1995). The principle of non-interference works against the transmission of the ancestral language as parents try not to interfere with the education of their children. Parents are concerned about their children and they want their children to succeed but they also want to pass on their language to their children. Therefore, as Margaret has indicated, the role of parents, support staff, and teachers is to encourage Cree speakers and take pride in their linguistic abilities. She speaks Cree to the children at work, teaching them to understand certain words, and using them regularly and repeatedly to the point that children began to understand particular Cree words (G2-I164-68). Margaret also noticed
young daughters who copied her speech patterns and now she tries to reverse her code switching (G2-I218). Parents are very instrumental in the formation of speech patterns in their children especially in light of the autonomy characterized by their culture. I would concur with Parsons-Yazzie (1997) who advocates parents to take their "birthright and responsibility", transmit the Aboriginal language to their children, and refrain from leaving the responsibility to the school and other agencies to determine the direction of the language.

The second finding relates to the historical relationship between Aboriginal people and the Euro-Canadian educational and social systems. It relates to how Western based beliefs and practices have affected the social context of languages. These Western-based systems include the English language with its inherent ideologies and promoted through the formal educational system are analyzed for their effect on the Cree language. First, the 'school' as a formal institution continues to be a foreign influence in Cree lives (Fishman, 1992; RCAP, 1996; Smith, 2000). Its structure based academically and physically on Eurocentric principles, beliefs and practices (Battiste, 1996; Monture-Angus, 1999) revolving a concept of time that does not reflect Woods Cree culture. For too many years, the Eurocentric school system ignored the Aboriginal language and promoted English only, slamming the door of opportunity shut for children to become bilinguals, proficient in both languages.

According to researchers (Allard & Landry, 1992; Cummins, 1995), advancing the English language is a form of 'subtractive' bilingualism. It takes away one language while replacing it with another (Skuttnabb-Kangas, 1999).
certainly, this has been the case with students who attended day schools and residential schools (Johnson, 1998). As Margaret stated, the opportunities to speak Cree while she was living in Prince Albert were slim. Consequently, her use of the Cree language decreased. This supports Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Fishman (1997) who have argued that the school is a very powerful institution and can effectively eradicate minority languages. Fishman (1997) has also stated that the mother tongue frequently accompanies language shift in formal or higher educational contexts. An additional language is learned or added in order to expand the communication networks of individuals within a society to include the worlds of science and technology (Fishman, 1998). These changes in patterns of language use may result in language shift, either partially or completely. This results in young people changing their language use and permitting the English language to become a natural aspect of their daily lives in and out of school.

The extension of school life in Aboriginal cultures is a result of students staying in school longer than they used. For example, when I entered high school in the sixties, most of my friends had discontinued school. This year, the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation - Post Secondary Student Support Program (PBCN-PSSSP), which I administer, supported over 200 students in post-secondary studies. In total, 33 post secondary students graduated from various programs, demonstrating that school life is much longer. Consequently, the English language is increasingly influencing Carla and other post-secondary students as they struggle to obtain the qualifications necessary for diverse employment.
5.2 Socio-Economic Factors and Language Shift

The traditional economy of the Woods Cree relied on the knowledge, perceptions and observations of individuals involved in hunting, fishing, and gathering activities. However, this began to change as a result of environmental changes brought on by the dams, the depletion of fish and animals, and the expanding population. These changes, which have occurred in the north, reflect the language-of-work hypothesis by Palmer & Scott (1991) in all four ways. First, the move from the traditional, kinship system of sustenance has given way to a wage-based economy. The new employment reality has affected the lives of young people more than other age group, such two of my brothers who have chosen to work outside the community, one in the northern mines and the other with the RCMP.

Secondly, the number of English speakers has increased as more parents work outside the home. In First Nation communities, it is the mothers who are finding employment and the majority in post secondary studies, resulting in parents forming English speaking habits at work and school and transferring these habits to their children. My sister mentioned that though many of her acquaintances speak Cree, they generally converse in English with their children, just as she and I do. Intentionally or unintentionally, consciously or unconsciously (Aitchenson, 1991, Palmer et. al., 1999) mothers are setting the stage for their children to acquire English. Consequently, the increase of young people speaking more English than Cree has increased. Blair (1997) and the SILC (1990) have found English language spread in several Saskatchewan
Aboriginal communities, especially among those under the age of 17 (P. VI). The increasing use of the English language by young people in their daily lives has left a void in the cultural network by excluding Cree-speaking Elders as my father is excluded from the oral interactions of his grandchildren. Unfortunately, knowledge of the English language does not necessarily guarantee success in finding a job. Even adults are not able to gain entry into the Euro-Canadian systems in order to fulfill their dreams that the acquisition of English promised them (Battiste, 1996). The school and other social systems, which have promoted English as the panacea of societal problems, have reduced the Aboriginal languages, and have left many monolingual English-speaking Aboriginal people unable to find suitable employment. As the effects of past practices continue to plague Aboriginal people all over Canada, many communities are feeling the effects of the "coercive efforts at social engineering" (RCAP, 1996, p. 4). These effects of coercive practices manifest themselves in the reduction of self-images and languages.

Thirdly, the parents are changing their views on the language needs of their children (Parsons-Yazzie, 1997). It is perceived that knowing English translates into success academically and economically for children. Coercive colonial practices (Cooper & Conrad, 1977; Fishman, 1977) which existed in the past may not be as transparent in the work place or the educational school systems today but worldviews are still affected. Continuous use of English has creates a mindset amongst Aboriginal people that the English language is a natural aspect of modern Aboriginal life. Consequently, as their worldviews are altered; they
cease to base their concepts and images of the world on the 'verbal' process system of the Cree language but on the 'noun' concrete based language of English (Battiste, 1996). Objects are more important than process. Robert Bunge explains "that English is a "thingy" language. This does not mean that English has many names for things, although this is true. It means, rather that words in English have a concrete, absolute quality not found to a similar degree in Lakota. This perceived quality gives English the rigidity of a "thing" or a physical object" (p.15). This was illustrated by the second and third generation participants who were concerned about characters rather than the processes within the story.

As life becomes more sedentary as dictated by a wage-based economy, preparation for skills in the employment sector becomes important. The sedentary life enables the mass media to take on a new importance as people seek entertainment, information, and learning. Along with new technology removing the need to spend an extensive amount of time on family chores, the interactions with television and the radio increase. Often young people hearing the messages in new ways of behaving and talking will adopt them. Along with the influence of the media, the young people succumb more easily to peer pressure at school and in the community. As Labov (1989) has written, "The influence of the pre-adolescent group overlaps that of the school, the institutionalized source of language learning. It also overlaps the influence of the mass media, which is widely believed to be the major transmitter of linguistic influence in modern society" (p. 129). In addition, one "must consider the multiple sites of language transmission in the wider society as the adult becomes fully socialized: the job,
the neighborhood, the church, and a host of formal and informal organizations" (Labov, 1989, p. 129). Thus, the influence of the socialization of young people is closely connected to exposure to the mass media than older people, and to the social networks that they develop amongst themselves. Consequently, the linguistic characteristics of the young people change as they take on the language coming through the mass media. The combination of peer groups and the different types of language transmissions determine the language that gets chosen for communication with friends and neighbours. As Carla stated in the interview, she talks fast because Ḯkosis kāyisāmicik, Ḯpawīkoscikanik “that’s the way they speak in Ḯpawīkoscikanik [Pelican]” referring to her friends, her peers, and the people she spends time with. This socio-linguistic perspective describes factors in education, the media, and other institutions or organizations that shaped the languages chosen which, in turn, contribute to language shift.

