

**The role of documentary linguistics in the creation of academic resources and  
materials for second language learners: Conversations with Kanien'kéha  
students and teachers**

by

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## Abstract

This thesis aims to contribute to an emerging literature in documentary linguistics (Woodbury, 2003; Himmelman, 1998, 2006; Amery, 2009) which examines the relevance and application of permanent language resources to contexts of second language education. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with adult language learners and teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, an adult immersion school in Ohswé:ken, to gather perceptions and ideas on how and what types of data collected in linguistic documentation projects could be utilized to create language learning materials. Kanien'kéha students and teachers were also asked to comment on their perceptions of or experiences with documentary linguists and how these relationships could be improved. Interviews were transcribed and coded thematically to identify emergent themes revealing contributor perspectives. Findings illustrate that, although Kanien'kéha students and teachers have access to some educational materials and resources, contributors made specific requests for documentation, including motherese, idiomatic expressions and every day, interactional speech. Contributors also provided information on how the field of language documentation and practices could be improved. These suggestions included improving accessibility to documentary data, learning the language which is under study, and maintaining communication with the participants and communities. The contributors also made suggestions for ways in which linguists could help Indigenous language education programs succeed.

*Keywords:* language documentation, Indigenous language education, the Root-word Method, Indigenous language revitalization

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**List of Abbreviations**

ACTFL	American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
AEDA	Akwesasne Economic Development Agency
EGIDS	Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
ELAN	EUDICO Linguistic Annotator
GIDS	Graded Intergenerational Scale
G.R.E.A.T.	Grand River Employment and Training
NCCT	Native Canadian Centre of Toronto
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

## Chapter 1: Introduction

This Master's thesis explores the relationship between documentary linguistics and Indigenous language education. This study aims to contribute to emerging literature in documentary linguistics (Woodbury, 2003; Himmelman, 1998, 2006; Amery, 2009) which examines the relevance and application of permanent language resources to contexts of second language education. The following chapters present an investigation of the specific contributions that language documentation can and should make to Indigenous second language education from the perspective of adult Indigenous language learners and teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, a Kanien'kéha (Mohawk language) immersion school located in Ohswé:ken (Six Nations), Ontario, Canada.

This thesis thus responds to a call by Green and Maracle (2018) who report that “with only four first-language speakers at Six Nations, research needs to be conducted to develop self-study materials available both in print and online in audio, video, and text formats to support Onkwawén:na graduates to further build their speaking proficiency upon program completion” (154). Through semi-structured interviews, this study considers what materials second-language learners and teachers find most beneficial toward developing fluency, what speech formulas should be documented to aid in second language learning, and how linguistic documentation practices could be modified to help Indigenous language revitalization efforts from a language learning perspective. These interviews include discussion regarding governance of research materials and products as, historically, Indigenous contributions to the field of language documentation often went uncredited. This study attempts to investigate the specific contributions that linguistic documentation

can and should make to Indigenous second language education from the perspective of adult Indigenous language learners and teachers.

Language documentation is a relatively new branch of linguistics which serves to create records of languages and how they are used. Himmelman (1998) describes the goal of language documentation as providing “a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community” (166). He describes the two manifestations of linguistic practices and traditions as observable linguistic behaviour (i.e., behaviours which occur in everyday interactions between speakers of the same speech community) and metalinguistic knowledge (i.e., native speakers’ abilities to provide interpretations and systematizations of linguistic information and events). By documenting linguistic practices and traditions, one can aim to create a “representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties” (Himmelman, 2006, v).

This documentation (and its purpose) can be influenced by various disciplines – Himmelman (1998) provides a list of various language related sub-disciplines which can influence the makeup and contents of a language documentation. These sub-disciplines include “sociological and anthropological approaches to language; theoretical (as well as comparative and descriptive) linguistics; discourse analysis, spoken language research, rhetoric; language acquisition; phonetics; ethics, language rights and language planning; field methods; oral literature and oral history; corpus linguistics; and educational linguistics” (Himmelman, 1998, 167). One of the challenges of documentary linguistics is applying the aforementioned sub-disciplines to create a coherent framework for language documentation. Since language documentation can be applied to and influenced by multiple disciplines, there are no specific guidelines for how researchers collect their data. As Himmelman (1998)

points out, the various approaches can influence language documentation procedures in two ways: first, they influence the collection process (i.e., the compilers' understanding of linguistic practices and traditions may influence their choice of data to record) and second, they influence the recording and presentation of data (i.e., certain data is required to perform specific analysis). Himmelman (1998) describes the relationship between language documentation and the theoretical frameworks borrowed from various influential disciplines as “mutual dependency” – that is, “the theoretical frameworks contribute the basic inventory of analytic concepts and procedures that help to ensure the quality and usefulness of a given documentation” (167); contrariwise, documentation can provide an empirical basis for revisions and refinement of theoretical frameworks.

Data is central to language documentation and can include audio or video recordings of communicative events (i.e., a person telling a story or multiple speakers having a conversation). Primary data should provide documentation of observable linguistic behaviour and metalinguistic knowledge. Himmelman (2006) describes observable linguistic behaviour as how people actually communicate with each other (e.g., small talk, rituals, motherese, political disputes). Metalinguistic knowledge refers to a speaker's interpretations and systematizations of linguistic information and events – this includes, but is not limited to, kinship systems, folk taxonomies for plants and animals, and morphological paradigms (Himmelman, 2006). While the documentation of observable linguistic behaviour and metalinguistic knowledge consists of records of speech events, Himmelman (2006) describes the difference as, “in the case of observable linguistic behaviour, the communicative event involves the interaction of native speakers among themselves, while in the case of metalinguistic knowledge it involves the interaction between native speakers and documenters” (9).

Audio and video recordings are often used to document observable linguistic behaviour while written notes are often utilized to document metalinguistic knowledge as it is being elicited (Himmelman, 2006). The data collected forms a corpus of recordings of primary data and typically stored digitally.

In the late 1980s, linguists became aware of the waning vitality of many Indigenous languages around the world (Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Many of the world's Indigenous languages were endangered due to decreasing and ageing populations, colonial language policies and disruptions in intergenerational transmission (Hale et al., 1992; Austin, 2007; Whalen, 2004; Grenoble, 2011). A new approach to language documentation was created which aimed to create a “lasting, and potentially unrepeatable, record of language use in its social and cultural context” (Austin and Sallabank, 2011). This documentation is important as the loss of language in a community has been described by speakers of endangered languages as a “loss of identity, and as a cultural, literary, intellectual, or spiritual severance from ancestors, community and territory; and as an example or symbol of the domination of the more powerful over the less powerful” (Woodbury, 2003, 38).

While documentary linguistics provides valuable data for language description, the data collected may prove useful to the fields of Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance. Mithun (2007) states that, “as we document languages, it is useful to consider what kinds of information will be valued not just by current colleagues, but also what will be sought by future audiences: linguistics with a variety of interests, speakers, and their descendants” (55). Additionally, as Himmelman (2006) emphasizes, “the goal is to create a record of a language which leaves nothing to be desired by later generations wanting to explore whatever aspect of the language they are interested in” (3). The field of documentary

linguistics has evolved beyond language description and analysis and has become aware of its value towards speakers or language learners of endangered languages. A growing awareness of the rights and needs of the language's users and community members has encouraged a more collaborative approach towards documenting languages (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009). Accompanied by advances in technology, collection, analysis and preservation of documentary data, the field of language documentation evolved and adapted to the changing world.

Despite changing attitudes and advances in the field of documentary linguistics, there is room for improvement in practices and approaches which may prove helpful to the field of Indigenous language education and revitalization. Previous investigations into the relationship between language documentation and revitalization have produced insight regarding documentation with revitalization in mind (Amery, 2009), documentation for Indigenous language learners (Hermes and Engman, 2017) and documentation for diverse and evolving audiences (Mithun, 2007). A common theme throughout these articles is the large variety of data that could be collected in documentation efforts and how various data types and sources can serve various important roles. For example, Mithun (2007) stresses the importance of including daily life language in documentation efforts due to its personal connection to identity, learnability, adaptability, and usefulness. Mithun believes that this type of documentation is indispensable for creating and structuring coherent language courses. This thesis aims to extend this line of thought to examine what other materials collected or produced could prove useful towards Indigenous language education and revitalization and what actions the field of language documentation and linguists can take to better serve the Indigenous education efforts and the field of Indigenous language revitalization and maintenance.

## Chapter 2: Introduction to Kanien'kéha

Kanien'kéha<sup>1</sup> (also written as Kanyen'kéha in some dialects) is the language spoken by Kanien'kehà:ka (Mohawk peoples). Kanien'kéha, Onyota'a:ka (Oneida), Onönda'gega (Onondaga), Goyogohó:no (Cayuga) and Onöndowàga (Seneca) belong to the northern branch of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquoian) language family (Green, 2018). Originally of the Mohawk River Valley (located between Albany and Herkimer, New York), Kanien'kehà:ka are now scattered across eight communities in Ontario, Quebec and New York as a result of colonization and unfair land dealings (Green, 2018). The six Kanien'kéha language communities and dialects found in Canada include Ohswé:ken, Tyendinaga, Wáhta, Akwesásne, Kanehsatá:ke, and Kahnawá:ke. Traditionally, Kanien'kéha is an oral language.

The Kanien'kehà:ka are an original member of the Five Nations Confederacy (also referred to as the Haudenosaunee Confederacy or Iroquois Confederacy) which was one of the first constitutional democracies in the world (Green, 2018). The Confederacy consisted of the Onöndowàga, Goyogohó:no, Onönda'gega and Onyota'a:ka Nations (Green, 2018). The Confederacy was expanded to the Six Nations with the additions of the Tuscarora Nation in 1722; the Confederacy was renamed to the Rotinonhsyón:nih or the Six Nations Confederacy, and continues to this day (Green, 2018). The Kanien'kehà:ka are the easternmost people of the confederacy which earned them the name “Keepers of the Eastern Door” as they are the protectors of the confederacy's eastern border (Wallenfeldt, n.d.).

Documentation of the language began in the early eighteenth century with the arrival of the Jesuits, Sulpicians and various other religious groups (Lazore, 1993). As

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<sup>1</sup> This paper uses the Indigenous names of people and places rather than English exonyms. However, if directly referencing an article or organization, this paper will use the version (i.e., English or Kanien'kéha) referenced by that source.

a result of language contact, Kanien'kéha borrows from Huron, Algonquin, Dutch, French, German and English (Green, 2018). Jesuit and Sulpician missionaries documented the language using French phonology and twelve letters borrowed from the Roman alphabet (A, E, H, I, K, N, O, R, S, T, W, Y) and developed a writing system (Lazore, 1993; Green, 2018). In 1970, Kanien'kéha was introduced into the educational system and in 1993, the writing system was standardized at the Mohawk Language Standardization Conference (Lazore, 1993; Green, 2018). This writing system is currently employed everywhere Kanien'kéha is written and read.

## **2.1 Structural profile of Kanien'ké:ha**

This section will provide a brief description of the structural profile of Kanien'kéha. This includes its phonological inventory, dialects, writing system, syntax and morphology. Kanien'kéha is a complex language due to the polysynthetic nature of its morphology. Therefore, this section will serve as an overview rather than an in-depth analysis.

### ***2.1.1 Kanien'kéha phonological inventory and dialects***

As noted in the preceding section, Kanien'kéha belongs to the Northern branch of the Iroquoian language family. Green (2018) lists three phonological innovations which differentiates Kanien'kéha from other Haudenosaunee languages: (i) Kanien'kéha has retained the original Proto-Northern Iroquoian rhotic consonant /r/; (ii) Kanien'kéha no longer exhibits laryngeal consonants and; (iii) Kanien'kéha exhibits epenthesis in environments where this is not found in its sister languages. The consonant inventory lacks labials; however, some labials may occur in words that have been adopted from French and English. While there is some variation in dialects,

the phonological inventory for consonants and vowels is displayed below in Tables 1 and 2:

	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	n			
Plosive	t		k	ʔ
Affricate		dʒ		
Fricative	s			h
Approximant	l	j	w	
Rhotic	r			

Table 1. Consonant inventory of Kanien'kéha

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		ũ
Mid	e	ã	o
Low		a	

Table 2. Vowel inventory of Kanien'kéha

Consonants /k/, /t/ and clusters /ts/ and /kw/ are voiced when they occur before a voiced vowel or /j/. Additionally, /s/ is voiced when it occurs word initially or between vowels. In regards to vowels, <i>, <e>, <a>, and <o> are oral vowels and <en> (/ã/) and <on> (/ũ/) are nasalized. Suprasegmentals such as tone, length and stress and glottal stop are conveyed using diacritical marks (see section 2.1.2).

There is some dispute regarding how many dialects there are of Kanien'kéha: some argue for two dialects (eastern and western) while some believe there are three dialects (eastern, central and western). According to Green (2018), “the eastern dialect was established over 350 years ago when two-thirds of the Kanyen'kehà:ka

left their original homelands in the 1660s and 1670s to live with the French near present-day Montreal” (4). Therefore, dialects that branched off from the eastern dialect often exhibit common phonology, word usage, and French loan words (Green, 2018). The western dialect is spoken by speakers of Kenhtè:ke (Tyendinaga) and Ohswé:ken who left the Mohawk Valley much later in the 1770s (Green, 2018). Western dialect includes Ohswé:ken and Kenhté:ke; central dialect often refers to the community of Akwesásne and; eastern dialect includes Kahnawà:ke and Kanehsatá:ke. All dialects of Kanien’kéha are mutually intelligible.

### ***2.1.2 Kanien’kéha writing system***

In 1993, a standardized writing system for Kanien’kéha was established at the Mohawk Language Standardization Conference. Guidelines were established regarding orthography, phonology and new word formation (Green, 2018). The Mohawk Language Standardisation Project made the following recommendations at the conference (Lazore, 1993, 3):

1. The Roman alphabet consisting of twelve letters is to be used in writing the Mohawk Language. In alphabetic order, this alphabet consists of: A, E, H, I, K, N, O, R, S, T, W, and Y
2. The diacritical marks used in writing the Mohawk language are:
  - falling tone with length (Kawennéhtha tánon teiotsistóhkwake) (˘:);
  - rising tone with length (Kawennakará:tats tánon teiotsistóhkwake) (˘˘:);
  - rising tone stress (Kawennakára:tats) (˘˘);
  - glottal stop (Tekawénniaks) (’).
3. Capitals will be used in writing the Mohawk Language

4. In writing the Mohawk language, question marks, quotation marks, exclamation marks, periods and commas are used.
5. New words in the Mohawk language are to be formed by function, activity, or characteristic. Loan words may be taken from other languages.

The Mohawk Language Standardization Project was a collaborative effort of the Tyedinaga, Akwesásne, Wáhta, Ohswé:ken, Kahnawá:ke and Kanehsatá:ke and received support from the ministries of Education and Training, of Citizenship, and of Culture, Tourism and Recreation (Lazore, 1993). The Mohawk Language Standardization Project believed that a standardized writing system would benefit the retention, survival and revitalization of Kanien'kéha and assist in the preservation of "older forms of speech" and the speech of Elders (Lazore, 1993). The standardized writing system recommended at the Mohawk Language Standardization Conference has been used by all dialects and communities since its establishment in 1993.

### ***2.1.3 A brief description of Kanien'kéha syntax and morphology***

Kanien'kéha is a polysynthetic language. Fortescue (1994) defines polysynthetic languages as "languages with complex morphologies capable of packing into a single word many morphemes that in more analytic languages would be independent words" (2600). Polysynthetic languages often exhibit a high number of morphemes per utterance and can often express in one word the equivalent of a sentence in languages such as English or French. Evans and Sasse (2002) further summarize that "a prototypical polysynthetic language is one in which it is possible, in a single word, to use processes of morphological composition to encode information about both the predicate and all its arguments... allowing this word to serve alone as a free-standing utterance without reliance on context" (3). In addition

to a considerable agreement in the literature that polysynthetic languages are remarkably complex (Fortescue, 1992b; McConvell, 2010; Adelaar and Muysken, 2004), Trudgill (2017) makes the observation that all polysynthetic languages are spoken in relatively small communities. Trudgill's (2011) sociolinguistic-typological argument states that "linguistic complexity is particularly associated with relatively small, isolated, stable communities with dense social-network structures and informational homogeneity; and is relatively unlikely to be found in large, high-contact (for example urban, colonial, or standard) language varieties" (187). That is to say, the complexity which characterizes polysynthetic languages likely could not have developed in a large, high-contact community. Today, there are very few communities that meet these characteristics, meaning that, once polysynthetic languages are gone, they will likely never return due to current demographic and anthropological conditions (Trudgill, 2017). Nearly all polysynthetic languages in the world are currently endangered and at risk of disappearing if action is not taken.

**Parts of speech.** There are three morphological types of words in Kanien'kéha: particles, nouns, and verbs. Mithun (2011) states that particles "serve a wide variety of syntactic and discourse functions, among them various kinds of adverbials, pronominals, qualifiers and quantifiers, grammatical markers, conjunctions, and other expressions (*hánio* 'come on', *ió:* 'you're welcome')" (909). Additionally, particles can occasionally be shortened forms of verbs or compound forms (Mithun, 2011). Apart from particles formed by compounding, most particles have no internal structure (Mithun, 2011).

Kanien'kéha nouns consist of a gender prefix (which can be replaced by a possessive prefix), a noun stem and a noun suffix; this is illustrated in Figure 1.

Nouns do not occur as frequently in Kanien'kéha as they do in other languages. Mithun (2011) states three reasons for this: (i) “nouns serve as referring expressions and syntactic arguments”; (ii) “many lexical expressions for entities are actually morphological verbs” and; (iii) noun incorporation because this allows references to entities to be contained inside of references to states and actions, which are generally realized as verbs. Mithun (2011) described noun incorporation as the practice of compounding a noun stem with a verb stem to form a new verb stem.

Gender (or possessive) prefix	Noun stem	Noun suffix
-------------------------------------	-----------	-------------

Figure 1. Noun structure of Kanien'kéha (Mithun, 2018).

Verbs make-up the largest portion of the Kanien'kéha lexicon. To illustrate the structure of a complex Kanien'kéha verb, Mithun (2011, 913) describes the structure of *aonsakonwaia'tisákha* ‘they should go back to look for her’ in the excerpt below:

All verbs contain minimally a pronominal prefix referring to the core arguments of the clause and a verb stem. Verbs other than commands also contain an aspect suffix. Morphological verbs can also be more complex. They may contain various prepronominal prefixes, like the optative ‘should’ and the repetitive ‘back’ in (6) and various derivational suffixes, such as the andative ‘go and’ here. They may also contain a noun stem incorporated before the verb root, such as *-ia't-* ‘body’ in (6)

(6) More complex verb

*Aonsakonwaia'tisákha*.

*a-onsa-konwa-ia't-isak-ha-*

OPTATIVE-REPETITIVE-3PL/F.SG-body-seek-ANDATIVE-  
PRF

‘They should go back to look for her’

The Kanien’kéha verb structure requires a pronominal prefix, a verb root, and a derivational suffix. However, a verb can also contain a pre-pronominal prefix, reflexive/middle prefix and a noun stem. The structure of a Kanien’kéha verb is illustrated below in Figure 2 with required components indicated in bold.

Pre-pronominal prefixes	<b>Pronominal Prefix</b>	Reflexive Middle prefix	Noun stem	<b>Verb root</b>	Derivational suffixes	<b>Aspect/Tense suffixes</b>
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Figure 2. Verb structure in Kanien'kéha (Mithun, 2018)

Figure 2 does not fully illustrate how complex Kanien’kéha verb structure is. For example, within the pronominal prefix slot, there are many possibilities: “Partitive (PRT), Coincident (COIN), Contrastive (CONTR), Negative (NEG); Translocative (TLOC); Factual (FACT); Duplicative (DV); Future (FUT), Irrealis (IRR); and Cislocative (CLOC), Repetitive (REP)” (Mithun, 2018, 3). There are 50–60 pronominal prefixes in each of the three sets of paradigms (grammatical agents, grammatical patients, and fused transitive combinations) occurring in Iroquoian languages (Mithun, 2018). These are used to distinguish person, clusivity, gender, and number (Mithun, 2018). In addition to structural complexity, morphological verbs can often serve as predicates, nominals and adverbials and complete grammatical sentences in themselves (Mithun, 2018).

**Word order.** In regard to determining the order of constituents, it has been argued that Kanien’kéha employs a pragmatic-based word order (Chamorro, 1992). Deering and Delisle (1976) state the most important element of the utterance occurs early in the clause. Mithun (1998) elaborates on this and specifies that “items which

are particularly significant, because they are new and important, or they introduce a new topic, or they highlight a focus of contrast, appear early in the sentence” (180). Therefore, elements which contain peripheral or predictable information appear later in the sentence.

## 2.2 Kanien’kéha vitality

Kanien’kéha is the most widely spoken Haudenosaunee language in Canada according to the 2016 Census conducted by Statistics Canada (“Mohawk”, 2018). The census reported an ethnic population of 24,000 with 2,350 speakers—67% of speakers were located in Ontario and 29% in Quebec (“Mohawk”, 2018). The Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke and the Kanien’kéha Onkwawén:na Raotitíóhkwa Language and Cultural Centre conducted their own survey on the status of Kanien’kéha in Kahnawà:ke and found that 27% of the 376 people surveyed identified as non-speakers, 44% as beginners, 16% intermediate and 12% advanced/fluent speakers (Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke, 2014). These statistics demonstrate that while Kanien’kéha may be the most widely spoken Iroquoian language in Canada, it is still in a precarious position as few first-language speakers are remaining.

To assess the vitality of Kanien’kéha, Gomashie (2019) utilized four different scales—Bauman’s (1980) proposed scale of language vitality, Fishman’s (1991) graded typology of the status of threatened languages, UNESCO’s Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered languages (UNESCO, 2003), and Lewis and Simons (2010) Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). Bauman’s (1980) proposed scale of language vitality has six classifications—flourishing, enduring, declining, endangered, critical and extinct/sleeping. Based on Bauman’s (1980) scale, Gomashie (2019) classified Kanien’kéha as declining as “a significant part of the

adult population... still speak the language, but only a portion of young people and children know the language and most use the nationally or regionally dominant language instead” (Canadian Heritage, 2005, 34, as cited by Gomashie, 2019).

Gomashie (2019) also points out that Kanien’kéha is also endangered on the Bauman (1980) scale as, “elders know and use the language, but... parents of childbearing age by and large use a different language with their children, thus disrupting intergenerational transmission” (Canadian Heritage, 2005, p. 34, as cited by Gomashie, 2019). Therefore, in regard to Bauman’s (1980) scale, Gomashie (2019) identifies Kanien’kéha as both declining and endangered.

Gomashie (2019) notes a previous assessment of Kanien’kéha vitality according to the UNESCO (2003) scale. This is a six-level scale that measures language vitality and endangerment. UNESCO (2003) made this classification by assessing nine factors: intergenerational language transmission; absolute number of speakers; proportion of speakers within the total population; shifts in domains of language use; response to new domains and medial materials for language education and literacy; governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies; community members attitudes towards their own language; and type and quality of documentation. The UNESCO’s Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages classified Kanien’kéha as “definitely endangered” as it is no longer being learned as a first language by children in their homes (UNESCO, 2003, as cited by Gomashie, 2019).

According to Fishman’s (1991) graded typology of the status of threatened languages, the Graded Intergenerational Scale (GIDS), Gomashie (2019) classifies Kanien’kéha at stage six—in the process of attaining intergenerational informal transmission—and stage four—where it is used in the lower levels of education and

fulfils compulsory education requirements. Fishman (1991) identifies stage six (intergenerational transmission) to be the most crucial stage for reversing language shift. Lewis and Simons (2010) developed a synthesis of Fishman's (1991) GIDS and UNESCO's (2003) six-level scale of language vitality and endangerment to create the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). Using this scale, Gomashie (2019) determined Kanien'kéha to be a threatened language as it is losing speakers despite being used in conversations across generations ("Mohawk", 2018, as cited by Gomashie, 2010). The four aforementioned scales and Gomashie's (2019) analysis, illustrate that Kanien'kéha is an endangered language and at a critical point if it is to be revitalized successfully.

### **2.3 Previous insights on Kanien'kéha revitalization efforts**

According to Hinton (2001), "school-based programs, children's programs outside the school, adult language programs, documentation and material development and home-based programs" (7) are the most common approaches towards language revitalization. There are three approaches to teaching an endangered language in a school-based program: teaching the language as a subject or foreign language, bilingual education, and immersion programs (Gomashie, 2019). The Assembly of First Nations conducted a school survey (AFN, 2011b) which indicated that bilingual education was the most popular approach, with 88% of First Nation schools providing bilingual programming or Indigenous language classes, while 17% of First Nation schools offered Indigenous language immersion programs. Interestingly, many of the Indigenous language immersion programs were focused on pre-kindergarten and primary education (up to grade 3) while bilingual education often focused on kindergarten to junior levels (up to grade 9) (Gomashie, 2019). First

Nations schools face a number of challenges that affect such language programs, including funding, attendance, involvement of parents and the community, teacher certification and specialization, infrastructure, and student health and nutrition (Gomashie, 2019, 158). Despite these challenges, many immersion schools and bilingual education programs are met with enthusiasm and support by Indigenous language learners and community members.

In regards to Kanien'kéha specifically, Kanien'kehá:ka communities have created several immersion schools for adults and children starting in the 1970s (Hoover and Kanien'kéha Raotitóhkwa Cultural Centre, 1992; Maracle, 2002).

Maracle (2002) conducted a survey of four adult Kanien'kéha immersion programs to investigate factors responsible for student retention. Four adult immersion programs were consulted, located in Kahnawà:ke, Tyendinaga, Wáhta and Ohswé:ken; in these programs, Maracle (2002) consulted students, instructors, administrators and two Elders.

Maracle (2002) reported that “the coordinators expressed the need to first determine what the goal of the language program is – maintenance or fluency – and then decide what teaching methods would be used accordingly” (396). Coordinators also expressed concern about teaching students the skills to transmit language or to teach it to other prospective language learners. Since Kanien'kéha is traditionally an oral language, coordinators stressed the importance of oral practice as reading and writing skills could be developed later. Awareness of other dialects was also important to coordinators. The coordinators also observed that “a comfortable learning environment and healthy food are conducive to adult language learning. In some programs, menu planning and food preparation in the language became part of the curriculum” (397). Coordinators stressed the importance of starting programs

immediately; that is, “with the language in the state that it is, there is no time to waste on waiting until the right building is available, or the right number of people are enrolled” (397). The coordinators stressed the importance of creating a fun, social environment where conversation could flourish.

The instructors Maracle (2002) interviewed recommended that immersion programs should target fluency and should adapt a communicative-oral approach. The instructors commented on their work experience, evaluation practices, and the difficulties they encountered. Some difficulties included different language levels present in the classroom, relocation for employment, and the speed of adult immersion learning. Maracle (2002) reported that “the speed of adult immersion learning proved to be problematic because adult students need more time than children to practice—therefore, the method of teaching adults has to be looked at closely when developing a language program” (397). Instructors reported that they were often over-prepared and had to be flexible when students required more time.

Students interviewed by Maracle (2002) reported that a strong motivating factor for their enrollment was a personal desire to learn and communicate in Kanien’kéha. The students viewed knowledge of Kanien’kéha to be essential to their sense of identity and community. Furthermore, being able to use Kanien’kéha at home and pass it on to their children and future generations was an important motivator. The students identified difficulties such as finances, relocation for education, and students entering the program with varying levels of prior Kanien’kéha knowledge. Students made several suggestions on how to improve and facilitate immersion programs:

“One dominant suggestion is to increase the length of time of the program to build on skills and learning experiences, and to phrase the program into

learning levels. Students felt that it was a good idea to establish a method to pre-test the students to decide the separate levels of language fluency... Some suggested the use of videotape so their presentations could be reviewed... To support their learning, students emphasized the importance of having some more resources available—visual and audio aids, and readers” (Maracle, 2002, 399).

Students expressed their frustrations as well and reported that two teachers in a classroom would be helpful and facilitate more conversation. Similarly to the administrators, students mentioned a “need for a comfortable learning environment with adequate facilities where learning could be kept fun and appealing to all the senses” (Maracle, 2002, 399). Students also provided suggestions for people looking to enrol in an adult immersion program; these include having prior experience with the language, committing to the program, using the language outside of the classroom, time, and patience. Maracle (2002) reports, “the main advice coming from the students, however, is that the language needs to be practised every day – whenever and wherever” (399). Upon graduation, some students utilized their Kanien’kéha education to continue their academic education while others secured new employment.

Maracle (2002) reported that funding was the biggest obstacle to the success of immersion schools. This is due to a dependence on federal funding which is not always a stable or reliable source of monies. Since the immersion programs have very little control over funding (i.e., the government could reduce their funding packages or reject their proposal), it is very difficult to create any long-term goals as the programs’ sustainability is almost always uncertain.

In conclusion, school-based programs, children's programs outside the school, adult language programs, documentation and material development and home-based programs are the most common approaches towards language revitalization (Hinton, 2001). There are three approaches to teaching an endangered language in a school-based program: teaching the language as a subject or foreign language, bilingual education, and immersion programs (Gomashie, 2019). First Nations schools face a number of challenges that affect such language programs, including funding, "student attendance, parental and community involvement, teacher certification and specialization, infrastructure, and student health and nutrition" (Gomashie, 2019, 158). Despite these challenges, many immersion schools and bilingual education programs are met with enthusiasm and support by Indigenous language learners and community members.

In a survey conducted by Maracle (2002), four adult Kanien'kéha immersion programs were consulted to investigate factors responsible for student retention. Maracle (2002) concluded that several factors contributing to student retention were encompassed within three areas of responsibility, each corresponding to a stakeholder group that was interviewed in the study. The first area of responsibility identified by Maracle (2002) was "outside the classroom"; that is, "by placing responsibility for activities outside the classroom with the coordinator, along with others in the community who worked at setting up the program, they become responsible for the establishment of the goal(s) of the program and program planning" (400). Maracle (2002) lists aspects of the program which are to be determined at this stage – these include, "funding of the program, length of the program, size of the class, curriculum and resource materials, hiring of instructors, student registration, facilities, evaluation and reporting" (400). Additionally, funding and maintaining financial support for

adult immersion schools and programming are the biggest challenge to Indigenous language education (Maracle, 2002). The second area of responsibility identified by Maracle (2002) was “inside the classroom” – this was described as the instructors’ responsibility to teach the program. Teaching an adult immersion program presents a number of challenges: “instruction pace is slower and more repetition is required for adults than younger students (Maracle, 2001)”;

pedagogy must be adapted to teach in an immersion setting; “time and attention has to be paid to the development of relevant learning aids and materials the instructors are to use” (401). Additionally, Maracle (2002) suggests that administration should carefully determine the qualifications which are necessary to deliver the program they have planned and hiring practices and job responsibilities should be fair, consistent and transparent. The last area of responsibility identified by Maracle (2002) are the students themselves; that is, “their retention in the program depends upon their preparation before entering, as well as their commitment and patience with themselves once in the program” (401). If students are to be successful in immersion, Maracle (2002) suggests that they should investigate and visit the program before enrolling. Maracle’s (2002) survey provided valuable insights from three stakeholder groups as to what practices and attitudes are successful in an immersion programming and what the three stakeholder groups would like to see developed in the future to aid immersion programming and student success.

#### **2.4 Kanien’kéha immersion education: The Root-word Method**

The participants interviewed in this study are all affiliated with Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, an adult Kanien’kéha immersion school in Ohswé:ken. Both teachers interviewed have attended the two-year program and have taught at the immersion

school. Both students interviewed are in their final year at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Therefore, this study will focus on Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa (as opposed to the various other Kanien'kéha immersion schools and programs, children and adult language programs, etc.) as the student and teacher perspectives provided in Chapter 4 directly relate to Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa.

Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa opened its doors in 1998 and has been working to re-establish intergenerational transmission and normalization of Kanien'kéha. The school employs the Root-word Method which is “a method of organizing (1) the documentation, classification, and categorization of the lexicon and morphology of a polysynthetic language; and (2) the teaching and learning of polysynthetic languages wherein learners acquire the morphology and syntax of the target language in a predictable order” (Green and Maracle, 2018, 146). The Root-word Method helps language learners increase their ability to independently generate words and sentences by providing them with knowledge of morphological and syntactic patterns rather than rote vocabulary learning. The method was developed by David Kanatawákhon Maracle in the 1980s at the Centre for Research and Teaching of Native Canadian Languages at the University of Western Ontario. The Root-word Method “utilizes cognitive, bottom-up approaches to language acquisition that progressively build meta-linguistic awareness” (Green and Maracle, 2018, 147). That is, students acquire knowledge of basic morphological and syntactic features and progress to more complex sentences over time. Due to Kanien'kéha's polysynthetic nature, it would be impossible to learn the language by memorizing words and sentences due to the large inventory of affixations, incorporation patterns, and complexity of word construction and word order. The Root-word Method instead teaches students word construction utilizing root words (i.e., noun and verb stems) and morphemes to generate endless

combinations and limitless word knowledge. That is not to say stand-alone words are ignored; rather, “stand-alone nouns, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and particle words are learned through simulated, real-life contexts, applications, exercises, and games delivered through a plethora of second- and foreign language teaching methods” (Green and Maracle, 2018, 147). Green and Maracle (2018) report that the goal of the Root-word Method is revitalization (Fishman, 1991) and normalization (Aracil, 1982) of the target language.

As a result of its intuitive and adaptable techniques, the Root-word Method has been employed in classrooms for university courses, full-time immersion programs, online programs, part-time programs for Kanien’kéha, Oneida, Tuscarora, and Seneca language education (Green and Maracle, 2018). The Root-word Method is employed in both adult language education and children in Kanien’kéha immersion, medium, and second-language programs at elementary and high schools (Green and Maracle, 2018). The Root-word Method has also been employed and or investigated by Meskwaki, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Anishnawbe, Mi’kmaw and Tahltan language scholars (Green and Maracle, 2018). While polysynthetic languages prove a considerable challenge to learn, the Root-word Method provides language learners with the ability to learn and generate language independently.

## **2.5 Summary**

Kanien’kéha belongs to the Northern branch of the Iroquoian language family (Green, 2018). Kanien’kéha is a polysynthetic language and is therefore capable of conveying a full utterance in a single word. In 1993, a standardized writing system for Kanien’kéha was established at the Mohawk Language Standardization Conference. Guidelines were established regarding orthography, phonology and new word

formation (Green, 2018). The standardized writing system recommended at the Mohawk Language Standardization Conference has been used by all dialects and communities since its establishment in 1993.

There are eight Kanien'kehà:ka communities in Ontario, Quebec and New York (Green, 2018). The six Kanien'kéha language communities and dialects found in Canada include Ohswé:ken, Tyendinaga, Wáhta, Akwesásne, Kanehsatá:ke, and Kahnawá:ke. Kanien'kéha is the most widely spoken Haudenosaunee language in Canada ("Mohawk", 2018). The 2016 Canadian census reported an ethnic population of 24,000 with 2,350 speakers—67% of speakers were located in Ontario and 29% in Quebec ("Mohawk", 2018). Gomashie (2019) determined using the four scales that Kanien'kéha is an endangered language and at a critical point if it is to be revitalized successfully.

Kanien'kehá:ka communities have created several immersion schools for adults and children starting in the 1970s (Hoover and Kanien'kéha Raotitóhkwa Cultural Centre, 1992; Maracle, 2002) to teach and revitalize Kanien'kéha. School-based programs, children's programs outside the school, adult language programs, documentation and material development and home-based programs are the most common approaches towards language revitalization (Hinton, 2001). This study is informed by perspectives of adult Indigenous language learners and teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, an adult immersion school located in Ohswé:ken. The school employs the Root-word Method. The Root-word Method helps language learners increase their ability to independently generate words and sentences by providing them with knowledge of morphological and syntactic patterns rather than rote vocabulary learning.

### **Chapter 3: Literature Review**

The following is an overview of informing topics and previous research central to this study. This chapter provides an outline of previous research on the topics of language documentation and its relation to Indigenous language education and revitalization. This chapter reviews literatures pertaining to documentation with the goal of revitalization (Amery, 2009); documentation for educational resources and materials (Hermes and Engman, 2017); and the types of language encountered in documentary practices and its use to language learners (Mithun, 2007). This chapter examines the relevance and application of permanent language resources to contexts of second language education.

#### **3.1 Documentation with revitalization in mind**

Amery's (2009) study, "Phoenix or relic? Documentation of language with revitalization in mind," addresses the lack of attention given to documenting language functions or commonly occurring speech formulas in previous documentation and description projects. Amery (2009) identifies two underlying agendas that have influenced language documentation and description. That is, "the underlying agenda in writing a description of a language is often historical linguistics to determine the degree to which the language under study is related to neighbouring languages" and "language typology, where linguists have been keen to investigate the system of nominal classification, ergativity, switch references systems, etc., in the context of broader linguistic theory" (Amery, 2009, 139). Amery (2009) states that material gathered in the field is usually related to traditional domains (i.e., monolingual narratives, autobiographies, and accounts of a traditional way of life) with little attention being paid to conversations regarding everyday life. Since the

documentation is used to inform description, Amery (2009) argues that this limited view does not serve the needs and interests of people who identify with the languages and wish to relearn the language from documented sources.

Amery (2009) states that restricting language documentation to focus on “pure” pre-contact forms of language (e.g., traditional domains) does not help people who may attempt to revive the language. Amery (2009) argues that documenting the language used with the home, at council meetings, schools, health clinics, sports events, etc., would provide a better platform to revive a language. Amery (2009) references the work of anthropological linguists Hymes (1972) and Saville-Troike (1989) who view language as a social phenomenon. Other linguists have elaborated on this paradigm and have stated that language documentation should observe or participate in situated speech events and represent real and spontaneous speaking situations (Messineo, 2008); include conversations (Johnson 2004, Mithun 2007); and be representative of how people actually communicate with each other (Himmelmann 2006). Amery (2009) brings attention to the importance of functional/notational approaches to second and foreign language teaching (Wilkins, 1976) where the entire curriculum is comprised of language functions. Language functions, commonly occurring speech formulas, and everyday language have been identified by Amery (2009) as the most useful examples of language if future language revitalization goals are taken into account. Amery (2009) argues that we already have the technological tools (e.g. digital audio and video recording) to include this information in language documentation projects and compile rich archives or numerous aspects of daily life.

### **3.2 Indigenous language learners and documentation**

Hermes and Engman (2017) examined a five-year Ojibwemowin documentation and description project and how they adapted the project in response

to reclamation goals. The project offers insight into how consideration of Indigenous peoples' intellectual and linguistic rights can influence and shape a documentation project towards the goal of language reclamation. *Ojibwe Conversations* began as a project to document fluid, imperfect, every day, informal conversations among Ojibwe speakers in an attempt to fill a gap in data previously collected. Previous projects documenting Algonquian languages have focused on the collection of narratives and have typically ignored informal conversation (Hermes and Engman, 2017). Hermes and Engman (2017) argue that interactional speech is a primary source of input for language learners and, therefore, its underrepresentation in the general corpus of Ojibwe language documentation is a roadblock to many people learning the language. Hermes and Engman (2017) were met with a community desire to “focus on communicative language” which would give them the skills to be able to use Ojibwe in their home.

The recordings which comprised *Ojibwe Conversations* were predetermined in terms of theme and setting (e.g., sisters making frybread in the kitchen or asking an Elder for help at the community centre) which drove the unscripted content of the conversations (Hermes and Engman, 2017). While the recordings initially consisted of only Elders speaking, second-language speakers were eventually included in recordings. At the end of the project, 12 hours of movies and transcriptions<sup>2</sup> were deposited in the University of Minnesota Digital Conservancy and at the time of publication, 3,000 downloads had occurred over the span of two years (Hermes and Engman, 2017). Additionally, a wealth of language learning materials has been created from *Ojibwe Conversations*, including children's books and YouTube videos

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<sup>2</sup> The digital collection produced by *Ojibwe Conversations* can be accessed at <http://hdl.handle.net/11299/163235>.

(Hermes and Engman, 2017). The project offers an example of how language documentation and description can be shaped to meet the goals and needs of the community or revitalization in a broad sense. Furthermore, the project also highlights how the act of documentation and description “shaped learner-linguists’ understanding of their language” (p. 66). Lastly, the project also highlighted the need to “push against the academic tradition of documentation,” to satisfy both learner needs and facilitate continuous learning.

### **3.3 Documentation for diverse and evolving audiences**

Mithun (2007) explored the effect community concerns can have on documentation projects. As more communities become aware of the consequences of language endangerment, Mithun argues that more communities are looking for opportunities to document and preserve their language. Mithun, therefore, concludes that the audiences of linguistic papers and resources pertaining to Indigenous languages have changed due to this new awareness. Therefore, collaboration between community members and linguists may be beneficial in the creation of documentation projects that can be appreciated and understood by both community members, language learners and linguists. As audiences change and evolve, linguists must be cognisant of new concerns and/or desires. Mithun notes variation across community goals and languages and, consequently, this variation should be reflected in the project methodology.

As mentioned previously, Mithun (2007) stresses the importance of including daily life language in documentation efforts due to its personal connection to identity, learnability, adaptability, and usefulness. Mithun (2007) believes that this type of documentation is indispensable for creating and structuring coherent language

courses. Mithun (2007) states, “good linguistic documentation can be invaluable in such endeavors, in some ways that are immediately obvious to speakers and in other ways that speakers come to recognize only over time” (p. 43). Mithun (2007) stresses the importance of casting a wide net as the needs of community members, linguistics, and language learners may change over time. Mithun (2007) states, “what is recorded now will serve as a unique resource for a multitude of future audiences: not only linguists, but also language teachers, curriculum planners, descendants of speakers, and others” (p. 43). Similarly to Amery (2009), Mithun (2007) presents a case for broad documentation in the event that someone in the future works with the language. Mithun (2007) references previous work she conducted using previously collected fieldwork. Mithun (2007) presented a scenario in which she was working with a community whose last fluent speaker predeceased Mithun’s arrival by 20 years. Fortunately, the language had been documented thoroughly by a field worker who compiled an extensive collection of notes over the course of 50 years. Mithun (2007) stated that the previous records were unintelligible to non-specialists and existed in the form of unpublished field notes. Mithun (2007) stated that the records were converted to microfilm which was much more accessible to the average person.

Therefore, while presenting insight into what data is most useful to language learners also, Mithun (2007) also makes a case for broad documentation to accommodate future and diverse language learners. This sentiment is important, as Amery (2009) has already demonstrated the ability of restorative linguistics.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

Amery (2009) argues for the inclusion of basic expressions and everyday speech formulas in language documentation research. Amery (2009) argues that this

will, “greatly enhance their sense of an authentic language and will provide a solid foundation from which to rebuild” (p. 146). Hermes and Engman (2017) demonstrate similar findings when they adapted their documentation and description project to meet with community and language learner desires. Furthermore, Hermes and Engman (2017) demonstrate the collaboration that is possible between community members, linguistics, educational researchers, and Elders and “how consideration of Indigenous peoples’ intellectual and linguistic rights can shape a documentation project for language reclamation” (59). In the case of this project, there was a community desire to capture real conversations and informal, everyday language as this was language that could be practised/used daily (Hermes and Engman, 2017). Lastly, Mithun (2007) explains that previous linguistic research was written for a specialized audience and inaccessible to an untrained individual. Audiences are changing and it is difficult to predict what linguistic information should be included in language documentation projects. Mithun (2007) looks towards modern technological developments to capture spontaneous, unscripted speech in real-time to create an open-ended documentation as a solution to this unique problem. Previous documentation practices (e.g., documenting monolingual narratives, autobiographies or stories) produce data which can be used for linguistic analysis and description. This type of data cannot easily be used for language learning or revitalization. Previous research on the field of language documentation and its application to second-language resources makes a strong case for documenting basic expressions, everyday language and informal speech. This type of data can be used to revitalize or learn a language.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter, I describe the research questions, ethical considerations, research site, recruitment procedure, contributors, data collection processes and data analysis processes utilized in this study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with four contributors – two Kanien’kéha adult language learners and two Kanien’kéha language teachers. All four contributors are affiliated with Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. This study was conducted over a span of seven months.

### 4.1 Research questions

As indicated in the introduction, this study aims to contribute to emerging literature in documentary linguistics (Woodbury, 2003; Himmelman, 1998, 2006; Amery, 2009) which examines the relevance and application of permanent language resources to contexts of Indigenous second language education. This study investigates the relationship between language documentation and Indigenous language education and revitalization to determine what data collected or produced in language documentation efforts could be utilized or prove useful to Indigenous language education. This study has three distinct groups of research questions: questions pertaining to existing educational materials and resources, questions pertaining to the types of language documented, and questions pertaining to language documentation practices and methodology.

On the subject of existing Kanien’kéha learning resources available to students and teachers, this study attempts to determine what materials and resources already exist and what materials and resources students and teachers desire. By drawing attention to this gap, this study aims to respond to a call by Green and Maracle (2018), who report that, “with only four first-language speakers at Six

Nations, research needs to be conducted to develop self-study materials available both in print and online in audio, video, and text formats to support Onkwawén:na graduates to further build their speaking proficiency upon program completion...” (154). By asking Kanien’kéha students and teachers directly what materials or resources would aid in fluency development and maintenance beyond graduation, what materials or resources already exist, what materials or resources they find themselves regularly using, and what materials or resources they believe would help them become more proficient and nuanced speakers, this study is able to eliminate a significant degree of ambiguity and determine the most useful and widely requested materials and resources.

In regards to types of language documented, this study investigates what types of language Kanien’kéha students and teachers would like to see documented to aid in their language education. Is ‘everyday language’ the most beneficial to document for language learning, as Mithun (2007) claims? Do Kanien’kéha students and teachers have specific requests regarding the types of language (e.g., everyday language an individual would need to communicate with other people and navigate throughout their daily activities, casual conversation such as small talk, formal language) or genres of language (e.g., culturally significant uses of language such as Longhouse speeches or discourses involved in the transmission of traditional knowledge) they would like to see documented? Have they encountered any specific uses or examples of language they believe is essential to know to become a fluent speaker?

In regards to language documentation practices and methodologies, this study investigates how linguists can foster collaborative and respectful relationships with the language communities they work with. Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) brings attention to the “linguist-focused model” of primary linguistic research and fieldwork

on Indigenous languages. Historically, research has focused on the needs and interests of the researcher with little attention paid to community needs or interests (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009). Czaykowska-Higgins references previous practices where “the speakers of the language are seen as sources of information, and in this sense are of interest to the linguist first and foremost as means to a linguistic end and as objects of study” (30). This has created feelings of betrayal and distrust of linguists in many Indigenous communities. This study examined how the relationship between Indigenous communities and linguists can be improved by asking contributors to comment on previous interactions with linguists, directly or indirectly. Additionally, this study asked contributors what documentary linguists could do to conduct respectful collaborative research and if they had any advice for new, emerging or young linguists entering the field. By asking these questions, this study aims to foster collaborative and respectful relationships between linguists and Indigenous communities.

#### **4.2 Ethical Considerations**

As discussing these questions with Indigenous language teachers and language learners involves human participants, permission from the Carleton University Research Ethics Board (CUREB-A) was required. Despite all of the contributors’ affiliation with Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, this study primarily relied on existing, long-term personal relationships with members of the Mohawk language community rather than with one particular Mohawk community or institution. Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa does not currently have a research ethics review process in place. With that in mind, to help ensure that the teachers’ and students’ responses are of benefit to Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and remain accessible to future reuse within the

organization and by other Kanien'kéha language learners, I have committed to share and discuss the transcribed interviews with each contributor; present their individually approved transcripts in full, unedited form in the thesis; and provide copies of the final study to everyone involved and to Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa.

Once clearance from the research ethics board was granted, participant recruitment began. Potential contributors were contacted to gauge interest and availability. If a potential participant was interested, they were sent (through email) a Letter of Invitation and an Informed Consent Form. The Letter of Invitation described the study, participant requirements (e.g., participating in a 60-minute semi-structured interview), compensation, data storage protocols and ethics clearance. The Informed Consent Form provided a more detailed description of the study, participant requirements, potential risks, compensation, withdrawal process, confidentiality, data retention, and required both the contributors and my signature. This form was sent prior to arranging any interviews to provide contributors with additional information concerning the study. Upon meeting in person, the contributors were once again presented with the Informed Consent Form and asked to sign and date two copies—one copy for their records and one copy for my own records.

This study would not be possible without the contributions of Kanien'kéha students and teachers; therefore, the application for research ethics clearance for this study made the case that contributing individuals should receive full and explicit recognition for their contributions rather than disassociating their names from their comments. This study aimed to ensure that contributors have and maintain ownership, control, access, and possession (FNIGC, 2020) of their contributions to this study (i.e., the comments that they share in the semi-structured interviews) insofar as possible.

Contributors were asked if they would be comfortable being named in the study. If contributors requested to remain anonymous, I planned to provide them with a pseudonym and remove any personal or identifying information from the transcript. However, this was not the case and all contributors agreed to be named in the study. A transcript of their interview was provided to each participant for their approval before submission. Contributors were asked if they were comfortable with the information that their transcript contained and if there was any information they wished to see removed. All of the contributors reported that they were comfortable with the transcripts and did not wish to alter them. While I have taken the unusual route of naming contributors, I believe it is crucial to do so in order to portray the importance and necessity of participant contributions. I have taken steps to ensure that contributors were comfortable with their contributions and being identified in conjunction with this study.

#### **4.3 Research site and recruitment process**

All four contributors are currently associated with Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Both Kanien'kéha students interviewed are second-year students and both Kanien'kéha teachers teach at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Three out of the four interviews conducted for this study were held at the Grand River Employment and Training (G.R.E.A.T.) building in Ohswé:ken, Ontario, where Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa operates; while one interview (with Ryan DeCaire) was conducted over the phone.

Once I received ethics approval, I contacted a classmate (Mitchell Mittelstaedt) and professor (Ryan DeCaire) that I come to know while I was an undergraduate student at the University of Toronto. I inquired if they would be

interested in participating in my study. I provided them with a Letter of Invitation and Informed Consent Forms that described the study, potential questions, and participant information to ensure they understood the scope and goals of the study. They both indicated that they would be willing to participate. Mittelstaedt invited me to Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and offered to introduce me to his classmates and teachers. I visited on December 12, 2019. I arrived before class and was introduced to Rohahiyo Jordan Brant and Owennetekha Brian Maracle. Mittelstaedt had described my project to them and Brant expressed interest in participating. I explained my study to Brant and he agreed to be interviewed at the end of the day once class had concluded.

Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa operates from Monday to Friday and students spend six hours a day in class for 35 weeks. Students attend classes from September to May and spend approximately 1000 hours in the classroom (per school year). Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa rents an office for administrative purposes and two large classrooms – one for the first-year class and another for the second-year class. The larger of the two classrooms contains a kitchen and a common space which the students and teachers utilize daily. Students started arriving at 9:00 a.m. We gathered in the larger classroom and arranged the chairs in a circle. We sat in a circle and listened while Brant gave the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen (Thanksgiving Address – greetings to the world and words before all else). The program administrator and instructor Maracle introduced me to the class. We took turns speaking in Kanien'kéha, when it was my turn, I introduced myself but not my study as I did not have enough Kanien'kéha knowledge to do so and didn't think it appropriate to speak English at that moment. Once everyone had spoken, the two classes separated, with the first-year class situating themselves in the larger room and the second-year class

moving to the adjacent classroom. I went with the second-year class as they had a “test day.” Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa utilizes the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) testing for fluency procedures, which requires students to be tested using Oral Proficiency Interviews. Students would leave the room to be tested and the rest of the class remain in the room to practice. I used this opportunity to introduce myself to the second-year students again and explain my study. A second-year student, Lindsay Sunday, volunteered to be interviewed.

I interviewed both Mittelstaedt and Sunday in the Atrium of the G.R.E.A.T. building once they had concluded their Oral Proficiency Interviews. I conducted the interviews individually. I presented them both with an Invitation to Participation letter and an Informed Consent form. They read and signed two copies of the Informed Consent Form – I provided them with a signed copy and kept one for my records. I asked if the contributors were comfortable being named or wished to remain anonymous. Mittelstaedt agreed to be named and Sunday asked if she could decide after the interview (I obliged and inquired again after the interview and she agreed to be named). I utilized an interview guide and conducted semi-structured interviews (discussed in section 3.5) which lasted approximately 45 minutes each. Interviews were recorded using a TASCAM DR-05V2 portable digital recorder.

Once class had concluded, I interviewed Brant in the smaller classroom. I followed the same procedures as stated above – Brant agreed to be named and his interview was approximately an hour in length. During my time at the school, I also spoke to Maracle informally. Maracle described the schools changing demographics. That is, when Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa first opened, Maracle reported that its students were predominately middle-aged grandmothers. Maracle made the observation that now, many of the students are younger (in their twenties) and most

do not have children. The community around Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa has also changed with Maracle reporting more usage of Kanien'kéha in the community. His perspective on the changing demographics of the school, the school's effect on its surrounding community and obstacles faced by the school were valuable to my understanding of Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and deserve to be acknowledged.

#### **4.4 Contributors**

The primary source of data for this study were semi-structured interviews conducted with Kanien'kéha teachers and adult students. Four contributors were interviewed – two teachers and two students. Two out of the four contributors, Ryan DeCaire and Mitchell Mittelstaedt, were previously known to me through an “Introduction to Kanien'kéha” course conducted at the University of Toronto. The other two contributors volunteered to participate in the study. While Indigenous identity was not a requirement of participation in this study, all of the contributors identify as Kanien'kehá:ka.

The two teachers interviewed were Rohahiyo Jordan Brant and Ryan DeCaire. Brant has been teaching Kanien'kéha for six years at the time of interview. Brant grew up in Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory. He went to English-speaking schools where he was able to study some Kanien'kéha as a second-language requirement. He attended Western University where he enrolled in Kanien'kéha classes under the instruction of David Kanatawakhon Maracle and learnt the Root-word Method. After graduation, he enrolled in Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa where he was a student for two years and then acted as a Teaching Assistant upon graduation from the program. He was subsequently hired as a full-time teacher and has continued to work there ever since.

DeCaire has been teaching Kanien'kéha for 10 years at the time of interview. DeCaire is from Wáhta Mohawk Territory. DeCaire also studied Kanien'kéha for two years at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Upon graduation he relocated to Kahnawá:ke to live with Elders who were first language speakers to further his Kanien'kéha education. DeCaire has taught various immersion, night, and university courses in Ohswé:ken, Wáhta, Tyendinaga, Kahnawá:ke and Toronto. DeCaire currently teaches Kanien'kéha at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and the University of Toronto. I first met DeCaire in 2016 when I enrolled in his "Introduction to Kanien'kéha" class at the University of Toronto.

The two students interviewed were Lindsay Sunday and Mitchell Mittelstaedt. Lindsay is a second-year student at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. She is originally from Akwesásne Mohawk Territory, but relocated to Ohswé:ken to enroll at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa in September of 2018. Prior to enrolling at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, Sunday reports having some previous knowledge of Kanien'kéha. Sunday stated that she grew up around first-language speakers (e.g., her parents, grandparents, and godparents who were her babysitters) in Akwesásne; therefore, Kanien'kéha was her first language. She reports she lost her fluency once she enrolled in an English-speaking school for kindergarten. Sunday has previously enrolled in introductory Kanien'kéha courses in Akwesásne which she reported were unsuccessful in teaching her Kanien'kéha due to their approach (i.e., learning and memorizing whole words rather than the Root-word Method). Sunday has also acted as a Kanien'kéha teacher at the Everlasting Tree School in Ohswé:ken where she taught children aged five to seven. Sunday has also taught adults in Akwesásne through the Akwesásne Economic Development Agency (AEDA).

Mitchell Mittelstaedt is a second-year student at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Mittelstaedt previously lived in Toronto but relocated to Ohswé:ken to attend Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa in September of 2018. Previously, Mittelstaedt attended drop-in Kanien'kéha classes at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto (NCCT). Mittelstaedt reports that, while the classes were initially beneficial, progress suffered due to their drop-in nature (i.e., having to repeat material for new students). Mittelstaedt also attended Kanien'kéha courses at the University of Toronto under the instruction of Professor DeCaire. Mittelstaedt studied Kanien'kéha at the University of Toronto for two years before he graduated university and enrolled at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Mittelstaedt now acts as a teaching assistant for DeCaire's Kanien'kéha classes at the University of Toronto. I first met Mittelstaedt in 2016 – he was my classmate for two years in DeCaire's Kanien'kéha courses at the University of Toronto.

#### **4.5 Semi-structured interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were utilized to collect data for this study. Open-ended questions allow contributors to reflect and elaborate upon their unique experiences. This approach was used as it is a very effective and convenient method to gather information (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Due to the collaborative nature of this study, it was integral that contributors were comfortable with sharing their experiences. A semi-structured interview allows the participants to provide responses in their own terms and is reflective of how they think and use language (Qu and Dumay, 2011). In this way, a semi-structured interview appears to be more conversational than a procedure to collect data. Most importantly, the semi-structured interview provides insight into how participants understand the questions at hand (Qu

and Dumay, 2011). Since this study seeks to improve the relationship between language documentation and Indigenous language learning, it is integral to explore the needs, thoughts and experiences of Indigenous students and teachers.

#### ***4.5.1 Interview guide***

A semi-structured interview utilizes an interview guide which allows for “prepared questioning guided by identified themes in a consistent and systematic manner interposed with probes designed to elicit more elaborate responses” (Qu and Dumay, 2009, 246). An interview guide was prepared prior to the commencement of interviews and approved by Carleton University’s Research and Ethics Board-A. The interview guide is provided in the Appendices (Appendix A).

The interview guide utilized in this study had two distinct themes: questions pertaining to Kanien’kéha students’ or teachers’ experiences learning and teaching Kanien’kéha, the materials and resources available to them, and questions pertaining to the field of language documentation and its relation to Kanien’kéha. The interview guide provided a loose script to ensure the conversation remained on topic and relevant topics were explored. Scheduled and unscheduled probes are used in semi-structured interviews to provide the researcher with the means to draw out additional information from the interviewee (Qu and Dumay, 2011). A scheduled probe (e.g., “can you tell me more about [...]”) would ask the interviewee to elaborate on a surprising answer they provided. An unscheduled probe is a spontaneous question which is relevant to the current dialogue. The following table (Table 3) is a typology of questions utilized in the interview based on Kvale’s (1996) typology of questions and Qu and Dumay’s (2009) integrated list.

Types of questions	Purpose of questions	Example questions
1. Introduction questions	To learn about the contributor's background	<p>“How long have you taught Kanien'kéha?”</p> <p>“Where have you studied Kanien'kéha?”</p>
2. Follow up questions	To learn more about what the contributor stated	<p>“Can you tell me about your experience [...]”</p> <p>“Can you elaborate on that”</p>
3. Direct questions regarding contributor experiences	To learn about experiences and elicit direct responses	<p>“What materials or resources would help you maintain your fluency upon graduation?”</p> <p>“What resources are available to you?”</p>
4. Indirect questions	To learn about perceptions and pose projective questions	<p>“Do you have advice for linguists entering the field?”</p> <p>“Do you think [...] would be beneficial?”</p>
5. Silence	To provide the contributor with time to collect and reflect on their thoughts	

6. Structuring questions	To indicate a change in theme	“Moving on to [...]”
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Table 3. Typology of questions utilized in this study

Introduction questions are used to provide participant background information and “warm-up” the participant. It can be daunting to some to be audio-recorded and speak to a stranger; therefore, these questions are utilized to break the ice and make the participant more comfortable. Once a participant’s background was established, questions pertaining to their educational and/or pedagogical background were asked. When interviewing students, I asked them about their Kanien’kéha learning experiences, materials and resources available to them, materials and resources they believe would be beneficial to their Kanien’kéha education and fluency development and maintenance, successes and failures of previous programs, and how they wish to use Kanien’kéha after they graduate from Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. When interviewing teachers, I also inquired about their Kanien’kéha learning experience, available pedagogical resources, experiences teaching, and resources and materials available to them. Next, questions pertaining to the documentation of Kanien’kéha were presented to both students and teachers. These questions explore the documentary needs and desires of Kanien’kéha speakers, experiences and perspectives of documentary linguistics, and advice and recommendations to improve the field of documentary linguistics. The experiences described by both students and teachers provided a personal window into these issues.

#### 4.6 Data analysis

After the semi-structured interviews were conducted, they were transcribed using the EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN). ELAN was developed by the Max

Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics as an annotation tool for audio and video recordings (ELAN 2019). ELAN is commonly employed in documentary linguistics as it allows users to create multiple tiers of text and associate them with specified times in audio or video recordings.

The transcription process involved listening to the audio recordings, segmenting each audio recording into speaker utterances, and transcribing what was said in the segmented sections. Utterances were identified based on pauses (e.g., silence between sections of a participant's speech, inhaling, or exhaling). Proper nouns were capitalized – capitalization does not signify an emphasis in intonation. The convention “(.)” was used to identify a pause shorter than 1.5 seconds, “...” was used to identify a pause longer than 1.5 seconds, and “–” was used to indicate an interruption or repetition. Once the audio recording was transcribed, it was exported from ELAN as “Traditional Transcript Text,” which included time codes, participant labels, and merged annotations on the same tier if the gap between them was less than 2000ms. This produced plain text files which were transferred to Microsoft Word and reformatted to improve their readability. The transcriptions were then sent to the contributors for their approval. Additionally, contributors received clarification questions to ensure Kanien'kéha spelling was correct (e.g., if a participant mentioned a Kanien'kéha name, phrase, or program). Since this study takes the unusual approach of naming its contributors, I wanted to ensure contributors were comfortable and happy with the information they provided. I offered to remove any information they deemed too personal. Every participant approved their transcript and no revisions were required.

#### ***4.6.1. Thematic coding***

Thematic analysis is used to identify, analyze, and report patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis can organize data into themes and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). A theme captures an important aspect about the data in relation to the research question and represents a “patterned response or meaning” within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 10). Thematic coding was used to identify and group emergent themes in each interview. Rather than coding with a pre-determined set of codes, I let the data be my guide and determined codes based on contributors’ observations, perspectives and thoughts.

I approached the coding with a structural framework. That is, I first divided the participants’ interviews into three super-themes: (i) existing materials and resources available to Kanien’kéha students and teachers, (ii) materials and resources which Kanien’kéha students and teachers believe would be beneficial to their education, fluency development and maintenance and, (iii) how linguistics can help Indigenous language documentation and education, as well as practices which should be adapted by linguists and documentary linguistics to foster collaborative and respectful relationships between linguists, researchers, participants, and communities. Within each of these super-themes, I identified smaller, more specific themes relating to the overarching super-theme. Initially, I identified themes based on topics which were mentioned by more than one contributor (for example, two contributors mentioned books for leisure reading; therefore, books became a theme). However, as the coding progressed, it became apparent that the contributors had very different backgrounds and experiences and therefore made unique observations which differed from other participants. For example, due to his background teaching in a university setting as well as an immersion setting, DeCaire made several comments about the

differences in material and resource requirements for Kanien'kéha language education in a university setting compared to an immersion setting. Therefore, the coding scheme was expanded to accommodate these unique observations relating to Kanien'kéha education and support. By grouping contributor responses into themes, the similarities and differences in contributor responses become apparent. These themes are analyzed in detail in the following chapter.

## Chapter 5: Results and Analysis

This chapter examines the responses, observations, comments, and suggestions of the four contributors interviewed. There are three distinct sections in this chapter: Section 5.1 provides an overview of the educational materials and resources that contributors mentioned are currently available to Kanien'kéha language learners and teachers. Section 5.2 describes the materials and resources which Kanien'kéha students and teachers believe would be beneficial to their education, fluency development and maintenance. Lastly, section 5.3 discusses how contributors thought linguistics can help Indigenous language documentation and education, as well as practices which should be adapted by linguists and documentary linguistics to foster collaborative and respectful relationships between linguists, researchers, participants and communities.

The Kanien'kéha students and teachers provided very personal, insightful and introspective answers. Therefore, their responses have been included in this section in the form of excerpts from their transcripts.<sup>3</sup> By doing this, the reader can read first-hand the thoughts, opinions and perspectives of the Kanien'kéha students and teachers who were interviewed. Their thoughts and opinions will be presented in *their voices*. Therefore, the reader is provided with genuine perspectives of Kanien'kéha students and teachers and reduces the possibility of distortion, misinterpretation, or misrepresentation that can occur when people's thoughts and opinions are summarized or presented through an academic lens. This approach does not completely eliminate the possibility of distortion, misinterpretation or misrepresentation but it may lessen the risk of possible missteps in analysis or

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<sup>3</sup> There is a small difference between the excerpts and the interview transcription – punctuation has been included in the excerpts to aid readability (whereas the punctuation used in the transcripts symbolizes long and short pauses in speech). Complete transcripts of the interviews are provided in Appendices B-E.

presentation, and leaves contributors' perspectives more open to re-reading and critical reinterpretation. This study hopes to demonstrate the importance of including and amplifying Indigenous voices and perspectives rather than re-wording, summarizing, or speaking for them.

## **5.1 Existing resources and materials**

When asked about existing Kanien'kéha educational materials and resources, both groups of contributors, the two Kanien'kéha students and two teachers, referenced multiple dictionaries created by Professor David Kanatawakhon-Maracle, Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum and textbook, children's books, radio shows, and digital tools (e.g., applications, computer programs and media-sharing platforms). This section is divided according to material and resource types and Rather than discussing the "effectiveness" of each resource, this study will describe and highlight some of the benefits and drawbacks of each resource as described by Kanien'kéha students and teachers.

### ***5.1.1 Dictionaries***

All four contributors mentioned dictionaries as an available resource. Brant listed four dictionaries written by David Kanatawakhon-Maracle: a Root-word dictionary, a thematic noun dictionary, a particle dictionary, and a dictionary containing 1000 useful verbs (Kanatawakhon-Maracle, 1992, 2002, among others). While these dictionaries provide a valuable source of lexical knowledge, due to the complex nature of polysynthetic languages, a language learner must know enough about the language (i.e., how to utilize the Root-word Method to incorporate affixes, roots, tenses, etc.) to understand and utilize the dictionaries efficiently and effectively. That is, if a reader does not know how to construct words, the Root-word dictionary

will not be a useful language learning tool for them. Once the language learner has enough knowledge to understand how to incorporate words and build sentences correctly, dictionaries are a valuable resource in their Kanien'kéha education and fluency development. To explain this, Brant describes the Root-word Method as “power tools” in the following excerpt:

If you're trying to build a house, some people are really used to turning in screws by hand. That's what they grew up with. That's how they learn.

There's a learning curve to using power tools but once you understand how to use them it makes the process a lot faster. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 05:47.485 - 06:06.075)

These dictionaries provide a valuable resource to language learners currently or previously enrolled in language education classes, courses, or programs who have been taught to utilize the Root-word Method. They are therefore a supplementary learning resource as they require some prior language knowledge and experience.

### ***5.1.2 Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum and textbook***

Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum, written by Owennatekha Brian Maracle with the assistance of various teachers who work at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, has been a valuable resource to the immersion school, Kanien'kéha language communities, and other polysynthetic language programs which are working towards revitalization and education. Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum is divided into two years. Students are given a textbook when they enroll in the program which contains all the material they will cover for the duration of their two-year program. The first half of the textbook (which is used in the first-year course) contains a lot of introductory information in the form of explanations (i.e.,

descriptions of what active and stative verbs are and explanations of different tenses such as habitual, definite and indefinite future, perfective, progressive and more; these explanations are in English), reference guides (for example, colours; numbers 1-1000; family members and kinship terms) and conjugation paradigms (for example, how subjective, objective, and transitive pronouns attach to a consonant-initial stem verb). The textbook is divided into units, which are based either on parts of speech (i.e., nouns, verbs and particles but more specifically, active verbs, stative verbs, te-verbs and t-verbs) or daily language (e.g., food, body parts, animals). A unit takes approximately two weeks to a month to teach. A unit may contain a description (in English) of the topic of the chapter (for example, stative verbs), examples, relevant conjugation instructions, paradigms and constructions (e.g., “how active verbs are conjugated”), and translation exercises (Kanien’kéha to English and English to Kanien’kéha). The textbook not only educates students using vocabulary and problem sets, but it also provides valuable reference material which students can utilize throughout the course of their Kanien’kéha education. On the topic of the first-year curriculum, Mittelstaedt stated that

there’s like a fully developed and curated first-year textbook that we follow pretty consistently throughout the entire year and that textbook is incredibly helpful. If you miss some content or you need to remind yourself about how something works, it's got explanations of morphology in it that we're learn- that you learn as you go through the year uh which is super helpful for like learning at home and practicing at home. It's got like um... I guess problem sets if you will and that- they got a bunch of questions you can translate, different examples of people having conversations with the material specific

to every unit. All that's super helpful. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 03:58.043 - 04:34.501)

The second half of the book is dedicated to the second-year program. This section has little to no English and does not provide the same level of detail as the first-year curriculum. This is done purposely to challenge the students to use their knowledge productively; that is, instead of providing the students with conjugations and paradigms, the students are responsible for their own conjugations and reference material. In the excerpt below, Brant highlights the differences between the first and second-year courses, adapting his teaching methods, and expectations of students:

Just recently, yesterday, I started a new unit on active verbs. This is the first time they're being taught active verbs ever and there's a description in first [section of the unit] saying, 'this is the habitual tense, this is the definite tense- or the punctual tense... this is this tense, this is what it does and that.' So I said, 'everyone take a few minutes um look through this and we'll get to our vocabulary' and out of eight students, I had one student that spent more than five seconds looking at it. First I'm like, 'alright let's get to the words' you know [laughs] so um there's a lot more description [in the first-year section of the textbook] and it's kinda different. The textbook is more for at home use than in the class. We got a lot of [in-class] speaking drills um more so than looking in the book... but in first year, it'll [the descriptions] help one out of ten students, maybe, to have that much extra detail in here. By second year it's expected that they have all the foundations needed and they know the stems of words they know how to conjugate it. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 28:15.021 - 29:24.866)

The curriculum at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa is constantly changing to meet the needs and interests of Kanien'kéha students and teachers. Every summer, once classes conclude, Owennatekha, the program administrator and instructor, and teachers examine and reassess the curriculum. They examine the curriculum to determine what worked and what didn't, what information or examples of language they need to add or remove. Brant discussed the process of reassessing the curriculum every summer and incorporating information and observations he has made throughout the school year.

Every summer, me and Owennatekha work here throughout the summers as well and we take the first year [curriculum] and... um you know while I'm teaching it during the school year... we're like 'mm this didn't really work' or 'we need better examples for this' or 'this description is too long let's cut this down' um 'let's take this word that they learned in unit 10... and we're going to sneak it into unit four' or something like that so we tear it apart every year and it's a different book every year. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 29:51.67 - 30:20.936)

DeCaire emphasized the uniqueness of the Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa curriculum and why the curriculum changes so frequently. DeCaire brings attention to two important points: (i), there is no overarching research body or institute investigating pedagogical practices for teaching polysynthetic languages and, therefore, (ii) the teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa have to conduct their own research:

They're not just buying a book and going from this random book. No, they're creating it and changing it every single year... and that's what we're trying to do there – is that every year... we're looking at the students basically as guinea pigs 'cause we have to be; there's no research body out there doing the work

for us on developing practices or best practices in teaching polysynthetic languages like Mohawk. There's no institute. There's no overarching body in the world doing that work. So, one, we have to teach it. Two, we have to be researchers on the best practices for teaching and then using our students as our guinea pigs to help us figure out whether we're doing well or not. (Ryan DeCaire, 19:16.676 - 19:57.376)

Additionally, DeCaire emphasized the importance of ongoing assessment, evaluation, and adaptation of materials and pedagogical methods:

We should never be complacent. We should never think that we're doing the best like we should pat ourselves on the back and say, 'yeah we're doing a good job but what can we tweak? what change?' Whether it be um what we're doing in the classroom with our- exactly our teaching method is that day or what we're- what- what lexemes we've given them for this unit. Whether we should change those or not to something else that is more relevant to their lives. These kind of things right. Um so there's always discussions, like little tiny discussions that nobody will ever hear about like, 'hey should we teach them a word for the subway?' and then we'll talk about it and say, 'no, we shouldn't teach them the word for the subway 'cause nobody's ever been on a subway before in this class and maybe never will be' right? So, 'but maybe they will' you know these kinda things. So we'll have little discussions like that (Ryan DeCaire, 20:22.006 - 21:19.541)

Both teachers and students interviewed in this study described the Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa curriculum and textbook as resources they have encountered and used towards their Kanien'kéha language education. The curriculum offers students valuable information in both English and Kanien'kéha in order to help them

understand and learn the structure of the language. The curriculum and textbook also include useful examples of daily language they can use outside of the classroom in their day-to-day lives, exercises to help them develop their fluency, and the tools to teach them how to use the language productively.

### **5.1.3 Children's books**

Another existing resource that students and teachers referred to were children's books written in Kanien'kéha. Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa has a small library which contains various books in Kanien'kéha aimed towards children or beginner Kanien'kéha students. The library contains original short stories, translated stories, and some non-fiction books. While the children's books are enjoyed by the students and recognized as a valuable and well-used resource, an issue that students and teachers were quick to point out is that all the students at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa are adults. The children's books are useful as the students begin to learn Kanien'kéha and are a valuable supplementary learning aid as they develop their reading abilities and fluency. However, the students quickly outgrow the books as they develop their fluency over the course of the two-year program. Why books are a useful language learning tool and beneficial towards the development of students' comprehension skills will be discussed later in section 5.2.2, "*Cool books*".

### **5.1.4 Digital tools**

Lastly, students and teachers referred to the use of digital tools such as Anki, Quizlet, CAN-8, radio shows and other audio-only recordings, and YouTube to assist in Kanien'kéha education. This sub-section will separate the digital tools into three categories: applications, computer programs, and media.

**Applications.** Brant referred to the application Anki as a tool for self-study used by students at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Anki is a free and open-source flashcard generator application that utilizes spaced repetition to aid in information retention. To use Anki, students must input the information they wish to study into a virtual deck of flashcards. Creating a flashcard is an easy process where the student simply writes what they want to appear on the front and back of the card. For example, if a student wanted to study subjective pronouns for a consonant-stem verb, they could provide Anki with the pronouns and a translation (e.g., *ke-* ‘I’, *se-* ‘you’, *ra-* ‘he’, *ie-* ‘she’, *ka-* ‘it’) or the pronouns attached to a verb (e.g., *kenòn:we*’s ‘I like it’, *senòn:we*’s ‘you like it’, *ranòn:we*’s ‘he likes it’, *ienòn:we*’s ‘she likes it’, *kanòn:we*’s ‘it likes it’). Alternatively, the student could create a deck of verb stems (e.g., *-nòn:we*’s ‘to like’, *-tshà:ni* ‘to be smart or industrious’, *-norónhkhwa* ‘to love’) to practice creating sentences. As the student uses Anki, the application uses an algorithm which tracks the student’s progress and prioritizes information that the student doesn’t know to aid in retention. The application can be downloaded to the student’s computer or mobile phone, allowing for portable and convenient learning. On the topic of Anki, Brant remarked on the waning popularity of applications such as Anki and Quizlet. That is, despite their widespread use and general popularity as language learning tools, applications such as Anki and Quizlet appear to be falling out of favour among Kanien’kéha students at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa:

Honestly that- I feel like it [Anki] had its day... a shift I've noticed is less and less students using that... every year we give them the option that we'll- if they pay for a subscription either [for] Anki or Quizlet we'll reimburse them for it. I might get one or two... whereas, back when I started... you- just a few

years ago... it was everyone [that] had to get on that train. So... either they're studying less or they're just using traditional writing down flashcards. So a lot of people seem to... you know... engage more with- maybe it's just a tangible thing kinda like reading a book instead of a eBook. I guess [there's] been a shift kind of away from the technological part of it. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 10:37.510 - 11:23.680)

Another application which students and teachers mentioned in passing was Quizlet. Quizlet is an application where students can study using learning tools and games. Unlike Anki, teachers, parents and students are able to create sets of terms and definitions to learn. Therefore, a teacher can create sets of terms and definitions and provide their students with a URL (instead of Anki's approach which requires the student to be responsible for their learning materials). These sets can then be studied by students using any of Quizlet's study modes. These study modes include traditional (digital) flashcards and learning games (e.g., matching games, spelling games, writing games). Students can instantly see their results and compare their results with their peers. Quizlet is free to use but has the option of a premium subscription that unlocks more learning tools. Similarly to Anki, Quizlet is an application that can be downloaded to a smartphone or viewed in a browser. Both Anki and Quizlet bring convenience and portability to language learning.