5.3 Politics and Language Shift

The lives of First Nations people have been constructed and shaped by politics for over one hundred years. The signing of the treaties was intended by the signatories as an agreement to protect inherent rights such as languages and culture of the people. Instead, for almost a century, the subjugation of First Nations’ children contributed not only to language shift, but also to the eradication of Aboriginal languages (Furness, 1992; Johnston, 1998; RCAP, 1996). The school in the communities is as much an educational as well as political construct. First Nations expected learning of the Aboriginal and Non-
Aboriginal life from the school but the political intention of the government was to eliminate the "Indian problem" (Sioui, 1992, p.109) while giving the appearance of serving the needs of the people. The federal government's political goals overthrew the wishes of the people.

Margaret, as well as I, felt the impact of political maneuvering and assimilative practices of Indian Affairs. Instead of building high schools in the communities, they chose to send us out to urban centers to get educated. Therefore, my sister and I, as well as other Aboriginal people, were forced to change linguistic habits in order to survive in the 'white' English speaking world. To this day, the feelings of shame in not being able to communicate adequately in English are so ingrained in some people that they are functioning solely in the English language, instead of their ancestral language.

The influence of political activities is felt more by the Elders than anyone else. My father has expressed his confusion when he attends band meetings. As an Elder of the band, he is required to attend certain meetings, which are frequently in English. He has requested the council and the presenters to speak Cree, including myself. He said, "Mwāc māna nimīdwĭtĭn, nayistow māna ĭyakāđsĭmocik" 'No, I don't like it, they speak English all the time.' He wonders why he is requested to attend these meetings when he is unable to understand the language, never mind the issues. The influx of English into Cree speaking domains has contributed to language shift in a significant way. In addition, as the Chief and Council deal more with different government organizations, including at the provincial level, the exclusion of Cree is not about to decrease. Instead, the
speech habits of the Chief and Council permeate their lives, affecting their families and communities. This is connected to the image that English is the only language that can meet the political aspirations of the people with the power to achieve the image of a successful person. It is the creation of the "modern human being" (Smith, 1999) that may will determine the direction that Cree language takes.

5.4 Intergenerational Transmission of a Language

In most instances it would be expected that positive attitudes and perceptions about languages would contribute to the transmission of a language. This study found that even though there were/are positive perspectives and attitudes about the ancestral language, the prevalence of the English language in the school and community has also instilled positive attitudes and perspectives about its benefits. What may have evolved is a power struggle between the two languages, and the one seen to have more power will determine the outcome. This section delineates some of the perspectives and attitudes that contribute to language, language shift and language transmission including the role that code-switching plays in the intergenerational transmission of Cree or lack thereof.

In most instances, the dominant language in a home will be the one transmitted to the children. If the parents speak Cree to their children, then the children will probably learn that language. If they hear the Cree language all the time, they will learn to speak it, as demonstrated by one of Carla's peers.

Tāskoc isa wīđa ocawasimisa, niyiđo-witotawat. Mođa wīđa mistayi ḏta akađasimo. Pīdisk ikōta oći kati-nistōtakohk. Ika isa
And it is the way with ___ who speaks Cree to the children. She/he refrains from speaking English to them. Eventually, they understand. So, they will not English for nothing. It will be easier for them [to learn Cree]. It will be wonderful for them if they speak Cree [to the children].

The crucial aspects are the positive attitudes and perspectives about Cree that ensure its transmission from one generation to another. Young children imitate and learn the language most prevalent in the home as I did with my parents and my father did with his grandparents. Young children will learn to communicate in the language they used regularly. Acquiring the Cree language through normal daily interactions from Cree speakers still happens in some families as in the case mentioned above. In other instances it is not the younger generations who are actively transmitting their language, more often it is the older generations of the Cree Nation who have taken an active role.

It's not like that with my friend. My friend _____, and that one, too. Their [parents] are older. Her grandmother raised ___. And it was the same with ____ whose grandmother was the caregiver. And ___'s mother is older. These people always speak Cree.

These people learned their language from their parents and grandparents who are of the older generations. Obviously they continue to use their ancestral language in their interactions with each other. Margaret has also observed the
opposite to be true with younger parents. Younger people are more likely to learn English rather than Cree, making it their home language (G2I-218).

Mothers continue to the most powerful and significant role models that children interact with on a daily basis. They play a significant role in the lives of their children. If a mother speaks English to her children, they will embrace that language. Thus, if this happens in sufficient numbers, language shift is bound to occur (Cummins, 1992). Margaret gives an excellent example of how the mother-child relationship affects language habits. "Kìnawàpam ____ Nayîstow akađásimo . . . Ikwa ṭiîtawat ____ (G2I-218) 'Look at so and so, she speaks English all the time... and [her daughter] hears her'. Apparently, this young child copies her mother's speech. Mothers, unconsciously or unconsciously, are very powerful role models and can affect the speech habits of their children (Aitchison, 1991).

Unfortunately, parents may assume that English is the key to success in life, that knowing English will make life better for children. They become involved in their children's learning of English (Palmer & Scott, 1991). Children who learn the English language as a mother tongue also begin to devalue the importance of Cree to their culture, identity or spirituality and the effects are negative attitudes towards the Cree language. This leads to the predominance of the English language in the homes of Aboriginal people. The learning of Cree is undermined by the transmission of the English language affecting everyone in a very personal and cultural way.
This is the case in many Saskatchewan homes today where the intergenerational transmission of a language has shifted. Consequently, there exists a broad spectrum of language characteristics amongst Indigenous peoples in Saskatchewan from those who speak only an Aboriginal language to those who speak English-only, and a whole array of speakers in between (Heit & Blair, 1993). Of the six characteristics on this broad spectrum, one provides a good example of intergenerational language shift. It states that "[p]erhaps the student understands the Indigenous language but speaks very little of it (receptive bilingual). This is frequently the pattern in situations where only the grandparents speak the Indigenous language, the parents are bilingual, and children speak only English (Heit & Blair, 1992, p. 105). There are homes in Saskatchewan where the children have not learned their ancestral language even though their parents and grandparents speak it as in my family.

The school system is/was expected to help students become bilingual but it has failed that aspiration. In spite of literature (Cummins, 1992; Grosjean, 1982; Williamson, 1991) suggesting that the ancestral language does not hamper learning a second language, it has not increased the value of the ancestral language. Instead of creating English and Indigenous bilinguals, the English language impinged on the Indigenous language system to the extent that it created tendencies to mix languages. Scotten and Ury (1977) state “code-switching [is] the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction” (quoted in Grosjean, 1982).
The literature offers differing points of view on the subject. While Williamson (1991) perceives code-switching or mixing of languages as a problem, others (Douand, 1980; Grosjean, 1982) perceive it as a natural aspect in acquiring two languages. Douand (1980) concurs that new languages can be created with the mixing of languages as with Michif of the Metis people (p. 502). On the other side of the argument, there is the concern that code-switching can be so prevalent that it eliminates one language for another (Myers, 1998). Code-switching also explains how language change spreads through borrowings and adaptations to the elements of the language and how modeling occurs with certain features being copied consciously or unconsciously (Aitchenson, 1991).

Bilinguals who enjoy switching from one language to another may not be aware of the impact their speech patterns may have on the state and stability of the language. In Saskatchewan, for example, the use of two languages creates an impression for young people that its acceptable to use the colonial or dominant language anywhere and everywhere, including the home (Blair, 1997). When code-switching becomes the norm, the seepage of the colonial language into the home can be very subtle and subliminal (Grosjean, 1982). Unconsciously, the code-switching increasingly happens as economic and educational opportunities begin to enhance the status of the dominant language. This results in different speech habits developing which set patterns encouraging English language use at the expense of the Indigenous language use. Habitual English language use, which may be preferred by children, can influence parents to accept the foreign language as acceptable, allowing their children to use it exclusively (Parsons-
Yazzie, 1997). If parental perceptions and attitudes predispose preference for the dominant language, children will alter the use of their mother tongue, changing the language patterns of the Aboriginal languages. Myers (1998) states "Languages can sustain structural incursions and remain robust, but the taking in of alien inflections and function words is often a step leading to language attrition and language death" (p. 289). Although language death does not necessarily occur by changing the words or sentences of the mother tongue, the occurrence of code-switching can lay the ground work for dominant language to infiltrate and then dominate Indigenous spaces.

Code-switching infects the Indigenous language with foreign ‘inflections and function words’ within any linguistic element, changing not only the sounds of words, but contributing to a loss in meaning. For example, look at the lexicon, ‘school,’ which in English means either a building or the concept of being educated in a formal setting. *Kiskināwmātowikamik,* 'a place of learning,' as a lexicon of the Cree language, offers a different concept from that of a place or a construct such as a school. Thus, code-switching from *Kiskināwmātowikamik* to *iskoolik* changes the word and alters the Cree worldview of the school. The English word ‘school’ is maintained while inflections ‘i’ and ‘lik’ are added to the word creating *iskol,* and *iskolik* but the Cree word *Kiskināwmātowikamik* has disappeared. The learning place of *Kiskināwmātowikamik* ceases and the new concept of 'school' as a formal educational institution and building remains. Code-switching entails more than taking an English word and changing into a
Cree like lexicon phonologically and morphologically, it also means that cultural understandings are being displaced.

As code-switching becomes more prevalent, Myers-Scotten (1998) maintains that code-switching creates new speaking patterns by the juxtaposition of two languages; and using foreign words within Cree. She continues that these speaking patterns are predictable. Speakers use foreign words in noticeable fashion. For example, if only the nouns are used from the dominant language, while the suffixes and prefixes (inflections) are incorporated into the minority language, the "mixing can go only in one direction" (p295). The mixing between Cree and English would incorporate the English (foreign language) noun like 'school' the result is 'schoolik' in a Cree structure, illustrating that inflections (the morphological parts of speech) are inserted into the English noun. In time, as Myers-Scotten (1998) asserts, the speech patterns are established by the speech community as the norm. With continuous intrusion of the dominant language used by the bilingual speakers, the community comes to accept the way words from the dominant and the minority languages are mixed together in everyday language. (Aitchenson, 1991).

Code-switching was studied at the lexical level by noting the kinds of utterances that speakers make while conversing in a natural situation or by telling a story. When Aboriginal speakers tell a story in Cree, some find a need to resort to English-based lexicons, which indicates that a turnover is in progress as stated by Myers-Scotten (1998) "resulting structures show parts of lexical for lexemes and their relations from more than one language (p.290)." Specifically then, the
code-switching between Cree and English occurs at two levels. First, the lexicon is recognizable as English. That is - the English word would be maintained. Secondly, the English word changed into a Cree-like word by adding the inflections to make it understood as part of the sentence as it relates to the situation. The English lexicon is redesigned into a Cree-like word so it can be incorporate easily as in the sentence, *Nikiwāpāmaw porchik īnīpawit* 'I saw him standing on the porch'. In this study there were not a high number of stances where English words were incorporated to become Cree-like words. However, there were a high number of English words used in addition to the Cree sentences indicating that the speaker is overtly depending on English to express herself/himself.

Myers-Scotten (1998) assertion of the possibility of language shift occurring when minority speakers utilize too many foreign language elements, thereby changing the patterns of speech (pg. 295) cannot be taken lightly. It is very possible that frequent incorporation of foreign elements can affect the ancestral language negatively. Speakers should be aware of the consequences of becoming too dependent on this mode of communication even if they think that accessing two languages easily is an advantage. Certainly, code-switching does not offer any advantage when the interaction involves a non-Cree speaker. Code-switching is as much a group activity as an attempt to convey understanding, so it is an advantage to ensure everyone understands the message, as in meetings where a presentation is made to Indigenous and Non-Indigenous speakers.
Otherwise, it is a disadvantage or a problem for those excluded from the conversation through this behavior.

It is definitely seen as a problem by monolingual Aboriginal speakers who perceive code-switching as an inability to speak the ancestral language, calling it gibberish (Grosjean, 1982) or by my father's word mămăsîs 'inadequately'. Code-switching becomes an issue in language preservation when used too much at the expense of the Ancestral language. The use of foreign insertions creates different language patterns and at the same time changes the meanings of words, affecting the worldview of the speakers. In another situation code-switching can be an excellent resource for communication. However, speakers must be mindful of the need to maintain equilibrium between the two ways of speaking and not resort to code-switching excessively.

The responsibility of the intergeneration transmission of the Cree language is often hampered by foreign elements in the speech of Cree speakers as well as changing social practices. In order to ensure that the Cree language is transmitted from one generation to another, the Cree people must reclaim the stories they have lost through the introduction of an educational system foreign to their culture. The stories need to be reclaimed for the sake of our children. They need to become an important part of the culture and an integral part of the development of the whole child. Stories that have been passed on from one generation to another are instrumental in the sustainability of the people amidst the harsh realities of our recent past. Through the stories, the development of the child will be more rounded, teaching him/her about the norms and values of the culture.
while keeping him/her grounded in his/her culture. Stories also contain a wealth of information about living with the land and maintaining good relationships - things that are important in living a balanced life. It is though the stories of our people; legends, personal, family, or humorous stories or any kind of story told in the Cree language that can ensure that our understandings, perspectives, and principles remain from generation to generation.

5.5 Elders as an Important Resource

We depend upon the Elders to maintain the core of our languages. Elders have always played an important role maintaining languages. Many Elders have been instrumental in the formation of identities and characters. Further, they have adroitness and an affinity with the language in providing explicit descriptions of events, people, places, and relationships. In addition, Elders really appreciate how the Creator bestowed a language to the Cree people to enable them to communicate about their land, the water and all its natural aspects. The Elders understand the world, how humans fit in it, which can be ascertained through their stories told in their own language (Bighead, 1996, p.156). Thus, the maintenance of our languages validates the important role of Elders in the social development of the child. This was the way it was when my father was growing up. His grandfather was the central figure in the language development of children. He recalls the way his grandfather treated children of the community,

*Kawawiciyak ikitsititak Apo awasisa kapikwikakot ikwani iki acaahkawat* (G11-1/2)
He thought I should be of help to him. Even children when children came to visit him, he would tell them stories.

So, my great-grandfather would tell stories to children whenever they came to visit. The Elder did not miss an opportunity to share his knowledge with children. It is through this Elder that many of the people have acquired their knowledge of how the world works and how to relate to it. Even today, Elders are an important part in many families. It is only fitting that their role be validated as the primary educators of our people. The Elders are the keepers of our languages and cannot be left out of the process of reclaiming our stories, our words, and our names.