**Computer programs.** CAN-8 VirtuaLab is a program that has been created to assist in language learning by providing students and teachers with a virtual classroom. CAN-8 VirtuaLab describes the services it offers as “providing all aspects of the learning environment from delivery and creation of material, management of students, classes and lessons, and maintaining security of the student and instructor

work” (“The CAN-8 VirtuaLab”, n.d.). The program was referenced by one student who had previously worked for the Akwesásne Economic Development Agency (AEDA). AEDA provides employment and training services to residents of Akwesásne Mohawk Territory, offering payroll and administrative services to local businesses and organizations, services for employers, broad room rentals and Mohawk Language Training (“The Akwesásne Economic Development Agency”, 2019). The Kanien’kéha Language and Resource Centre is a subsidiary of AEDA which was established in 2006 to “promote the revitalization of the Kanien’kéha language through *traditional teaching and modern technological advancement*” (“Shé:kon/Welcome”, n.d.). AEDA develops Kanien’kéha courses and coursework using the CAN-8 VirtuaLab program. AEDA uses CAN-8 VirtuaLab to provide Kanien’kéha materials to language learners and has therefore become the first Aboriginal Multi-Media Language Learning Center in Ontario (“Shé:kon/Welcome”, n.d.). AEDA’s curriculum consists of stories, songs, speeches, history, culture, dialectal variations and various other topics. According to AEDA’s website, the program is being used in local schools, government offices (located in both Canada and the United States), in libraries and in the comfort of language learners’ homes. AEDA uses the Root-word Method to introduce language learners to Kanien’kéha word construction and syntax. Sunday briefly described her experience working for AEDA, CAN-8 and her perspective on the materials produced by AEDA to be used on CAN-8:

The place I used to work for, AEDA, they make really good material and they have online- or no it's not online it's like something you download onto your computer called CAN-8 and um that's full of like lessons and nouns and words. They kinda break it down- yeah no they break it down pretty good they

do the Root-word Method there as well. (Lindsay Sunday, 21:46.306 - 22:07.765)

**Media and media-sharing platforms.** Another resource mentioned by students and teachers were radio shows and audio-only recordings. Brant referenced using two radio shows for the first time this year in his teaching: Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa<sup>4</sup> and Tewawennakarátats Talk Show<sup>5</sup>. Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa is a radio show featuring two first language Kanien'kéha speakers, Joe McGregor and Leo Diabo. Tewawennakarátats Talk Show is a Kanien'kéha radio show featuring two second language learners, Karihwiióstha and Konwanénhon. Both Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa and Tewawennakarátats Talk Show air weekly on K103.7 FM, which is a community-owned and operated radio station in Kahnawá:ke Mohawk Territory located in Quebec. Additionally Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa and Tewawennakarátats Talk Show have SoundCloud pages where previous broadcasts can be streamed or downloaded. Both radio shows offer listeners an hour or more of Kanien'kéha themed audio content delivered entirely in Kanien'kéha.

In the following excerpts, Brant describes Tewawennakarátats Talk Show, how and why he uses it in his teaching, and why it is a valuable resource:

Tewawennakarátats talk show is two second-language speakers that graduated the program out in Kahnawá:ke and then started up almost like a podcast. Um and they have guests on each- it might be every week. It's fully in Kanien'kéha and they just did it just out of nowhere and they just recently

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<sup>3</sup> Diabo, J. and McGregor, G. (Hosts). (2020). *Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitióhkwa* [radio series]. Retrieved from <https://soundcloud.com/martin-akwiranoron-loft>.

<sup>5</sup> Karihwiióstha and Konwanénhon. (Hosts). (2020). *Tewawennakarátats* [radio series]. Retrieved from <https://soundcloud.com/tewawennakarats>.

imported everything to SoundCloud. So um... you know it's uh... if you want to listen to Kanien'kéha you have options now. Um with Joe and Leo, the Kahnawá:ke one, it's incredible. Like- what- they do it every week and it's for over an hour, an hour and a half. Um and they just talk about whatever. It's a very useful resource. Um they're speaking at a distinguished first-language level that- and they don't hold back at all. Um so for beginning students, that's like... not- they can't even see them; it's a radio show right. So you can't see any nuances or how they're- you know you can't see any context. Um with Tewawennakará:tats, they're at about an intermediate level speaking which is our goal by the time they [the students] get into second year here. So, you know, it's not perfect speech um there's mistakes but they're speaking at a level that my students can understand. So that's been uh something I just noticed this year actually like I need to use these guys more and it's free and it's on SoundCloud. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 44:17.131 - 45:46.446)

Brant also emphasized the importance of hearing different speakers when learning a language. That is, hearing speakers of different genders, dialects and speaking abilities help develop language learners' comprehension and production skills. Additionally, men and women speak differently in Kanien'kéha; therefore, it is beneficial for the female students to hear female speech as they learn (there is only one female teacher at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa):

Sometimes they [Tewawennakará:tats Talk Show] have other students on as guests and sometimes they have very high-level speakers on as guests. So you get different levels each time, different voices. Um one of the things that we ran into here where a- didn't even think of was- you know we're all kinda selfish language learners but when I started as a teacher, they're always

listening to me and I'm not really doing my female students any justice. 'Cause the female students are going to speak... you know they're going to need people to model their speech off of, right. Um so that's one of the big things uh for- before we hired Kaienkwinehtha [a female teacher at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa] was all guys here and uh you know she's been awesome. With uh... you know women and men speak differently and that's- we weren't uh doing any service for our female students and as you see they're predominately female students now. So uh resources like that especially with different age groups of speakers. Um... wo- with Joe and Leo they're... um older speakers... and they're uh...you know they're very funny they're also very stoic and old, right. So they're going to talk a certain way. Um and a lot of my age demographic now are people that um they're going to speak to each other way different than they're going to speak with their parents right [laughs]

(Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 46:16.786 - 47:48.246)

Additionally, the two radio show hosts vary in age and speaking style.

Tewawennakarátats Talk Show frequently features guests which allow listeners to hear Kanien'kéha being spoken by a variety of speakers with variation in age, gender and Kanien'kéha speaking ability. Brant has utilized these radio shows in his classroom to provide students with external sources of Kanien'kéha being spoken. Since men and women speak differently in Kanien'kéha, it is useful for students to hear a variety of speakers. As Brant previously stated, most of the teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa are male whereas, most of the students are female. With the addition of the female teacher (Kaienkwinehtha) and the use of audio recordings, the students are being exposed to various ways of using and speaking in Kanien'kéha.

One student mentioned that they were able to find recordings of Elders speaking in Kanien'kéha on SoundCloud. In the audio recordings, the Elders would act out scenes such as ordering at a restaurant and model the language you would use in that situation. These recordings allow listeners to hear Elders speak which can be informative and educational. Additionally, due to the ageing population of many Elders and first-language speakers, it is important to document their speech and how they use Kanien'kéha. Sunday enjoyed listening to these recordings and stated:

There's some nice recordings online I listen to on Soundcloud and its Elders and um they have a bunch of subjects listed. They'll be like at a restaurant and then you click it and there's Elders talking as if they're at a restaurant or they'll be like congratulating a graduate or they'll be like um giving someone words that just lost a loved one and they have all these awesome subjects. (Lindsay Sunday, 26:37.185 - 26:59.220)

The last digital tool mentioned was the video-sharing platform YouTube. Brant briefly mentioned using YouTube in his classroom. Similar to the aforementioned radio shows, YouTube videos provide students with the opportunity to hear different Kanien'kéha speakers. However, with the addition of video, YouTube videos provide a valuable resource to beginner Kanien'kéha language learners as they can be assisted by visual cues and nuances. Therefore, YouTube provides Kanien'kéha language learners and teachers with the opportunity to hear a variety of different Kanien'kéha speakers (belonging to different ages, genders and dialects) use their Kanien'kéha to create educational videos, musical covers (e.g., "Blackbird (Beatles Mohawk Native Language performed by Karonhyawake Jeff

Doreen”<sup>6</sup>), short documentaries, stories and interviews. YouTube provides language learners and teachers with creative and usually self-produced Kanien’kéha content.

### ***5.1.5 Existing Kanien’kéha materials and resources: conclusion***

In conclusion, there is a limited collection of materials and resources currently available to Kanien’kéha students and teachers. Students and teachers reported the following materials and resources: dictionaries, the curriculum and textbook at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, children’s books, and digital tools (e.g., applications, computer programs, media and media-sharing platforms). As Brant notes, there is no “central hub” for Kanien’kéha language resources and materials, making it difficult to locate or share resources or materials. This point was brought up multiple times by both Kanien’kéha teachers interviewed:

As far as resources available, um in every institution... that- um... for Mohawk language anyway, there's no central hub. Um I know with French you can really order books upon books. Um all the resources I've ever studied have come from Kanatawakhon-Maracle... limited resources everywhere, I guess, nothing big. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 02:24.930 - 03:07.515)

DeCaire emphasized the lack of materials and opportunities to be immersed in the language available to Kanien’kéha language learners:

For materials as a whole that’s a- there's not a lot out there, no. Uh there's very, very little uh... you know depending on how you define materials; whether it’s meant for language learning or it's just- they're to read, you know, things like literature, like a book or something like that to read more, or uh a

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<sup>6</sup> *Blackbird (Beatles Mohawk Native Language) – Karonhyawake Jeff Doreen*. (2013). [Video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e47KQr6DQYw>

movie to watch, or a website to visit. No, none of that really exists at all. Um so yeah the language resources to actually help you to be immersed in the language as much as possible- possible throughout the day, that- that's limited completely. Um and then if I was somebody who wasn't going to school at adult immersion, I just want to learn then, there's very few things that are really available to me. (Ryan DeCaire, 10:16.586 - 11:08.516)

While there are some materials available, both Kanien'kéha teachers and learners note that there are still many gaps in the resources available to aid in Kanien'kéha fluency development, maintenance, and language revitalization.

## **5.2. Desired Kanien'kéha resources and materials**

This section details the desired resources and materials of Kanien'kéha students and teachers as reported by two students and two teachers. When asked what materials or resources would be beneficial towards Kanien'kéha education and language maintenance, students and teachers recommended audio and video recordings of Elders and first-language speakers speaking, “cool books”, and materials for teaching outside of an immersion setting (e.g., a university course or teaching children in school).

### ***5.2.1 Recordings of Elders and first-language speakers***

Both Kanien'kéha students and teachers reported that they wished they had more recordings of Elders and first-language speakers speaking in Kanien'kéha. There were a number of different reasons offered for this request: i) teachers believed it would be beneficial to hear other speakers as it would provide an alternative speaker for language learners to model their speech after (as described in Section

5.1.4) and strengthen their comprehension skills, ii) students wanted more interaction with the language as they develop their fluency and there are very few first-language speakers who are available to physically visit them, and iii) students and teachers are aware of the declining Elder population and want to preserve the traditional and valuable knowledge they carry.

As discussed in Section 5.1.4, contributors indicated that it is important that language learners have the ability to hear different Kanien'kéha speakers. Once students graduate their immersion program, they will encounter Kanien'kéha being spoken by people of different ages, genders, dialects and communities. Having experience and interaction with different speakers of varying ages, genders, and dialects would be beneficial towards developing the language learners' fluency and comprehension. Currently, in order to expose students to different Kanien'kéha speakers or ways of using Kanien'kéha (in addition to using radio shows as described in Section 5.1.4), the teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa will occasionally swap classes. In the following, Brant describes why the teachers swap classes and his concerns regarding his own fluency development and progress:

I'll teach the first year for a while then we switch and I'll teach the second year and she'll [Kaienkwinehtha] be in the first year. Otherwise we're taught- or we're stuck, especially in the first year, teaching the same thing every year. Um... and our fluency level- it's here and it stays here, it never- you never get more fluent talking to people that are just learning, right. So that's uh... um you know in other schools, for anything, there's elementary teachers, high school teachers, there's upgrading that's available throughout the summer. So if I could work on my own fluency kind of in the offseason, if there was ever

an offseason here, [laughs] that would be uh awesome right. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 48:36.631 - 49:19.411).

Both students interviewed, responded with “more recordings of Elders” when asked what materials or resources they believe would be beneficial towards their Kanien’kéha education and fluency development. The students wanted more interaction with the language – they are aware that Elders and first-language speakers construct their Kanien’kéha differently and the students are eager to learn exactly *how* they use language differently. Additionally, both students interviewed for this study are in second year (which is the final year) of their immersion program. They both believed that this was an optimal time to interact with recordings and learn from Elders. Furthermore, Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa is located in Ohswé:ken, Six Nations, a community which has recently lost its last Kanien’kéha first-language speaker. Therefore, if a first-language speaker was to visit Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa and speak to students, it would mean many hours of travelling which isn’t feasible for many first-language speakers or Elders. Mittelstaedt expressed a desire to interact with audio recordings of first-language speakers since there are no longer any first-language speakers in Ohswé:ken. He described why he believed access to recordings of first-language speakers would be beneficial to his Kanien’kéha education:

I wish that there was more interaction with audio recordings of first-language, native fluent speakers of Mohawk. Um because that's perhaps the one thing that's most lacking from the program is interaction with uh the actual way that first-language speakers speak... and the way that they choose to construct their sentences um and how they say di- say words differently than how a second language speaker might. Um so if- and it's difficult with this program,

there's no real first language speakers around this community anymore, so if anyone were to come in physically to the program they would be at least a six-hour drive away. So that aspect isn't really feasible but like an audio recording would be something we could interact with. If it was like an audio recording of some people talking and we had transcriptions that we could like read and follow along with the Kanien'kéha. Um... things like that, just to interact with- interact more with like the highest levels of fluency possible to try to model um our language off of- of that level of proficiency. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 05:36.338 - 06:45.104)

Similarly, Sunday expressed a desire to hear (specifically) Elders speak. Sunday also believed that hearing how Elders speak and construct their sentences would be beneficial to her education.

I wish we could listen to Elders like, right now. This is a perfect opportunity in second year. We have enough to converse. This would be the perfect time to start listening to lots of tapes and recordings and getting assignments like that and- and trying to figure what they're saying. Like, oh why would they say that? What do they mean by that, you know? Question things more cause right now all we really do is study in class we don't really get to go outside of that. (Lindsay Sunday, 08:09.255 - 08:34.779)

**Recordings in different Kanien'kéha dialects.** Both students also requested more interaction with other dialects of Kanien'kéha. Since there are relatively few fluent speakers of Kanien'kéha, it is a valuable skill to be able to understand and communicate in different dialects. While the dialects are mutually intelligible, there are some unique phrases or interpretations which vary from community to

community. For example, Mittelstaedt referenced *e'thohtsi* – a unique way of saying “should” which is unique to Ohswé:ken. Sunday, a student from Akwesásne, commented on the difficulties of learning Kanien'kéha in Ohswé:ken and speaking Kanien'kéha in her community of Akwesásne. Sunday told an anecdotal story of a misunderstanding between her grandmother and her; her grandmother informed her that she was going bowling with friends and Sunday responded with *saton'wéhson* which in Ohswé:ken means ‘have fun’. Confused, her grandmother responded with *iah thakhnekiren!* ‘I’m not going to drink!’, as *saton'wéhson* in Akwesásne means ‘go get drunk’. This misunderstanding highlights just one of the many differences between the two dialects. While the dialects are mutually intelligible, they are still unique and full of nuances. On the topic of dialects, Mittelstaedt emphasized the importance of familiarity with various Kanien'kéha dialects. Mittelstaedt believes that since there are relatively few Kanien'kéha speakers, it is important to be able to communicate with as many as possible:

I think that [recordings in different dialects] would be useful towards our education because the dialect that we're- that we are learning here and that we speak here um is- is in many ways different from the other dialects. Some of the other dialects are perhaps more close to each other than this one is. Um... and no matter what, as a Mohawk speaker, you need to be able to understand every dialect of Mohawk. Because um... we have so few speakers that you are on a regular basis, if you are interacting with different speakers on a regular basis, you're going to encounter every single dialect... that's currently in use.  
(Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 07:04.428 - 07:40.691)

Sunday also believes it is important to learn and be aware of various Kanien'kéha dialects. However, her reasoning is due to the fact that she comes from Akwesásne

which uses a different dialect than Ohswé:ken and the challenges she has encountered.

I wish they [Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa] would be a little more lenient in looking at like different dialects. Cause I have a- like an Akwesásne dialect. I say my words differently. Some words I say don't really mean what they think it means here and what I think it means or what it means back home. (Lindsay Sunday, 07:20.083 - 07:33.803)

Sunday has unfortunately experienced some negativity in her home community of Akwesásne due to her studying Kanien'kéha in Ohswé:ken:

When I go home they're like 'oh you learned in Six Nations you talk Six Nations' and then here they're like 'oh you talk Akwesásne.' So dumb!  
(Lindsay Sunday, 44:23.466 - 44:30.767)

Sunday described some of the challenges and misinterpretations she has encountered due to dialectal differences in Akwesásne compared to Ohswé:ken:

'Cause here [Six Nations] it's all *tsie* they'll be like '*ioianerátie*' and in Akwesásne it's all *kie* they'll be like '*ioianerákíe ken?*' It's all *tsie kie kie...* and our words are just different like um... a lot of words that I'm learning here they don't say at all in Akwesásne or they don't- or they don't really mean anything. Like here they say '*eh thotshi*' a lot and it's like, 'it should' something should like '*eh thotshi tahsatotáhrho*' 'you should clean' and then in Akwesásne I was saying that and my tota [grandmother] was like, 'what are you saying?' I was like 'doesn't that mean like you should?' and she's like '*iah othénnen tekén:ton*' she's like 'that doesn't mean nothing.' (Lindsay Sunday, 44:31.972 - 45:12.024)

As a result, Sunday has learned how to change her Kanien'kéha to fit the community she is in. However, she will still occasionally use the incorrect dialect.

I'm like ok [laughs] can't win [laughs] I learned real fast though how to change my dialect. Like here [Six Nations] I use all my *tsie* and that's like the first thing that'll come out if I'm like mad or something but when I'm there [Akwesásne] I have to force myself to use *kie*. (Lindsay Sunday, 46:04.724 - 46:18.856)

Additionally, DeCaire pointed out that there are very few resources available in other dialects of Kanien'kéha. In the following quotation, DeCaire is commenting on the lack of resources available to communities outside of Ohswé:ken. On top of the lack of resources some communities face, many communities and language programs choose to use alternative methods of language acquisition (e.g., relying purely on memorization instead of using the Root-word Method). Therefore, even though the dialects are mutually intelligible, if a language learner is unfamiliar with the Root-word Method, they will be unable to use a dictionary that utilizes the Root-word dictionary (as described in Section 5.1.1). DeCaire brings attention to the necessity of these resources in various dialects of Kanien'kéha:

Can I go find a dictionary that's organized by um... by roots? Yes we have that. Only for one dialect. So you got out to a community like Kahnawá:ke and Akwesásne, they do not have the uh- uh dictionaries that are- or at all one. Let alone dictionaries that are organized by root-word and that's key for languages like ours so they can have access to these words. (Ryan DeCaire, 08:03.211 - 08:38.831)

**Conclusion.** Contributors believe that access to recordings would allow language learners to be exposed to the Kanien’kéha of first-language speakers, Elders, different dialects, and speakers of different ages and genders. This would allow for more interaction with the language without having to ask people to be present at the school. Exposing students to different speakers improves their fluency and comprehension. Both students interviewed are requesting recordings, interaction with the language; they want to hear Elders speak and listen to their speech and knowledge.

### 5.2.2 “Cool books”

When asked what resources or materials would be most beneficial towards Kanien’kéha education and fluency development, Brant was quick to respond with “cool books”. By “cool books” he meant literature created for leisure reading – genres such as science fiction or romance, for example. Both Brant and Mittelstaedt pointed out that there isn’t a single novel written in Kanien’kéha available to language learners (Mittelstaedt specified that he hadn’t encountered any books that were longer than 20 pages):

The only books that exist are children's books. There's no- there is no novels that exist. There's nothing more than maybe... um as far as I know... um original work- probably no existing original work longer than twenty pages written in Kanien’kéha. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 09:13.825 - 09:30.207)

As discussed in section 5.1.3, students have access to books written for children. As Mittelstaedt pointed out in section 5.1.3, while the children’s books are initially helpful, the adult students quickly outgrow the books. Mittelstaedt describes the lack of novels and leisure reading:

In Kanien'kéha none of that [entertainment] exists. There's no movies or anything like that. Some people produce some content but... um... mostly-most Kanien'kéha content that is produced in the language um... a lot of its just informative things; like how to use like different medicines and stuff like that and that's all really cool... um and then there's just like talk shows.

There's a couple talk shows and stuff like that where it's just um first language speakers talking and stuff and all that's really useful but it would be really great to just be able to like sit down and... um yeah like read a book in Kanien'kéha. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 09:43.898 - 10:17.884)

Brant referenced a conference hosted by the ACTFL which Owennatekha had attended. At the conference, there was a discussion regarding increasing competency in a target language (i.e., the language understudy) for advanced-low and intermediate-high speakers of German or Spanish. The best practice advanced-low and intermediate-high language learners can do to boost their competency in their target language is to read independently. This is unfortunately not a reality in Kanien'kéha due to the lack of adult books. Additionally, as Mittelstaedt points out that there are some children being raised in Kanien'kéha by second-language speaking parents who require such resources if they are going to continue to progress and develop their Kanien'kéha fluency:

Even if it [a book or novel] was just like a translated work of something very popular. 'cause there are children that are growing up learning Kanien'kéha (.) um as their first language (.) and what (.) uh tends to happen if their parents are second-language speakers is that by the time they reach their early adolescence they actually start losing more language than they are gaining... They quickly surpass their parent's speaking abilities and at that point, they

have no one nothing and no one to continue to push them so they stagnate and end up deteriorating 'cause they obviously interact with English constantly.

But ther- there gets to a point kind of where there's- there's nothing to keep them going along. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 11:05.670 - 11:48.816)

Some Kanien'kehà:ka held the belief that the language should not be written down as Kanien'kéha is traditionally an oral language. This hesitancy was described by

Sunday:

...A lot of people are against it [the Root-word Method] they're 'oh you you guys shouldn't be reading and writing that's the white man's way' ... they're like- that's like going to ruin the language... (Lindsay Sunday, 25:12.742 - 25:23.004)

Contributors commented that this belief is not as common anymore as many speakers and advocates are aware of the threat of language death and want to preserve and teach the language. Brant elaborated on this point while emphasizing the need for written materials such as books:

There used to really be a belief that we wouldn't write the language or you know it was before my time, that they really thought that. And if a language is going to survive we're really going to have to get the writing system down pat um and... if we're here, as far as resources go we have kids books um... and we don't have cool books um but if you look at a language like Spanish or German, French how many novels and how- you know um... how many big resources they have. So people have options and they can read what they enjoy instead of Cat and the Hat stuff you know [laughs] (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 13:46.935 - 14:35.730)

Therefore, despite attitudes towards orality and literacy sometimes disfavouring written use of Kanien'kéha, the Kanien'kéha students and teachers interviewed in this study want written materials such as “cool books” (i.e., leisure reading) in order to boost competency in the language. Reading independently fosters language learning and, with the currently limited selection of available books in Kanien'kéha, advanced-low and intermediate-high speakers do not have the resources to continue to develop their comprehension skills. Novels and books which language learners could read in their free time would not only help boost their language competency but also bring Kanien'kéha into more of their everyday lives.

### ***5.2.3 Materials and resources for teaching Kanien'kéha outside of an immersion school environment***

While immersion schools are an excellent environment to learn Kanien'kéha, there are a variety of other environments where Kanien'kéha is taught – for example, university classes, night classes, and drop-in programs. DeCaire brought attention to the different needs and goals of different language programs and contexts of instruction. As DeCaire noted, different language learning environments require different pedagogical approaches. A university course, for example, may be affected by unique time constraints (e.g., the course may only meet once a week, the course may only be offered for one semester, the course may only be offered every other year or the university may only be able to offer an introductory course with no intermediate or advanced levels available for progression) compared to other contexts of instruction. When comparing the amount of hours available for language study in a university setting versus an immersion school setting (i.e., an environment where students might only meet for a few hours every week versus an environment where

students are studying and practicing the language every day of the week), it is clear that the different approaches and environments will require different pedagogies, resources and materials. DeCaire teaches introductory and intermediate Kanien'kéha at the University of Toronto. The introductory class and intermediate class hold lectures once a week for three hours. Both courses are year-long courses meaning they run from September to April. In the two excerpts below, DeCaire discussed the program within Indigenous Studies at the University of Toronto and why he believes that learning an Indigenous language is beneficial towards a student's understanding of Indigenous communities, resilience and culture while providing them with skills that may assist in their future career:

At the University of Toronto, Mohawk exists within Indigenous studies and they're of the opinion that if you're going to get a degree in indigenous studies you are likely going to work in Indigenous communities. Maybe you're going to be a good neighbour by working in policy around Indigenous issues. Maybe you're- maybe you're going to work in linguistics. Depending on what you're going to do it seems to be relevant and important for you to at least have an understanding of one specific local Indigenous language to know uh to really understand why language is important to a community, a community's well-being and their resilience and also to look at language as a- a lens into culture and why that might be important to culture as well. So giving the students this exposure to the language will make them better practitioners in whatever they end up being whether it be a nurse or a lawyer or a linguist. (Ryan DeCaire, 21:49.546 - 22:51.766)

Additionally, DeCaire discussed the goals of his Kanien'kéha classes at the University of Toronto. That is, not to create speakers necessarily but to provide

students with the opportunity to explore topics such as language loss, language revitalization, and the local speech communities. Additionally, DeCaire also believes Indigenous language courses (at the University of Toronto) offer students an opportunity to examine their own ego, humility and grow as a student and person:

You have to think about, okay, is the goal to create speakers at the university? And really, no and the reason why the goal isn't that way too is 'cause we just can't give them enough time. Um and especially when we are limited in human resources and our language is declining. That- really from a Mohawk perspective we want to put all our time into community to learn the language so it only makes sense that we're going to basically give students at the university kinda real- real tip of the iceberg when it comes to language learning and then to also give them opportunity to think about things like uh language loss and language revitalization... um and culture and uh understanding of you know local speech communities in the area. So that's all kinda embedded in the curriculum. So it's not always about proficiency uh and becoming a speaker however, the other thing that we talk about in Indigenous studies is the reason why our language classes are important is that they're almost like um... uh... a step in one student's learning... where you are encouraged to reconsi- or encouraged to think about your own ego and humility, right. So in Indigenous studies, when you come into that Mohawk class, you're basically made to feel like you don't know anything, right. Because you're put on the spot. You're- basically you don't know anything. You have to admit that in front of this whole group of students and academia especially at U of T is not designed around showing people you don't know anything it's about proving that you know things even if you don't, right. So

just that exercise in those classes is ho- hope- you know there's the hope that you kinda work on developing a student's person as well (Ryan DeCaire, 22:53.611 - 24:45.906)

The university setting may not create fluent Kanien'kéha speakers. Instead, DeCaire hopes to create “good neighbours” – a term he uses to describe allies and advocates for Kanien'kéha language rights, revitalization and Indigenous rights; settlers and/or settler-immigrants who wish to respect Indigenous peoples, histories, and cultures. DeCaire is currently working on his own textbook which he plans to utilize in his Kanien'kéha courses at the University of Toronto. While every Kanien'kéha class will vary due to the background and goals of the instructor, environment, support of the community or institution, and size and demographic of the students, DeCaire's university textbook may be able to be used as a reference guide for new teachers and programs. Another important point made by DeCaire was that proficiency isn't always the goal of the course, program or class:

Language revitalization isn't really only about individuals becoming proficient. At the end of the day, it's about- it's about community revitalization. (Ryan DeCaire, 26:52.811 - 27:06.001).

#### ***5.2.4 Support beyond graduation: next steps***

“Now what?” is a question many students have asked themselves upon graduating or leaving their program, school or post-secondary institution. Students at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa are no different: once they complete their two-year program they are often faced with the next step of their language education – using Kanien'kéha outside of the immersion school environment. This section discusses some of the challenges students report facing upon graduating their program.

In his interview, Brant discussed some of the challenges students face upon graduation: finding materials and resources in Kanien'kéha that are not academic or pedagogical, finding a job where you can use and share your knowledge of Kanien'kéha and learning life skills which require the use of Kanine'kéha. Brant stated that when resources are created, many of them are targeted to be teaching tools. While this is good for some, Brant emphasizes that not everyone wants to be a teacher:

um when resources are created um... it's kind of uh... a lot of them are targeted to be teaching tools instead of leisure tools... It's just like everyone that learns the language suddenly there's an expectancy to- you're expected to become a teacher of the language now. You know everyone that gets kind of filtered or pushed through here the program, they do two years... um what kind of career can you make with your skills right? Uh some of them do pursue linguistics. Majority of them are hired on as teachers somewhere. 'Cause it's uh... it's- it's a useful skill. Especially in an immersion school you know but not everyone wants to be a teacher. [laughs] So that and all the resources created are kind of- that are coming in are really directed as teaching tools... you know or... lessons instead of about monsters or something [laughs] (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 14:45.125 - 15:41.920)

In relation to section 5.2.2, Brant speaks to the importance of leisure reading and how it is important in the continued development of a student's comprehension or competency in a language. Having access to resources and materials which aren't created as teaching tools or academic brings Kanien'kéha into the everyday lives of many graduated students who do not wish to be teachers:

Once they're done here for two years... they're like 'what now?' And all the second years are in that same boat right now. 'Where- where do I go to get from here to here?' You know I spent all- they spend 2000 hours in class, 1000 first year 1000 second year, to get up to this level and there's really nothing else that's going to take them higher. So... um yeah resources that are fun and people want to read. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 15:55.200 - 16:23.580)

On the topic of graduation, Brant spoke about a program in Akwesásne which runs similarly to a master-apprenticeship program. *Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton* ("make it new again") is a program hosted by the Saint Regis Mohawk Tribe's Akwesásne Cultural Restoration Program which provides language learners with the opportunity to learn from an Elder. *Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton* is a four-year-long cultural apprenticeship program which explores four areas of traditional knowledge: fishing and river use, horticulture and traditional foods, medicine plants and healing, and hunting and trapping ("Kanien'kéha Owenna'shón:ah Signage Project", 2017). According to the Akwesásne Cultural Center, from 2013–2017 the staff at the Akwesásne Cultural Restoration Program was comprised of five masters, four language specialists, 13 apprentices and four administrators ("Kanien'kéha Owenna'shón:ah Signage Project", 2017). Programs like *Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton* are incredibly important as they provide opportunities for language learners to learn skills and gain valuable, traditional cultural knowledge.

### ***5.2.5 Desired Kanien'kéha educational materials and resources: conclusion***

In conclusion, Kanien'kéha students and teachers believe the resources and materials which would be most beneficial towards their language education, Kanien'kéha revitalization and maintenance include, recordings of Elders and first-

language Kanien'kéha speakers, "cool books", materials and resources for teaching Kanien'kéha outside of an immersion school setting, and support beyond graduation.

Recordings of Elders and first-language speakers would allow for more interaction with the language and afford students the opportunity to hear fluent high-level speakers. Additionally, recordings provide students with the opportunity to hear a variety of different speakers belonging to different communities, dialects, ages and genders. Lastly, the students would be able to hear Kanien'kéha speakers who may not normally be able to travel to or visit Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa in Ohswé:ken, Six Nations.

"Cool books" (i.e., recreational reading) would provide students with the opportunity to read independently and therefore, help develop their comprehension and competency. Currently, the only books which are available in Kanien'kéha are children's books. While these books are initially beneficial, the students quickly outgrow them. "Cool books" would not only help students develop their language skills but the books could also provide valuable interaction with the language beyond graduation.

There are many Kanien'kéha classes and programs (i.e., university courses, night classes, drop-in programs) which operate outside of the immersion school setting. These classes and programs have different limitations and restrictions. For example, a university course may only meet once a week for a few hours or a drop-in class may have to regularly review material each time someone joins the class. Contributors stress that these environments will not be able to create fluent speakers; however, they may be able to provide students with some introductory Kanien'kéha, information concerning culture, revitalization and maintenance, and create "good

neighbours”. Since proficiency is not necessarily the goal, these programs will require different materials and resources compared to an immersion school environment.

Upon graduating from programs such as Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, students are faced with the next challenge of their language education: using Kanien’kéha in everyday life and exploring and securing careers which are available to Kanien’kéha speakers. How do you use Kanien’kéha in your everyday life? What careers or job opportunities are available to Kanien’kéha speakers? Currently, many students become Kanien’kéha teachers in other communities. However, as noted above, not everyone wants to become a teacher. Apprenticeship programs such as Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton provide the opportunity for continued and specialized Kanien’kéha education. Unfortunately, such programs are few and far between due to lack of funding, resources, and an ageing first-language speaker population.

### **5.3 How can linguists help? What can the field of documentary linguistics do to help Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance?**

When Kanien’kéha students and teachers were asked what linguists and language documentation could do to help with Indigenous language education, revitalization, and maintenance, a variety of insightful and introspective answers were provided. Some requests were specific to the field of language documentation. These requests included documenting motherese, idiomatic expressions, and every day interactional language; improving accessibility to (new and existing) documentary data; learn the language you are working with or spend time in a language program; and maintain communication with participants and communities. Other requests were more general and geared towards all linguists in the field of Indigenous language revitalization. These requests included spending time in an Indigenous language class

or program, be advocates and allies, and be respectful. The following sections discuss these requests in more detail.

### *5.3.1 Specific requests for documentation and documentary linguistics*

**Motherese.** Otherwise known as infant-directed speech or baby-talk, motherese refers to the unique way in which parents and caregivers speak to babies and young children. In many languages, motherese consists of intonational features (e.g., speaking in a higher pitch), patterned modifications of normal language (e.g., using third person constructions instead of first or second person) and the usage of a special set of lexical items (Ferguson, 1964). Both students interviewed expressed interest in motherese. Mittelstaedt was curious if anyone had previously documented motherese in Kanien'kéha. Both Mittelstaedt and Sunday believed that knowledge of motherese is integral in supporting intergenerational transmission and raising a new generation of first-language Kanien'kéha speaking children. While there are some studies examining child language acquisition in Kanien'kéha (Mithun, 1989), such research predominately focuses on the rate of morpheme acquisition and incorporation that children of varying ages exhibit. While this research is valuable and informative, it is not the information the students are after. According to Sunday, there are some unique Kanien'kéha phrases parents use with children.

I think it's really interesting to see how people um talk to their kids. Like there's so much phrases they say to little kids like um... I don't know. Like about loving them and about this or that. Or just phrases like there's stuff they say that we don't say in English (Lindsay Sunday, 36:35.277 - 36:58.357).

Mittelstaedt also wanted the opportunity to listen to motherese in Kanien'kéha. In the excerpt below, Mittelstaedt discusses his wish to see if there is documentation on motherese, why motherese was lost and why it is important.

One thing that I would [like to see documented] ... It would be amazing if there's documentation on it- would be baby speak. Baby speak is something that we have um lost almost completely in Kanien'kéha. Um because the intergenerational transfer of language almost stopped completely in Kanien'kéha. Um so there's like I think maybe... uh maybe two-dozen families total that speak Kanien'kéha as the primary language in the home and the kids-... I can't say for sure that that intergenerational transmission wasn't interrupted at some point. So I can only imagine there are very few living people that have maintained the ability and the uh the knowledge of how to speak baby talk to children and babies in Kanien'kéha to begin with. Yeah... that would be super useful. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 26:36.580 - 27:46.955)

If there is existing documentary data on motherese, contributors request it be made accessible or given back to the community of origin. If there is no existing data, then efforts should be made to document motherese and provide data to curious Kanien'kéha language learners. Due to the personal and intimate nature of motherese, this may be best documented by a community member or organization belonging to the community.

**Idiomatic expression.** An idiomatic expression, or idiom, is an expression where the meaning cannot be inferred from the meanings of the words which comprise it. Idioms can carry arbitrary meanings which can cause confusion to the second-language speaker and will have to be explained to be understood. Idioms are

unique to their users as idiomatic expressions can carry the history, heritage, culture, customs and beliefs of its users (Rizq, 2015). Therefore, learning idioms are valuable to a language learner's proficiency and also understanding of the history, heritage, culture, customs and beliefs of the people who speak the language. Both students interviewed were interested in learning idioms and had only previously encountered them when speaking to Elders or other proficient Kanien'kéha speakers. In the following excerpts, Mittelstaedt touches on the importance of learning idioms and his efforts to learn and document any he encounters:

I think all of that stuff [idioms and colloquialisms] should be documented I think that stuff is like really, really, really cool. I think it's like a very important aspect of any living language to have idioms and colloquialisms that frankly make no sense but do at the same time. Um... so every time that I learn one, I always write it down... I've never encountered one like in writing or in like data or anything like that but it's just been from like me straight up asking people if they know any idioms because I just wanna always remember that stuff. Like for example, like saying that a house is cold means that it's been deserted. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 18:23.172 - 18:58.916)

Mittelstaedt provided a couple more idioms he had encountered (these can be found in the transcript of his interview attached as Appendix B. Sunday also provided an interesting idiom (*ken'tsiá:ti*, translated to "you're in here" meaning "I have a secret about you" when the speaker points to their pocket) when she was describing how intimidating it can be speaking to Elders due to their use of idioms.

When Brant was asked if there were any speech formulas, idioms or colloquialisms he would like to see documented, he referenced the Sweetgrass Language Conference "From Cradle to Grave". The language conference is hosted by

Sweetgrass First Nations Language Council which is comprised of Haudenosaunee, Anishinaabe, Mushkegowuk peoples working towards language revitalization. Brant had previously attended a conference and remarked that he observed a separate room where first-language speakers gathered to discuss metaphors and idioms and these conversations were transcribed. Brant stated that he does not teach idioms at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa as he does not have knowledge in that area. He said, while you can become a speaker without knowing idioms, they add to a student's cultural understanding and world view. Therefore, while not integral to developing a student's fluency, idioms provide a rich source of cultural information that enrich a language learner's understanding of the language and its people.