5.6 Summary

This section has discussed the findings of this study which include perceptions and attitudes about the Cree language and language shift, the effects of Euro-Canadian language and social systems, neo-socio-economic dynamics and the need to access Elders as positive role models. The value of the Cree language is perceived to form identities, remain connected to the land, and maintain a tie with the culture. Even though the language has been under pressure from Euro-Canadian societal systems, it has been able to sustain itself. The formal educational systems initially created for political reasons, has wrought much injury on language. The English language embeds values, practices, and behaviours which were and are often incompatible with the life words of Aboriginal peoples. All of these factors have contributed to changing
worldviews, which in turn have devalued the Cree language, making it vulnerable for language shift.

Today, the socio-economic context creates a new threat to the sustainability of the Cree language with the pressures stemming from the need to obtain training and employment in English-speaking environments (Palmer & Scott, 1991). The social dynamics changed traditional methods of sustenance giving way to a dominant English-driven world. This include the world of technology and the media influencing worldviews of young people and altering values in socialization patterns, especially with Elders and other kinship family members. As new wage-based economy bears down on the Cree language, the main source of Aboriginal knowledge are Elders; those who have not been as influenced by the changes in this new social context.

On the positive side, the favorable attitudes about the Cree language could prevent the complete erosion of the language. Significant role modeling by parents and Elders, along with interested Aboriginal school staff who have maintained the Cree language in their daily lives should be sought. They need to ensure that intergenerational transmission of the Cree language takes place. These positive role models inspired by their ancestral language do insist that their children learn the language. To reflect the thoughts of Parsons-Yazzie (1998), all parents are responsible for the transmission of their language.
CHAPTER SIX

Recommendations

Introduction

Niioowinik ka-ocikiskii tamak tanisi tayi sipamisowak ikwa tanisi isi kiski tamak pimatisiwin. Ikwa maka kwayask tamiDWasin takanawidi- tamak Niidowin.

Cree gives us the knowledge and principles about our culture. That is why it is important to maintain Cree.

The recommendations that follow are built on the foundation that Niioowin is to Niidawak as breath is to life. Niidowin contains the epistemologies, ideologies and principles necessary for developing strong people with purposeful mental capacities able to withstand the changes in today’s world. Lessons gleaned from knowledge of Niidowin must assume the core of learning of every child in the community. Cooperation and responsibility are important principles of Aboriginal people. These principles of cooperation and responsibility are important aspects of the framework in the teaching process. Niidowin bestows responsibility on every speaker to use knowledge in a sharing manner so children can acquire the knowledge, skills and principles holistically, while enwrapped within the identity of a Niioow.
6.1 Principles and Recommendations for Centralizing Cree Language Teaching

1). The Elders should be central figures to the maintenance of the Cree language. It is a crucial time for the preservation of our language and we need all the help we can get. It is no longer acceptable to give lip service to the value of our Elders. Their involvement in the education of children must an essential aspect of the curriculum. They know how to speak Cree eloquently, clearly, and adroitly. Elders can also teach gently in traditional ways. That patience that Elders have can be a lesson in itself.

2). The Cree language should be the primary language of the school instruction, especially in the younger years of school. It should be the language of instruction in the elementary school, with English relegated to a second language. A Cree immersion program in the early years with resident Elders to ensure the acquisition of the Cree language to fulfill the aspirations of Elders who want children to be taught properly, kwayask.

3). The Cree and cultural programs work hand in hand. All curriculum development requires an Aboriginal, cooperating approach, including all partners in the planning. The parents are key partners in the education of their children and they need to be included in planning and delivering program and curriculum.

4). The Cree language program needs to be organized around the 'verb' not the 'noun'. Cree is a verb-based language, which can evolve into any word by the use of morphological features. The verbal system is the main source of
understandings of interrelationships within the Cree culture. It describes, examines, develops, and analyzes the world and the activities of the people. It is the process of events that are important.

5). The school curriculum should involve parents on ecological trips where students can experience ecological understandings, immersed in hands on activities occurring away from the formal structure of the 'school'. The ecological trips offer excellent opportunities to increase Cree language linguistic ability while learning ecological patterns. Involving parents increases contact with family in a meaningful learning atmosphere. Increasing opportunities to involve parents with school activities strengthens family relationships.

6). Cree language lessons should be mandatory for all students using the Cree syllabics. Making Cree language learning mandatory validates and increases the value of the language in the school and community. Employing the syllabic system maintains the uniqueness of the Cree language. The syllabic system lessens perception that the Cree language teachings assume quality only when taught according to the methods used in teaching English lessons. Furthermore, Cree syllabic learning increases linguistic competence in the Cree language as attention is focused on writing words in a different writing system, the mindset is being developed to look at the words from a Cree language perspective.

7). The school displays should reflect the culture. It is appropriate to display pictures of Elders and community life supporting the home life of the students. There are many different activities for each season, ample enough to provide
activities and special days for the whole year. The centralization of the Cree language on written materials ensures increase in the valuation of the language.

8). Local, provincial, and federal policies need to be enacted to affirm the Cree language in Saskatchewan. This is even more important at the local level to ensure a solid footing for the establishment of programs, with adequate human and fiscal resources to maintain the language as the primary language of the community. There has to be strong community support in the Cree language from all levels of government, ratifying the cultural underpinnings within language programming.

9). Training for Cree language teachers is a necessity. Learning to teach the Cree language requires more than linguistic ability, it requires understandings of methods, strategies and technique to address the complexity of the Cree language adequately. A teacher-training program, like the First Nation's Language Instructors' program of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, is an excellent start, but it needs to be expanded to address ecological lexicons. Furthermore, a teacher-training program should develop an understanding that languages are not benign, that they contain the ideologies and perspectives of particular cultures, which may or may not be in line with the First Nations pedagogies.

10). Cree linguistic ability must be the primary criteria for teaching in a Cree language school. Non-Cree speakers must be able to demonstrate the willingness to learn Cree. Teachers who are able to speak Cree help to create an environment friendly to the home language of the students. Besides, Cree speakers are able to
communicate more effectively with parents about achievements, concerns, and aspirations about the children.

11). Along with Cree language lessons, teachers must be required to take classes in Aboriginal studies so they can begin to understand the worldviews of Aboriginal people. In addition, teachers need to understand that the treaties between the First Nations and the Crown are legitimate and recognize them as agreements between nations.

12). Cree speakers should be talking to the students in their own language in and out of class, in the school and in the community. A continuous Cree language interaction of students with significant others validates their background and increases a special rapport borne out of respect for the language.

13). Oral stories or legends must constitute the core of the Cree language curriculum, directly involving the Elders who are the keepers of traditional stories. The oral tradition reams with lessons about behaviours, principles, norms and values. With the direct guidance of Elders, teachers can use oral stories to teach linguistic and cognitive skills.

14). All teachers in the primary and elementary sections should be Cree speakers. This does not mean that these teachers have to be Aboriginal. Cree speakers instructing younger students abet the home language, assisting children to develop their ancestral language competently before exposure to a foreign language.

15). Intergenerational transmission of the *Nîhîwîwin* is a personal and community responsibility. The ability to acquire *Nîhîwîwin* starts in the home
from parents, siblings, grandparents and other family members. *Níıdoo̱win* should be continually buttressed by agencies, which impact on the person's development into a holistic individual. No individual nor agency, even the 'school' has the right to abruptly sever the inherent right to *Níıdoo̱win*. Recognizing that Aboriginal people have an inherent right to maintain retain their ancestral languages is key to ensuring the intergenerational transmission of *Nídawak*. When the parents realize that their children will be welcome in the school system as Cree language speakers, they should be more willing to pass on their language to their children and grandchildren. If the intergenerational transmission of the language is assured, then efforts can be directed at creating an all-encompassing *Níıdoo̱win* programming at the school level, always with the cooperation of the community.