**Improve accessibility.** Kanien'kéha has been documented for hundreds of years by missionaries, settlers, and academics. Historically, participants and communities were solely viewed as sources for data and analysis, and communities were rarely provided with a copy of the documentary data they helped to create (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009). This practice has caused a lot of mistrust and suspicion towards linguists. While relationships may have been damaged, one suggestion or action towards repairing the relationship proposed by the contributors is returning, and making more accessible, the data which linguists once collected. This of course comes with numerous challenges – locating and distributing the data, for example:

I think part of the battle for a community might be even finding out where that data is; Who came and collected it 60 years ago that never came back? And where did they take it and where is it now? I think would probably be the biggest challenge. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 23:25.723 - 23:38.855)

Additionally, historically ceremonial speech such as Longhouse speeches were documented and transcribed. These materials contain sacred knowledge and information which Mittelstaedt remarked should not be in the hands of an individual outside of the community. These documents, transcripts and recordings of Longhouse speeches should be returned to Indigenous communities:

Those speeches [Longhouse speeches] are really special too and um a lot of people have passed away that know- know them very well. So if those have been documented that would be one thing that I think that our communities would need to get control of, urgently. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 25:31.314 - 25:45.424)

While it may be difficult to locate the materials and make them accessible to the community from which they originate from, it would help to repair relationships, apologize, and create new mutually beneficial relationships. In the following, Mittelstaedt speaks to the importance of documenting language and expresses an interest in retrieving existing data:

If the language is like extremely close to dying and maybe preventing it dying isn't exactly possible at the moment, for whatever reasons, then like documenting it to begin with is very important. I think that as, you know, as Elder speakers age and are passing on, documenting it from them is important if it's possible. Like we've um lost a lot of the local dialect here with the speakers that have passed away and the only parts that remain now are what um has either been documented, and I don't know if much has been um of those speakers, and then what people that they taught remember... I think being able to like retrieve that existing documentation and actually be able to like understand what's going on with how it's been documented because of

course the way that for example, people have- have written their documentation and actually done it, has of course changed over the years... and I would- I would imagine it would require training to understand what's going on in a lot of it. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 22:06.159 - 23:09.576)

**Learn the language.** Another suggestion made by Brant, DeCaire, and Sunday was for those documenting the language to learn the language. They each thought that a knowledge or understanding of the language would allow the researcher to understand the community and culture better. Furthermore, it would allow the researcher to ask questions which would normally not be asked by an outsider or someone with no knowledge of the language. While they acknowledge that learning Kanien'kéha or any Indigenous or polysynthetic language is no easy task, they considered it is an essential one if the researcher wants to document or help a language survive. On the topic of urging linguists to learn an Indigenous language, DeCaire commented on the insight that knowledge of a language may provide.

I think that [learning the language under study] should be encouraged anyways if you're doing documentary linguistics because yeah I guess from an outsider's perspective you could- you're maybe less- some linguists would say it's good not to know the language so that you can remain objective... you know there's many things you know about the language by being a speaker that you would never know as a linguist and that usually has to do more with these actual- what- how you actually use it on an everyday basis. How you move, how you uh ask for permission. All these kinda cultural things that you can't really learn unless you're actually speaking among them every day.

(Ryan DeCaire, 47:17.581 - 47:56.131)

DeCaire emphasized the importance of learning the language that you are documenting. He recognizes that learning an Indigenous language is no easy task however, it is necessary if the researcher wishes to document how language is used in everyday settings:

Yeah, learn the language. Um that would be number one and that's an easy thing to say and very hard to do because most- one, you need, in order to learn the language, you almost need to become part of this community and in order to do that it takes years and years of doing that. Um because that's... in order to really document how language is used in everyday settings you need to be in- people need to be comfortable with using the language right. Um and if you're just going in there and asking them to tell a story or asking them, I don't know... uh verb conjugations or whatever it might be and whatever elicitation, they're not necessarily gonna- going to speak to you as they would to their partner or to their children whatever. So in order to really get auth- quote unquote authentic language, I think it makes it easier to actually be part of the speaking community. Um... and- and being an out- a quote unquote outside linguist trying to document the language and if you're unable to do that um and you still want to be involved with that then you need to partner up somebody who's part of the community so that you can um work with them to develop what's nec- what's needed for the community. (Ryan DeCaire, 59:23.861 - 60:48.796)

Sunday also urged documentary linguists to learn the language that they are documenting. Sunday highlights the character of the people she has encountered in the language communities she belongs to:

[learn the language] like at least a bit of it so that you understand the depth of it and how it works. Cause it's all like good people like in the language community. It's all like good, genuine people who just kinda want to make a difference. (Lindsay Sunday, 34:13.107 - 34:33.134)

While it is no easy task to learn Kanien'kéha, an Indigenous language or any polysynthetic language (from an English-speaking perspective), it will prove to be a valuable skill if a linguist wants to create a longstanding, mutually beneficial relationship with a community. Furthermore, it will allow the linguist to make observations and connections which would regularly go unnoticed by someone who doesn't speak the language.

**Maintain communication.** Mittelstaedt brought attention to the fact that historically, many linguists have not maintained communication with the participants or communities where they have collected data or documented language. Mittelstaedt stated that he had been warned against working with certain linguists. Mittelstaedt asks linguists to not forget the people they are getting the data from and maintain communication. He made the following comment:

yeah maintain communication with the people your working with, I think would be a big one. Like jus- jus- just continue to be a part of whatever you get yourself into, would be my advice to beginner linguists because I have been told by members of various communities to avoid certain linguists because they showed up and said “hey I want to do this stuff” and blah blah blah and then they just left and never came back (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 29:36.855 - 29:59.497).

Maintaining communication is part of a larger discussion regarding respect and seeing people for more than data which will be discussed later in section 5.3.3.

**Document how people *actually* speak.** Kanien'kéha students and teachers interviewed in this study described the importance of documenting Elders and first-language speakers due to an ageing population and decline in first-language speakers. Historically, a lot of linguistic documentary data consists of monolingual narratives. This type of documentation provides long recordings of speech that can be used for linguistic analysis and description. While monolingual narratives may be useful for analytical and descriptive reasons, they do not provide information on how the language is spoken between multiple speakers. DeCaire took this line of thought a step further and suggested that what really needed to be documented was everyday language. How do multiple speakers converse? How do they take turns? How do they convey their emotions? Moving beyond the monolingual narrative would not only document real language in action but it could also provide valuable educational information for second-language learners and teachers. DeCaire describes problems with language documentation practices and attitudes. DeCaire urges linguists to reconsider the data they are collecting (e.g., monologue narratives) and how they are using it (e.g., utilizing data to aid in revitalization rather than archival or description purposes):

Most language documentation for any language is really, any of these Indigenous languages are really, monologue narratives or maybe they're word lists or like verb paradigms... uh lexicon development and really it's all- used not to- not to have a monologue narrative. Really their purpose is to have something where you could describe the grammatical or the phonological

features, right. That's really what language documentation has been about. Um and that's one thing that I'll say is that language documentation... linguists all give themselves a pat on the back saying they're doing language documentation saying they're doing language revitalization and I'll be like 'what do you mean? how- how is- how is that contributing to language revitalization?' and they'll be like- say things like 'oh it's for the data, we have the data for later' like what?! (Ryan DeCaire, 36:32.121 - 37:28.021)

DeCaire urged linguists to think about ways in which their data could be used by members of the language community. Additionally, DeCaire requested a shift in the field of language documentation to documenting everyday language rather than gathering data for description and analysis:

Have you even thought about how that would be used at- in the classroom? Or how it'll be used to- or how it will be uh disseminated to the community? So it's actually of use. And they'll go, 'no that's not our responsibility as linguists; our, you know, right, our responsibility as theoretical linguists is beyond that it's to understand our cognitive process- processes and... uh understanding how the mind might be universal and how it produces language' or etcetera etcetera etcetera... Language documentation should be different from that where it should be really focused on things like you're talking about- uh actual- how is language actually used? We don't want to be prescriptivists we want to know how it actually is used every day (Ryan DeCaire, 37:33.016 - 38:55.051)

Additionally, DeCaire pointed out some flaws with the traditional documentary practice of recording monolingual narratives. DeCaire provides some examples of interactional, everyday language that he would like to see documented. Some

examples include conveying emotions, asking people for assistance or to do something, puns and motherese. Non-linguistic information (such as behavioural observations) would also be beneficial (e.g., how people are sitting and taking turns). DeCaire believes that this information would be beneficial to immersion school graduates as it would provide them with examples of how to use Kanien'kéha in everyday life:

You might have somebody who documented a speaker telling a story. Well, that's just- that's one register, them telling a story and that's also one person who's comfortable with telling a story. Not everybody who speaks the language wants to tell stories or is a good orator these kinda things. So when we're talking about language uh things like language functions, we don't- that's not documented at all. So what I mean by that is speakers uh... I don't know uh asking somebody for information or disagreeing with them or um describing people or maybe expressing their feelings or maybe complaining uh giving their opinion on something uh giving- commanding somebody to do something, requesting somebody to do something, giving somebody advice... I don't know, convincing somebody, persuading them... maybe also comforting people or condoning somebody when they lost something or cancelling a plan or... what they do to order food at a restaurant, making a deal with somebody or haggling with someone at a street market or what they say when they're paying their bills or uh I don't know. Then we can go down to things like uh like what we talked about um could be also small talk and then leading with the things like uses of metaphors and idioms and... uh whatever else we could use. Puns, these kind of things, all which is not documented at all and because that's actually how language is used it's not-

language isn't just somebody telling stories every day. Things like well, how do people actually take turns? Now this gets more to the pragmatic level of language documentation that is really rare for languages like Mohawk. How do they move? How are they sitting? How do they take turns? What words do they use in that context? Right? Um how do they speak to a child versus when they speak to their family? What about motherese? Speaking to a kid or like a baby. None of these things have really been documented at all... so it's- or even just people talking to one another. So yeah one- somebody talking by themselves and telling a story but what about people talking to one another just having a conversation. Uh that's rare too. So these, in my opinion, that interactional language um conversations about everyday life... uh all that is going to ca- give a better uh corpus a real- real robust documentation of the language that we can actually use in everyday settings. Because that's usually when we- when we- when we get down to looking at whether students are able to use the language on an everyday basis. That's usually the challenges that they have cause they'll leave school and they'll realize, damn I don't actually know how to use the language in these contexts in my life. (Ryan DeCaire, 39:12.561- 42:28.821)

Documenting everyday interactional language not only provides valuable documentary data, but it also provides data which second-language learners and teachers could use for educational purposes. As discussed in sections 5.1.4 and 5.2.1, recordings of different people speaking (belonging to different genders, ages, dialects, and speaking abilities) provide an opportunity for language learners to develop their language comprehension and production abilities as it allows learners to observe Kanien'kéha in use and provide them with an example to model their language after.

In conclusion, when Kanien'kéha students and teachers were asked what the field of language documentation could do to help with Indigenous language education, revitalization, and maintenance they responded with specific requests: document or locate existing documentation of motherese, document idiomatic expressions, improve accessibility to (old and new) documentary data, learn the language, maintain communication and document everyday interactional language. The next section contains more suggestions however; they do not specifically relate to the field of language documentation.

### ***5.3.2 Specific requests for assistance, advocacy and allyship***

When asked what linguists could do differently or how linguists could help, Brant quickly responded with “spend time in a program.” Brant stated that he is regularly contacted by linguists looking to provide help or assistance. Brant believes it would be more beneficial for everyone involved if the linguist spent some time in the program – that is, the linguist could make their own observations and see how they could help rather than asking teachers like Brant to come up with jobs or suggestions for them. In the following excerpt, Brant describes his typical interaction with someone offering help or assistance and how this can be avoided by spending some time in a language program:

I guess uh spending time in a program um... because I get asked that a lot actually. Through emails or calls um... a few emails a year actually. They're saying, 'hey I'm studying linguistics here' um 'I'd like to provide something for you' um 'what do you need?' and I'll think I'll be like... 'I don't know' you know. [laughs] It's kind of a- it's like, 'oh what can you do?' you know. I gotta put a lot of work into it to try and um we don't have a lot of time really for

that. Um... it's kind of like if uh saying well, 'hey we should go for dinner' like 'oh where to?' it's like 'oh it's up to you' [laughs] you know like kind of a [laughs] it's a- it's just ahh like 'I don't know' [laughs] yeah exactly 'I don't know' you know. Um... it takes a lot of time and it usually ends up kinda fizzling out before anything gets started. Um... but when people come in and watch us for, you know a couple weeks, uh even- um before- you know people will ask, 'well what do you guys do at the program?' well, we do a whole lot [laughs] and uh coming in and... then telling us what we need that we don't see you know what I mean? it really uh I find that to be a lot- you know very helpful. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 59:41.571 - 61:15.656)

Spending time in a program allows the linguist to observe how the program works, what materials and resources they have or need and how students learn, study and practice in the program. Additionally, the linguist may be able to help out in ways that are completely unrelated to linguistics. For example, the linguist may be able to help with writing grant applications and securing funding for schools and programs like Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Brant and Owennatekha, stated that funding is a constant challenge for them and the programs at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Currently, Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa is funded year-to-year. That is, they have to apply for funding every single year. This creates a lot of financial uncertainty and makes long term planning almost impossible. While this is outside the realm of linguistics, if linguists want to see programs like Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa succeed and grow, this is the assistance they currently require.

Additionally, Sunday commented that she would like to see linguists advocating for Indigenous language education. Sunday wishes to see the Canadian

government support Kanien'kéha education in schools on the reserve. Sunday made the following comments regarding advocacy and allyship:

I would say to push the government to make it [Kanien'kéha education] a priority in elementary school just on the res- any schools on the reserve. Making it like- yeah, a real priority to use the Root-word Method and to listen to us and to listen to lin- like Mohawk linguists that can see how the language works and they can see what's working and what's not working. Cause we really- there's really no like- no like- they act like there's no need for it within the community and it's too bad because it's just like dying. Like the government looks the other way and the schools look the other way but like I don't know linguists seem pretty serious so [laughs] maybe they could help us [laughs] yeah... even just urging them to- or like making it like known... like our statistics are real. (Lindsay Sunday, 32:08.651 - 33:15.265)

Brant and Sunday's comments highlight an important aspect of any relationship: helping each other. While providing assistance with grant application writing, applying for and securing funding, or advocating for language education might be outside of the average linguist's wheelhouse, if this is the help they are asking for, should linguists not at least try to contribute? If a participant or community is volunteering their time and providing valuable information, data, or an opportunity to study the language, it is important to give back and support the participant or community in their goals.

### ***5.3.3 Be respectful***

Indigenous peoples in Canada have a long history of experiencing abuse and indifference as the result of racist policies, violence, and genocide. They have every

reason to be suspicious of an outsider, researcher, or linguist asking for participants, data, or assistance with the language. Brant urged linguists to show respect and to be patient and understanding. On the topic of respect, Brant asked that linguists not enter a situation with specific expectations or a research agenda, be aware of the environment (i.e., you are in their domain), and show basic respect:

One of the big things is uh... not expecting everyone to- I guess no expectations. From talking to us or talking with the students. But yeah, talk to everyone. 'No one would- no one would give me real answers' or they said, 'I don't want to talk about that' like... um... I guess we've been studied to death. It's almost like uh- a zoo at times, right. Like it's just... uh... like being in a fish bowl. People come in and watch us and- and then uh expect us to answer everything and it's been like... um... and then expect- like put it on us. And then you know they'll be like, 'well I tried to talk to them but none of them would talk' or 'they'll come to me' and be like, 'none of your students really welcomed me' you know what I mean just- A little uh uh... things they shouldn't do I guess; Expect us to solve their problems for them, you know. [laughs] That'd be the big thing yeah and just you know basic respect is- it goes a long way. Especially here. We're a little different too, you know [laughs] it's... um we got some kind of norms that are here and just uh... you know respecting it, that this is our place and we try to make everyone feel welcome here but you know [laughs] cultural differences I guess are evident and some people are really put off by it. So I don't know but yeah just understand you're in a different place and different people. (Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, 63:59.951 - 65:45.246)

In addition to showing respect, having no expectations of participation or

conversation, being understanding and respectful of cultural norms and practices, and acknowledging that you are in someone else's space, DeCaire also encouraged linguists to allow communities, organizations or schools to determine the research goals and agenda. This means creating mutually beneficial partnerships where each party has a say in the research goals, practices, and outputs. DeCaire stresses that the linguist should not set the research goal simply because they are "the expert"; they should listen to the needs, goals, and desires of the school or organization that they wish to work with. Furthermore, by listening to the needs of schools and community organizations, linguists may be able to provide materials and resources which could be used for Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance:

The documentary linguists should not necessarily set the research priorities. They should be involved in conversations around- with the community, with the organization, with the school to determine what's best for everybody uh rather than saying 'no, no I think this is what'll be best for you because I'm an expert.' No, it's 'let's have a discussion around what's best- what's needed for this program' so we can target that and make use of it later. (Ryan DeCaire, 61:52.051 – 61:20.616).

DeCaire also called for more bonds and partnerships between researchers, linguists, community organizations and schools:

Um at the academic level and the university level, there needs to be more bonds between linguist- linguists, um whether they're doing documentary linguistics or maybe a more um applied linguistics or sociolinguistics, there needs to be partnerships between them and education. Uh when we're uh really being critical about how to teach these languages um and currently there's very little discussion around um how- how one goes about

documenting so it can be used in pedagogy. Uh so there's uh that's the other big piece is that if I was talking to an academic or a research uh- uh professor or somebody developing a program at the university I'd say that those partnerships need to be made. (Ryan DeCaire, 61:21.566 - 62:14.281)

DeCaire urges linguists to understand that this line of research encompasses more than language; it also relates to a person's or community's culture, history, well-being, and identity. Mittelstaedt urges linguists to "have a good reason" for conducting their research; that is:

Have a good reason, for yourself, why you're doing the work that you're doing. because if you don't, I feel like the reason is probably just 'not a lot of work exists on it and I wanna- I can do work on it and then I can get a good career from that' or whatever and that's just- it's just not going to work out. (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 30:31.425 - 30:48.501)

Mittelstaedt concluded this thought by noting the connection between language and personal well-being. That is, the field of language documentation has the ability to help individuals and communities by providing them with data pertaining to their language:

Linguistic documentation should not be an academic endeavour; it should be a humanitarian one (Mitchell Mittelstaedt, 30:54.194 - 30:58.264)

#### ***5.3.4 Conclusion***

In regard to the field of language documentation, the students and teachers interviewed made specific requests in regards to what they would like to see documented, including motherese, idiomatic expressions and every day, interactional speech. The students and teachers also provided information on how the field and practices could be improved. These suggestions included improving accessibility to

(new and existing) documentary data, learn the language (or at least spend time in a program) which is under study, and maintain communication with the participants and communities you are working with. The contributors also made some general suggestions for ways in which linguists could help Indigenous language education programs. While these are not specific to language documentation, these suggestions can and should be applied to any linguist or researcher hoping to work with Indigenous languages. These suggestions included spending time in a program and being an advocate and ally in supporting the success, growth and implementation of Indigenous language programs. The last suggestion focused on the human aspect of research involving participants and communities; linguists and researchers are reminded to be respectful. Linguists are urged to be patient and understanding; not to enter an environment or situation with predetermined expectations or research agendas; listen to the needs of those who you are working with; respect spaces, cultures and customs that are not your own; have a good reason for conducting the research (i.e., not career advancement); and, most importantly, remember the people behind the research. With these insights and introspective suggestions in mind, linguistics and the field of documentary linguistics can be updated and improved to be more collaborative, ethical, considerate, productive and help the field of Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter briefly summarizes the findings of this study and suggests some direction for future research. This study investigated the specific contributions that language documentation can and should make to Indigenous second language education from the perspective of adult Indigenous language learners and teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. This study was shaped by three research questions:

1. What current materials and resources are available to Kanien'kéha students and teachers? What materials and resources do Kanien'kéha students and teachers believe would support Kanien'kéha language education, fluency development and maintenance?
2. What speech formulas (e.g., everyday language, cultural knowledge) should be documented to aid in second language learning?
3. How can linguists and the field of language documentation better support Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance?

To answer these questions, semi-structured interviews were conducted with four Kanien'kéha students and teachers. While all four contributors are affiliated with Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, they come from four very different backgrounds. The two adult students and two teachers provided some insight into their experiences learning and teaching Kanien'kéha, materials and resources available to them and materials and resources they believed would be beneficial towards their Kanien'kéha education, fluency development and maintenance. They also discussed speech formulas and language they wished to see documentation of in addition to providing some recommendations on how linguists and the field of language documentation can aid in Indigenous language education and revitalization efforts. This chapter serves to highlight and discuss the contributors' thoughts, opinions and recommendations.

## 6.1 Summary of research

This section summarizes the study's findings by organizing contributor thoughts, opinions and recommendations in relation to the research questions they address. Each subsection addresses a different research question and includes contributor responses and perspectives. Subsection 6.1.1. provides information regarding current materials and resources available to Kanien'kéha students and teachers as well as, what materials and resources Kanien'kéha students and teachers believe would support Kanien'kéha language education, fluency development and maintenance. Subsection 6.1.2 addresses which speech formulas (e.g., everyday language, cultural knowledge) should be documented to aid in second language learning as reported by contributors. Finally, subsection 6.1.3 explores how linguists and the field of language documentation can better support Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance. This chapter serves as a summary and conclusion to this study.

### *6.1.1 Existing and desired materials and resources available to Kanien'kéha language learners and educators*

When asked about existing Kanien'kéha educational materials and resources, Kanien'kéha students and teachers referenced multiple dictionaries, Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum and textbook, children's books, radio shows and digital tools (e.g., applications, computer programs and media-sharing platforms). Each of the resources and materials referenced supports the language learner in a different. The dictionaries referenced by contributors support a language learner's vocabulary development as they can access words and add them to their lexicon. DeCaire brought attention to the lack of dictionaries in different dialects of Kanien'kéha. Currently, all

of the dictionaries available to students (at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa) have been written by one person (Professor David Kanatawakhon-Maracle) in a western dialect. Therefore, these dictionaries are mostly beneficial for Kanien'kéha speakers in Kenhtè:ke and Ohswé:ken. Both DeCaire and Sunday (who are from Wáhta and Akwesásne) requested more material and focus on other dialects of Kanien'kéha.

Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum and textbook were regarded as an excellent guide and learning aid by contributors. The textbook students are given when they enter the program includes the entire curriculum they will learn throughout their two-year program. The textbook has been customized to provide students with language which they can use in their daily lives (e.g., daily activities, time and place names), explanations of grammatical features (e.g., what is a stative verb? what is a te-verb?), and provides examples of conjugation paradigms and vocabulary for students to learn. The curriculum at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa is constantly changing and evolving to meet the needs and interests of Kanien'kéha students and teachers as the staff reassess and rebuild the curriculum every summer. The curriculum and textbook provide students with the information and skills to use Kanien'kéha in their daily lives and beyond graduation.

The final written resource reported by contributors was children's books. Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa has a small collection of children's books for the students to use to practice their reading and comprehension skills. Contributors commented that while the books are initially useful to students, the students quickly surpass the children's books in reading ability and difficulty.

The other resources and materials referenced by contributors are digital—these include applications, computer programs, media and media-sharing platforms. Applications referenced by contributors included Anki and Quizlet. Anki is a

flashcard generator that requires the learner to create flashcards of the material they wish to study. Anki utilizes an algorithm which tracks the students' progress and presents the student with information they are less familiar with. Quizlet uses learning games and tools to help students learn and memorize material. While both applications were initially welcomed by students and teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, Brant is noticing fewer students using the applications and believes that students prefer materials and resources that they can physically interact with (such as a book).

One contributor, Sunday, referenced CAN-8 VirtuaLab which is a computer program that simulates a virtual classroom. Sunday previously worked for AEDA which used CAN-8 VirtuaLab to teach Kanien'kéha in Akwesásne. Sunday believed the program and lessons were good as they utilized the Root-word method.

The last digital resource referenced during interviews was media (such as radio shows) and media-sharing platforms (such as YouTube and Soundcloud). Brant stated that he used radio shows (e.g., Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitíóhkwa and Tewawennakarátats Talk Show) in his lessons as it provided students with the opportunity to hear different Kanien'kéha speakers. Brant noted two examples of groups which speak differently in Kanien'kéha: people of different genders and people belonging to different generations. That is, men and women speak differently and a young person (or a second-language speaker) uses the language differently compared to an Elder (or first-language speaker). By using radio shows such as Kanien'kehá:ka Onkwawén:na Raotitíóhkwa and Tewawennakarátats Talk Show, Brant can expose his students to a variety of speakers belonging to different genders, ages, speaking abilities (i.e., second-language and first-language speakers), and dialects. Both radio shows have uploaded their archive to Soundcloud.

Media-sharing platforms such as Soundcloud and YouTube were referenced by two contributors, Sunday and Brant. Sunday briefly mentioned that she had found recordings of Elders speaking in Kanien'kéha on Soundcloud. In these recordings, the Elders act out scenarios in Kanien'kéha such as ordering food at a restaurant. Sunday stated that she enjoyed listening to these recordings and found them very interesting and informative. Brant briefly mentioned using YouTube in his classroom as it provides language learners with the opportunity to hear a variety of different Kanien'kéha speakers use their Kanien'kéha to create educational videos, musical covers, short documentaries, stories and interviews.

In addition to existing materials and resources, contributors also identified three materials and resources which they believed would be beneficial towards Kanien'kéha education and fluency development. These materials and resources include audio and video recordings of Elders and first-language speakers, “cool books”, and materials and resources for teaching outside of an immersion setting.

Both Kanien'kéha students and teachers reported that they wish they had more recordings of Elders and first-language speakers speaking in Kanien'kéha. There were a number of different reasons for this request: i) teachers believed it would be beneficial to hear other speakers as it would provide an alternative speaker for language learners to model their speech after (as described in Section 5.1.4) and strengthen their comprehension skills, ii) students wanted more interaction with the language as they develop their fluency and there are very few first-language speakers who are available to physically visit them, and iii) students and teachers are aware of the declining Elder population and want to preserve the valuable traditional knowledge they carry. Both students interviewed, Mittelstaedt and Sunday, believed access to audio or video recordings would be beneficial to their Kanien'kéha

education. Both students wanted to hear more Elders and first-language speakers use Kanien'kéha (all of the teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa are second-language speakers) and believe that some interaction (in the form of audio or video recordings) with high-level language speakers would be a good learning tool and appreciated the knowledge they could potentially gain from listening to an Elder or first-language speaker.

“Cool Books” refer to books that can be read for leisure. When Brant was asked what materials and resources he believed would be beneficial to Kanien'kéha education and fluency development he immediately replied with “cool books.” By “cool books,” Brant specified that he was referring to books that can be read for fun (e.g., fiction, science fiction, romance, fantasy, etc.) instead of strictly academic material. Both Brant and Mittelstaedt discussed the importance of reading (for both students and children who are taught Kanien'kéha as a first language) as it helps the reader develop their fluency and supports language maintenance.

The last request was for materials and resources designed for teaching outside of an immersion setting (e.g., a university course or night class). DeCaire brought attention to the different needs and goals of different language programs and contexts of instruction. As DeCaire noted, different language learning environments require different pedagogical approaches. The university setting may not create fluent Kanien'kéha speakers due to unique time constraints. Therefore, DeCaire hopes to use his courses to teach a very basic understanding of Kanien'kéha and create “good neighbours” – a term DeCaire uses to describe allies and advocates for Kanien'kéha language rights, revitalization and Indigenous rights; settlers and/or settler-immigrants who wish to respect Indigenous peoples, histories, and cultures.

In conclusion, Kanien'kéha students and teachers have a limited number of resources available to them. Some of these resources have been created for the sole purpose of Kanien'kéha language education (e.g., dictionaries, children's books, Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum and textbook) while others have been adapted to suit the needs of Kanien'kéha students (e.g., media, media-sharing platforms, applications and computer programs). Each of the resources and materials referenced supports the language learner in a distinct way. Contributors also identified three materials and resources which they believed would be beneficial towards Kanien'kéha education and fluency development. These materials and resources include audio and video recordings of Elders and first-language speakers, "cool books", and materials and resources for teaching outside of an immersion setting.

***6.1.2 What speech formulas (e.g., everyday language, cultural knowledge) should be documented to aid in second language learning?***

Kanien'kéha students and teachers were asked what speech formulas should be documented by linguists and documentary linguistics. Contributors responded that they wanted to see (new or existing) documentation on motherese, idiomatic expressions, traditional knowledge, and everyday interactional language between Elders and first-language speakers in Kanien'kéha. The contributors believed that this information would provide them with a deeper understanding of Kanien'kéha and help develop their fluency. Both student contributors, Sunday and Mittelstaedt, requested documentation of motherese in Kanien'kéha. Mittelstaedt was curious if anyone had previously documented motherese in Kanien'kéha. Both Mittelstaedt and Sunday believed that knowledge of motherese is integral in supporting intergenerational transmission and raising a new generation of first-language

Kanien'kéha speaking children. Mittelstaedt remarked described knowledge of motherese as "useful". I questioned why he choose the word "useful" and he responded with, "well you got to raise your kids" (Mittelstaedt, 28:00.133 - 28:01.509). It became apparent that both student contributors (who are both second-language speakers in their early twenties with no children) had intentions of raising their future children as first-language Kanien'kéha speakers, thereby contributing to a new generation of first-language speakers.

Contributors also requested documentation of idiomatic expressions. Both students interviewed were interested in learning idioms and had only previously encountered them when speaking to Elders or other proficient Kanien'kéha speakers. Both Mittelstaedt and Sunday provided some examples of idioms they had learned. Mittelstaedt reported keeping a record of idioms which he adds to as he encounters new expressions. Brant stated that he did not teach idioms in his classes as he does not have much knowledge of idioms in Kanien'kéha. While not integral to developing a student's fluency, idioms provide a rich source of cultural information that enrich a language learner's understanding of the language and its people.

Lastly, contributors described the importance and urgency of documenting Elders and first-language speakers due to an ageing population and a decline in the number of first-language speakers. Contributors were not as specific in their responses on this point as they were with previous questions. I believe this is because they would have an appreciation for any and all documentation of Elders speaking in Kanien'kéha. Contributors acknowledged the invaluable knowledge which Elder's possess—cultural, tradition, and linguistic knowledge, for example. Contributors urged the importance of preserving and documenting cultural knowledge as Elders age to ensure that their knowledge is transmitted across generations and communities

and remains accessible to Kanien'kehà:ka. Contributors also requested for this documentation to focus on everyday interactional language rather than monolingual narratives. Moving beyond the traditional monolingual narrative would not only document real language in action but it could also provide valuable educational information for second-language learners and teachers. DeCaire urged linguists to think about how their research and data can help language learners and be used in classrooms.

In conclusion, when asked what speech formulas contributors wished to see documented they responded with: motherese, idiomatic expressions, traditional knowledge and everyday interactional language between Elders and first-language speakers in Kanien'kéha. When examining the requests made by participants, it becomes apparent that there is a strong desire for cultural knowledge in Kanien'kéha. Each of the requests made by participants involves some form of cultural knowledge. Even interactional language contains cultural information, as to how speakers take turns or orient themselves physically relative to one another may contain some cultural nuances. Contributors wish to expand their cultural knowledge (i.e., learn idiomatic expressions and traditional knowledge) and have expressed interest in raising their children as first-language speakers. Contributor responses provide even more support for the shift away from the monolingual narrative towards documentation which can be used for Indigenous language education, revitalization and preservation.

### ***6.1.3 How can linguists and the field of language documentation better support Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance?***

When asked how linguists and the field of language documentation can help

support Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance contributors responded with the following suggestions and recommendations:

1. Improve the accessibility of new and existing documentary data;
2. Learn the language you are documenting (e.g., by spending time in a language program);
3. Maintain communication with participants and communities;
4. Become advocates and allies for Indigenous language education and revitalization;
5. Be respectful.

Kanien'kéha has been documented for hundreds of years by missionaries, settlers, and academics. Unfortunately, communities and participants rarely saw the documentary data that they helped to produce. Members of Indigenous communities are aware of this practice which has caused some distrust towards linguists. One of the contributors (Mittelstaedt) interviewed in this study stated that he was warned against working with certain linguists. The participant recommended returning existing documentary data to the community from which the data was collected. Mittelstaedt emphasized the importance of returning data which documented sacred language such as Longhouse speeches. While it may be difficult to locate the materials and make them accessible to the community from which they originate from, it would help to repair relationships and apologize for previous practices.

Contributors Brant, DeCaire, and Sunday recommended those who are documenting a language to learn the language. They each thought that knowledge or understanding of the language would allow the researcher to understand the community and culture better. Furthermore, it would allow the researcher to ask questions that would normally not be asked by an outsider or someone with no

knowledge of the language. While they acknowledge that learning Kanien'kéha or any Indigenous or polysynthetic language is no easy task, they saw it as an essential one if the researcher wants to document or help a language survive. Brant also stated that he is regularly contacted by linguists looking to volunteer their services and assistance to him and Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. While Brant appreciates the offer, he recognizes that it puts a lot of responsibility on him to determine how the linguist can help (which results in a lot of conversations which Brant stated often fizzle out). Brant recommends spending time in a language program as it provides the linguist with the opportunity to make their own observations and come to their own conclusion on how they can provide assistance. Spending time in a program allows the linguist to observe how the program works, what materials and resources they have or need and how students learn, study and practice in the program.

Mittelstaedt brought attention to the fact that, historically, many linguists have not maintained communication with the participants or communities where they have collected data or documented language. Mittelstaedt asks linguists to not forget the people they are getting the data from and maintain communication. This recommendation is related to the first suggestion made by contributors, improving accessibility to new and existing documentary data. By maintaining communication with participants and communities, the researcher can provide the communities and participants with their own copy of documentary data, provide them with updates on their related research (which communities or participants may find relevant or interesting to their current situations), and create meaningful and mutually beneficial relationships.

As a result of spending time in language programs and maintaining communication with participants and communities, contributors are hoping that

linguists can become allies and advocates for Indigenous education and revitalization. Sunday commented that she would like to see linguists advocating for Indigenous language education. Sunday wishes to see the Canadian government support Kanien'kéha education in schools on the reserve. This advocacy is not limited to linguistic advocacy. For example, the linguist may be able to help with writing grant applications and securing funding for schools and programs like Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Brant and Owennatekha stated that funding is a constant challenge for them and the programs at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. While this is outside the realm of linguistics, if linguists want to see programs like Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa succeed and grow, this is the assistance they currently require.

The last recommendation made by contributors was to be respectful. Brant urged linguists to show respect and to be patient and understanding. Brant asked that linguists not enter a situation with specific expectations or a research agenda, respect the environment, and show basic respect. Indigenous peoples in Canada have a long history of being abused, overlooked and victims of racist policies, violence and genocide. Some people or communities may be suspicious of an outsider, researcher, or linguist asking for participants, data, or assistance with the language. In addition to the aforementioned suggestions and recommendations, DeCaire also encouraged linguists to allow communities, organizations or schools to determine the research goals and agenda of the project. DeCaire stressed that the linguist should not set the research goal simply because they are “the expert”; they should listen to the needs, goals, and desires of the school or organization that they wish to work with. By listening to the needs of schools and community organizations, linguists may be able to provide materials and resources which could be used for Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance.

In conclusion, contributors provided multiple recommendations and suggestions as to how linguists and the field of language documentation can help support Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance. These suggestions and recommendations included: (i) improve accessibility to new and existing documentary data, (ii) learn the language you are documenting (spend time in a language program), (iii) maintain communication with participants and communities, (iv) become advocates and allies for Indigenous language education and revitalization, (v) be respectful. With these insights and introspective suggestions in mind, linguistics and the field of documentary linguistics can be updated and improved to be more collaborative, ethical, considerate, productive and help the field of Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance.

## **6.2 Study limitations**

The small sample size (n=4) of the study limits the ability to generalize the findings in several ways. While each contributor came from a different community and language learning background, all contributors have spent two years studying Kanien'kéha at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. As a result, this study provides a thorough investigation into materials and resources available to Kanien'kéha language learners and teachers as well as immersion education at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa; however, it does not generally consider Kanien'kéha educational needs outside of an immersion setting. To address this limitation, I asked contributors in the interview about their previous Kanien'kéha learning experiences. While contributors described their previous experiences and the resources and materials available to them, much of the conversation was (intentionally) focused on their experiences at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa. Kanien'kéha education can take many different forms; university

courses, language nest programs, drop-in classes, online learning (i.e., programs such as CAN-8 VirtuaLab), and second-language education in elementary and secondary schools. Therefore, this study provides a very focused but limited investigation into the materials and resources available to Kanien'kéha students and teachers in an immersion school.

Another limitation of the study is the potential social desirability bias, or tendency for contributors to provide socially appropriate responses, which may influence participants' answers (Garrett et al., 2003). Previous research has shown that a direct approach (e.g., interview format) may influence participants to provide answers which they deem to be more socially appropriate (Garrett et al., 2003). Additionally, two of the participants, Ryan DeCaire and Mitchell Mittelstaedt, were previously known to me. This existing relationship can create bias and may further influence the participants' responses. Despite these methodological limitations, semi-structured interviews remain a useful tool to collect data in the context of a study such as this. A semi-structured interview allows the participants to provide responses in their own terms and is reflective of how they think and use language (Qu and Dumay, 2011). While the semi-structured interview may not be perfect, they are still a valuable tool to explore the needs, thoughts and experiences of participants.

### **6.3 Connections to language documentation**

This study aims to contribute to emerging literature in documentary linguistics (Woodbury, 2003; Himmelman, 1998, 2006; Amery, 2009) which examines the relevance and application of permanent language resources to contexts of second language education. I investigated the specific contributions that language documentation can and should make to Indigenous second language education from

the perspective of adult Indigenous language learners and teachers at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa, a Kanien'kéha immersion school located in Ohswé:ken, Ontario, Canada. This section considers how the themes that emerge from an analysis of these interviews relate to current practices in language documentation, either aligning with or showing differences from the perspectives encountered in the documentary linguistic literature surveyed in this study.

Contributors participated in semi-structured interviews to document their opinions on what materials second-language learners and teachers find most beneficial toward developing fluency, what speech formulas should be documented to aid in second language learning, and how linguistic documentation practices could be updated to help Indigenous language revitalization efforts from a language learning perspective. These interviews also included a conversation regarding the governance of research materials and products as, historically, Indigenous contributions to the field of language documentation often went uncredited.

The study was structured around three research questions. The first research question asked what current materials and resources are available to Kanien'kéha students and teachers. Contributors were also asked what materials and resources would support Kanien'kéha language education, fluency development and maintenance. In regards to existing resources and materials, contributors reported using multiple dictionaries written by David Kanatawakhon-Maracle, Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum and textbook, children's books, radio shows and digital tools (e.g., applications, computer programs and media-sharing platforms). Some of these materials have been explicitly created to support Kanien'kéha education (e.g., Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa's curriculum and textbook) while others have been adapted to fit the needs and interests of students (e.g. YouTube). In regards to

resources and materials desired by Kanien'kéha students and teachers, contributors responded with: audio and video recordings of Elders and first-language speakers, "cool books", and materials and resources for teaching outside of an immersion setting. These findings differ from previous research on student and teacher perspectives of Kanien'kéha immersion education. Maracle (2002) found in her survey of four adult Kanien'kéha immersion programs that students suggested "more materials, audio-visual aids, books, resources, and facilities were needed" to make the language learning experience more enriching (162). Other previous research investigating the relationship between Indigenous language education and language documentation has also argued for the importance of audio and video recordings of language speakers (Hermes and Engman, 2017). The contributors interviewed in this study specifically requested audio and video recordings of Elders and first-language speakers. This differs from Hermes and Engman's (2017) *Ojibwe Conversations* project which argues that all language is considered authentic and the speech of second-language speakers is just as valuable as the speech of Elders. I think it is important to note that contributors interviewed in this study were not requesting audio and video recordings of Elders and first-language speakers as they believed their speech was "authentic," but rather because (i) contributors recognize the ageing population of Elders and first-language speakers and wish to preserve their speech and knowledge and, (ii) contributors understand that the way Elders and first-language speakers use language is different from how they use Kanien'kéha and wish to observe and understand their lexical choices. That is, contributors aren't necessarily requesting audio and video recordings of Elders and first-language speakers to listen to and observe "authentic language" but rather to preserve valuable knowledge and cultural nuances.

When Brant mentioned “cool books” he stated that, when resources are made for Kanien’kéha education, they are often pedagogical materials. This is an interesting comment as DeCaire specifically requested materials and resources for teaching Kanien’kéha outside of an immersion setting. I believe these differing opinions are reflective of their unique teaching experiences. Brant has experience teaching in an immersion setting while DeCaire has experience teaching in non-immersion settings (in addition to immersion settings). Additionally, Kanien’kéha immersion programs have existed in Canada since the 1970s (Gomashie, 2019; Maracle, 2002; Hoover & The Kanien’kehá:ka Raotitíóhkwa Cultural Center, 1992) while Kanien’kéha programs in a university setting are a relatively newer addition to many Indigenous Studies programs. Therefore, while Brant and DeCaire provide different suggestions due to their pedagogical background and experiences, this is a benefit to this study as it provides diversity in opinions and suggestions.

The second research question asked contributors what speech formulas (e.g., everyday language, cultural knowledge) should be documented to aid in second language learning. Contributors requested documentation on motherese, idiomatic expressions, traditional knowledge and every day interactional language between Elders and first-language speakers in Kanien’kéha. By examining contributor responses, it becomes apparent that there is a strong desire for access to and preservation of cultural knowledge in Kanien’kéha. This knowledge, while not essential towards developing fluency in a language, provides the language learner with a deeper understanding of the culture and history of a language. These findings differ slightly from previous research investigating the application of documentary data to second-language learning resources. Previous research on the field of language documentation and its application to second-language resources makes a strong case

for documenting basic expressions, everyday language and informal speech (Amery, 2009; Hermes and Engman, 2017). Contributors requested documentation on motherese, idiomatic expressions and traditional knowledge in addition to everyday interactional language. As previously stated, this knowledge is not essential towards developing fluency in a language; however, it provides the language learner with a deeper understanding of the culture and history of the language under study. I believe contributor's existing knowledge of Kanien'kéha has influenced their requests as they are currently not trying to *learn* Kanien'kéha but rather *refine* their Kanien'kéha abilities. Motherese and idiomatic expressions cannot be used to revive a language (Amery, 2009) or teach a language (Hermes and Engman, 2017) but this information can be utilized to create a deeper, more personal connection to Kanien'kéha (e.g. a second-language Kanien'kéha speaker raising a child in Kanien'kéha).

The final research question asked how linguists and the field of language documentation can better support Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance. Contributors made the following suggestions and recommendations: (i) improve accessibility to new and existing documentary data, (ii) learn the language you are documenting (spend time in a language program), (iii) maintain communication with participants and communities, (iv) become advocates and allies for Indigenous language education and revitalization, (v) be respectful. These recommendations and suggestions are similar to those found in previous research on conducting ethical documentary research (Rice, 2006; Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009; Hermes and Engman, 2017) which bring attention to linguists' responsibilities and attitudes towards individuals, communities, and knowledge systems. One recommendation made in this study which I have not previously encountered before was made by a contributor (Brant) who suggested linguists spend time in a language

program. That is, not necessarily to learn a language but rather to observe how programs work and interact with other students and teachers. Brant believes it would be a beneficial experience as the linguist could make their own observations and see how they could offer assistance.

This study would not be possible without the contributions of Kanien'kéha students and teachers; therefore, this study aimed to ensure that contributors have and maintain ownership, control, access, and possession of their contributions to this study (i.e., the comments that they shared in the semi-structured interviews) insofar as possible. Contributors Rohahiyo Jordan Brant, Ryan DeCaire, Lindsay Sunday and Mitchell Mittelstaedt have graciously provided their thoughts, opinions and observations to inform this study and answer its overarching research questions. By asking these questions, this study aims to foster collaborative and respectful relationships between linguists and Indigenous communities.

#### **6.4 Future directions**

Kanien'kéha education can take many different forms; university courses, language nest programs, drop-in classes, online learning (i.e., conducted through programs such as CAN-8 VirtuaLab), and second-language education in elementary and secondary schools. This study, its methodology, and the questions it asks contributors could easily be replicated in different language learning environments. By expanding the contributor pool to include students enrolled in Kanien'kéha university courses or drop-in programs, for example, related future research could expand its findings to include materials and resources relevant to other Kanien'kéha learning environments.

In addition to diversifying participant backgrounds in relation to Kanien'kéha learning environments, there is room for improvement in the diversity of participant demographics. The participants interviewed in this study were all relatively close in age—the two students were in their early twenties and both teachers are in their early thirties. Additionally, three out of the four contributors interviewed for this study are male. It would be useful to extend this study to include younger and older participants as well as more female perspectives to see what differences or similarities may arise in comparison to this study. This study provides a small snapshot into Kanien'kéha education and the perspectives of students and teachers and could easily be adapted to produce a more diverse investigation into the materials and resources available to Kanien'kéha students and teachers and how linguists and the field of language documentation can better support Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance.

Lastly, while interviewing contributors it became apparent that while there may be a fair amount of existing resources for teaching and learning Kanien'kéha, contributors were not always aware of the resources available to them. For example, Sunday reported a desire to learn about traditional medicines and botany and learn in Kanien'kéha outside of a classroom environment. In Brant's interview, he references a master-apprenticeship program called *Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton*. *Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton* is a four-year-long cultural apprenticeship program which explores four areas of traditional knowledge: fishing and river use, horticulture and traditional foods, medicine plants and healing, and hunting and trapping (“Kanien'kéha Owenna'shón:ah Signage Project”, 2017). I conducted Brant's interview after Sunday's, and so I was unable to ask her if she was aware of this program when she mentioned her desire to learn about medicinal plants. Brant noted in his interview that

there is no “central hub” for Kanien’kéha language resources and materials. This makes it difficult to locate or share resources or materials. Creating a “central hub” for Kanien’kéha educational resources and materials has the potential to aid language learners, teachers, programs and thus, support Kanien’kéha education, revitalization and maintenance.

In conclusion, studies which explore the experiences and perspectives of Indigenous language learners and teachers can offer valuable insight into the field of Indigenous language education and how the field of language documentation can better support Indigenous language education and revitalization. Studies such as these can provide valuable points of reference and recommendations for the consideration of how documentary linguistic ideals and theories relate to the actual work and concerns of Indigenous communities and language revitalization programs, thereby helping to ensure that Indigenous perspectives and voices aren’t left out of important discussions of what language documentation is and can be.

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## **Appendices**

## Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Guide

**Title:** The role of documentary linguistics in the creation of academic resources and materials for second-language learners.

### Section 1: Background information

- Are you a student or teacher?
- How long have you been studying [or teaching] Mohawk?
- Where do you study [or teach] Mohawk?
- What level are you currently enrolled in [or teaching]? Beginner, intermediate, advanced?
- Before you began teaching, where did you study Mohawk? For how long?

Section 1 will be skipped if the participant wishes to remain anonymous

### Section 2: Root Word Method

- How long have you utilized the Root Word method?
- What are your thoughts and opinions regarding materials available to students of the Root Word Method?
  - As a student, what would you like to see? What resources or materials do you think would aid you in your studies? (E.g., Dictionaries, textbooks, phrase books, workbooks, online learning, audio recordings, etc.)
  - What would not help? What already exists?
- What are your thoughts and opinions regarding materials available to teachers of the Root Word Method?
  - What information or data would help you develop course materials?
  - As a teacher, what resources or materials do you think would aid in fluency development and self-study outside the classroom?
  - As a teacher, do you create your own materials? Do you consult with other teachers?

### Section 3: Linguistic Documentation

- Have you encountered any ... which should be documented?
  - Speech formulas
  - Speech acts
  - Idioms or local phrases and terms
  - Cultural contexts of language
- How can documentary linguistic practices be updated or improved to aid in Indigenous language revitalization efforts and Indigenous language education?
  - Community accessibility
  - Collaboration
  - Data utilization
- Do you have any advice or suggestions for documentary linguists?



- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
00:51.993 - 01:06.071
- um... so last year in the month of May... I... got an act of full proficiency score intermediate high... so... I imagine it would be somewhere still flirting around there and advanced low
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:06.171 - 01:06.939
- okay
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
01:06.906 - 01:07.597
- yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:08.842 - 01:14.625
- and so at this immer-immersion school and UofT you studied the Root-word Method, right?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
01:14.714 - 01:16.024
- yes yeah both
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:16.272 - 01:19.327
- and previously at the Native Centre what did you use there?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
01:19.282 - 01:33.885
- uh it was loosely based off the Root-word Method... um... like I would venture to say it was the Root-word Method just not taught with as much... um... uh (.) ability maybe as the teachers at UofT and here
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:34.086 - 01:34.765
- okay
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
01:34.638 - 01:35.196
- mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:36.927 - 01:48.541
- um... and in terms of... like topics covered... um material used... would you say it was different or similar or?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
01:48.816 - 02:42.448
- yeah um (.) my experiences between the Native Canadian Centre and UofT and here (.) ye-the Native Canadian Centre is the most different to all of them... for a couple of reasons one it was a drop-in course... which lent itself to difficulties when new people showed up and you had to restart... um (.) so that inherently slowed down the program and made it more difficult to keep going with like a more comprehensive... um... sort of... knowledge and understanding of what you're getting into... um... and... it was only for like an hour and a half... or it was for... two hours twice a week... um (.) I wasn't there for too long... so... um... I'd say the biggest difference... would be between that course and then how I studied at UofT and how I study here... 'cause how I studied at

UofT is the same as how I study here just here is for significantly more hours

Caitlin Bergin  
02:42.544 - 02:43.036

mhm

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
02:43.481 - 02:44.608

that answer your question?

Caitlin Bergin  
02:44.686 - 02:45.559

yeah no you did

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
02:45.561 - 02:45.997

okay

Caitlin Bergin  
02:46.409 - 02:52.068

and in terms of... resources available to you at each of the different schools

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
02:52.032 - 02:52.474

mhm

Caitlin Bergin  
02:52.459 - 02:53.393

what was there?

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
02:54.479 - 05:13.513

um... so at th- at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto we all purchased a textbook (.) and that was kinda what we worked out of it was a textbook by um Kanatawakhon Maracle (.) I can't (.) Kanatawakhon's first name in English... it might be David Maracle I can't-I'm not sure... but Kanatawakhon Maracle (.) um... and... um (.) that was pretty much what we used and we just followed that and tried our best to speak (.) um at UofT (.) um (.) the materials (.) were pretty much what (.) I wrote for my own notes and what my classmates wrote for their notes 'cause we were limited to three hours a week and we only had the time to (.) um (.) really study what we did in class because our instructor was very focused on us speaking (.) so there wasn't so much studying materials as there was focusing in class and speaking together and taking notes on what we did (.) as we did it (.) um although there was like Quizlets created with different flashcards for everything that we had been doing which was of course helpful... and then (.) where I've received the most... re-support in terms of resources has definitely been here (.) there's like a fully developed and curated first-year textbook (.) that we follow pretty consistently throughout the entire year and that textbook is incredibly helpful (.) um (.) if you miss some content... or you need to remind yourself about how something works it's got

explanations of morphology in it (.) that we're lear-that you learn as you go through the year uh which is super helpful for like learning at home and practising at home (.) it's got (.) like um... I guess problem sets if you will (.) and that they got a bunch of questions you can translate (.) different examples of people having conversations with the material specific to every unit (.) all that's super helpful... and then (.) there's also dictionaries available to purchase and dictionaries that are uh different ones that are all around our classroom that we can just grab and use whenever (.) in addition to (.) um, a small tiny library in the corner there that has maybe... thirty forty fifty books that are all in Kanien'kéha (.) they're mostly children's books but like that's the level we... kinda speak at so it's (.) they're useful too to read... and then... um throughout all these programs I've always had the ability to get in touch with my instructors (.) through email Facebook or even texting or calling (.) so those are kinda all the resources I've had available... uh yeah

Caitlin Bergin  
05:22.456 - 05:29.384

now the immersion school it seems like... it provides a lot of incredibly useful resources

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
05:29.516 - 05:30.610

yeah it has lots of stuff

Caitlin Bergin  
05:31.201 - 05:36.014

is there anything that you wish it had?

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
05:36.338 - 06:45.104

yeah I wish that there was more interaction with audio recordings of first language (.) native fluent speakers of Mohawk um because that's perhaps the one thing that's most lacking from the program (.) is interaction with... uh the actual (.) way that first-language speakers speak... and the way that they choose to construct their sentences (.) um (.) and how they say di- say words differently than how a second-language speaker might... um (.) so if and it's difficult with this program (.) there's no real first language speakers around this community anymore so if anyone were to come in physically to the program they would be at least a six-hour drive away (.) so that aspect isn't really feasible but like an audio recording would be something we could interact with (.) if it was like... an audio recording of some people talking and we had transcriptions that we could like read and follow along with the Kanien'kéha (.) um... things like that just to interact with (.) interact more with like the highest

- levels of fluency possible (.) to try to model... um (.)  
our language off of, of that level of proficiency
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:48.414 - 06:52.679  
and you mentioned that there were no first language  
speakers immediately in the community
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
06:52.758 - 06:53.504  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:53.826 - 07:04.405  
do you think that... first language speakers from  
another community would their dialects prove difficult  
or do you think that would be useful towards your  
education?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
07:04.428 - 07:57.215  
yeah I think that would be useful towards our education  
because the dialect that we're- that we are learning here  
and that we speak here (.) um (.) is (.) is in many ways  
different from the other dialects some of the other  
dialects are perhaps more close to each other than this  
one is (.) um... and... no matter what as a Mohawk  
speaker... you need to be able to understand every  
dialect of Mohawk (.) because (.) um... we have so few  
speakers that you are on a regular basis if you are  
interacting with different speakers on a regular basis  
you're going to encounter every single dialect... that's  
currently in use (.) um (.) and they're not so different  
that it's that difficult to understand them even with very  
little (.) exposure to it... so I don't think it would be a  
huge problem no... although you're right it wouldn't be  
the same as a first language speaker from here
- Caitlin Bergin  
07:58.094 - 08:06.269  
but still it seems that... interaction with a first speaker  
whether in person or audio recording would be  
incredibly useful
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
08:06.262 - 08:09.610  
it- it significantly boosts people's ability to like speak  
well
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:09.850 - 08:10.292  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
08:10.516 - 08:17.103  
yeah (.) our actual pronunciation of words... and just  
the words they choose to use and how they use them
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:17.618 - 08:24.783  
mhm.... and that could also be something that you  
could use in a classroom environment but also at home  
for self-study too
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
08:23.587 - 08:25.309  
yeah... yeah

- Caitlin Bergin  
08:27.899 - 08:29.231  
that's interesting
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
08:29.218 - 08:29.687  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:36.880 - 08:48.408  
now in terms of... what is already out there... what do you not see as a dire need to your education
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
08:48.859 - 08:50.803  
out of things that are already out there?
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:51.245 - 08:55.422  
or already exist like for example I remember Ryan saying you don't need another dictionary
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
08:55.365 - 08:57.840  
I was just about to say I don't think we need anymore dictionaries
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:57.424 - 08:58.556  
[laughs]
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
08:58.610 - 08:59.228  
um
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:59.524 - 09:01.888  
cause as it is there's tons of dictionaries
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
09:02.379 - 09:09.810  
um (.) and they're going to give you words but they're not going to teach you how to speak well (.) I think that what we're really lacking is entertainment.
- Caitlin Bergin  
09:09.902 - 09:13.46  
any source of entertainment that is created in Kanien'kéha?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
09:13.825 - 09:30.207  
um (.) the only books that exist are children's books (.) there's no- there is no novels that exist there's nothing more than maybe... um as far as I know... um (.) original work (.) probably no existing original work longer than twenty pages written in Kanien'kéha
- Caitlin Bergin  
09:30.234 - 09:30.631  
really?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
09:30.634 - 09:42.014  
yeah... um... you could find things like (.) translations of the bible (.) uh we have stuff like that (.) but there's no original material where you can just read like uh uh a fiction story

- Caitlin Bergin  
09:42.175 - 09:42.738
- mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
09:42.778 - 10:17.884
- in here- in Kanien'kéha none of that exists there's no movies (.) or anything like that. Some people produce some content but... um... mostly (.) most Kanien'kéha content that is produced in the language (.) um... a lot of it's just informative things (.) like how to use like different medicines and stuff like that and that's all really cool... um and then there's just like talk shows (.) there's a couple talk shows and stuff like that where it's just um first language speakers talking and stuff and all that's really useful (.) but it would be really great to just be able to like sit down and... um (.) yeah like read a book in Kanien'kéha
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:17.376 - 10:17.586
- yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
10:18.011 - 10:22.820
- or... uh... have any sort of other media really going on
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:23.156 - 10:30.059
- and if it was... a translated text do you think that would not carry as well as an original text?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
10:30.544 - 10:35.820
- I think it would (.) probably depend on... what text is being translated and who translated it
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:35.896 - 10:40.327
- like for example would you want to read Harry Potter in Kanien'kéha?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
10:36.226 - 10:43.311
- to be honest... I would read Harry Potter in Kanien'kéha yeah I definitely would
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:41.316 - 10:42.517
- yeah [laughs]
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
10:43.364 - 10:47.010
- it's funny you said that cause that was the first book that came to my mind too
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:46.999 - 10:55.486
- Well in UofT's Irish class that was the (.) advanced levels final project (.) you would translate a chapter in Harry Potter
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
10:55.479 - 10:56.274
- oh wow
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:55.486 - 10:58.928
- and together as a class you would (.) put them together

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
10:58.984 - 10:59.542  
wow
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:59.838 - 11:00.263  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
11:00.235 - 11:00.854  
that's cool
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:01.045 - 11:01.498  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
11:01.501 - 11:22.109  
um... yeah like I think something like that would be cool for sure... even if it was just like a translated work of something very popular (.) 'cause there are children that are growing up learning Kanien'kéha (.) um as their first language (.) and what (.) uh tends to happen if their parents are second-language speakers is that by the time they reach their early adolescence they actually start losing more language than they are gaining
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:22.511 - 11:30.803  
hm... and do you think that has to do with like uh there's just less material they're ageing out of those children books or is it...?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
11:24.569 - 11:37.280  
[unclear start] happens to the kids... yeah they- they quickly surpass their parents speaking abilities and at that point they have no one nothing and no one to
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:33.254 - 11:33.569  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
11:37.577 - 11:43.409  
continue to push them so they stagnate and end up deteriorating 'cause they obviously interact with English constantly
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:43.709 - 11:44.206  
mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
11:44.277 - 11:48.816  
but... ther- there gets to a point kind of where there's- there's nothing to keep them going along
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:49.151 - 11:49.803  
mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
11:50.254 - 11:50.624  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:52.403 - 12:00.446  
so if you were able to turn on the tv and see a- like an original Mohawk production or even a translated Mohawk production

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
11:58.289 - 12:13.914  
that'd be really cool... yeah (.) at a conference that we were at recently they- they played a clip of um (.) of a cartoon I can't remember what cartoon it was (.) but um (.) the... the people who were presenting this had um dubbed over it with everything in Oneida
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:14.200 - 12:14.708  
hm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
12:14.766 - 12:26.123  
um and it was like maybe a three-minute long clip (.) and just involved like some silly stuff happening in a dollar store (.) and like my friends and I still quote that little three minute long clip that we watched like two months ago at a conference
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:26.462 - 12:27.457  
'cause it meant a lot to you
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
12:27.455 - 12:33.520  
yeah because it was really cool to see it and it was like even though it was a kid's cartoon it was still really funny and we still laugh and like quoting it and stuff like that
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:28.717 - 12:34.141  
huh... mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
12:34.210 - 12:34.536  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:35.109 - 12:44.310  
what about other um... online media like for example if you could have a Kanien'kéha Facebook
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
12:44.558 - 13:28.890  
mhm (.) Kanien'kéha Facebook would be cool I would definitely do that (.) one thing that consistently irks me is that (.) um... Facebook for example (.) Facebook... tran- tries to detect languages and translate them (.) and when it recognizes something as not being... English or whatever it'll- it'll assume it's another language and pick whatever one it determines is nearest (.) but it actually won't let you tell you that it's picked the wrong language (.) so if you- if you report a translation as being not (.) so for example (.) um (.) it often thinks that (.) um... Mohawk is (.) like Hindi and stuff like that that's weird, like totally different things, other languages completely
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:26.094 - 13:26.531  
really?

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
13:29.123 - 13:29.742
- and... if you try to tell it it's not that language it'll ask you what language it is but it'll only allow you to select out of their currently supported languages so you actually can't tell them that they just don't have that language
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:40.097 - 13:40.478
- mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
13:40.461 - 13:43.665
- at all... the translation is totally wack
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:43.946 - 13:44.394
- yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
yeah  
13:44.865 - 13:47.557
- yeah (.) so I would definitely do Facebook in Mohawk
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:47.869 - 13:55.213
- Do you use Mo- like do you use Mohawk a lot in... online interactions social media?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
13:55.284 - 14:01.825
- yeah with pretty much all my friends that speak Mohawk, if- if there's any sort like online interaction then it's in Mohawk
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:02.086 - 14:02.611
- okay
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:02.645 - 14:02.993
- yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:03.520 - 14:04.100
- and there's no-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:03.898 - 14:07.617
- messaging each other personally or like, yeah pretty much
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:08.078 - 14:10.460
- and there's no Mohawk keyboard right? on the-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:10.465 - 14:10.951
- no
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:11.068 - 14:13.881
- so of course you're getting all the underlines and the autocorrect-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:14.481 - 14:20.354
- yeah- yeah I actually turned the autocorrect off on my phone because of it... so I just don't have autocorrect on my phone

- Caitlin Bergin  
14:20.428 - 14:21.445  
hindering your ability to-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:21.395 - 14:24.218  
yeah well 'cause you type a word three times and it keeps changing it
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:24.487 - 14:25.227  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:24.888 - 14:25.413  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:26.385 - 14:40.409  
hm... 'kay... what about um... as a student... what do you think about the resources that are available to teachers?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:41.694 - 14:44.208  
I don't know what their-ahaha I mean I'm not a teacher
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:44.217 - 14:44.549  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
14:45.286 - 15:34.010  
but I don't know if there are any resources available for teachers (.) like period (.) I think it's kind of... um (.) I think most teachers kind of just have their own personal collection... of materials they probably gathered from their time as a student and things that they've created (.) um... other than that I can't think of (.) other than (.) yeah gathering up your own sort of materials, creating your own materials, collaborating with others, and borrowing things from other people that have created their stuff I- I don't know that there's really anything available for teachers (.) in terms of how to teach (.) or what to teach (.) kind of all of it (.) I think that most teacher though have a background as a student and I would (.) um (.) imagine that a lot of their... content (.) and the way that that they teach, draws on their experience as a student
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:43.784 - 15:55.000  
and comparing the three different Mohawk courses you've been in... and obviously experiencing three different styles of teaching
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
15:53.470 - 15:53.912  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:56.256 - 16:03.364  
what would you say about... the resources available in each of those three different schools

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
16:06.167 - 16:24.208

um... I don't think... I mean ah- UofT of course has the most resources available to them, they're the university of Toronto and it's the centre for Indigenous studies (.) um (.) at the same time (.) they're limited by the fact that (.) uh (.) they're just three hours a week

Caitlin Bergin  
16:24.771 - 16:25.771

and it's only one teacher

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
16:24.854 - 16:45.129

um (.) and it's only one teacher (.) um (.) so that's kinda their limitations (.) and then- I mean once again the teacher resources that the teacher has are just resources that the teacher has created (.) and- and have had shared with him from his time as a student and in teaching (.) um (.) pretty much everything Ryan uses at UofT he's created himself

Caitlin Bergin  
16:45.200 - 16:45.587

really?

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
16:45.618 - 17:35.201

yeah with the exception of the method of teaching which is what he got- he got it from here and it originally comes from Kanatawakhon Maracle (.) but... um... at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto... I mean they had space... uh (.) that's kinda the only resource I guess NCCT has (.) and money so they have the space for the program (.) um and the ability to run it for free (.) which is great (.) um (.) and other than that same thing the teacher's resources were just a dictionary that he had and his experience as a student and any handouts that he would just make for us (.) here (.) um (.) they're probably the most limited by funding out of the three places I've been (.) um (.) but they have the most materials (.) and once again I think that just comes down to the fact that the teachers here have... spent more time (.) just creating their own materials for their students

Caitlin Bergin  
17:35.209 - 17:35.812

mhm

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
17:35.891 - 17:36.300

yeah

Caitlin Bergin  
17:37.592 - 17:40.714

and it's also the longest-running out of those three as well too

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
17:40.040 - 17:48.052  
yeah (.) yeah by a significant margin... both the teachers that I had at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto and at UofT both went to this program
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:47.981 - 17:48.445  
really?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
17:48.368 - 17:48.766  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:50.839 - 18:08.368  
hm... so in terms of...language documentation... have you encountered (.) I know that this community has been documenting or has had their language documented for hundreds of years
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
18:08.342 - 18:08.745  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:08.963 - 18:22.207  
but have you personally encountered any... speech formulas or kind of (.) unique words idioms colloquialisms that you think (.) should be documented?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
18:23.172 - 18:41.657  
Oh yeah I think all of that stuff should be documented I think that stuff is like really really really cool I think it's like a very important aspect of any living language to have idioms and colloquialisms that frankly make no sense but (.) do at the same time (.) um... so every time that I learn one I always write it down
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:41.826 - 18:42.251  
really?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
18:42.196 - 19:04.009  
yeah (.) um I've never encountered one like (.) in writing or in like data or anything like that but it's just been from like me straight up asking people if they know any idioms because I just wanna always remember that stuff (.) like for example like saying that a house is cold (.) means that it's been deserted... that's like an idiom in Mohawk like "oh yeah that's a cold house" means that it's been abandoned
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:04.184 - 19:04.499  
hm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
19:04.736 - 19:06.406  
mhm... yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:05.915 - 19:07.739  
do you know anymore off the top of your head or?

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
19:07.726 - 19:16.300
- yeah another one is um (.) you're standing your bag up (.) and that just means like... you're full of shit you're bragging about stuff that's not true
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:16.295 - 19:16.593
- yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
19:16.831 - 19:44.987
- um... so that's you're standing your bag up and then there's uh... what does it translate to in English? English- English... satyá:rote... oh and the other one is your bag's empty (.) and it means that you're out of mind like you're crazy... yeah those are th- those are th- three idioms that I know (.) yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:44.965 - 19:45.242
- cool
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
19:45.637 - 19:45.924
- yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:48.394 - 20:00.840
- and how is... the Mohawk language um handling... new words (.) for new technologies you know (.) like emails text messages memes
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
19:57.397 - 20:38.281
- mhm... yeah...yeah (.) um (.) some of them have had words created for them (.) through a concerted effort in the 1990s in the Mohawk Language Standardization Project so now we have words for like phone (.) which is teyetharahkwa (.) and we try to follow (.) um the same (.) sorta naming convention for things by- by creating it out of like verbs in our language that make sense like teyetharahkwa means like the thing one uses to talk (.) uh (.) which means phone (.) um and other different words like that (.) uh a lot of the times (.) uh words will just be said (.) and people will just like throw on what they imagine to be like kind of a Kanien'kéha accent on it
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:38.476 - 20:38.895
- really?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
20:38.881 - 20:58.916
- yeah (.) um... yeah and some comm- some people are just more receptive to it than others um (.) a lot of people... think that our language shouldn't change and we shouldn't make new words and we (.) should just use the English versions and a lot of people think that's dumb we should- you know if they have those words English, French and everything else then why don't we just make them too it's not a big deal

- Caitlin Bergin  
20:59.089 - 20:59.525  
mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
20:59.442 - 21:00.221  
so yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:00.202 - 21:01.450  
and which one of those do you-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
21:01.876 - 21:11.753  
I think that we should make the words for it (.) I think it's silly to walk around and be speaking in Kanien'kéha then just say like "hamburger" in English or something like that (.) I mean well we do have a word for hamburger but yeah... you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:11.339 - 21:11.753  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
21:18.388 - 21:24.469  
like to use the cellphone one for example I feel like it'd be silly if- if we were still saying aón:ton ken á:katste'ne cellphone
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:24.772 - 21:25.275  
right
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
21:25.295 - 21:28.400  
aón:ton ken á:katste'ne cellphone "can I use your cellphone?" why not make a word for it?
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:29.001 - 21:32.622  
yeah... and also you're kinda taking back that-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
21:33.287 - 21:33.618  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:34.079 - 21:35.007  
that English
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
21:35.282 - 21:48.347  
yeah (.) we have words for cars and a whole bunch of other stuff too but it just takes (.) people... that have enough understanding and experience with the language to make something that's like a reasonably good fit for it and then for it to catch on enough and people to accept it
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:52.961 - 22:02.928  
so do you think there is (.) um (.) room then for documentary linguistics to... help with language revitalization

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
22:03.696 - 22:45.269
- yeah absolutely I mean... kinda the whole pro- like every step of the way if the language is like extremely close to dying and maybe preventing it dying (.) isn't (.) exactly possible at the moment for whatever reasons (.) then like documenting it to begin with is very important (.) I think that as (.) you know as elder speakers age and are passing on documenting it (.) from them is important (.) if it's possible (.) like we've (.) um (.) lost a lot of the local dialect here with the speakers that have passed away and the only parts that remain now are what (.) um (.) has either been documented and I don't know if much has been (.) um (.) of those speakers and then what people that they taught remember
- Caitlin Bergin  
22:45.661 - 22:46.020
- mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
22:45.909 - 23:09.576
- um... so yeah no I think that part is super important and I think being able to like retrieve that existing documentation and actually be able to like understand what's going on with how it's been documented because of course the way that (.) for example (.) people have- have written their documentation and actually done it has of course changed over the years... and I would- I would imagine it would require training to understand what's going on (.) in a lot of it
- Caitlin Bergin  
23:08.399 - 23:21.653
- yeah... and in terms of retrieving that data... what do you think about um... how communities could access that data or use that data
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
23:21.865 - 23:25.479
- I guess it depends who has (.) and whatever data it is right?
- Caitlin Bergin  
23:23.758 - 23:24.040
- yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
23:25.723 - 23:34.936
- I think part of the battle for a community might be even finding out where that data is (.) who came and collected it 60 years ago that never came back and where did they take it and where is it now?
- Caitlin Bergin  
23:35.039 - 23:35.586
- mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
23:36.932 - 23:38.855
- I think would probably be the biggest challenge
- Caitlin Bergin  
23:39.769 - 23:40.333
- it is

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
23:40.457 - 23:42.617  
yeah (.) knowing where it even went to begin with
- Caitlin Bergin  
23:42.835 - 24:03.924  
yeah... and in terms of... kind of reclaiming that data... there was this interesting paper written in 2009 by this linguist that used 100 plus-year-old data to revive a language
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
24:02.189 - 24:04.224  
mhm... oh yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
24:04.544 - 24:25.802  
it was pretty cool (.) um... what do you think... could be...done with that data? and like again we're speaking kinda abstractly right? You don't know what the data is you don't know where it is (.) but (.) if you had access to data of-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
24:24.592 - 24:26.133  
mhm... mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
24:26.635 - 24:30.010  
speakers in your community what would you like to see done with it?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
24:28.049 - 24:47.516  
mhm... I would be trying to figure out what words are specific- like- like and just me personally like you said if I had access to it I'd be trying to figure out (.) what words are specific to this community like one for example that I know is e'thohtsi it means should and nobody- no other community dialect has that word in it (.) nobody says that word except for people from here
- Caitlin Bergin  
24:47.759 - 24:48.052  
hm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
24:48.202 - 25:12.384  
um... I would be looking for things like that I would be looking for idioms and- and things like that (.) and I'd be (.) um (.) liste- I mean if it's- if it's a recording I'd be listening to how people are saying things too (.) um cause that of course changes (.) and then I don't know I would probably just try to (.) collect that information in whatever way makes sense to me and then try to disseminate it in whatever way also would kinda make sense you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:12.797 - 25:17.983  
yeah... and I guess cultural things too cause that would vary between communities

- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
25:17.947 - 25:30.501  
yeah (.) yeah and some of it might not and who knows like there might be some data that has some very heavily cultural things going on in it I don't know there might be long house speeches and things like that that have been recorded or transcribed and notes taken on it
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:30.688 - 25:31.268  
mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
25:31.314 - 25:45.424  
those speeches are really special too and um a lot of people have passed away that know- know them very well so (.) if those have been documented that would be one thing that I think that our communities would need to get control of... urgently
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:45.563 - 25:46.917  
because those are so-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
25:47.253 - 25:52.379  
they're super valuable culturally... in pretty much every respect
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:52.602 - 25:53.127  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
25:54.003 - 25:54.428  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:54.004 - 26:00.620  
and do you think that that would be done by a community member just because they are so intimate or-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
26:00.356 - 26:23.018  
usually the longhouses get together and go after- like an like an entire longhouse (.) community would go after certain things- things that are- that are very uh important to ceremony and longhouses (.) so I would- would imagine if there was an existing recording of- of a longhouse speech (.) somewhere um (.) that the longhouses themselves would try to retrieve them
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:26.322 - 26:34.911  
and do you think there are any other important cultural examples of language
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
26:36.580 - 26:39.934  
um... one thing that I would, I, I,
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:37.228 - 26:38.216  
that you would like to-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
26:40.711 - 26:43.524  
it would be amazing if there's documentation on it would be baby speak

- Caitlin Bergin  
26:44.091 - 26:44.594  
yeah?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
26:44.166 - 27:10.359  
baby speak is something that we have um (.) lost almost completely in Kanien'kéha... um (.) because the intergenerational transfer of language almost stopped completely in Kanien'kéha (.) um so there's like I think maybe... uh (.) maybe two-dozen families total (.) that speak Kanien'kéha as the primary language in the home and the kids-
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:10.151 - 27:11.477  
in this community or-
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
27:11.386 - 27:12.442  
no period
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:12.864 - 27:13.240  
really?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
27:13.193 - 27:46.955  
yeah (.) um (.) and so... and of those communities I don't- I can't say for sure of th- I'm sorry those families I can't say for sure that that (.) intergenerational transmission wasn't interrupted at some point (.) so (.) I can only imagine there are very few living people (.) that... have maintained the ability... and the uh the knowledge (.) of how to speak baby talk to children and babies in Kanien'kéha to begin with... yeah... that would be super useful
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:48.953 - 27:50.312  
it's funny you used the word useful
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
27:50.688 - 27:53.208  
mhm (.) why? [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:53.578 - 27:59.036  
well you don't reg-regularly think of motherese as in useful day-to-day speech
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
27:59.031 - 27:59.655  
oh yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:59.230 - 27:59.573  
but
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
28:00.133 - 28:01.509  
well you gotta raise your kids

- Caitlin Bergin  
28:00.194 - 28:02.065  
no if- exactly
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
28:01.844 - 28:11.725  
[laughs] 'cause baby talk is so silly to us in English it's just a thing people do with babies and sometimes animals or whatever right
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:11.719 - 28:12.233  
mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
28:12.196 - 28:19.008  
but then you think (.) how (.) how would I talk to a kid if I didn't know that that's how people talk to kids
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:19.677 - 28:22.321  
yeah... yeah it's a very valid point
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
28:22.413 - 28:32.588  
mhm... you know with original Kanien'kéha baby speak did people raise their voices? did people over-emphasize their intonation and stuff like that?
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:33.391 - 28:34.977  
do they go all high-pitched and squeaky?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
28:34.946 - 28:43.312  
yeah that's what I mean(.) did they do that? or did they speak normally? did they use incorporated words or not incorporated words? ... when they spoke to kids
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:43.226 - 28:43.873  
mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
28:44.783 - 28:50.713  
mhm... I don't know the answers to those questions and nobody I've asked knows the answers to those questions either
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:47.945 - 28:55.434  
[laughs] ... yeah ... interesting
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
28:57.142 - 29:02.500  
so... to an- I don't know if that was your question but that would be the data I would like to see the most
- Caitlin Bergin  
29:02.689 - 29:03.092  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
29:03.099 - 29:14.203  
if that exists I don't- I don't know if anyone was ever interested in that before it was gone... I can't imagine a linguist showing up here 60 years ago and saying "how do you guys speak to babies?" [laughs]

- Caitlin Bergin  
29:14.520 - 29:32.731 [laughs] ... so in terms of um (.) moving towards this new more kind of uh documentary linguistics and Indigenous language revitalization... do you have any suggestions for young linguists or?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
29:34.477 - 29:59.497 um... yeah maintain communication with the people your working with (.) I think would be a big one (.) like jus- jus- just continue to be a part... of whatever you get yourself into (.) would be my advice to beginner linguists because (.) I have been told by members of various communities to avoid certain linguists because they showed up and said "hey I want to do this stuff" and blah blah blah and then they just left and never came back
- Caitlin Bergin  
29:59.785 - 30:00.150 really?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
30:00.125 - 30:01.495 yeah people don't forget that
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:01.741 - 30:02.084 yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
30:02.618 - 30:14.366 um (.) because people get excited about you know (.) people coming to do work and stuff like that (.) so it'd just be yeah... I don't know (.) don't forget the people you're getting the data from [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:13.615 - 30:15.239 yeah maintain communication
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
30:15.635 - 30:18.194 yeah... mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:23.432 - 30:24.848 do you have any other suggestions?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
30:26.266 - 30:26.627 mm
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:27.271 - 30:28.254 or that's the big one?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
30:28.332 - 30:48.501 know why you're doing- like why... have a good reason for yourself why you're doing the work that you're doing because... if you don't (.) I feel like the reason is probably just... not a lot of work exists on it and I wanna- I can do work on it and then I can get a good

- career from that or whatever and that's just- it's just not going to work out
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:48.853 - 30:51.684  
yeah don't treat it as just an academic endeavour
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
30:49.830 - 30:52.266  
for anyone... yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:52.526 - 30:54.121  
kind of value the lives behind it
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
30:53.553 - 30:59.595  
yeah  
right (.) yeah linguistic documentation should not be an academic endeavour it should be a humanitarian one...
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:07.433 - 31:09.141  
I think you basically answered all my questions
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
31:09.667 - 31:10.042  
cool
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:19.483 - 31:33.127  
just going back to... um... what is available now in terms of new media (.) and you said there were some... talk shows with first-language speakers
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
31:31.791 - 31:33.133  
yep... yup
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:33.744 - 31:37.807  
and APTN I think, they do like Mohawk girls in Mohawk right?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
31:38.514 - 31:43.843  
uh they have a tv show called Mohawk girls but I don't know if they speak much Mohawk in it at all
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:44.132 - 31:44.967  
oh okay
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
31:44.647 - 31:49.489  
it's just about a bunch of girls on the rez as far as I know there might be some Mohawk in it but I don't there's- like it's
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:47.289 - 31:47.551  
yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
31:49.938 - 31:52.014  
they're not like having big conversations or anything in Mohawk

- Caitlin Bergin  
31:52.617 - 32:02.746
- is there anything you'd like specifically like to see? in terms of you know like- like a local news show done all in Mohawk or like an action movie
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
32:03.117 - 32:04.093
- or an action movie?
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:03.283 - 32:04.493
- you know? you know what I mean?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
32:04.466 - 32:30.024
- honestly the news would be a really cool thing (.) when I was living in New Zealand they have a na- a national Maori television network (.) and you can turn on the news you can turn on the news and watch it in Maori anytime you want (.) full nation-wide coverage of everything going on and it's all in Maori and it's available everywhere in the nation... uh bit different there because (.) they all speak the same language with dialect- dialectal variations but it's still the same language and always mutually intelligible so they can cover the whole nation like that
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:30.249 - 32:30.551
- yeah
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
32:30.849 - 32:49.387
- um... but... there's... no all Kanien'kéha news available (.) other than just things that people like write and put online or in a talk show that someone might talk about (.) but to see like an actual like syndicated national news network or something like that and everything in Kanien'kéha
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:49.691 - 32:50.152
- mhm
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
32:50.740 - 33:00.955
- I don't think we ever will because of the nature of there being so many languages in a country as large as Canada (.) but that would be (.) what I would pick (.) if I could just like sit down throw on the news and be like what's going on around the world
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:01.188 - 33:02.360
- what about a radio show?
- Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
33:02.922 - 33:04.273
- a radio show would be cool too
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:04.841 - 33:07.772
- even as a young 20-something-year-old you would listen?