6.2 Some final thoughts on the study

This study has examined the phenomena of language shift within one Cree family with the cooperation of three family members representing three generations. The oral story, which my family members shared with me, and all who happen to read this thesis, has contributed to the examination of the phenomena of language shift. The oral story has provided excellent ecological lexicons expanding understandings of the worldview of *Nídawak* living among the forests, rocks, and lakes of Northeastern Saskatchewan. The story of *Cicipiscikwân* has given us the main understandings of the language in this thesis, which could not have been ascertained with interviews alone.
This has been a memorable experience, sometimes rocky and arduous, but always rewarding. I have learned new things about my language, but the extent of the language system has left me with a feeling of humbleness, with the knowledge that no-one can know all there is to know about one’s own language. About the only thing that I can do is keep an open mind and keep on listening and learning through Nîsîwîwin.


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Publishing.


The University Advisory Committee on Ethics in Behavioural Science Research has reviewed the Application for Ethics Approval for your study "Language Shift in One Cress Family: A Study of Three Generations" (00-72).

1. Your study has been APPROVED subject to the following minor modifications:

- The committee suggests that participants be given the opportunity to review the transcripts of the interview before any analysis takes place (i.e., steps 3 and 5) and be given the opportunity to add, delete, or clarify words.
- A copy of the data needs to be kept with the Supervisor at the University of Saskatchewan in a secure place for five years. Participants may have copies of their stories, if they so wish.
- Your application states that the data will be published as a master's thesis. Will it also be published in a journal or at a conference? If so, these possibilities should be clarified in your consent form.
- Participants who wish to remain anonymous should not be identified as members of your family.
- Please modify your consent form as follows:
  1. Describe the nature and benefits of the study.
  2. Participants need to be informed that their story and responses will be audio-taped.
  3. Indicate that if a participant withdraws, their data will be destroyed and not used in the study.
  4. Please provide participants with the number of the Office of Research Services (966-8578) in case they require any further information.

2. Please send one copy of your revisions to the Office of Research Services for our records.

3. The term of this approval is for 5 years.

4. This letter serves as your certificate of approval, effective as of the time that you have completed the requested modifications. If you require a letter of unconditional approval, please so indicate on your reply, and one will be issued to you.
5. Any significant changes to your proposed study should be reported to the Chair for Committee consideration in advance of its implementation.

I wish you a successful and informative study.

Valerie Thompson, Chair
University Advisory Committee
on Ethics in Behavioural Science Research

VT/bjk
Consent to participate in the study.

I will participate in this study of language shift. I agree to be audio-taped while I tell my story in Cree and to be interviewed and audio-taped at a later date to reflect on the Cree transcription and to answer more questions regarding language shift.

I understand that the purpose of the study is to explore the way in which the Cree language is being taken over by the English language: to find out if it occurs differently with each generation in our family. This information may help to understand how we might prevent English from destroying our language. I am willing to participate with the knowledge that I can pull out at any time, without fear of repercussions after I have signed this form. I understand that my data will be destroyed and will not be used for this study, if I decide to withdraw from this study.

I _______________ am willing to participate in the study by Ida Swan,
Name of participant
for the purpose of the completion of her thesis for a Masters in Education, future conferences and publications, given this ______________, of ______________ of the year 2000, ______________.

________________________________________
Signature of participant
For more information contact:
Office of Research Studies at 1-306-966-8578

Consent form: to acknowledge review and release information.

I have reviewed the transcriptions and I agree that the information obtained in the stories and interviews are accurate. I, hereby, give permission to Ida Swan to use in her thesis in the College of Education, University of Saskatchewan. I also give permission to Ida Swan to use the information for future conferences and / or publications.

Signature ___________________ Date ___________________

For further information I can be reached at ___________________ Telephone Number

Ida Swan ___________________ Date ___________________
For further information:
Office of Research Studies at 1-306-966-8578
CICIPISCIKWAN as told by ANGUS MERASTY
TAPED AT HIS HOME IN PELICAN NARROWS, SASK
TRANSCRIPTION BY IDA SWAN: DAUGHTER OF ANGUS MERASTY
JUNE 7TH, 2000

1. Ikwani itikwi piyak ana napiw ītwit, ahw, mati ispicihtan īkotī
2. tanitawī-pahpamīyowak itīw wīkimakana. Ikwani ka sīpwīpicicik. Nīso okosisa,
3. napisisa mina kakiāow. Ikwani kapaḥpamicicik. Kitatawi kawapahtak īta
4. īmiōwasinōik ita tayacik. Ikwani ikota, kāyacik ikwa.
5. Ikwani kasāsipwīt ikota oci awa napiw, īmāmacik. Ikwani, oma
6. kātakosik, mwakikwi ēy nokwaańo ta-osītańit oho wīkimakana. Ikwani oma māna
7. katakosiśik īpapasi- nikōtińit māna.
8. Ikwani kitātawī isipwītīt, niyo amiskwak kanipahat. Nīso nakatīw, ikwa
9. niso kīwītahiw. Ikwa nīti ītakosik, asa isa mina kāhotūtinak očikayīkan.
11. "Nīwinikōtīwān, awa kaytwīt".
13. Ikwani ikwa kamacōtśipānik īkīpaskan očiscānakwanīyāpīs
14. macōstśipānam..
15. "Tahwi-pīswasin itī kawitōtiyan"
16. Ikwa, pitī-kōkāłīw anima ciscanākwaniyāpīs. Ikwani ikwa

171
17. kakakwīcimāt okosīsa. "Kīkwādow ana māna kanocīt, kimamawaw oma
18. kasīpwiṭīyan. Oma kātakosinān kāpapasinikātīt māna."
19. "Ōti awa māna matifatwīyīkīw, ikwanī itakosinīyan nāpītīk īmatītwīt māna. Ikwa
20. īka īpakitinikowak īkofī tayihotīwakīt. Ikwa itikwi kamarīhāt. Nīsto kīkwīy
21. kamīdāt. Iskwī-yanik animīdōw kīcīnāc amiskwāpit. "Īyako iskwī-yanik
22. kapapamī-ipinināwāw", kaywit.
23. Ikwāni tapahsik pokwisi itikowīko. Kāda pīyīk. kanipayīkowāw ana"
yaytat.
24. Ikwani namoō a isa kinwisk sāsāy katakonpatāt īpītihkwipināt aniyih
amiskwa.
25. Cīkayīkan iyotīnāk. “Ahw, pitamā mitso ahw”
26. Ispik īkī-sipwitiōt aniyih ocawāsimisa. Ikwa kaytotit anta, potoma ikotī
27. opīkwanaskātik misimītosik kāyaōt. Kāpakamawāt aniyi misimītoswa
kahocikahopatat
29. askīkok. Īkwīdow ikwa kāpākwīsikanāpōkaṭaṭ.
30. Ah, namoōa kinwisk kāpītikwīkwāskōtīt isa, ipitkwipināt aniyi amiskwa.
Ikwāni
31. ikwa. "Yaho", pitama mitso".

32. "Ahw, niwinikōũwan, awa kaywit".