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
33:05.250 - 33:11.141  
yeah... I listen believe it or not to CBC radio almost  
whenever I'm in my car

Caitlin Bergin  
33:10.872 - 33:11.402  
me too

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
33:11.466 - 33:11.833  
yeah

Caitlin Bergin  
33:11.825 - 33:12.544  
[laughs]

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
33:12.471 - 33:15.799  
[laughs]... so yeah

Caitlin Bergin  
33:16.945 - 33:24.528  
okay... okay I think we're done (.) thank you very much

Mitchell Mittelstaedt  
33:24.700 - 33:25.304  
yeah my pleasure

### Appendix C: Lindsay Sunday Interview Transcript

Contributor: Lindsay Sunday (.) short pause (pause < 00:01.500)  
 Interviewer: Caitlin Bergin ... long pause (pause > 00:01.500)  
 Date: December 12, 2019 - interruption or repetition  
 Location: Atrium of the G.R.E.A.T. building

Caitlin Bergin so Lindsay, are you a student or a teacher?  
 00:03.709 - 00:08.015

Lindsay Sunday um... I'm a student right now but I taught in the  
 00:08.800 - 00:15.206 summer and sometimes I help to teach at Everlasting  
 Tree School

Caitlin Bergin Okay  
 00:15.894 - 00:16.536

Lindsay Sunday and um in the summer I taught adults (.) the Root-word  
 00:19.294 - 00:29.018 Method and um at the tree school whenever I help out  
 it's just kids and it's just like simple commands

Background [door closes]  
 00:27.910 - 00:28.389

Caitlin Bergin mhm (.) what ages are the students at the tree school?  
 00:29.208 - 00:32.812

Lindsay Sunday um they're really young they're five to seven  
 00:33.468 - 00:35.731

Caitlin Bergin okay (.) and did you teach adults there or somewhere  
 00:36.293 - 00:40.770 else?

Lindsay Sunday No um (.) I'm from Akwesásne and that's where I was in  
 00:41.169 - 01:00.607 the summer after my first year studying here at  
 Onkwawén:na (.) so I was working for this place called  
 AEDA they make um curriculum lots of Kanien'kéha  
 curriculum (.) and um we travelled through the  
 community teaching at wherever would let us or where  
 there was interest

Caitlin Bergin okay within Akwesásne?  
 01:01.141 - 01:03.068

Lindsay Sunday mhm  
 01:01.651 - 01:02.072

Caitlin Bergin cool (.) so how long have you been studying Mohawk?  
 01:03.844 - 01:06.707

- Lindsay Sunday  
01:07.910 - 01:31.421  
um... I've been studying here at Onkwawén:na since September 2018 (.) yeah and before that I was studying a little bit in Akwesásne but whenever I started all I knew was like some nouns like I know like (.) table chair the places of some things car like some not very useful stuff but just some nouns
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:31.562 - 01:31.920  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
01:32.069 - 01:54.256  
mhm (.) so I'd say... so I really only been studying like this intensely for a year (.) but before that I'd say... like... maybe th- three years (.) three years in total... but um (.) I was fluent when I was a child
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:54.853 - 01:55.295  
really?
- Lindsay Sunday  
01:55.317 - 02:05.508  
yeah (.) it was um like my first language (.) and then (.) from like a baby 'till once I went to like kindergarten so maybe when I was like four that's when I really lost it
- Background  
02:04.169 - 02:07.269  
[cart rolling by]
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:07.925 - 02:10.920  
and is that because you went to an English school?
- Lindsay Sunday  
02:11.175 - 02:27.990  
yeah I went to an all English speaking school (.) and like my babysitters were my godparents and they were completely fluent (.) and they lived on a part of the reserve where it's like extremely isolated (.) it's all along the river and it's just like the end of this road and everyone down it all speaks Mohawk and they're all family
- Background  
02:27.966 - 02:28.450  
[door closes]
- Lindsay Sunday  
02:28.598 - 02:33.567  
so they were always- that's what I was always constantly surrounded by (.) yeah it was really nice  
[laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:34.516 - 02:36.237  
so do your parents speak Mohawk?

- Lindsay Sunday  
02:36.656 - 02:47.509  
my dad speaks yeah um (.) so my mom (.) her dad spoke and her mom didn't and then my dad both his parents spoke but now it's just my grandmother who's alive
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:48.000 - 02:48.706  
okay
- Lindsay Sunday  
02:48.696 - 02:49.059  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:49.414 - 02:51.767  
so when you go home do you speak to your grandmother in-
- Lindsay Sunday  
02:51.752 - 02:56.707  
yeah- yeah I live with my grandmother so every time I go home she talks to me [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:56.791 - 02:57.280  
nice
- Lindsay Sunday  
02:57.443 - 03:08.941  
it's a little intimidating though because the language is so different compared to here and how an old person talks (.) it's re- extremely different like it's kinda hard for them to understand us and it's kind of hard for us to understand them
- Caitlin Bergin  
03:09.110 - 03:09.589  
really?
- Lindsay Sunday  
03:09.581 - 03:09.907  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
03:10.519 - 03:12.566  
is it an accent or a-
- Lindsay Sunday  
03:13.085 - 04:03.173  
it's a lot of things because... it's- it's really hard because (.)like here I find like at Onkwawén:na (.) there's so much English inflection on the language like they say stuff that Elders wouldn't say in Mohawk and they have old sayings that (.) we wouldn't know it we wouldn't think to say like the kinda stuff they say (.) like an example is a- this old man (.) he would say um ken'tsiá:ti and it means "you're in here" and he's like pointing at his pocket (.) and it means I have a secret about you... but an English person- an English speaking person wouldn't think to make (.) like a comment or a re-remark like that... they try to say some funny stuff here like (.) they'll be like "it's lit" (.) they'll be like "teioswathe" like "it's bright" (.) and then old people are

- like “what are you saying?” you know so there's this huge
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:00.915 - 04:01.799 [laughs]
- Lindsay Sunday  
04:03.517 - 04:09.516 there's this huge gap where it's like (.) the young second-language speakers need to go and sit with old people like
- Background  
04:09.799 - 04:10.277 [person talking]
- Lindsay Sunday  
04:10.749 - 04:25.790 it's hard though (.) 'cause like right now (.) like we're speaking and I think I have enough like I'm still talking kinda like a baby or something but I have enough to understand them and break down the words they're using and they're saying so that I can start to mock them (.) and like yeah use those words
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:26.005 - 04:37.410 mhm... so how old were you when you started um your full-time Mohawk education?
- Lindsay Sunday  
04:37.911 - 04:41.101 uh (.) let's see I'm 21 I was 20 when I started
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:41.495 - 04:41.916 okay
- Lindsay Sunday  
04:43.991 - 04:56.098 it's really amazing I (.) didn't (.) I could not hold a conversation I couldn't say a whole sentence I just knew some words (.) now we're like at where we're at and we've only been studying since... 2018 there so
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:56.454 - 04:59.491 so you've been using this method for one year?
- Lindsay Sunday  
04:59.564 - 05:00.984 yep (.) yeah one year
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:01.191 - 05:05.786 I understand that in other communities you're taught whole words
- Lindsay Sunday  
05:06.093 - 05:06.372 yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:06.275 - 05:08.428 rather than how to incorporate them?
- Lindsay Sunday  
yeah yeah (.) I can see why people would think that (.)

- 05:07.843 - 05:47.764 'cause that's kind of... what I was doing before I came here (.)and I didn't understand why I was saying those things like...just- I just didn't really know you know I'm like this word means only this and this word only means this but then (.) here it's like when you learn all these (.) like the roots and the prefixes and how to change them (.) you get to see how everything is related and they- it like forces your brain to figure out how to create a word (.) and like we have the rules to follow so our English speaking brains are like (.) “alright you can do this it's alright you can try to make this word and it should be right” and it is usually, most of the time hopefully [laughs] yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:48.038 - 05:50.811 so what made you leave your community and come here?
- Lindsay Sunday  
05:51.631 - 06:38.776 uh they didn't have a good immersion program out there like uh they have (.) they have this one it's just like um (.) nothing for adults (.) there's a freedom school and that's for like babies up until high school... that's not the Root-word though that's just like a communal school where it's all Mohawk immersion (.) but after that there's nothing for adults... there seems to be a lot of immersion programs that'll spark up and it'll be one or two years but then (.) it's usually not that successful (.) and that'll be it (.) and then maybe another one will spark up in a different part (.) 'cause it split up that community it split up (.) half Canada half the States... but it's- but it's considered one (.) there's just like a river and borders kinda like (.) but it's all one community so (.) they spark up in different parts of it
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:39.351 - 06:41.061 why do you think they don't last very long?
- Lindsay Sunday  
06:42.213 - 06:46.418 they don't teach the Root-word Method [laughs] that's why [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:44.168 - 06:49.418 [laughs] there's only so much you can do with that whole-word
- Lindsay Sunday  
06:49.194 - 06:55.336 ex- there's not much yeah exactly it's just memorization and (.)that really doesn't work with this type of language
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:55.773 - 07:05.476 okay... um so now that you've been here for a full year and a bit (.) what do you think about the resources that are available to you?

- Lindsay Sunday  
07:06.667 - 07:33.803
- um (.) like as in these resources at Onkwawén:na? um  
(.) I think they're awesome (.) I think they're extremely  
useful (.) I think... I don't know though I- I wish they  
would be a little more lenient in looking at like (.)  
different dialects cause I have a- like an Akwesásne  
dialect I say my words differently (.) some words I say  
don't really mean what they think it means here and what  
I think it means or what it means back home
- Caitlin Bergin  
07:33.987 - 07:34.397
- mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
07:34.540 - 07:43.302
- stuff is different like for an example um (.) the word  
saton'wéhson here it means have fun (.) in Akwesásne  
it means go get drunk [laughs] yeah [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
07:41.841 - 07:43.528
- really? [laughs]
- Lindsay Sunday  
07:43.302 - 07:55.571
- I said that to my tota she told me she was going bowling  
I'm like saton'wéhsonshe's like iah thakhnekiren she's  
like I'm not going to drink [laughs] and I was like  
what?! [laughs] yeah so there's little all these  
differences
- Caitlin Bergin  
07:55.725 - 07:56.135
- yeah
- Lindsay Sunday  
07:56.004 - 08:41.972
- no it's good I just think (.) here um (.) the curriculum is  
awesome the method's amazing (.) but I wish the (.)  
some of the curriculum was a little bit different (.) I  
wish they focused a little bit more (.) on... Elders I wish  
we could listen to Elders like right now this is a perfect  
opportunity in second year we have enough to converse  
this would be the perfect time to start listening to lots of  
tapes and recordings and getting assignments like that  
(.) and (.) and trying to figure what they're saying like  
oh why would they say that (.) what do they mean by  
that you know question things more cause (.) right now  
(.) all we really do is study in class we don't really get  
to... go outside of that (.) I wish they would change that  
a little bit (.) and some- yeah too much English  
influence as well but the methods are amazing
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:42.231 - 08:44.663
- so you'd like more interaction with the language?
- Lindsay Sunday
- more- more interaction and a little bit... a little bit more

- 08:43.926 - 09:16.434 seeking like first-language speakers... [clears throat] we kinda get a lot of like um flak on that (.) like back home (.) I was teaching in the summer (.) and a couple people were like "oh you second-language speakers" (.) like Elders are saying they can't even understand you and you's are like ruining the language you're going to make it bad and this stuff (.) and it's (.) it's too bad but it's like (.) 'cause this is like kind of our only option right now you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
09:16.657 - 09:19.231 and are those people saying that are they speakers or?
- Lindsay Sunday  
09:19.756 - 00:09:43.869 um I heard that from non-speakers... yeah [laughs] and I'm like "what are we supposed to do then? Just let it- just not do anything?" you know? (.) because their way (.) of teaching hasn't worked in like (.) a long time they've been tryna (.) make curriculum for like twenty years (.) maybe longer (.) but yeah that hasn't worked this is working like really good... but yeah we get a lotta flack on that
- Caitlin Bergin  
09:45.498 - 09:50.669 what about (.) the (.) resources in terms of materials available to you?
- Lindsay Sunday  
09:50.896 - 09:51.833 materials?
- Caitlin Bergin  
09:51.844 - 09:52.518 mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
09:52.910 - 09:53.973 um
- Caitlin Bergin  
09:54.491 - 09:58.459 so I saw that you had a really amazing textbook for first year
- Lindsay Sunday  
09:57.333 - 09:58.414 yeah mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
09:59.140 - 10:00.109 what else is there?
- Lindsay Sunday  
10:01.297 - 10:32.53 that's about it they give us a textbook oh they give us a 1 dictionary (.) and um... some handouts our tests that's about it (.) that's really good... uh (.) some like community members they make um (.) short story books which is pretty nice... uh (.) there's a couple apps (.) there's some good stuff... there's some games too

- sometimes we can take games and they'll be like English only but we can like use them in Kanien'kéha
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:32.908 - 10:34.797 I saw Monopoly and Clue in there
- Lindsay Sunday  
10:34.292 - 10:35.271 yeah yeah [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:35.472 - 10:36.430 [laughs]
- Lindsay Sunday  
10:36.638 - 10:41.169 and Taboo and there's this one I like to play it's called um (.) Code Names
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:41.401 - 10:41.954 mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
10:42.011 - 10:45.616 yeah it's- it's really fun it's really fun in Kanien'kéha it's really funny too
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:46.451 - 10:51.855 in terms of the storybooks you mentioned are those (.) original stories or translated?
- Lindsay Sunday  
10:52.481 - 11:11.438 um (.) some are original (.) some are translated (.) some are just like facts like I took this one book it was all about trees (.) and which trees are used for what like which trees make lacrosse sticks which trees make baskets stuff like that and it's all in Kanien'kéha so I really like that
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:11.590 - 11:14.606 and did you get that out of your library here or?
- Lindsay Sunday  
11:13.788 - 11:15.130 mhm yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:15.059 - 11:15.353 okay
- Lindsay Sunday  
11:15.628 - 11:17.318 it's nice they have a good little selection
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:17.796 - 11:21.406 yeah (.) and I saw some children's books as well
- Lindsay Sunday  
11:22.220 - 11:27.825 mhm yeah yeah a lot of people like to make kids' books and translate them which is really good

- Caitlin Bergin  
11:28.169 - 11:29.321  
oh the students make those?
- Lindsay Sunday  
11:29.922 - 11:34.519  
um no a lot of like random people will translate
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:41.011 - 11:53.689  
so what do you think in terms of resources or materials  
(.)would help you once you graduate this program to  
maintain your language and maintain fluency
- Lindsay Sunday  
11:55.087 - 12:04.507  
mm... um (.) that's really hard to say (.) I really enjoy  
listening to recordings
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:05.357 - 12:05.905  
oh yeah?
- Lindsay Sunday  
12:05.802 - 12:30.977  
yeah I like listening to recordings of Elders but  
usually...someone would have like (.) usually when that  
happens when you find a recording someone sets it up  
it's like someone like will hold a talk show or try to get  
Elders together and then record them (.) but um... jeez  
I'm not sure I never really (.) it's hard cause it's an oral  
language so you have to go and talk to people that's like  
the most useful thing you could possibly do
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:31.101 - 12:31.601  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
12:31.684 - 12:40.412  
but in terms of resources (.)we have a lot (.) I think  
personally maybe we don't but from what I see like I-  
there's a lot to look at
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:42.244 - 12:51.795  
and in terms of uh recordings... would you like (.) those  
to be audio-only? or video where you can see-
- Lindsay Sunday  
12:51.257 - 13:05.500  
I love videos (.) yeah I like audios but (.) videos are  
really nice too cause sometimes they talk with their  
hands (.) or they'll like (.) you can see if they're trying to  
be funny or sneaky or something or like be mean you  
can see it on their face
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:05.752 - 13:06.326  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
13:06.294 - 13:31.204  
yeah it's- it's hard to listen... yeah so that's extremely  
helpful it's good to hear old people too 'cause they talk  
so fast 'cause they talk like crazy fast (.)in the summer I  
was working with a first-language speaker and she was  
also a linguist so (.) she was a speaker first and then she

was taught the Root-word Method (.) so then she could see everything she was doing and she's just like really smart her name is Mary McDonald

Caitlin Bergin  
13:31.618 - 13:32.086

oh yeah?

Lindsay Sunday  
13:32.299 - 14:05.764

mhm... and uh when I first started working with her I could not understand her she'd talk way too fast (.) and I remember I was in my car (.) and I was um (.) I was listening to the radio and they tell the weather it's 97.3 CKON they tell the weather all in Kanien'kéha they have this lady (.) I'm like oh maybe I can understand this and I turn it up (.) and then she was just talking too fast and I kinda got like frustrated like "ah I can't understand it" she just talks too fast... like that's that but then after working with the Elder for like (.) two and a half three weeks I listened to the radio again and I could understand all of it

Caitlin Bergin  
14:05.961 - 14:06.724

mm

Lindsay Sunday  
14:06.698 - 14:15.564

yeah cause Wari just talks too fast that's what we'd call her we're like "Wari can you talk slow?" and she's like "no I can't talk slow" [laughs] yeah it was funny

Caitlin Bergin  
14:14.477 - 14:19.571

[laughs] ... so it kinda helped with your listening comprehension

Lindsay Sunday  
14:19.614 - 14:43.888

yeah it helped so much like I could understand them and like (.) when I first got back me and Mitch were uh listening to recordings of these Elders from Kahnawá:ke (.) and um I was listening and then a couple times he was laughing and he's just looking at me he's like- and he's like "I'm lost I don't know what they're saying" but just hanging around Wari and- and my grandmother (.) just hearing them talk and like the flow of how they talk and (.) the words they like to use

Caitlin Bergin  
14:46.679 - 14:52.235

and that radio station you were talking about before was that in Akwesásne or here?

Lindsay Sunday  
14:52.406 - 14:53.338

Akwesásne yeah

Caitlin Bergin  
14:53.210 - 14:55.052

so there's a local radio station?

- Lindsay Sunday  
14:55.052 - 14:55.846  
yeah mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:55.986 - 14:58.217  
is everything in Kanien'kéha or?
- Lindsay Sunday  
14:58.502 - 15:09.307  
no they have little parts of the days where they'll teach words or they'll (.) do the (.) like they'll talk about the weather sometimes they'll talk about people who passed away and they'll do it in the language
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:09.574 - 15:10.253  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
15:10.527 - 15:11.421  
it's really nice
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:17.833 - 15:28.639  
and in terms of materials that are already out there (.) what do you think that you as a student have encountered a lot and you just- you don't need anymore
- Lindsay Sunday  
15:28.760 - 15:34.412  
hm... jeez that's hard (.) it's hard 'cause it's all so useful
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:34.710 - 15:35.057  
yeah
- Lindsay Sunday  
15:35.000 - 15:57.879  
it's all so useful to different people like (.) I like books sometimes sometimes I don't like books (.) sometimes I like recordings sometimes I don't hm... hm (.) jeez that's hard... I don't really use the apps I guess I never really use the apps but they seem pretty useful as well
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:58.452 - 16:01.605  
hm (.) I guess different learning styles too come into that
- Lindsay Sunday  
16:00.749 - 16:09.001  
yeah (.) sometimes I just like personally like (.) writing or making comments and stuff and drawing and like I like creating my own stuff
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:09.206 - 16:09.816  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
16:10.192 - 16:15.192  
sometimes I get bored I'm like 'oh I don't wanna look at this 'I'm like I just wanna talk or wanna draw or I wanna do something
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:15.486 - 16:15.939  
yeah

- Lindsay Sunday  
16:15.912 - 16:16.560 mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:17.580 - 16:28.701 so do you think that you would like (.) books in Kanien'kéha? to help with studying you know or just for fun
- Lindsay Sunday  
16:29.017 - 16:29.475 mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:30.135 - 16:33.666 and translated or original works?
- Lindsay Sunday  
16:34.290 - 16:47.529 it's really nice whenever you have the translations [clears throat] like I used to work with this Elder her name was Kariwenhawen (.) and like everything would be translated so she had a sentence of Kanien'kéha right below it was the English for each word
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:47.881 - 16:48.502 mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
16:48.701 - 17:00.368 'cause sometimes I'll be like 'jeez I don't really know what that means' but if the English is there (.) and I see it I can figure it out I'm like "ohhh kay blah blah blah" so that's really good I really like that... yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:10.480 - 17:14.596 so translated books would be nice recordings-
- Lindsay Sunday  
17:14.873 - 17:15.131 yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:15.212 - 17:18.233 where you could hear first-language speakers especially
- Lindsay Sunday  
17:18.666 - 18:05.428 something I saw that was really cool too was a cartoon...someone had taken a (.) like taken the English out I guess or muted it or whatever and put a voice over of Kanien'kéha (.) and it was so cute it was like um (.) it was in Seneca it was either in Seneca or Oneida but um (.) it's like these two I don't remember if they're like animals or something but they're in a library (.) and then uh (.) he keeps asking him how much is something and then like (.) the like worker starts getting mad and he's telling him it's a dollar he's like "skawista'nen'ne" and like you could just understand cause you could see what everything that was going on (.) and this lady got up and she was like 'my kids love this' she's like "I get a

- hard- I have a hard time getting them to speak but they watch this and they're just saying it all the time skawista'nen'ne or they'll act it out"
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:06.055 - 18:08.044  
so having that visual really helped
- Lindsay Sunday  
18:08.022 - 18:16.322  
yeah mhm yeah like skits and stuff (.) even movies I guess like that would be like crazy like short films or something all in Kanien'kéha
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:16.493 - 18:16.835  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
18:16.775 - 18:17.627  
that would be amazing
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:20.445 - 18:27.021  
I remember coming across some YouTube videos put out by this school where they did like Star Wars I think [laughs]
- Lindsay Sunday  
18:24.445 - 18:34.242  
[laughs] yeah [laughs] they said some funny stuff I saw where they were rapping I was like "oh my god" [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:35.215 - 18:40.436  
do you think that- that helps or is it just kind of like a fun (.) expression?
- Lindsay Sunday  
18:40.463 - 18:42.384  
yeah that's just fun I think mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:42.491 - 18:45.896  
you wouldn't be like reaching for... [laughs]
- Lindsay Sunday  
18:44.596 - 18:49.817  
[laughs] yeah (.) it would be fun to make 'cause you would never forget the words you used but mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:49.886 - 18:50.401  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
18:50.291 - 18:50.606  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:51.833 - 19:00.337  
what about on tv? ... would like... a news show done in Kanien'kéha or-
- Lindsay Sunday  
18:59.652 - 19:01.037  
that would be so cool

- Caitlin Bergin  
19:01.387 - 19:06.434  
yeah? or like a talk show or even like a fictional series?
- Lindsay Sunday  
19:01.703 - 19:18.454  
yeah that could be so cool (.) that would be really cool  
(.) yeah... yeah like a talk show or something (.) or like  
(.) I don't know if (.) yeah like a local news channel or  
something just talking about what's going in the  
community
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:18.791 - 19:19.380  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
19:19.259 - 19:33.129  
that would be so cool... that would be really helpful (.)  
'cause that's something you wanna understand and  
keep- keep up to date with like it's real and happening  
in real life (.) that's what's sorta hard is to bring the  
language to like regular life like what's going on
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:35.008 - 19:37.303  
and it would be directly into your home too
- Lindsay Sunday  
19:37.400 - 19:38.411  
mhm mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:00.133 - 20:01.596  
what about music? is there-
- Lindsay Sunday  
20:02.270 - 20:04.018  
oh yeah we got a lot of Mohawk songs
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:04.229 - 20:04.629  
yeah?
- Lindsay Sunday  
20:04.566 - 20:04.961  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:04.921 - 20:06.000  
translated or original?
- Lindsay Sunday  
20:06.905 - 20:19.905  
a lot of them are original 'cause the translations... like  
'cause friend was showing me her class (.) her teacher  
had translated One Dance by Drake into Kanien'kéha  
and it was so weird it didn't make any sense at all  
[laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:18.947 - 20:19.816  
[laughs]

- Lindsay Sunday  
20:20.303 – 20:22.097 [laughs] I'm like this is terrible don't do that [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:22.333 - 20:23.370 nothing rhymes anymore
- Lindsay Sunday  
20:23.352 - 20:28.039 [laughs] yeah (.) but in Kanien'kéha they get words to rhyme and the songs are beautiful
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:28.256 - 20:28.662 yeah
- Lindsay Sunday  
20:28.663 - 20:34.001 they use a water drum and a (.) um cow horn rattle yeah they're sung real nice
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:34.379 - 20:41.920 and would you say that is a useful (.) learning instrument or more (.) just a for fun like relaxing
- Lindsay Sunday  
20:42.496 - 21:10.596 I think it's a bit of both (.) 'cause you learn songs and you learn words and like... I grew up learning lots of songs like they were just always singing and stuff it was part of like the curriculum growing up (.) but I didn't really know what the words meant I'd be like making them up and like sounds like this (.) but it wasn't that at all and now I s- like I remember after I was studying here for a bit and I'm singing these songs and I'm like "oh my god is that what that means?" so I'm like "I never knew that" [laughs] yeah the songs are really nice it's fun to make some too
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:10.654 - 21:22.961 yeah... now I know you're a student (.) but do you anything about... the resources or materials that are available for teachers?
- Lindsay Sunday  
21:24.155 - 21:25.434 um
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:27.082 - 21:29.577 have they ever mentioned anything to you or?
- Lindsay Sunday  
21:30.284 - 22:55.323 I mean not really (.) I've just (.) like seen what Owennatekha has made and that's available to teachers anywhere they just have to like purchase it (.) Kanatawakhon um (.) David Maracle has a bunch of books that he wrote that's like full of the Root-word Method (.) uh (.) the place I used to work for AEDA they make really good material and they have online- or no it's not online it's like something you download onto

your computer called CAN8 (.) and um (.) that's full of (.) like lessons and nouns and words... they kinda break it down- yeah no they break it down pretty good they do the Root-word Method there as well... but I find in elementary schools that's where there's a huge lack of (.) them (.) utilizing their resources, they don't utilize them at all (.) they really don't care about the language in elementary schools like growing up (.) like we kinda (.) yeah it's really too bad (.) I didn't really learn anything growing up (.) I had one teacher (.) and she taught me the most and I was in grade six and her name was Nancy Kahawenonkie Thompson and she passed on now but I remember telling that first language speaker what Mary meant (.) I was telling her like “yeah she's the only one who really like (.) did a really good job at teaching us” and she was like “that was uh- she was working under me” (.) and she was using the Root-word Method and I was like “oh shit that's so cool” [laughs]

Caitlin Bergin  
22:57.597 - 23:04.531

so you were saying the elementary schools don't really utilize their resources or materials what do you mean by that? what's available to them that they are-

Lindsay Sunday  
23:04.407 - 24:34.723

a lot (.) a lot is available to them like... I noticed at Akwesásne AEDA where I was working they had lots of beautiful art and like pictures of like the groups of people 'cause that's how it's all taught like (.) í:se akaónha raónha like all- like a ton of those (.) that stuff you need to know if you're going to learn too that's like the first thing you should learn or like pronouns prefixes stuff like that (.) and I was never taught that in school like never (.) yeah not at all (.) and um... I knew someone who was working like for an elementary school back home and like she knew about the Root-word Method (.) and she was like “yeah I'm just doing this 'cause this is what they're telling me to do” and she was showing me some and it was like really (.) they're like “oh yeah simple phrases like-“ they're like “oh we'll teach them simple phrases like” um (.) like he walked in and “he grabbed his coat and then he left” they're like “they can learn that” but that is really hard we're just learning how to say that like after learning like you have to go all the way back to the beginning if you want to be good (.) 'cause they'll- they might be able to say that and it'll sound nice and perfect but they don't know what they're saying at all (.) so it's too bad (.) yeah it's too bad I don't know why they- they don't really care about the language in elementary schools they teach them lots of nouns too like (.) what can you do if alls I can say is “table” and “chair” like atekhwá:ra

- anitskwá:ra (.) that doesn't (.) that's the kind of stuff you learn
- Caitlin Bergin  
24:35.289 - 24:36.094 hm
- Lindsay Sunday  
24:36.007 - 24:42.465 yeah... they would teach us the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen too like (.) what they say in the morning
- Caitlin Bergin  
24:42.452 - 24:42.847 yeah
- Lindsay Sunday  
24:43.201 - 25:02.667 and um (.) that is really really difficult (.) I remember I could always say it growing up just from memorization I didn't know what any of it meant though (.) at the end when they say É'tho káti naitóhake'ne onkwa'nikò:ra I had no idea what that meant (.) if someone were to ask me I would've been like "oh I don't know"... [laughs] yeah (.) it's crazy
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:03.093 - 25:11.746 mhm... so what you've learnt here just (.) has really opened up your eyes to-
- Lindsay Sunday  
25:11.927 - 25:18.267 yeah and it's too bad 'cause a lot of people are against it they're like "oh you you guys shouldn't be reading and writing that's the white man's way"
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:18.510 - 25:18.915 really?
- Lindsay Sunday  
25:18.872 - 25:23.004 yeah (.) they're like- that's like going to ruin the language and they say this and that but
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:24.105 - 25:28.332 is that a common belief in Akwesásne or just in general?
- Lindsay Sunday  
25:28.282 - 25:30.530 in general yeah very much
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:31.798 - 25:32.704 interesting
- Lindsay Sunday  
25:32.788 - 25:36.293 some people are against it some people are- support us though too
- Caitlin Bergin  
25:36.531 - 26:01.202 mhm... now kind of moving on to language documentation (.) have you encountered any... sort of (.) speech formulas or idioms colloquialisms cultural... contexts that you would like to see documented?

- Lindsay Sunday  
26:02.561 - 26:03.603  
um...
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:05.700 - 26:07.305  
I know you said idioms before
- Lindsay Sunday  
26:09.244 - 26:11.107  
as in like can you give me an example?
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:11.540 - 26:17.816  
like I ha- um... "I keep you in my pocket" like "I have a secret about you" you know those unique sayings that kinda have to be explained
- Lindsay Sunday  
26:14.077 - 26:18.307  
oh yeah... mhm... yeah yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:18.714 - 26:21.588  
an outsider wouldn't understand immediately
- Lindsay Sunday  
26:21.525 - 26:32.070  
mhm (.) yeah (.) that's all first-language speakers (.) that's all Elders... that's just the kinda stuff that I would wanna hear is Elders speaking
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:32.401 - 26:33.006  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
26:37.185 - 26:51.697  
there's some nice recordings online I listen to on Soundcloud(.) and it's Elders and um they have a bunch of subjects listed (.) they'll be like at a restaurant and then you click it and there's Elder's talking as if they're at a restaurant or they'll be like congratulating a graduate
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:52.273 - 26:52.820  
really?
- Lindsay Sunday  
26:52.798 - 26:59.220  
yeah or they'll be like um (.) giving someone words that just lost a loved one and they have all these awesome subjects
- Caitlin Bergin  
26:59.642 - 27:05.118  
cool that's interesting and is that like a language learning tool or is it more like just-
- Lindsay Sunday  
27:01.371 - 27:01.597  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:05.566 - 27:07.587  
a documentation so it's preserved

- Lindsay Sunday  
27:07.559 - 27:13.587  
yeah yeah that's what I think it is so they- they preserve words that you have to use in situations like that
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:16.978 - 27:20.589  
so (.) some examples were graduation
- Lindsay Sunday  
27:20.815 - 27:21.167  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:21.304 - 27:22.636  
someone passing away
- Lindsay Sunday  
27:22.628 - 27:22.986  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:23.355 - 27:23.918  
what else?
- Lindsay Sunday  
27:24.305 - 27:25.426  
uh restaurant
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:28.063 - 27:29.579  
like how to order at a restaurant?
- Lindsay Sunday  
27:30.100 - 27:34.105  
um jus- it was just them acting as if they were in a restaurant
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:34.259 - 27:34.832  
okay
- Lindsay Sunday  
27:35.113 - 27:39.547  
and um (.) Elders and others at home (.) defending someone
- Caitlin Bergin  
27:40.144 - 27:40.786  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
27:42.778 - 28:01.995  
yeah there was a- a bunch... those are really useful like really really useful... it's nice because (.) then you kind of have an idea of what they're at least talking about (.) so you just try to listen like I'm usually like drawing or doing something just listening to it
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:02.174 - 28:02.701  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
28:05.838 - 28:09.440  
it's really nice with all this technology (.) we have a lot of resources

- Caitlin Bergin  
28:11.946 - 28:19.218  
is there anything that you wish... with (.) technology is there anything that you wish... existed?
- Lindsay Sunday  
28:19.992 - 28:34.940  
um... I'm really interested in learning more about plants and um medicines in the language (.) [clears throat] but I'm not sure where to go for that and I feel like... that's stuff that should be preserved
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:35.499 - 28:36.531  
traditional knowledge
- Lindsay Sunday  
28:36.489 - 28:48.711  
yeah yeah (.) there's lots of like... so much you can do with like nature like teas you can make and (.) stuff you can grind up stuff that'll help you like physically
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:48.637 - 28:49.248  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
28:49.876 - 28:52.065  
that's like (.) that's really interesting to me
- Caitlin Bergin  
28:53.451 - 29:01.986  
and if you had that... either online or in recordings at your disposal it would be something that you would reach for
- Lindsay Sunday  
28:59.663 - 29:02.442  
mhm... yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
29:03.161 - 29:10.978  
as both kind of a (.) language learning... tool but also this general interest you have as well
- Lindsay Sunday  
29:10.531 - 29:32.772  
mhm (.) there's um these videos that these two guys make (.) I think they made like five now maybe six but they- they were on CBC and they're from Kahnawá:ke (.) and uh (.) they were doing these nature walks and that's exactly what they were talking about (.) they were showing all these plants and (.) it was all in the language and then it was written in captions of English all the translations
- Caitlin Bergin  
29:32.156 - 29:32.724  
woah
- Lindsay Sunday  
29:33.281 - 29:40.581  
and they're taking all these medicines and they're like we can make tea if you're sick with this or that and this is good for that
- Caitlin Bergin  
29:40.602 - 29:41.155  
mhm

- Lindsay Sunday  
29:41.215 - 29:42.684  
yeah it was a really cool video
- Caitlin Bergin  
29:48.604 - 29:57.764  
what about um... conversing with... your friends online for example Mitch and I were talking about if there was a Mohawk Facebook option
- Lindsay Sunday  
29:58.458 - 29:59.258  
oh yeah!
- Caitlin Bergin  
29:59.242 - 29:59.600  
yeah
- Lindsay Sunday  
29:59.858 - 30:04.583  
like all Mohawk like (.) instead of “home” like you'd see what it would say yeah that would be cool
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:03.394 - 30:06.166  
yeah (.) would that be something you would use?
- Lindsay Sunday  
30:06.239 - 30:11.090  
yeah! 'cause then it gets you used to words like you're forced to learn some words and get used to it
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:14.519 - 30:18.682  
and it wouldn't be correcting you all the time when you're talking to your friends
- Lindsay Sunday  
30:16.487 - 30:19.156  
mhm yeah [laughs] yeah [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:36.013 - 30:49.557  
so do you have um (.) any opinions on how (.) linguistic documentary practices could be... updated or changed to be more respectful or collaborative with communities
- Lindsay Sunday  
30:50.055 - 30:54.397  
hm... ling- linguistics
- Caitlin Bergin  
30:54.987 - 31:12.820  
um (.) so historically... linguists would come into communities (.) um to document a language basically create this archive (.) so that it could be preserved (.) and often once they were done with that they would just leave
- Lindsay Sunday  
31:14.080 - 31:31.561  
Okay yes this is what Mitch was telling me a little bit about... I don't know it'd be really nice if they wanted to help us (.) because I don't know any- everything is useful (.) I feel like we need to get as much as we can like all those materials we were talking about

- Caitlin Bergin  
31:31.606 - 31:32.111 mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
31:32.500 - 31:40.758 because like (.) Elders are just dying like really rapidly (.) and that's like lots of (.) real Mohawk language being lost
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:41.059 - 31:41.549 yeah
- Lindsay Sunday  
31:41.543 - 31:55.879 and this is like almost directly translated (.) like (.) from English (.) like that's why they don't like how we talk 'cause they say it just sounds very English which makes sense but (.) yeah (.) just- we could just use all the help we can get
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:56.641 - 32:08.422 and what would... an acceptable or an appreciated (.) an act of help be from you know like a linguist or an outsider a non- Kanien'kéha
- Lindsay Sunday  
32:08.651 - 32:53.801 I would say to (.) push the government to... make it a priority in elementary school just on the res- any schools on the reserve making it (.) like (.) yeah (.) a real priority to use the Root-word Method and to listen to us and to listen to lin- like Mohawk linguists that can see how the language works and they can see what's working and what's not working (.) cause we really (.) there's really no like (.) no like they act like there's no need for it within the community and it's too bad because it's just like dying (.) like the government looks the other way and the schools look the other way (.) but like I don't know linguists seem pretty serious so [laughs] maybe they could help us [laughs] yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:55.288 - 33:01.072 so kind of um... in terms of like government policy and planning
- Lindsay Sunday  
33:01.196 - 33:15.265 yeah (.) even just urging them to... or like making it (.) like known... like our statistics are real
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:17.542 - 33:19.500 like bring it into mainstream
- Lindsay Sunday  
33:19.848 - 33:20.690 yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:20.117 - 33:20.738 knowledge-

- Lindsay Sunday  
33:20.791 - 33:24.165  
yeah like how much of a disadvantage we're put at
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:36.397 - 33:46.646  
do you have any suggestions for (.) new or emerging linguists that are wanting to help with Indigenous language revitalization (.) education
- Lindsay Sunday  
33:48.170 - 33:49.360  
do I have any suggestions?
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:49.444 - 34:00.042  
yeah anything you'd like to see or... think that (.) linguists could help out with
- Lindsay Sunday  
33:59.904 - 34:10.207  
mhm (.) hm... I feel like my suggestion would just be to like learn it
- Caitlin Bergin  
34:11.212 - 34:12.165  
learn the language?
- Lindsay Sunday  
34:12.104 - 34:33.134  
yeah (.) like at least a bit of it (.) so that you understand the depth of it and how it works... 'cause it's all like good people like in the language community it's all like good genuine people who just kinda want to make a difference
- Caitlin Bergin  
34:33.332 - 34:33.885  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
34:33.850 - 34:36.048  
and you get to see like (.) I don't know
- Caitlin Bergin  
34:37.499 - 34:39.057  
see people for who they are
- Lindsay Sunday  
34:39.038 - 34:39.433  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
34:39.419 - 34:41.729  
rather than just this academic pursuit
- Lindsay Sunday  
34:41.721 - 34:51.295  
mhm... I remember this old man said before (.) he was talking all in Mohawk (.) and he was just saying
- Background  
34:50.737 - 34:51.353  
[door closes]
- Lindsay Sunday  
34:51.890 - 35:33.000  
um (.) he was talking (.) I don't remember what he said but he said (.) like someone who speaks Kanien'kéha versus someone who doesn't speak he's like "we're both

Onkwehón:we” (.) “we're different” he's like “we're not the same” he's like “but us who speak Kanien'kéha it's like we have the same mind and we're like way more connected it makes you feel way more connected to everything like to yourself, to the earth, to the community”... he said um... he said this phrase (.) and he said “toka' sahrónkha, entá:'onk enhsatatken'se tanon' enhsatatken'én:ion” and it means “if you speak” he's like “it makes you look at yourself”

Caitlin Bergin  
35:33.549 - 35:34.317

that's beautiful

Lindsay Sunday  
35:34.240 - 35:36.408

yeah I'm like oh it was so nice [laughs]

Caitlin Bergin  
35:37.810 - 35:39.794

if you speak it makes you look at yourself

Lindsay Sunday  
35:40.043 - 35:40.590

mhm

Caitlin Bergin  
35:42.214 - 35:43.166

how'd you say that again?