34. Kapaspišik isa Ḣoka Ḣimisot. "Kinistospitin nā kīkwīy kāmiciyan", itīw wiĩa awa

35. Maka mĩkwac Ḣkimcíčikayikanit wiĩa.

36. “Nuitka, amisko misko ohtoma".

37. "Aniki osani kināpimak omiskowāw".


39. awa kaywit. Ayi".


41. nāpiwak".

42. Ḣkwāni, kāswawat ana Nāpwi iskwāţiimik. Ḣpiūkwi kwāskotōit kācikawat

43. okwayāōik. Pīnīpawī. Ḣkota kākāskikwītawat. Apītoskiǒaw mīna

44. Atikāskatawīw.

45. Ikwa kātapasit, ocikayįkanis takonam. Ahw, piǒisk wādaw

46. itāhmo. Kitātawī kāwāpatak piwapiskwīyāpis īspīmik ihotāpičamoðik.

47. Ikwa, kahotitinak. 10skwatawīdow ikwa. Ikwāni pįsīmok mīi, nokosiw Čākāpīs,
    Kayîtwičik

49. mána atît.

50. Ikwa aniyih oskînîkîsak, kitâtawi kapîtawâçik omâmawâwa

51. ĭpîtwîlâîît.

52. Cicâpiwiscikwân niwînhocimâwak nip ĭpîmak

53. Cicâpiwiscikwân niwînhocimâwak nip ĭpîmak

54. Ikwa mîtwani ĭpîsowîît ìkwa kapâmîpinâkwaw omîsi sâkaskisowak

55. okâwamanakasiyak.

56. Îkwâni ìkwa nîti

57. Ahw, namôda ìkwa kîsâposciw ìkota. Íkwa kâtî tipâskawât iyakwâniy

58. Ispik mina i-osîpwipaîît iyakwâniy kâpîmitisawat oçâwasimisa.

59. Kitâtawîmîna kapitowîtât. Íkwâni ikwâmîna, ispîk ĭpîsowîît

60. sâsamîna yâpamîpinak. Sâsa mîna omîsi isi sakaw. Namôda ìkwa mîna

61. kâkîsaposcît. Sasamîna ikwîdiw tîtipaskam. Ikisâposkak, ikota ikwa mîna
    ôcî.

62. Îkwâni ìkwa, îyako ìkwa iskwîyânîk. Mitoni ipîpiswîît, amîskwâpit
    animîdow

63. kapâmîpinâkwâw. "Tawîsîpîwan. Sîpi isâ îkota kasasitawîtîk. Îkwâni
    ìkwa
64. kapiyâcik. Kâpakâstawînâôik isa mîna anima ostikwan. Pakastawîpaôiw.


66. kâpisinanatahak.

67. Ah, tapwî isa wîpac kâkimiskwaahak sîpi.

68. "Iklwa, âstâ, âstâm, asowâhoôin, kawîimitin isi

69. "Iyaho, tansi wiô a kiyîsiwikîtot, ostikwan pokoko oç"

70. Ikwâni, kanâtawat (wisakicak) ayaho-oî

71. nâtawîw ana câcako Ikwani, kapositîpit aniyi Cacakowa. 'Kâôa oî sâminin

72. nikwayak. Nîwîsakîôitîn nikwayow".

73. Ikwani, îmîkwâ-aswaôikot ispik. Ikwa nikacispaiywan ìîôîtak, îkota

74. kayîstimîpaôihot, îmâmâkoskawat. "Tâna ìtit okwayow"

75. Kânitaskwî paskwîmikot, mitoni îsa tâwie nîti. Tamok! Ikwani ikwa, îkota

76. kâsâsâkiskwit, ìsàsàkiskiwîsmot.

77. Nicâwâsimitik, kîyâm nîka wînâmîwin.

78. Êpakîsot, kâpiđîkwânskwîkocik. Kitwam, Êpakîsot,

79. namîw, ikwa ikota.

80. Ikwani îklIsinamîwit
Cicipiscikwan as told by Margaret Brass from Pelican Narrows, Saskatchewan.
Taped at the home of Ida Swan, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.
Transcription by Ida, sister of Margaret Victoria Brass.
June 11, 2000

1. Nipāpā, oma Íkíwítamawīt, Kipāpānow Íkíwítamowīt omičiw ăcimowīn.
2. Ayi Wīsākīcākwa ĭcī. Īkwańi osoma kaya, pīyak nāpīw mwa nikiskisin
3. īsīůkatos. Mākawītha ḵapahmoṭēhōt. Kayās māna, kayās māna itiniwak
4. Íḳipāpāmīcīhocīc. Īsa māna itiniwak. Pakwītĩ māna Íkĭtotahacik, aam, their
5. family. Īkwa māna. Īkwańi aki, pīyakwāw őtī kī- ikota kāyiskaiścik pīyak
6. aski anūmūṭhiw. Kakwā īkīmūcītkwāw, mūcīt īsā ĭdīkōk aniyi spruce
trees.
7. Aniyi mistaminahikwak itiyyiṭācik īkota. Īkwańi mīna kākwātačik īkota
mitoniy
8. mistayi , ayaw oci, tapōnikātīkwāw. Īsa oci mīta, firewood.
9.
10. Īkwańi īkota kākaposīcik. Īkwańi kīsasipwīhōtīhōt, initawī tāpakwīt
apōciča
11. īntawīwānīyīki, itikmācīt. Pīōisk wādaw aṭiyītow wāthaw itōṭīt. Kiniwīsk
12. ithikok kātakosīk.
13.
14. Mākawītha tātīwāw. māna tātwaw kātakosīk, Īkwańi māna. kāðatāpwe ita
15. kāwīkicik kānānā-katawāpamīw wīkimākana mwač kikwāy tāskoc
īkītōtāmiōt.
16. Tāskoc, pokō ìkākkīkwaw atōskātak ana iskwīw.
17.
18. Īkwańi pīōisk pīyakwāw nīso aniyi nāpīsī kīyayāwīw, kīyayāwīwak.
Īkwańi,
19. pīyakwāw anata nāpīw kāśipwīt- kāśipwītī. Īkota aniyi, niyo aniyi
amiskwa
20. kīnipiyiw. Īkwańi kāpīkīwīt, nīso kīwītayīw.
21.
22. Īkwańi kātakosōk, ita kāwīkicik. Wīkimākana kātōtät tanātańīt aniyi nīso.
23.
25.
27.
29.
30. Īkwańi kahōtūtínāk animithow sinew ana iskwīw, Tāskoc a piece of sinew,
31. ocistatayăpī isa kākiskīyipīnāk, kāmācosśyīpīnāk anīmīdīw. “Kāda
kakinwaw
32. kītwām takosīnīyanī” kāyitwīt or something
33. ni kasipwîpahtat ana iskwîw. Ênacipahat aniyi amiskwa. Wàôwaw ispâtâw
34. Ikwâni ispîk kásipwîtiidïit wikimakana ana, kahkâkwicimat aniyi okosisa.
37. nocimîk itotîw. Ikwâni nipîtawahan nîmati pâpâkamâwât It’s an old, an old, tree
38. stumps that’s dead, Ênîpit isâa tree anayisa. Ikwâni îpâpâkamâwât aniyi. Ikwâ
40. kâpîtawak”, kayitikot”.
41. Ikwâni kâtîmanîhât aniyi ocâwâsimisa ana nàpîw. Kwayask manîyîw. Ikwâ
42. mina iskwîyânîk kâsiwatahâwât nîyo aniyi, nîto aniyi amiskwâpîta.
43. “Ayîtow
44. nitastân ota,”, kayîtât isâa. Ikwâni kásipwîtsawat. “Ikwâ ispîk, kîspîn
45. pîtawâyiko. Kîspîn kîpitatatawâwât kimâmâwât tipwâtikôyiko. Kâtha
46. nânâkasîtawîk. kîyâpic pîmîpâtak. Kâûa kîpîcîk” kayîtât isâa.
47. Ikwâni îmawi takosînît aniyi wîkîmâkana kâsipwîtsîwât anini
48. ocâwâsimisâ.
49. Ikwâni îkota pîtakosín ana iskwîw. Kahotinâk cîkahikan. “Nîkantawî
50. nikôtân”, kayîtât.”
51. Ikwâni, îkîsîpîwîtawât aniyi ocâwâsimîsa, okosis, aniyi ana nàpîw. Ikwâni
52. kâhotinâk cîkahkan. Askîkwa mina otinîw. Nôcîmîk nîtît îtôît. Nîtî
53. aniyi”, ita
54. aniyi wîkimâkana kâkîpâkamâwâtît aniyi sîtah. ÎkOTA kâpâkamâwât aniyi.
55. Ikwâni, kîtâtawi îkota kâwaðawî îwaðawîît kanîpîkwa. Tâtwâw kâpî
56. waðawîyâtawîît kanîpîkwa kâkâskikwîtawât with that axe. Âpîtaw isâa, he
57. was cutting them in half as they were coming out.
58. Ikwâni îkwa anîpoko kâpîwaðawîyâtawicik. Ikwâni kâhotinat ani aci
59. kâni pîkwa
60. anîmîðîw poko misko. Anta, he drained the blood into the pail. he
61. ëhôcîkahopâtat
62. îtîkwîwi.
Ikwāni, kāhotināk animiōw misko. Piyak poko nākatw iyapisēidiit kaniipikosisa.

Kāwi atisipinw sītīk. Ikwāni kākīwīt. Ihosāk animiōo misko. Ikwa ispik
kātā-kastamahwāt wikimākaka ʔipīhat tapīkīwītūt. Kātakośik ana iskwīw. Ikwāni
sūmāk otiitinam ocīkahikan.

"Cīskwa mitso nīkān", kayitāt.

"Ṭānisi awa kayitwīt, nintawīnikōtān oma" kayitwīt.

Ahw, mitso", kayitāt.

Ikwāni, kāti mitso, ana iskwīw. Ikwāni mīkwac ūmitsot, Ikwāni kayitāt ana nāpīw.

Ikwēna tōispūsik āpītwaw itsin. Āpītāw antī iskwätimīk antī isi waḍawītimik
āpītāw. He was halfways in and out at the entrance animiōw mīkiwāpik.

Ikwāni, " kikiskithitin na kikway kamicīyin", kayitāt wikimakana.

"Ihi, amiskomūko ōma", kayitwīt, "Wikasin", kayitwīt.

"Kinapimak aniki omiskomūmiwāw", kayitāt isa.

"Ayī, ītāpwīt awa," Kāyitwīt isa, īhotōtīnāk, īwāpīnāk animiōow oōākan.
Īpasikōpādihot, kāhotōtīnāk animiōo cīkahikan. Kāyispātata antī nōcimīk.
Where the big old stump was? She start banging on it. Ikwāni
kāpāpakamahak.

Kipī-waḍawīyātawit ana kānūpikos, kānipahat.

Kāwī nītī nācipayīw aniīyī wikimākaka. Īwāni iyatisītikwīyatawūt anta that
mīkiwāp. Māka witha īkōta īkāsōōit aniīyī wikimākaka. Mwīcī
iyatisītikwīyātawīt
kākaskikwītahokot aniīyī cut her head off as she was coming into the entrance.
Ikwāni, kītwām cīkawīw, wikimākaka, anata nāpīw. Āpītāw ikwa anta on her
body, of her body, cut her, cut her body in half.

Kasīpwīpātata. Ikwāni animiōow, the bottom half of the body chased after him.

Īnawitsahokot. Īkōta ōma kāwāpātak ikoḍawīpitūōik kīkway, like a wire.

Kahotōtīnāk

Īkwīōo. Ikwāni kākospātawīpātata, īnawitsahokot kīyāpīc animiōo. Ikwāni
103. kätätawī kätakwätawit nūṭi tispēskawipísimök. Êkota aniki itiniwak käyitwicik
104.
105. “Ayī, kināwāpamīk Cākāpis, otaskīkwa īpimōtahat” Kayıtwichik māna kāwāpamīt
106. Tāskoc năpīw īsinākosit nūṭi pīsimök kātipiskāk. Êkosi māna käyitwicik māna
108. Ikwānī awa ota ostiwān kākikiskivūtāmot. Êkwiōw kāmāci tūtipipāōīk. Start
109. rolling away after those boys. Aniyi antan napīsisak, okosisa. Ikwānī, waďaw
110. itawak aniki awāsīsak. Māka wiđa ikisīkotik, anima ċiscipiscikwān anima
111. isiōkātīw ikwa.
112. Ikwānī Cćipisćikwān atikisiwa ati- ċitumīw aniyi napīsīsak.
114. “Īnotinōtot awa kisīmis”, kayităt isa aniyi.
115.
116. Mwanānākasītak, the boys kept running. Ikwānī animītho, kisiwāk atinātīkak.
117. Ikwānī wīsākicak, took one of those beaver tooth. Four, niyo, ani anta
118. kākīmōōkot, nīsto, nīsto kākīmōōkot, amiskwāpītā. Kāpimosīnit piyō. Êkotā
119. ëmā, Êkota anima kākipimosińūt anima amiskwāpīt, Êkota, Êkota, brier, a
120. big brier brush. Êkota kānōkōpāōōk misāw, kawātākī ëmisāk, kāwamanakasiyak
121. aniyi.
122. Ikwa, mwāc ċīsapopaōōw ana ostikwān ana. Ikwānī she went all around
123. that.
124. Ikwānī ki, ikītītipit isa. Ëdīkok kāyispicāthik, animīdo brier brush. Ikwānī
125. kākākīstāt.
126. Kītwām atipimatisawīw aniyi nāpīsisak, okosak. Ikwānī, kisiwāk
127. kyiatihamimikok.
128. Ikwānī ikwa kītwām kāpimosīnit anima kotak amiskwāpīt. “Tapastiw
129. ota”,
130. Kayıtwich isak. Ikwānī kāpasitipaōōk miswī. Ayīk isak, ċiwaatipaōōk. Ikwānī
131. mīna
132. mwāc kīkaskītāw ana ċćipisćikwā. Ikwānī mīna ikota, mīna went around
133. that fire, too.
134. Ikwānī kītwām nāwitisahak, kānawitisawat okosak. Kisiwāk ati ċitumīw
135. kītwām.
Kakwataki

Iyatäcänikikik ëtatipwätkikocik aniyi omämäwawa. Mwänänakasitäwiyak.

Ikwäni, iskwiyanìk animìtho. Êkota käpimosinit, Wísäkicak. “Kanipìwin, ota”

Kayitwit isa. Ikwäni ëkota nìpi kayispaòik anima, a river.

“Kasipìwan ota” kayitwit.