Lindsay Sunday  
35:43.680 - 35:57.527

[clears throat] toka' sahrónkha so if you are fluent entá:'onk- like it must enhsatatken'se like uh that one's examine yourself and then enhsatatken'én:ion is to look at yourself

Caitlin Bergin  
36:09.258 - 36:18.451

I can't remember if I already asked you this but... is there anything specifically that you'd like to see preserved?

Lindsay Sunday  
36:19.739 - 36:39.956

hm... um... just lots of phrases and saying again like what the Elders say (.) and lots of (.) like everything we can... I think it's really interesting to see how people um... talk to their kids

Caitlin Bergin  
36:41.163 - 36:41.984

what do you mean by that?

Lindsay Sunday  
36:42.925 - 36:58.357

like there's so much phrases they say to little kids like um... I don't know (.) like about loving them and about (.) this or that or just phrases like there's (.) stuff they say that we don't say in English

Caitlin Bergin

oh okay... and like they carry (.) kind of uh cultural or

- 36:58.774 - 37:10.387 moral values
- Lindsay Sunday  
37:09.576 - 37:34.381 mhm (.) yeah (.) yeah very much... there's just so many subjects you could cover with that too like so much like (.) recording Elders talking about topics (.) and like (.) we just have to ask them so, so many questions they get so sick of us [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
37:35.702 - 37:45.934 so you think um (.) recording Elders... is the main priority (.) preserving that bank of knowledge
- Lindsay Sunday  
37:46.372 - 38:01.317 personally because we have the linguistics to understand how to break down the words but sometimes you can't even- sometimes people don't even know direct translations to what they say anymore (.) they're like this is such an old word they don't know what it means anymore... yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
38:12.703 - 38:15.487 is there anything you think shouldn't be documented?
- Lindsay Sunday  
38:16.601 - 38:22.592 mm... sometimes they say Longhouse speeches shouldn't be documented
- Caitlin Bergin  
38:22.874 - 38:23.474 mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
38:24.941 - 38:34.701 they're really afraid (.) for it to get in the wrong hands and... they're really scared to share the language with um like non-natives and (.) especially white people
- Caitlin Bergin  
38:35.046 - 38:50.841 mhm... do you think that (.) it would be okay to record Longhouse speeches if it was done by the community and kept in the community and that was (.) it- you know like a sacred kind of-
- Lindsay Sunday  
38:50.823 - 38:54.427 yeah (.) I think so for sure there's already so many written
- Caitlin Bergin  
38:54.734 - 39:34.517 mhm... in terms of online learning (.) have you used online learning at all to help... like in terms of like Anki flashcards or...
- Lindsay Sunday  
39:35.274 - 39:39.208 no not really (.) just listening to recordings and watching videos
- Caitlin Bergin  
39:54.549 - 40:01.385 and are there any um (.) topics or subjects that you wish would be included in the curriculum that aren't

Lindsay Sunday  
40:02.220 - 40:06.357  
yeah I wish they talked more- about more like um  
sexual like education

Caitlin Bergin  
40:06.515 - 40:07.126  
mhm

Lindsay Sunday  
40:09.556 - 40:12.493  
those words are really getting lost as well they're really  
frowned upon

Caitlin Bergin  
40:13.108 - 40:13.582  
really?

Lindsay Sunday  
40:13.650 - 40:17.260  
yeah and it used to be not so like uh shameful to talk  
about

Caitlin Bergin  
40:18.466 - 40:22.755  
I saw a little clipper about how to put a condom on  
inside the classroom

Lindsay Sunday  
40:22.767 - 40:23.652  
[laughs] really?

Caitlin Bergin  
40:23.630 - 40:26.382  
yeah it was on the board that's why I was surprised  
when you said that

Lindsay Sunday  
40:24.522 - 40:30.519  
oh... oh no way I never saw that! they don't talk about  
that in class though

Caitlin Bergin  
40:31.709 - 40:37.384  
so your lacking was kind of... vocabulary-

Lindsay Sunday  
40:38.017 - 40:38.812  
yeah that's-

Caitlin Bergin  
40:38.793 - 40:40.104  
about your body

Lindsay Sunday  
40:40.085 - 40:46.305  
yeah yeah exactly they taught us some like body parts  
and like genitals but nothing surrounding that

Caitlin Bergin  
40:46.964 - 40:47.500  
ok

Lindsay Sunday  
40:47.561 - 40:50.482  
no one wants to talk about that (.) that's how it is but

Caitlin Bergin  
40:53.700 - 40:55.953  
can you think of any other topics that you'd like to-

Lindsay Sunday  
40:57.580 - 40:59.716  
um (.) birthing

- Caitlin Bergin  
41:05.595 - 41:07.806  
humans, animals or both?
- Lindsay Sunday  
41:08.329 - 41:24.292  
um I was thinking right away like humans because there's like (.) lots of words in there that we would learn (.) about like birthing and (.) like (.) helping out women to do this or that 'cause there's lots of stuff that happens to their body that they need help with that
- Background  
41:20.027 - 41:20.922  
[door closes]
- Lindsay Sunday  
41:24.865 - 41:25.454  
you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
41:25.759 - 41:26.938  
okay cool
- Lindsay Sunday  
41:26.877 - 41:57.556  
to be able to communicate that in Mohawk would be nice to learn though... there's also some stuff I wish that (.) was in the curriculum like I wish we were little more hands-on with being able to like (.) do physical activities that's like traditional activities (.) like basket making or beading here and there and learning the words (.) that come with that all that stuff
- Caitlin Bergin  
41:56.874 - 41:57.553  
mhm
- Lindsay Sunday  
42:00.520 - 42:56.022  
or picking apples like (.) in the fall or... or tapping the trees...that's some like (.) I find a lot of cultural stuff isn't on... in the curriculum... but... Mitch was- um me and Mitch were talking about that in um (.) like how you can go and learn about that stuff after (.) because here it's mostly just language (.) it's like not really culture (.) it's like just strictly language (.) and there's other programs that are immersion that focus more on cultural and little bit less language (.) me and Mitch kind of agreed that we would probably just choose the language (.) like mostly language and then learn about the cultural stuff after (.) but if they were to like receive funds to make a third-year that's when they would really start to cover this stuff
- Caitlin Bergin  
42:56.389 - 42:58.163  
I heard whispers of a third-year
- Lindsay Sunday  
42:58.422 - 42:58.753  
huh?

- Caitlin Bergin  
42:58.820 - 43:00.609  
I heard whispers of a third-year
- Lindsay Sunday  
43:01.044 - 43:03.128  
yeah they've been talking about it for years so
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:07.162 - 43:18.221  
so but would that be something you were willing to do once you completed your language studies here? (.) go and (.) take a cultural knowledge course or a traditional knowledge course?
- Lindsay Sunday  
43:18.069 - 43:52.990  
yeah that's my plan I really wanna um (.) what's the word I'm looking for (.) I really want to apprentice under someone that's really all into that kind of stuff even like hunting and trapping and finding words for stuff like that (.) there's this guy who's really big on medicine in Akwesásne (.) and he's- he's uh (.) he's really old now but he'll take people on medicine walks and show them all the medicines and how to (.) prepare them and how to use them and what they're good for and he'll talk a lot in Mohawk but... not a lot of people can understand him... but that's something I'm really interested in doing
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:53.537 - 43:54.090  
yeah
- Lindsay Sunday  
43:54.019 - 43:54.482  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:54.961 - 44:00.892  
and is that something that you would (.) go back to your community for or do you plan on staying here?
- Lindsay Sunday  
44:01.044 - 44:16.751  
no I'm going back right when I'm done... [laughs] I like it there (.) we have a really nice river (.) it's huge... we always get into little disputes about my dialect
- Caitlin Bergin  
44:17.288 - 44:17.867  
really?
- Lindsay Sunday  
44:17.814 - 44:18.435  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
44:19.367 - 44:21.930  
like outside of the school as well or?
- Lindsay Sunday  
44:22.387 - 44:30.767  
oh yeah (.) when I go home they're like "oh you learned in Six Nations you talk Six Nations" and then here they're like "oh you talk Akwesásne" (.) so dumb

Caitlin Bergin  
44:30.218 – 44:30.802

can't win

Lindsay Sunday  
44:30.767 - 45:20.399

[laughs] yeah (.) 'cause here it's all *tsie* they'll be like "ioianerátie" and in Akwesásne it's all *kie* they'll be like "ioianerákíe ken?" (.) it's all *tsie kie kie...* and our words are just different (.) like um... a lot of words that I'm learning here they don't say at all in Akwesásne (.) or they don't- or they don't really mean anything like here they say "eh thotshi" a lot and it's like "it should" something should like eh thotshi tahsatotáhrho you should clean (.) and then in Akwesásne I was saying that and my tota was like "what are you saying?" I was like "doesn't that mean like you should" and she's like "iah othénne tekén:ton" she's like "that doesn't mean anything"... so there's lot of words and here I was trying to say this word... here they say like wa'tiok<sup>7</sup> for like wait or like wa'tio

Caitlin Bergin  
45:20.490 - 45:21.122

mhm

Lindsay Sunday  
45:23.803 - 45:45.995

and um... I say wa'tik (.) it's Akwesásne or I'll say watskhok (.) it's Akwesásne or I'll say watskhok (.) Akwesásne (.) but they say that before they're going to do something they'll be like watskhok (.) [unclear] it's like wait I'll be right back or like watskhok [unclear] (.) then I say that and Owennatekha is always like "iah tetkaié:ri thí:ken!" "tetkaié:ri ne Akwesásne!" and he's like "you're not in Akwesásne!" [laughs]

Caitlin Bergin  
45:44.048 - 45:48.526

oh [laughs] hm

Lindsay Sunday  
45:48.860 - 46:18.856

or they get mad at me over there I was saying "tewakeweiénhare" it means "I'm busy" here (.) over there they say "tewakewienhará:'on" and the lady I was working with was like "tewakeweiénhare" and I'm like ok [laughs] can't win [laughs] I learned real fast though how to change my dialect (.) like here I use all my *tsie* and that's like the first thing that'll come out if I'm like mad or something but when I'm there I have to force myself to use *kie*

Caitlin Bergin  
46:19.485 - 46:20.090

really?

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<sup>7</sup> I was unable to confirm the correct spelling for wa'tiok, wa'tio, wa'tik and watskhok.

Lindsay Sunday  
46:20.433 - 46:22.885

and use different words and let go of lots of words

Caitlin Bergin  
46:24.170 - 46:34.148

so even though you grew up in Akwesásne you have-  
it's more difficult for you to... follow that dialect

Lindsay Sunday  
46:32.972 - 46:35.238

yeah mhm yeah it is now

Caitlin Bergin  
46:51.468 - 46:56.205

okay I think I got all my questions (.) thank you very  
much for sitting down with me

Lindsay Sunday  
46:54.736 - 46:57.142

you're welcome yeah no problem

### Appendix D: Rohahiyo Jordan Brant Interview Transcript

Contributor: Rohahiyo Jordan Brant	(.) short pause (pause < 00:01.500)
Interviewer: Caitlin Bergin	... long pause (pause > 00:01.500)
Date: December 12, 2019	- interruption or repetition
Location: Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa	
Caitlin Bergin 00:16.080 - 00:19.510	so how long have you been a teacher of Mohawk?
Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 00:19.755 - 00:25.115	I've been... I believe this is my... uh... sixth year teaching
Caitlin Bergin 00:26.870 - 00:28.680	and prior to that were you a student here?
Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 00:28.705 - 00:44.325	yes uh (.) I studied uh for the two-year program... and then was uh [clears throat] uh hired on at my graduation as a TA for one year and then I've been a teacher ever since then (.) uh the next year I became a teacher
Caitlin Bergin 00:45.070 - 00:49.220	okay and did you study Mohawk anywhere other than this immersion school?
Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 00:49.325 - 01:02.240	uh as I was growing up on Tyendinaga I did the elementary school uh... classes... uh I believe it's... half an hour (.) every other day maybe every day I can't remember
Caitlin Bergin 01:02.320 - 01:02.800	mhm
Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 01:02.960 - 01:11.650	um and that was through elementary school... one class in high school... and then uh two classes in university... I went to Western University
Caitlin Bergin 01:18.690 - 01:20.920	so you studied at a lot of different locations
Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 01:21.045 - 01:46.985	mhm (.) um... you know it's much different in the elementary school system... learning how to count and colours and what not (.) um... and then uh it's in university where I started with the... the actual the Root-word system... um (.) my teacher was Kanatawakhon Maracle... legitimately wrote this book on the language... so yeah... he encouraged me to come here [laughs]
Caitlin Bergin 01:49.000 - 01:52.060	and um your elementary school was it an immersion school?

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
01:52.070 - 01:59.910
- no no uh (.) Quinte Mohawk School (.) um it's uh the language requirement there (.) instead of French or anything like that
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:00.455 - 02:03.235
- and your high school was also an English speaking school?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
02:03.215 - 02:09.935
- English speaking uh and we had the option of taking French or Mohawk (.) we had a very high Mohawk population in Belleville Ontario
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:14.210 - 02:24.250
- and in terms of resources available to you at your... through your four different places of education um what- could you comment on that?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
02:21.300 - 03:07.515
- mhm (.) uh as far as resources available (.) um in every...institution... that... um... for Mohawk language anyway there's no central hub... um I know with French you can really order books upon books... um all the resources I've ever studied (.) have come from Kanatawakhon Maracle... um as far as dictionaries... um... and in (.) Quinte Mohawk School you can't really teach the Root-word system to kids right? or linguistics or anything like that (.) so it was a lot of the teachers at the time...they would create their own... resources write little stories this and that so... um... limited resources everywhere I guess nothing big
- Caitlin Bergin  
03:06.880 - 03:18.150
- hm... and when you were in... um elementary school, high school, university
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
03:17.140 - 03:17.740
- mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
03:18.610 - 03:22.280
- were there any (.) texts made available to you or?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
03:22.395 - 03:53.795
- um in university (.) the uh... dictionaries... um that he had had written and he's- [laughs] so that was uh... I believe there was three... four different dictionaries... so uh... for uh... a Root-word dictionary (.) a thematic noun dictionary (.) and a particle dictionary (.) and a dictionary that just had 1000 different verbs in it... so that was uh... yeah four different books available
- Caitlin Bergin  
03:54.580 - 03:59.850
- wow... and there's only so much you can do with a dictionary though

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
03:59.845 - 04:06.220 exactly yeah mhm... boring to look at but very useful right [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:05.360 - 04:11.340 yeah... so how long would you say you've utilized the Root-word method for?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
04:11.290 - 04:21.050 uh (.) well I started- I took two courses there (.) that wasn't my main focus I was (.) I was in the First Nations Studies program(.) as well as um cultural anthropology
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:21.050 - 04:21.780 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
04:21.955 - 04:28.855 um... language wasn't my main focus at the time (.) I was- I wanted to get into law school for land claim negotiation
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:29.005 - 04:29.405 hm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
04:29.615 - 04:53.005 uh [clears throat] but... I ended up taking those classes (.) caught onto it fairly easily it made sense to me luckily... and um I was encouraged to come here... so (.) I would say I started...um (.) it was once- once a week... twice a week an hour and a half classes (.) so (.) and I did two of them over the four years
- Caitlin Bergin  
04:53.585 - 04:53.935 hm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
04:54.070 - 05:01.690 so uh... I guess I kinda got involved with language and just left it (.) and then... started up again when I came here... so
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:02.785 - 05:07.300 so did you (.) spend some time in between Western and coming to this immersion school?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
05:07.280 - 05:10.910 I uh as soon as graduated from there I came here the following September
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:11.160 - 05:11.780 oh okay
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
05:11.710 - 05:18.745 so... yeah I would say uh... When did I start here 20(.)? 12 (.) I wanna say I started here
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:25.985 - 05:33.685 now what are your thoughts and opinions regarding materials available to students um... of the Root-word Method

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
05:33.670 - 05:40.505
- mhm... um [clears throat] ... so like in an immersion setting or? in anywh- okay
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:39.395 - 05:39.735
- sure
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
05:41.115 - 05:58.805
- so uh... [clears throat] I think of the Root-word system as... like... power tools (.) um if you're trying to build a house... um... some people are really... so used to kinda using um... you know turning in screws by hand (.) that's what they grew up with you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
05:56.995 - 05:57.335
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
05:59.275 - 06:27.085
- that's how they learn and there's a learning curve to using power tools (.) but once you understand how to use them it makes the process a lot faster... so... um (.) in order to... use any resource with the Root-word system... you're going to have to (.) take classes how to use it... um... but (.) any of the students that come through here that's our primary teaching resource (.) so any materials that have... utilized the Root-word system would be incredibly helpful
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:35.045 - 06:39.815
- do you have any materials (.) in this school that you think are particularly
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
06:40.475 - 06:45.225
- uh... as far as (.) the same dictionaries we've been using for years
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:45.565 - 06:45.885
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
06:45.775 - 06:47.135
- from Kanatawakhon Maracle
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:47.215 - 06:47.575
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
06:47.915 - 06:57.645
- uh... the main one that... we use is our textbook for the first-year program and the second-year program which was written by Brian Maracle here Owennatekha
- Caitlin Bergin  
06:56.725 - 06:57.035
- mhm

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
06:58.150 - 07:25.835
- and... um... what we do you know it's a focus it doesn't give you every single word you could possibly think of... each... one describes a feature or something... and it's uh... it kinda keeps people focused on how to build a foundation to learn a language later on as well (.) so um as far as our textbook (.) and these dictionaries... that's about all we got and that's all we use... fairly low tech to be honest
- Caitlin Bergin  
07:27.055 - 07:31.790
- is there anything that you would want... material wise?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
07:31.815 - 07:40.145
- uh absolutely um... what I have to do for students now... um...'cause no one can look at a dictionary we have a lot of kids books
- Caitlin Bergin  
07:40.345 - 07:40.815
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
07:40.780 - 07:44.210
- that are kinda kicking around over there I don't know if saw them yet yeah... uh
- Caitlin Bergin  
07:42.510 - 07:42.940
- yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
07:44.955 - 08:09.160
- and you know those are (.) useful 'cause they're Kanien'kéha...but I'm also teaching adults and they're kid's books [laughs]...but uh YouTube actually there's a lot of videos on there of just people speaking... um... written resources are excellent (.) but its... high level speaker that I could really... utilize more 'cause in Six Nations
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:07.835 - 08:08.265
- hm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
08:09.900 - 08:40.440
- there's the- the last first-language speaker recently passed...um that was an older speaker in this dialect... so it's uh... they're used to- they get used my voice they get used to other teachers voices (.) um and we're second-language speakers (.)so in order for them to have an opportunity to listen to first-language high level speakers... uh the better... um I use YouTube for that and... there's some speakers from Akwesásne and um... uh other reserves really... but
- Caitlin Bergin  
08:41.350 - 08:46.115
- so you would like... more recordings or videos rather than

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 08:46.090 - 08:46.460 yeah
- Caitlin Bergin 08:47.245 - 08:49.335 with a more conversational focus
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 08:47.260 - 09:11.750 absolutely... yep yep... and uh... just talking about anything a lot of... YouTube videos are uh- some of them are uh... if someone's just starting at home they're very useful... um (.) cause they're lessons (.) they'll say 'these are greetings, this is whatever' (.) but just... people talking casually... and a transcript of that is incredibly helpful
- Caitlin Bergin 09:11.885 - 09:12.385 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 09:12.665 - 09:15.945 so uh (.) yeah those resources I find are the most useful for sure
- Caitlin Bergin 09:19.955 - 09:32.840 and it's interesting because you're coming at this from a perspective of both a student and a teacher (.) right you've been in a position where you're trying to develop your fluency (.) and now you're in a position where you're trying to
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 09:24.975 - 09:35.995 mhm... yep... pass it on to others I guess right? yeah
- Caitlin Bergin 09:34.955 - 09:43.925 exactly... have you noticed a change or a shift in what you require in either of those positions?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 09:45.110 - 10:00.595 so kinda going from a student to a teacher um... as far as resources went um... Owennatekha was my teacher... um... and we had just started getting into Anki... um (.) the flashcard generator Anki
- Caitlin Bergin 09:58.020 - 09:59.300 hm the flashcards?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant 10:00.890 - 10:18.485 and then (.) Quizlet came out when I was in second year...um... so... that just came out it was supposed to be the new technology that saves everything but... uh he's an older man and he hates gadgets [laughs] you know it's not uh (.) that like at first we really tried to embrace 'cause it was

- Caitlin Bergin  
10:14.695 - 10:15.565  
fair [laughs]
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
10:19.370 - 10:24.655  
it's easier to just look on your phone and scroll through  
(.) than it is to carry around a deck of flashcards
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:24.610 - 10:24.980  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
10:25.625 - 10:51.820  
um... and that was for our own private study but we  
spent a lot of time trying to get it set up on our phones  
and... input cards take pictures of things you know (.)  
uh... honestly that- I feel like it had its day... um... a  
shift I've noticed is (.) less and less students using  
that... every year we give them the option that we'll...  
um if they pay for a subscription either Anki or Quizlet  
we'll reimburse them for it
- Caitlin Bergin  
10:51.930 - 10:52.380  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
10:52.745 - 11:20.505  
um... I might get one or two... they go into it (.)  
whereas back when I started... you- just a few years  
ago... it was everyone had to get on that train (.) you  
know so... um... either they're studying less or they're  
just...using traditional writing down flashcards... so a  
lot of people seem to... you know... engage more with  
maybe it's just a tangible thing kinda like reading a  
book instead of a ebook I guess
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:16.595 - 11:19.675  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
11:20.950 - 11:23.680  
been a shift kind of away from the technological part of  
it
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:24.095 - 11:27.225  
that's interesting (.) especially also since um
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
11:24.775 - 11:25.155  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:29.285 - 11:36.345  
we were talking previously about the changing  
demographic of the school how previously it used to be  
middle aged... grandmothers and now it's all young  
people in their twenties
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
mhm... yeah... yeah who you think would really

- 11:31.775 - 11:43.355 embrace technology more right? but... maybe they got too much technology now [laughs] you know it's there
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:43.665 - 11:58.340 yeah... so... you think... dictionaries um (.) the textbook you've developed (.) and um... recordings that would allow students to interact with
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
11:53.470 - 11:59.025 mhm... mhm...
- Caitlin Bergin  
11:59.210 - 12:02.980 the language especially of first-language speakers would be particularly helpful
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
12:02.980 - 12:03.280 yep
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:03.850 - 12:04.750 is there anything else?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
12:05.170 - 12:09.710 um yeah I often say this (.) cool books
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:08.570 - 12:09.710 cool books?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
12:10.750 - 12:24.330 yeah uh... if uh you know people- a lot fans of... sci-fi...fantasy uh... you know even romance whatever they want to read... um... and there's not one Kanien'kéha novel
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:24.690 - 12:25.040 no?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
12:25.015 - 12:41.530 in existence ever... there's children's books there's... maybe it's a lack of... you know that's a huge undertaking...um... we certainly have creative people but there really haven't been- there's no like publishing company that you could go to you know that'll... really support it
- Caitlin Bergin  
12:41.745 - 12:42.125 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
12:42.075 - 12:54.345 editors might be tough to come by... but yeah... cool books would be awesome uh... one of the big things they're saying for ACTFL... the (.) American Council on Teaching Foreign Languages

- Caitlin Bergin  
12:54.645 - 12:55.025
- Okay
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
12:55.045 - 13:02.225
- you know they're all about- that's what we use for our testing standards here... testing for fluency... if you've seen those interviews on YouTube
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:03.280 - 13:05.040
- like the before and after? yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
13:03.300 - 13:11.355
- the- before and after yeah that's... uh OPI Oral Proficiency Interview... that's what we use to gauge fluencies
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:11.235 - 13:11.665
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
13:11.600 - 13:42.785
- it's based on their guidelines of ACTFL... [clears throat] um and uh at one of their conferences... that Owennatekha was at they were saying that... um (.) I think it- I believe it was students in uh... German or Spanish I can't remember... uh... once they get to a... advanced low kinda level or intermediate high... the best thing they can do to (.) boost their competency in the language to higher fluency levels (.) is to read independently
- Caitlin Bergin  
13:42.965 - 13:43.555
- hm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
13:44.120 - 14:35.730
- and... you know it's uh (.) there used to really be a belief that we wouldn't write the language... or you know it was before my time that they really thought that... that was the way it is um... and things are changing 'cause it's 2019 now if someone calls me it's weird (.) people are always [laughs] texting you know (.) and if a language is going to survive we're really going to have to...get the writing system down pat um... and... if we're here as far as resources go we have kids books... um... and we don't have cool books um but if you look at a language like Spanish or German, French how many novels and how- you know... um (.) how many big resources they have... so people have options and they can read what they enjoy... instead of... Cat and the Hat stuff you know [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:35.160 - 14:42.465
- right... and so that could be either original works or translated works as well right

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
14:41.825 - 14:57.345  
absolutely yeah... for sure... um when resources are created...um... it's kind of uh... a lot of them are targeted to be teaching tools (.) instead of... leisure tools that you know um
- Caitlin Bergin  
14:56.035 - 14:56.515  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
14:58.365 - 15:06.870  
um it's just like everyone that... learns the language suddenly there's an expectancy to... you're expected to become a teacher of the language now
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:07.410 - 15:07.880  
really?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
15:07.935 - 15:21.670  
you know everyone that gets kind of filtered or pushed through here the program... they do two years... um what kind of career can you make... with your skills right? uh some of them do pursue linguistics... majority of them are hired on as teachers somewhere
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:21.875 - 15:22.305  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
15:22.300 - 15:41.920  
'cause it's uh... it's- it's a useful skill... especially in an immersion school you know but... not everyone wants to be a teacher [laughs] so that and all the resources created are kind of (.) that are coming in are really directed as teaching tools... you know or... lessons instead of... about monsters or something [laughs] you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:41.910 - 15:43.070  
regular books
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
15:42.450 - 15:43.570  
yeah just whatever
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:45.840 - 15:53.605  
so... on top of teaching resources it would also be nice to see resources for purely fluency maintenance
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
15:53.595 - 15:59.460  
absolutely... and once they're done here for two years... they're like "what now?"
- Caitlin Bergin  
15:59.620 - 16:00.100  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
16:00.040 - 16:23.580  
and all the second years are in that same boat right now... where... where do I go to get from here to here you know I spent all (.) they spend 2000 hours in class

- (.) 1000 first year 1000 second year... to get up to this level and there's really nothing else that's going to take them... higher... so... um yeah resources that are (.) fun and people want to read
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:24.000 - 16:24.490 right
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
16:24.535 - 16:24.945 for sure
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:25.270 - 16:27.300 and opportunities too I guess to uh
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
16:27.295 - 16:27.665 yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:28.170 - 16:35.330 'cause I know that (.) some of your graduates would do um...I don't know what they're called but kind of apprenticeships with elders
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
16:35.490 - 16:35.770 yep
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:35.710 - 16:37.530 where they would get to speak with them
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
16:37.360 - 16:44.780 absolutely yeah... um... yeah that was uh... ah what's it- Master Apprentice Program
- Caitlin Bergin  
16:44.870 - 16:45.240 yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
16:45.265 - 17:06.795 called yeah that was- that was big around here for a little bit...um for other languages I believe (.) there was one for Kanien'kéha that I can remember... um (.) that's kinda been out of commission for a while... um... what it was useful for was... I guess learning cool things [laugh] and whatever the...
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:05.155 - 17:05.545 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
00:17:07.240 - 17:12.430 speaker wanted to talk about that day that's what you were learning so it was different every day... you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:11.970 - 17:12.430 hm

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
17:12.920 - 17:22.825
- Have you had a chance to study the Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton  
(.) out in Akwesásne... Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:21.975 - 17:22.825
- [laughs]
- Background  
17:22.990 - 17:23.760
- [notebook sliding over]
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:35.805 - 17:36.285
- okay
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
17:36.255 - 17:42.435
- um and they're... [clears throat] the way they were they  
just started again so it's a four-year program
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:42.515 - 17:43.065
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
17:43.830 - 18:45.435
- and... um they could pick a path of what they wanted so  
when they started... they're going to follow this one...  
they're going to follow this one... path... all the way for  
the four years (.) so you could choose um trapping...  
trapping and hunting um... fishing... uh gardening... I  
believe the other one might be medicines or... um...  
anyways it was- there's different skills and each of those  
paths... had a master speaker or a couple master  
speakers that were... you know knew everything (.)  
there was to know about these different skills (.) and  
we're going to teach you all in the language over these  
four years (.) so you yourself would get to this level...  
um... so that was kind of- it was- I liked it 'cause it was  
inventive...outside of the box they weren't in a  
classroom all the time it was... out doing these tasks  
right... um so I guess that was an example of them  
doing something that they wanted to do and enjoyed...  
kind of a hands-on experience
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:45.710 - 18:46.260
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
18:46.235 - 18:53.870
- um different than us... trying to remember what your  
initial question was too sorry I got talking about  
[laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
18:52.690 - 18:57.870
- [laughs] I don't remember either [laughs]
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
18:55.660 - 18:57.370
- yeah okay [laughs]

- Caitlin Bergin  
18:58.715 - 19:05.415  
oh um just additional resources besides dictionaries, textbooks and it turned into a discussion on opportunities for graduates
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
19:08.970 - 19:24.815  
yeah yeah for sure so that's uh... again the way they're funded there's primarily Akwesásne (.) band members that'll be in there... um and that was you know... I don't think any of our (.) graduates... one of our graduates teaches there right now
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:24.920 - 19:25.380  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
19:25.620 - 19:38.490  
but... um... I don't think any of our graduates have been able to pursue that as a...continuen- contin- contin- continuative studies what am I? yeah [laughs] something- almost like
- Caitlin Bergin  
19:36.105 - 19:36.465  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
19:38.695 - 20:06.320  
going into a master's program after right... um but we were working on a third-year before... um... and... kind of... moving it more towards this task-based... um... master-apprentice program... they don't necessarily have to be old speakers they just have to be good at what they do... so maybe... auto mechanics or you know... skillset... we don't possess- I can't teach
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:06.395 - 20:06.715  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
20:06.895 - 20:09.315  
you know that's- I can only teach what I know
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:09.435 - 20:10.035  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
20:13.045 - 20:23.855  
we're- we've been trying to find ways of how to get people to... learn how to be something else other than a teacher [laughs] I guess you know... how to apply a language to other careers
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:23.950 - 20:24.410  
right
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
20:24.500 - 20:40.345  
which is really our next step for language survival... learning new skills but in the language (.) and with a language like Kanien'kéha verb-based it's a... those-that vocabulary is incredibly complex

- Caitlin Bergin  
20:40.505 - 20:53.065  
mhm... it also leaves room for um... moving... uh away from the community too
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
20:53.225 - 20:53.885  
absolutely
- Caitlin Bergin  
20:53.915 - 20:54.255  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
20:54.235 - 21:07.205  
yeah... um... yeah... like uh Ryan that's what he had done... once he- well he's from Wáhta... came here did the two years... and then was hired in Kahnawá:ke
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:03.360 - 21:03.770  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
21:07.955 - 21:28.125  
but went and... taught their second-year program I believe...and in Kahnawá:ke... after graduating here... and while he was (.) he taught there throughout the day... he lived with two first-language speakers (.) so that was his opportunity to... take what he had learned here and continued his studies
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:28.275 - 21:28.775  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
21:28.775 - 21:32.535  
so it was... full immersion right? all day at work and at home
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:32.875 - 21:39.015  
and also take that to a...non-... Indigenous setting like UofT
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
21:38.980 - 21:45.105  
Yeah absolutely... um... I know he had taught language and...he teaches another course too right?
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:45.785 - 21:47.325  
yeah um he-
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
21:47.245 - 21:48.285  
sustainability or
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:48.575 - 21:55.295  
he taught um Indigenous Language Revitalization which was a linguistics course and I think he also did an environmental science course as well
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
21:52.295 - 21:55.235  
mhm... oh that's right yeah

- Caitlin Bergin  
21:56.285 - 21:57.965  
which was his actual background
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
21:57.615 - 21:58.035  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
21:59.385 - 22:06.751  
or his academic background... so we've spoken about resources that would be useful or required
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
22:05.666 - 22:06.156  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
22:07.361 - 22:10.981  
what about resources that you don't need or you already have
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
22:11.241 - 22:26.536  
mhm... um... things that don't really help... me as a teacher... a lot of the... uh theoretical... we have a lot of
- Caitlin Bergin  
22:26.526 - 22:27.146  
oh
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
22:27.256 - 23:04.251  
um... I guess things saying 'this is the dimu- diminutive suffix and this is how it functions in the language'... could be useful as a guide... but I have probably... you know in our office... maybe about four or five books... outlining kind of how the language works or how (.) little (.) parts of the language work that I've never really opened... I looked at (.) it's- um... kind of like applied linguistics right like I take what works and then if it doesn't... if it (.) you know that's cool but it's not going to help me with what I have to do
- Caitlin Bergin  
23:04.641 - 23:05.211  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
23:05.306 - 24:09.621  
um we don't talk about the language a whole lot here (.) we just have them speak the language... so uh... resources like that, that are uh... and they're coming out constantly that's actually very (.) common you know is... um... verb morphology as soon as I see the word morphology I'm like 'no thanks' like we're [laughs] yeah [laughs]... um (.) but things like uh... uh teaching methods or you know I've... I've studied how other language teacher's teach language (.) and (.) it's somewhat unique here I've found you know there (.) a lot of theories what should work... but... um I guess you don't know 'till you try it (.) so books on that I found are very... I- I have very little use for I guess [laugh] you know... I don't know it all but I...um (.) I'll

be like 'oh that's cool I should try that sometime' but...  
um (.) books talking about the language or about  
teaching (.) re- I've (.) found really very use for

Caitlin Bergin  
24:09.931 - 24:19.781

yeah... what about as a student? like that was a teacher  
answer

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
24:19.771 - 26:35.351

yeah I was- [clear throat] when I was a student um... I  
had somewhat of a background I had a bit of an  
advantage when I started... whereas I had done two  
university classes with Kanatawakhon... uh... and he  
like pretty much... was the first one to use the Root-  
word system... so I got a very... quick crash course on  
how everything worked... before I started here and it  
was brand new to a lot of students... so I was... um  
there were students that were came (.) came in with a  
better (.) base than I did... but there were a lot of  
students that (.) it was brand new to (.) prefixes (.) you  
know “why do we gotta learn this?”... so I guess the big  
thing as a student was... um... I learned to trust the  
process... um before I came in I'm like okay (.)  
Kanatawakhon was very rip- he has a very big  
reputation in the language community (.) he says this is  
going to work (.) and to trust in the process (.) so I  
just... did what I was told here (.) and that worked out  
for me... um whereas a lot of people come in... and  
they say “well why do we have to learn this? why do we  
have to-“ you know they're always (.) questioning  
why... without focusing on the content [laughs] so... I  
guess for me as a student... [clears throat] um... when  
they say “read this”... I read it... and I learned it (.) um  
but a lot of the things they told us was (.) don't study  
linguistics on this just... memorize this (.) and then use  
it... so I guess as a student I did what I was told  
[laughs] and uh (.) it was uh (.) I trusted in the process  
the whole time... um... the only resources I stuck to  
were the dictionaries... and... well (.) Owennatekha  
wrote a couple stories... so I'd have those around...  
but... I thought hey maybe if I learn a little bit of  
linguistics or (.) took another course it would help me  
out... but (.) really it's uh (.) I call it “hillbilly  
linguistics” here (.) we kind of assign... different names  
to things you know uh

Caitlin Bergin  
26:34.466 - 26:34.776

hm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
26:36.241 - 26:54.666

the repetitive or (.) we'll call it- something that makes  
one of something I can't remember what it's called but  
(.) we call it a 'one-ifier' [laughs] so... I- I just uh...

there's terms here that...are unique to the program...  
um (.) that (.) only really make sense here

Caitlin Bergin  
26:54.791 - 26:55.391

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
26:55.471 - 27:43.936

so studying other kinds of linguistic terms with the real terms...um (.) I didn't know what they were (.) so it wouldn't help me that much... and we had tried that this year (.) we had a linguist come in...um for the first two weeks... for a couple hours a day I believe (.) was it one weeks or two weeks? I can't remember (.) to give a crash course in linguistics... and uh... I guess we'll see on the student reviews how they thought about it [laughs] or what they thought about it (.) I'm not sure if uh... it was helpful or not but it was our... we try things- new things every year. That was our attempt at being like... well if we want to be legit and (.) maybe if they understand this more... they'll learn faster (.) that's the theory so

Caitlin Bergin  
27:44.156 - 27:44.676

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
27:44.816 - 27:49.106

but I've seen the same progress this year as last year so I'm not sure what the effect is so far

Caitlin Bergin  
27:49.511 - 27:56.521

mhm... that's interesting this um... experimenting as you go

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
27:56.541 - 27:56.991

mhm

Caitlin Bergin  
27:57.246 - 28:06.571

um 'cause when I was looking through your textbook earlier...unit- or sorry the first year course materials look incredibly different from the second year... materials

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
28:07.706 - 28:14.151

yup... for uh... I guess the amount of detail

Caitlin Bergin  
28:14.381 - 28:14.761

yeah

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
28:15.021 - 28:21.981

um (.) I'll find so- just recently yesterday I started a new unit on active verbs (.) this is the first time they're being

Caitlin Bergin  
28:20.531 - 28:20.811

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
28:22.731 - 29:28.521

taught active verbs ever... and... there's a description in first saying this is the habitual tense this is the definite tense- or the punctual tense... this is this tense this is what it does... and that so I said 'everyone take a few minutes... um look through this and we'll get to our vocabulary... and... out of... eight students (.) I had one student that spent more than 5 seconds looking at it [laughs] (.) first I'm like... alright let's get to the words (.) you know [laughs] so (.) um there's a lot more description... and...it's kinda different the textbook is more for at home use... than in the class we got a lot of speaking drills... um (.) more so than looking in the book... but in first-year... it'll help one out of (.) ten students maybe... to have that much extra detail in here (.) by second-year it's expected that they have all the foundations needed... and they know the stems of words they know how to conjugate it... so that's why... what three words (.) and (.) learn them you know how to learn them (.) learn how to conjugate them (.) test next week so [laughs] it's just faster-paced I guess you know... um we have a lot of useless descriptions I feel like we can... pull out of that first-year textbook (.) I think it makes it more confusing

Caitlin Bergin  
29:43.411 - 29:43.791

really

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
29:43.781 - 29:48.121

then what it actually is yeah... but... haven't gotten around to that yet so

Caitlin Bergin  
29:48.556 - 29:51.236

were you involved in the development of that textbook?