Ikota, sìpi känökopaòik. Ikwa, mwæc Ikwäni iki-, ëkota kätiyítät ana

Cécipiscikwä, kápakawstwìpaòit. Kitwäm mìna këkaskítät imìñòt,

Înatakamïpaòihot. Ikwäni ëkota käpihot.

Këkìkwask ëkota ispaòihot nàtakam anti. Êkota cëcako kàpìtàtakat. Kàtìwätät.

“Ásowahoöin” kayität aniyi cëcakowa.

“Miskoc kawìkimitìn”, kayität isa.

“Áïhì, tànisi takìsìwiwìkat, kostìkwänìt öma pokò”. kayität. “Awina

kàwìkimisk”, kayität isa anà cëcako.

Ikwäni ikosìsiy kànätawä ana cëcako aniyi Cécipiscikwäna. “Kàëda

ikisiwàk

nikwayàk ispaòiho. Këkwàtakiy niwìsakïòitin” kayität isa.

Ikwäni awa cëcako, kisiwàk nisa akàmìk itahoðìw. Mwìciyatìkatap,

“Tànkì

ëma kìkwìviwà?”, kayität isa Cécipiscikwàn, ostòw ìtòtawät. Otànàk

ispaðìyo

anti täwìc isi, isi, threw her off his back, because he had sore neck

ìwìsakìòitak

animìtho.

Ikwäni iskakok. Atampìk, wàdòw isa anti täwìc, threw her off his back

atampìk,

wàthäw anti kàaatì pakastawìpaòik ana Cécipiscikwàn. Tamòk! Aspin

kàyìspaòéit.

Ikota acìdàw pìmàhoko ëkota. Ikwäni, kitätawì kàmàtitìtipwìt “ëkìyàm

nikakìnosìwin kayität isa okosìsa. Anìk isa mistì stùrgeòn ìwìspaòìt.

“kìyàm.

nikànàmìtiwin”, kayität isa okosìsa. Ikwäni namìw kàkìyìspaòéit. Ikwa ani

okosìsa ëkota kìpìyoöìwa. Ikwäni ëkota kotaka acìdòkìwìna astìwa.
Cicipiscikwan as told by Carla Marian Swan, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.
Taped at the home of Ida Swan, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.
Transcription by Ida Swan, mother of Carla.
June 6, 2000

1. Piyawaw mīna ota kayās Wīsākīcāk omāmāwa Cicipiscikwān, mwāc
2. opāhpāwah, Čakāpīs, kāpi māna ikisipwītīt, īmācīt.
3. Ikwānī osōma, tātaww kātakōsīk Cīcipiscikwān īkistinikīt, ikwa māna
4. īmiōpīkak māna wīkīwak, Čakāpīs ikwa īkīmiōwīōtītak.
5. Ikwa piyakwāw ita kośīk, ikīmācīt. Mwāc awasīmi Cicipiscikwān īkisitinkīdīt
6. īwīnastīōt wīkīwaw. Mwā mīna kīkway ikwā ikāyastīōt īkota tāmīcīt. Ikwānī
7. kānōtiōkiskīōtītāk tanisi ita kamikisiōtīt wīkimākānā.
8. Ikwānī pakwantan kayītwīt īwīmācīt kītwaṃ. Pakwanta māka ītwīt. Ikwānī
9. kasipwītīt. Īkinātā osoma kanātawkīkasōt. Nōcīmisik iwāpamat wīkimākānā
10. tanisi ītakamikisīōtīt. Māti kīsipwītīōtīt.
12. Ṭpastamahāk, initohmat onāpīma, wīcīmōsā tāpiwawāwīōtīt. Īkota osōma
13. kāpīwa∂awīōtīt, īwa∂awīyātawīōtīt, kanipikwa, kanipikwa. Ikwānī ani onāpīma
14. mīswīwī ota
15. Kāpāpahmātawātikot ani yi onāpīma, isakhīhāt ani yi.
17. witha isk īkota kayītotīt, aam,Cākāpīs. Initomat ani kini, piyakwan wiōa
18. Cicipiscikwān


20. Ikwa ispīk kākīwī. Ispīk kītwām kāwāpamāt Cicipiscikwānā ispīwīdit,

21. Ikota Cākāpis wīkīwak kāyiītotit, osōma, ocaawāsi, okosisa ikota kāwāpamat,

22. Wisākīcak,

23. ikwasci mwākotak anā nikīskīōimāw. Ikwa ispīk ūwītamaawā aniyi okosisa tanisi

24. kawī

25. Ḣīkamikisit. Ikwa ispīk kāpiminaawasot aniyi mēcimāpoy ihosītāt. Aniyi, ocī aniyi

26. kanīpikwa. Ikwa ispīk kāpiminaawasot aniyi,

27. Kātakosiniōdit wīkīmākana. Māmaskātiōditam anā Cicipiscikwān ikota

28. wīkīmāna iyāhaōit. Isīkisit, ika nāntāw kīkway itōtāk. Ikwaso, ikwāni osōma


33. Ikwānī osōma kākūskwayānīpāōit Cicipiscikwān. Māka wiōa, mwa ītakositi,

34. Cicipiscikwān. Cākāpis kīyāyamiyīw okosīsā ikwītamaawāt omīsi ūwītotoamān.

35. Ŭhotā

36. kāmīōiūtān Ŭho ispīk nāwītisahoki kimāma, aam. Kāwūcīhiwōkī oma ota.

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Tasipwī-amōwin.

Mistik wiōa piyak nikiskiōitīn. Mōōa nikiskiōitīn ani kotaka Kikwāya. Ikwāni

osōma täpwi. Mwā anta, kākiskwi-apādit Cicipiscikwān. Ikwāni osōma

Cākāpis

kahotināk, kakī—chopoffitwit her head (laughs) Ispīk kāsipwīyīmot.

Kāsipwīyāmōcik aniki awāsisak.

Awas ci, acipoko kipīmātiso Cicipiscikwān ostikwān animōātūw īpapamī

irollowit (laughs). Īwi, ispīk, kānawitsawā Cākāpisā. Mwāc osōma.

Cākāpis kati tipiskāwīpisim? Īnitomāt, tāwīciyikot. Ikwāni osōma

tipiskāwīpisimwa kāmōŌkot kīkway tākospātawīt. Ikwāni īkōti kākīyītāmot.

Ikwāni īkōti kīyahow.

Ikwa ispīk okosisa kakwī nawitsawāt.

"Astam pītōūk kīsākīyītinawa nikosisa."

Mwāc māka wiōa kīnāṭi ko. Ikwāni osōma kāpīmosinīcik Tāskoc isa kikway

tapisitiōik Mwāc māka wiōa. Ācipoko īkota kīkaskītaw. Ikwa iskwīyanūk

anima nikiskiōitīn, mōōa nikiskiōitīn anima kotak. Mistik. Ikota īspi. Ikwāni

kāstōōik river.

Ikwāni osōma īkī sipāssūwicik. Mōōa māka kīkaskīōitam, Cicipiscikwān

tanisi tā kāwāpamat īkota. Kīkwaāōo itūkwi? Kīkwaāōw āna īkāwīcīmaōūt

tawīciyikot, across tayītōūt.

Ikwa, "ahā", kāyitikot. Ikwa osōma kāwīciyikot, mwā mākawiōa.

59. Êkota pokô isko kâkiskîôîtamân.

60. Êkota pokô ôci Wîsâkîcâk osîmisa kisiwîtwâk. Ikwa Câkîpîs ayaw

61. tipiskâwîpîsimok.