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
29:51.676 - 30:20.936

every summer um (.) you know me and Owennatekha work here throughout the summers as well... and we take the first year and... um (.) you know while I'm teaching it during the school year... we're like 'mm this didn't really work' or 'we need better examples for this' or (.) this description is too long let's cut this down (.) um let's take this word (.) that they learned in unit 10... and we're going to sneak it into unit four or something like that so (.) we tear it apart every year and it's a different book every year

Caitlin Bergin  
30:21.526 - 30:22.456

every year?

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
30:22.101 - 30:23.501

yup yeah (.) for sure

- Caitlin Bergin  
30:27.211 - 30:30.481
- how long would you say it takes to go through a unit?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
30:31.086 - 31:00.121
- uh I like to keep it around three weeks per unit... um this active verbs unit (.) I like to spend a little longer on because its... the foundation of the whole language (.) um... so this... um... the unit after- so unit one and two... really go hand and hand (.) um I'm sure you studied that with Ryan... um... and then unit three and four... you know it's almost like every other unit there's a new feature introduced
- Caitlin Bergin  
31:00.111 - 31:00.691
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
31:00.721 - 32:01.441
- and then the next unit really re-enforces that... so this unit we're working on now is active verbs... and then unit seven (.) after this one (.) is active verbs but they're te- verbs and t- verbs... so (.) exact same (.) grammatical features linguistic features just... you know you add a te- or a t- onto things... so (.) they're learning their tenses... um and before that was one of the big changes we made two years ago... they used to have one big unit that was all verbs (.) regular verbs, te- verbs and t- verbs all together... um (.) now we said 'well' (.) "this is a whole unit" and so on and "this is a whole unit"... so (.) uh smaller units like... te- verbs and t- verbs cause we've already spent four weeks on active verbs (.) I might take them down to two and a half weeks... but the bigger ones the base ones (.) probably about four weeks... average three weeks I guess we're looking at (.) and at the end of each unit there's a test
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:01.821 - 32:04.466
- mhm... and that's an oral test?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
32:04.456 - 32:07.416
- yeah (.) yeah yeah you have a copy of that eh?
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:07.906 - 32:08.526
- no I don't
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
32:08.466 - 32:10.046
- I'll give you some copies of them so you can
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:09.646 - 32:15.406
- okay (.) and that was kinda like a translation test back and forth or asking questions and response

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
32:13.726 - 32:24.671  
yeah (.) I have one here... just have a bunch kicking around um (.) so I'd say like (.) so there's uh... I guess Ryan used that same testing for you guys yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:23.441 - 32:28.271  
I think so yeah it's like a scale of one to four depending on your- Oh okay so I know the test
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
32:26.031 - 32:28.931  
yeah absolutely you got it okay awesome
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:29.036 - 32:35.921  
yeah... So in terms of while you're um... kind of developing evolving your curriculum
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
32:33.061 - 32:36.276  
[clears throat] mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:36.626 - 32:42.516  
are there any resources available to you as a teacher other than the knowledge you're drawing on from experience?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
32:42.766 - 32:54.181  
um... that's about it [laughs] I know we're (.) um we talk with each other (.) each year- we'll this year it was the linguistics thing
- Caitlin Bergin  
32:54.421 - 32:54.891  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
32:54.856 - 33:11.841  
that we wanted to start off with and we're like "maybe they'll learn faster" (.) um... yeah it's just (.) experience I guess that we draw on each year (.) um 'cause there's no blueprint to follow for (.) Mohawk immersion school (.) and this is uh (.) the longest-running one
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:12.236 - 33:12.636  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
33:12.526 - 33:23.186  
so (.) Owennatekha is really my resource where I'll be like...um "I'm going to try this and this" and he'll be like "no I tried that 10 years ago it doesn't work" so (.) um just-
- Caitlin Bergin  
33:22.586 - 33:26.036  
so he's really the only teacher you could kind of bounce off of
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
33:26.316 - 34:26.306  
yeah uh some of them- like out in Kahnawá:ke (.) I'll say...um they have a completely different... demographic that they address (.) so our situation is very unique here (.) um (.) here there's no first-language speakers... out in Kahnawá:ke there's about 240...

220... um... and (.) their program when they select people... um (.) they take people... usually the majority of their students (.) took it from kindergarten to grade 12 full immersion (.) so they're already at about intermediate low (.) fluency (.) when they start the program (.) and their first, I believe their first unit is (.) nouns... which we start at unit... eight...[unclear] February March...so it's uh...um (.) it's completely different (.) here... uh we might get the odd immersion student (.) majority have zero language background

Caitlin Bergin  
34:26.626 - 34:27.146

really?

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
34:27.336 - 34:46.371

so it's a- you know it's a completely different task... and when people grew up their whole lives speaking the language the job- it's a different job than (.) you know (.) um so I'll bounce ideas off 'em... um they can teach differently they don't have to do as many speaking drills 'cause (.) the students already have their mouth mus- mouth muscles developed (.)

Caitlin Bergin  
34:46.446 - 34:46.946

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
34:47.186 - 35:18.521

pronounce the sounds their ears are developed (.) and they can pretty much understand it so you can start full immersion day one... um whereas here... it would (.) be like a deer in the headlights if I started just full immersion right off the bat... so here it's a unique situation each of the language schools has a different... uh unique experience unique demographic (.) so for us, this is- Owennatekha is really our... my guide on that um...Frank Miller too I don't know if his name came up Tehahente

Caitlin Bergin  
35:17.686 - 35:18.126

no

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
35:19.486 - 35:23.016

he was involved when the school first started so it'd be 20 years ago

Caitlin Bergin  
35:23.186 - 35:23.606

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
35:25.476 - 35:51.731

um he's (.) probably the best second-language speaker here (.) on- in the territory... and he's a... he's been a big help and he's been teaching (.) kind of independently for a long time... and um (.) he has different approaches and things so he's been a very

- valuable resource as well (.) anytime you need a word you know he's (.) right there yup... and he learned the old fashioned way he didn't have the Root-word system
- Caitlin Bergin  
35:52.091 - 35:52.571 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
35:52.581 - 35:57.621 um (.) he just hung around the first language speakers.... when they were still around
- Caitlin Bergin  
35:58.116 - 35:58.446 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
35:58.401 - 36:08.896 and learn that way (.) so... it's- it's a unique kind of thing but... then he learned the (.) prefix system so he can kind of (.) get the best of both worlds
- Caitlin Bergin  
36:09.071 - 36:09.801 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
36:10.176 - 36:20.816 so yeah that's uh (.) him and (.) Owennatekha... uh Ryan now you know he's a very good resource as well... so we just got each other I guess [laughs] that's about it
- Caitlin Bergin  
36:24.856 - 36:35.151 and so you're giving these students basically the... both the power tools and the vocabulary to become... great conversationalists
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
36:35.276 - 36:44.306 yeah uh... absolutely um... to use in their every day lives I guess is the (.) from when they get up 'till when they go to bed
- Caitlin Bergin  
36:44.716 - 36:45.206 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
36:45.201 - 36:47.131 and whatever they encounter along the way
- Caitlin Bergin  
36:47.286 - 36:47.786 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
36:48.076 - 36:58.991 um (.) you know conver- a lot of people say they want to learn conversational Kanien'kéha there's a lot that happens in conversation... and with the amount of tenses we have and the (.) it can be very difficult
- Caitlin Bergin  
36:59.076 - 36:59.556 mhm

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
36:59.816 - 37:13.816  
um... so yeah that's uh I guess... how to incorporate it in their everyday lives (.) effort- effortless- effortlessly I guess sorry [laughs] it's been a long day [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
37:18.836 - 37:22.626  
so (.) moving onto the documentation side of it
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
37:22.636 - 37:22.936  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
37:23.216 - 37:32.401  
have you ever encountered any... um speech formulas or idioms colloquialisms dialectal-
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
37:30.876 - 37:31.416  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
37:33.016 - 37:35.976  
variations that you would like to see documented?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
37:37.046 - 37:47.296  
uh the- started doing that with... the Sweetgrass Language Conferences it's called I don't know if you heard that- it happens every other year
- Caitlin Bergin  
37:44.726 - 37:45.106  
mm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
37:48.266 - 37:53.356  
and it was just in uh... um Cornwall
- Caitlin Bergin  
37:55.521 - 37:56.711  
that was in November?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
37:56.756 - 37:57.096  
yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
37:57.346 - 37:57.686  
mm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
37:57.646 - 38:00.821  
yeah uh (.) Ryan was a speaker at that actually yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
38:00.096 - 38:00.546  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
38:01.761 - 38:44.471  
um (.) so two years ago (.) when they did it last (.) is it every two years or every three years? I can't remember... um I was there... and they had... the language conference happening for day one and two... and then... I believe it was day two and three... there was another room that was just first-language speakers

- (.) discussing metaphors idioms (.) and (.) they just sat around and... where they recorded everything they said about metaphors and whatever they had (.) and... transcribed it as well... um... we don't teach a whole lot of that here
- Caitlin Bergin  
38:44.606 - 38:45.096 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
38:45.296 - 39:06.571 um (.) mostly cause (.) for myself I don't know them (.) hm (.)uh I can't teach things I don't know (.) um (.) but they're... they're cool... but um... um... I wou- yeah I would- I would like to see those documented just- just 'cause they're cool out of interest I guess... for sure (.) you become a speaker without them right but
- Caitlin Bergin  
39:06.516 - 39:06.846 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
39:07.291 - 39:11.511 definitely add a lot to... cultural understanding world view yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
39:26.901 - 39:33.961 um... so like we talked about before the previous language documentation practices
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
39:33.606 - 39:33.886 mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
39:36.076 - 39:47.981 what would you like to see changed? what do you think would be helpful to your... community but also your... um... work as a teacher- a language teacher as well
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
39:49.911 - 39:53.341 um as far as resources go or anything or? oh okay
- Caitlin Bergin  
39:52.211 - 39:52.731 anything
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
39:54.101 - 40:04.186 um (.) right now we're kinda funded year to year... um... and that stops us from... really making long term plans
- Caitlin Bergin  
40:04.706 - 40:05.586 year to year that's-
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
40:05.526 - 40:36.421 so yeah it's uh- we got to apply for funding every year (.) and cross our fingers and... um (.) before this- so this (.) past couple of years been good we've had a first-year and a second year... um (.) and that was able to run... uh because we had enough instructors as well and Tas

(.) um in a perfect world we would have a (.) program administrator (.) uh an instructor and a teaching assistant (.) so again I don't know if (.) it was a bit different today cause it was a test day here

Caitlin Bergin  
40:36.381 - 40:36.661

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
40:36.991 - 40:52.486

but usually it's doing drills (.) and the smaller the group for drills the better (.) um we get more reps in more engagement with the students... um and we can't do that this year (.) because our funding went down so we're... program administrator Owennatekha

Caitlin Bergin  
40:52.651 - 40:53.111

hm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
00:40:53.331 - 41:22.986

I'm teaching the first year by myself Kaienkwinehtha here by herself... so it's very um... we're basically stretched very thin... um... and that's- again we gotta apply each year... and the big thing is (.) you know for us it's you know job security are we even going to be here next year..? but (.) uh for students 'cause you gotta really put your whole life on hold... to apply and... uh January, February, March (.) to get in for September

Caitlin Bergin  
41:23.111 - 41:23.511

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
41:23.751 - 42:03.711

and (.) um... we- (.) we'll know maybe by the summer (.) if we can run year one year two... so a lot of students will be like "well (.) I can get this job and get to work" (.) or "or I can cross my fingers and hope that year two is going to run"... so that's uh... you know... it's a deterrent for a lot of potential students... um (.) you know just like yourself you apply to a school (.) and we're like yeah we might (.) run it we might not (.) you know you're obviously going to explore other options as well right so... that's been the case here (.) um year to year funding (.) uh we would like at least a five year plan

Caitlin Bergin  
42:03.961 - 42:04.491

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant

um saying (.) if you start in... year one... you're going

- 42:05.006 - 42:13.996 to learn this and do this (.) and we could plan accordingly for it
- Caitlin Bergin  
42:14.096 - 42:14.416 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
42:14.416 - 42:26.056 year two we're going to be able to do this... and... at least be able to tell them (.) year one and year two are always going to run every year (.) just like this (.) we're going to have proper staffing for it
- Caitlin Bergin  
42:26.436 - 42:26.896 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
42:27.206 - 43:02.931 um... and uh you know some programs elsewhere they'll have uh... instructors (.) program administrators almost like uh uh (.) like a secretary... or a receptionist I guess and uh... uh resource development... uh but (.) we're the entire staff you've met the entire staff today here [laughs] so... resources you know... don't really come from me... their- their textbook and that's it and whatever I can find on YouTube... um (.) otherwise we're... working on our curriculum or lesson plans or trying to make (.) in-class stuff better
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:03.276 - 43:03.796 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
43:04.016 - 43:23.696 so that- back to your question uh (.) sustainable five-year plan would be (.) amazing... as far as our next goals right... and cooler resources I guess
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:23.726 - 43:25.986 cooler resources? What's that?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
43:24.176 - 43:28.696 yeah just uh... you know anything people would enjoy
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:28.856 - 43:35.031 right... I was talking to some of the students about like (.) what kind of things that they think would help with fluency maintenance after they graduate and some said um... television shows or at least a news broadcast
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
43:41.956 - 43:44.111 yep
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:44.341 - 43:46.591 right that would be everyday life
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant mhm

- 43:46.636 - 43:47.046
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:47.321 - 43:48.711 projected right into their house
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
43:48.726 - 43:48.996 yep
- Caitlin Bergin  
43:50.351 - 43:53.481 but of course the school would have nothing to do with that [laughs]
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
43:52.276 - 44:09.491 absolutely [laughs] right right (.) we're already on like 50 hour weeks so [laughs] ... um... one of the things that's been really (.) I've been actually using it for the first time this year (.) uh it's called Tewawennakara:tats talk show... um I can write that down for you if you want
- Caitlin Bergin  
44:08.466 - 44:11.316 the two first-language speakers?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
44:09.821 - 44:16.566 the two- no that's uh... what's that one called... that was Joe and Leo
- Caitlin Bergin  
44:16.136 - 44:16.546 yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
44:17.131 - 44:24.151 yeah but Tewawennakara:tats talk show is two second language speakers... that graduated the program out in Kahnawá:ke
- Caitlin Bergin  
44:24.241 - 44:24.641 yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
44:24.791 - 44:32.276 and then started up almost like a podcast... um and they have (.) guests on... each- it might be every week
- Caitlin Bergin  
44:32.656 - 44:33.716 and is it fully in-
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
44:33.886 - 44:58.886 it's fully in Kanien'kéha (.) and they just did it just out of nowhere... and they just recently imported everything to SoundCloud so (.) um... you know it's uh... if you want to listen to Kanien'kéha you have options now (.) um with Joe and Leo (.) the Kahnawá:ke one it's incredible (.) like- what- they do it every week (.) and it's for over an hour an hour and a half

- Caitlin Bergin  
44:58.996 - 44:59.376  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
45:00.236 - 45:10.736  
um (.) and they just talk about whatever it's a very useful resource (.) um they're speaking at a (.) distinguished first-language (.) level (.) that (.) and they don't (.) hold back at all
- Caitlin Bergin  
45:10.996 - 45:11.396  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
45:11.826 - 45:23.016  
um so for beginning students (.) that's like... not- they can't even see them it's a radio show right (.) so you can't see any nuances or how they're- you know you can't see any context
- Caitlin Bergin  
45:23.146 - 45:23.636  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
45:23.841 - 45:46.446  
um with Tewawennakara:tats (.) they're at about an intermediate level speaking (.) which is our goal (.) by the time they get into second year here... so you know it's not perfect speech (.) um there's mistakes (.) but they're speaking at a level that my students can understand... so that's been uh something I just noticed this- noticed this year actually like I need to use these guys more (.) and it's free and it's on SoundCloud
- Caitlin Bergin  
45:46.666 - 45:47.896  
can you write that down for me please
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
45:47.161 - 46:06.691  
yeah of course... yeah you can find them on Facebook uh...you gotta write it oops... you gotta write it exactly like that or it doesn't come up [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
46:06.101 - 46:06.651  
[laughs]
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
46:14.816 - 46:43.691  
and sometimes- no problem (.) sometimes they have other student's on as guests and sometimes they have... very high-level speakers on as guests (.) so you get different levels each time different voices... um one of the things (.) that we ran into here were a (.) didn't even think of was- you know we're all kinda selfish language learners (.) but when I started as a teacher (.) they're always listening to me (.) and I'm not really doing my female students any justice
- Caitlin Bergin  
hm

46:43.956 - 46:44.366

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
46:44.431 - 47:12.546

'cause the female students are going to speak... you know they're going to need people to model their speech off of right um... so that's one of the big things uh for... before we hired Kaienkwinehtha (.) was all guys here... and uh (.) you know she's been awesome (.) with uh... you know women and men speak differently and that's (.) we weren't uh doing any service for our female students (.) and as you see they're predominately female students now

Caitlin Bergin  
47:12.881 - 47:13.261

mhm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
47:13.711 - 47:32.281

so uh resources like that especially with (.) different age groups of speakers... um... wo- with Joe and Leo they're... um (.) older speakers... and they're uh...you know they're very funny they're also very stoic and

Caitlin Bergin  
47:32.711 - 47:33.221

hm

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
47:33.196 - 47:33.806

old right

Caitlin Bergin  
47:33.821 - 47:34.341

[laughs]

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
47:34.061 - 47:56.761

so they're going to talk a certain way... um (.) and a lot of my age demographic now are... people that... um (.) they're going to speak to each other way different than they're going to speak with their parents right [laughs] so (.) uh... you know funny thing I'm not thinking like Beavis and Butthead you know things like that [laughs] but (.) just uh... I guess

Caitlin Bergin  
47:56.726 - 47:57.566

more relatable?

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
47:57.596 - 48:02.916

more relatable yeah... more relatable topics (.) funny things you know I just

Caitlin Bergin  
48:12.336 - 48:15.046

now in terms of topics covered in your course

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
48:15.231 - 48:15.561

mhm

- Caitlin Bergin  
48:15.926 - 48:25.806  
um... are there any that you wish you could include but can't for- like you lack the- lack the vocabulary or the- the
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
48:25.926 - 48:51.851  
yeah I would always- like uh I guess it's something that... I'd like to see more of or that would be awesome for us is... um that's why Kaienkwinehtha sometimes got to switch out (.) I'll teach the first year for a while then we switch and I'll teach the second year and she'll be in the first year (.) otherwise we're taught- or we're stuck (.) especially in the first year (.) teaching the same... thing every year (.) um... and our fluency level-
- Caitlin Bergin  
48:52.196 - 48:52.626  
right
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
48:52.601 - 49:19.411  
it's here and it stays here it never- you never get more fluent talking to people that are just learning right... so that's uh... um (.) you know in other schools for anything there's (.) elementary teachers high school teachers there's upgrading (.) that's available throughout the summer (.) so if I could work on my own fluency kind of in the offseason (.) if there was ever an offseason here [laughs] that would be uh awesome right
- Caitlin Bergin  
49:19.621 - 49:32.881  
mhm... Do you think there are gaps in your fluency... or?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
49:32.871 - 50:00.426  
uh absolutely for uh... you know we can uh... we talk with each other all the time or staff like we never really speak English Kaienkwinehtha or Owennatekha ever (.) um so you know that's great (.) I could always do better (.) um (.) especially being surrounded with more first-language speakers... be like hanging around with... intelligent university professors
- Caitlin Bergin  
50:00.596 - 50:01.036  
mm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
50:01.086 - 50:12.316  
you know they're going to be speaking up here and you kinda wanna match them all the time (.) so yeah if- so much left to learn... but... when you're teaching you're not necessarily learning as much
- Caitlin Bergin  
50:12.581 - 50:13.091  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
50:13.486 - 50:18.531  
so... um... yeah there's certainly gaps I could (.) work on

- Caitlin Bergin  
50:23.566 - 50:28.426  
now in terms of data collected during documentation projects
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
50:28.476 - 50:28.836  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
50:29.696 - 50:38.811  
um... what would you like to see done with it in terms of community access or
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
50:40.621 - 50:59.141  
uh we have a belief here that everyone's uh... you know entitled to the language um... [unclear] community members and non-community members (.) it's uh... there's obviously certain ceremonial language that (.) people keep to themselves and that's fine um
- Caitlin Bergin  
50:58.456 - 50:59.156  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
51:00.086 - 51:05.896  
but just in uh- if a language is going to survive it's going to be have to- it's going to have to be spoken by more than the community
- Caitlin Bergin  
51:06.086 - 51:06.556  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
51:07.171 - 51:39.791  
um... and it's been uh... um as far as access goes I- we don't have (.) these dictionaries are available to anyone (.) our online program is open to absolutely anyone that wants to take it... um so (.) access for whoever wants access to it... I'd be all for um... as far as ceremonial language goes or anything like that I'm not even authorized to speak on it you know so (.) but (.) the kind of stuff that we teach (.) everyday stuff absolutely no problem
- Caitlin Bergin  
51:38.946 - 51:52.331  
mhm... has there been any... instances of language that you would like to preserve
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
51:53.556 - 51:56.186  
uh all of it I guess [laughs] no um
- Caitlin Bergin  
51:55.071 - 51:55.911  
[laughs]
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
51:56.451 - 52:00.326  
uh... you mean like with a metaphors idioms or
- Caitlin Bergin  
52:00.736 - 52:01.106  
yeah

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
52:01.121 - 52:16.326  
yeah uh... absolutely I mean there's so many different fields uh... you know myself I'm a... uh or uh back when I was in Tyendinaga (.) the (.) just (.) hunting and fishing all the time that's how I grew up
- Caitlin Bergin  
52:16.446 - 52:16.756  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
52:17.171 - 52:30.291  
and... um (.) I haven't done that much here... and you know we're working all the time but... speaking with high level speakers that do those certain activities...we don't teach that here
- Caitlin Bergin  
52:30.396 - 52:30.816  
mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
52:30.866 - 52:55.091  
I've never learned that here so I don't know it... um... and you know it's part of everyday activities (.) um (.) that would be huge (.) uh... maybe uh (.) you know I'm not a gardener but I'd like to learn (.) stuff like that (.) um... yeah I guess uh... I don't want to say- I guess cultural activities
- Caitlin Bergin  
52:55.346 - 53:04.961  
mhm... another student said gardening
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
53:05.066 - 53:05.566  
oh yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
53:05.706 - 53:11.836  
yeah... kind of taking the (.) um...or at least preserving the knowledge
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
53:11.816 - 53:12.236  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
53:14.966 - 53:16.386  
or that traditional knowledge
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
53:19.146 - 53:36.401  
absolutely yeah there's a lot out there right that I would... I'd love to see preserved (.) um... some people do a lot or a better job than us at (.) you know especially the Á:se Tsi Tewá:ton Program (.) um cause in Akwesásne I think there's (.) over 500 first language speakers
- Caitlin Bergin  
53:37.101 - 53:37.731  
really

- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
53:37.136 - 53:44.066
- so there's- yeah so there's uh... and each of them has their own lives right um
- Caitlin Bergin  
53:43.471 - 53:43.831
- yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
53:44.371 - 54:07.511
- here when you're involved with language you're pretty much a teacher... um but out there you could be an iron worker (.) they could be your (.) person that runs a restaurant it could be a person that (.) is a welder is a person... also a cop (.) you know any uh (.) other occupations that have...their own set of vocabulary really (.) which is something that's (.) that's just not here
- Caitlin Bergin  
54:07.781 - 54:08.161
- yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
54:09.241 - 54:21.821
- so when you have that (.) density that speaking density I guess... what is that called a critical mass...? I hate hearing that term but it's ok [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
54:25.181 - 54:31.261
- are there any other communities similar to Akwesásne in the sense that you could become something other than a teacher in your
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
54:31.591 - 54:47.901
- um... Kahnawá:ke has a very big uh... it's- it's kinda everywhere there (.) you never know when...um it (.) they have less speakers than Akwesásne but they're also incredibly small I don't know if you've ever been through there at all
- Caitlin Bergin  
54:47.591 - 54:47.991
- no
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
54:48.561 - 54:53.096
- it's like a postage stamp (.) and it looks like uh... have you ever been to Italy?
- Caitlin Bergin  
54:53.306 - 54:53.656
- yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
54:53.931 - 54:57.121
- you know like... little alleys I guess houses
- Caitlin Bergin  
54:57.156 - 54:57.746
- oh yeah?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
54:57.791 - 55:03.081
- and like (.) that's pretty much it like it's all (.) just uh (.) like this and along the river

- Caitlin Bergin  
55:03.351 - 55:04.491
- so very tight-knit
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
55:04.411 - 55:31.111
- yeah very uh... you know incredibly tight-knit and...  
um (.)unique I guess much different than here there's  
not really any wide-open spaces or anything it's- (.) it's  
like a suburbia (.) concrete jungle (.) but (.) um (.) you  
can go to a gas station and... you know you can order  
gas in Kanien'kéha (.) or you could say it in English (.)  
and they'll understand whatever one you use
- Caitlin Bergin  
55:31.351 - 55:31.801
- mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
55:32.276 - 56:19.481
- um (.) it's interesting they had a case er... you know  
with a...I guess a lot of bullying stuff come to light  
lately right um... but they had stuff at their immersion  
school... where they ran into a huge problem... where  
back in the day it used to be if kids were... trying to  
speak Mohawk and all the kids were speaking English  
(.) you know the English kids would make fun of them  
or whatever (.) but (.) now there's a... like a shift where  
(.) they have Mohawk immersion... and some parents  
are sending their kids there when they aren't already  
speakers (.) and the kids speaking Kanien'kéha (.) are  
bullying the non-speakers that's like the cool thing now  
(.) so you know... I don't- I don't think there's any good  
bullying but that's uh
- Caitlin Bergin  
56:20.661 - 56:21.161
- it's a-
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
56:21.121 - 56:59.406
- it's a shift you know that's happening so uh (.) and it's  
(.) really unique to there... um so I think that's a  
representation of how its (.) it's everywhere there (.) um  
they have a whole... they have a couple language nests  
I believe (.) so kids can go there for their pre-school  
um... they have daycares they have (.) um (.)  
elementary immersion high school immersion (.) these  
are all separate buildings (.) and adult immersion just  
like us (.) and they also have um an entire resource  
centre (.) dedicated to creating resources in  
Kanien'kéha
- Caitlin Bergin  
56:59.591 - 57:00.031
- hm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
57:00.051 - 57:27.996
- like a whole building complex or building I guess (.) so  
it's uh... it's everywhere there (.) and people get  
involved in different (.) levels of it you know... I guess

- at about 220 first-language speakers (.) so they can incorporate that with their (.) adult immersion as well (.) and they do (.) so I think it's every week (.) students have to go off and find a speaker (.) and (.) speak with them and write like a report on what they learned from them
- Caitlin Bergin  
57:28.386 - 57:28.786
- wow
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
57:29.366 - 57:32.246
- so there's just cool opportunities like that out there
- Caitlin Bergin  
57:33.636 - 57:36.016
- Does Tyendinaga have an adult immersion program?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
57:36.186 - 57:55.151
- they did um... and (.) it was (.) it was funded for a little bit but it's been gone for a few years now (.) they stopped funding it (.)um... but they have a degree- it's not a degree...part-time diploma program in partnership with Queens
- Caitlin Bergin  
57:55.741 - 57:56.061
- hm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
57:56.281 - 58:52.286
- um... um you know it's part-time and um... I'm really- I'm not a big believer in um (.) becoming fluent in... a part-time studies program (.) um... and with uh you know a diploma or anything attached to a university you know uh... um unless you create it yourself you're really... you gotta hit different guidelines that the university has (.) so you're not necessarily- necessarily teaching something that's going to work for your students it's... what's set out for you (.) um... so you know it has it's pros and cons but (.) I think that's about the only adult program there now (.) I just saw on Facebook they have a (.) night course starting up (.) one of our former students is going to teach there for (.) and again a part-time night course... so that's uh (.) that's about all that's happening there other than the (.) the children's what is it called (.) totahne (.) the language nest
- Caitlin Bergin  
58:52.446 - 58:52.846
- yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
58:52.816 - 58:54.966
- Kawenna'on:we primary school immersion

- Caitlin Bergin  
58:55.241 - 58:57.771  
yeah I've seen their Facebook
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
58:56.406 - 59:00.256  
mhm... nothing going on with adults right now
- Caitlin Bergin  
59:00.446 - 59:19.181  
mhm... I think you've answered all of my questions... I just have one final question um
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
59:18.966 - 59:19.216  
yep
- Caitlin Bergin  
59:20.971 - 59:30.106  
do you have any... advice or suggestions for... young or new documentary linguists that are now entering this new field how can we help you?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
59:30.606 - 59:31.016  
mhm
- Caitlin Bergin  
59:32.311 - 59:33.431  
what should we do differently?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
59:35.401 - 59:50.621  
um... I guess uh spending time in a program... um... because I get asked that a lot actually
- Caitlin Bergin  
59:50.781 - 59:51.181  
really?
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
59:50.791 - 60:10.381  
through emails or calls... um... a few emails a year actually they're saying (.) "hey I'm studying linguistics here" (.) um "I'd like to provide something for you" (.) um (.) "what do you need?" (.) and I'll think I'll be like... I don't know you know [laughs] it's kind of a
- Caitlin Bergin  
60:10.461 - 60:11.041  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
60:11.311 - 60:30.036  
it's like "oh what can you do?" you know I gotta put a lot of work into it to try and (.) um we don't have a lot of time really for that... um... it's kind of like if uh saying well (.) "hey we should go for dinner" (.) like "oh where to?" it's like "oh it's up to you" [laughs] you know like kind of a [laughs] it's a
- Caitlin Bergin  
60:28.596 - 60:29.126  
right
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
60:30.771 - 61:11.296  
it's just ahh like I don't know [laughs] yeah exactly I don't know you know... um... it takes a lot of time and it usually ends up kinda fizzling out before (.) anything

gets started (.) um... but when people come in and (.) watch us for... you know (.) a couple weeks (.) uh even (.) um before... you know people will ask “well what do you guys do at the program” (.) well we do a whole lot [laughs] and uh (.) coming in (.) and... then telling us what we need that we don't see you know what I mean? it really uh

Caitlin Bergin  
61:10.146 - 61:10.456

yeah

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
61:12.331 - 61:25.101

I find that to be a lot (.) you know very helpful (.) uh who's doing that Stephen I don't know if you know (.) he was uh (.) at UofT as well... I don't know his last name he's been here for a while

Caitlin Bergin  
61:25.101 - 61:25.851

that's okay

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
61:25.366 - 61:32.526

[laughs] yeah but he uh (.) he's been here f- he came in here for the summer. He was in Ryan's class... and with Mitch as well

Caitlin Bergin  
61:33.176 - 61:34.096

ok I'll ask him

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
61:34.076 - 61:37.226

um (.) but he- he drives in from Toronto

Caitlin Bergin  
61:37.416 - 61:37.856

yeah

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
61:38.766 - 62:15.526

and... he was doing a summer course I believe with Ryan... and... just to be an intern here... and he studied the language (.) so that's another thing I guess that's important for (.) to have a knowledge in the language... um... uh basically he studied the language (.) and then just started coming by (.) with all these skills... um (.) you know... computer things uh... you know the (.) the boss man he's 73 years old so (.) Microsoft Word formatting isn't his you know

Caitlin Bergin  
62:15.516 - 62:15.896

yeah

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
62:15.936 - 62:26.521

he's like 'what do I do? Stephen!' and he'll just come and do it (.) um... and he just comes in and he's like “oh I noticed you guys have all these here” (.) um “in this class but I noticed you don't have that it over there can I do that for you?”

- Caitlin Bergin  
62:26.611 - 62:27.171 hm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
62:27.281 - 63:02.326 you know it's uh... um... yeah just- you know little things and (.) but he comes in and spends time with us (.) and can kind of (.) draw his own conclusions about what... we'd like (.) um... he was more in- he was in more throughout the summer... so he hasn't necessarily spent a whole lot of time with the class (.) I think... observing the class and seeing the classroom dynamic (.) and talking with the students (.) and kind of forming your own... you know... instead of asking "how can I help" be like "this is how I can help you"
- Caitlin Bergin  
63:02.286 - 63:02.666 yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
63:02.646 - 63:03.056 you know
- Caitlin Bergin  
63:03.351 - 63:03.771 yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
63:03.741 - 63:05.536 um (.) yeah I think that would be the big
- Caitlin Bergin  
63:13.401 - 63:18.861 it puts the kind of responsibility on the linguist rather than just an extra job for you
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
63:17.421 - 63:34.601 yeah (.) absolutely [laughs] yeah we don't- yeah I'd you know just spend time and (.) think it out and (.) be like yeah we could do this or this but... uh we work real long hours here so it's uh yeah [laughs] so it's uh... been the case for awhile
- Caitlin Bergin  
63:34.976 - 63:50.961 mhm... and what should... in the same vein... linguists... not do... so there was a conversation about not documenting um... ceremonial language like Longhouse speeches and stuff that's
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
63:48.631 - 63:53.496 yep... yeah permissions always good
- Caitlin Bergin  
63:53.551 - 63:54.031 mhm
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant um [laughs] and uh... one of the big things is uh... not

- 63:54.061 - 65:01.411      expecting everyone to... I guess no expectations (.) from...talking to us or talking with the students (.) but yeah talk to everyone... “no one would” “no one would give me real answers” or they said “I don't want to talk about that” like... um... I guess we've been studied to death (.) it's almost like uh... a zoo at times right like it's just... uh... like being in a fish bowl people come in and watch us and (.) and then uh expect us to answer everything and it's been like... um... and then expect-like put it on us (.) and then you know they'll be like “well I tried to talk to them but none of them would talk” or “they'll come to me” and be like “none of your students really welcomed me” you know what I mean just-
- Caitlin Bergin      yeah  
65:01.001 - 65:01.461
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant      a little uh... uh... things they shouldn't do I guess (.)  
65:01.721 - 65:11.161      expect us to solve their problems for them you know [laughs] that'd be the big thing yeah
- Caitlin Bergin      fair yeah  
65:10.041 - 65:10.841
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant      and just you know basic respect is- it goes a long way  
65:12.091 - 65:15.111
- Caitlin Bergin      yeah  
65:15.321 - 65:15.721
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant      especially here... we're a little different too (.) you  
65:15.361 - 65:26.481      know [laughs] it's... um (.) we got some kind of... norms that are here
- Caitlin Bergin      mhm  
65:26.531 - 65:27.031
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant      and just uh... you know respecting it that this is our  
65:28.071 - 65:41.356      place and (.) we try to make everyone feel welcome here but you know [laughs] cultural differences I guess (.) are evident and some people are really (.) put off by it (.) so I don't know
- Caitlin Bergin      hm  
65:40.636 - 65:41.356
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant      but yeah just understand you're in a different place and  
65:42.416 - 65:45.246      different people

- Caitlin Bergin  
65:44.721 - 65:45.051  
yeah
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
65:46.036 - 65:48.771  
Caitlin Bergin  
65:48.811 - 65:57.641  
I guess you've been through that a lot at... university right  
yeah but it was very interesting coming here today and...knowing that... Kanien'kéha should be the primary language spoken here... and especially at your lunch too
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
65:59.551 - 66:00.471  
yeah yeah
- Caitlin Bergin  
66:00.581 - 66:06.091  
and not really wanting to... taint it with my English but also just
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
66:03.821 - 66:05.011  
yeah [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
66:06.366 - 66:12.126  
wanting so badly to know what you guys were talking about which I think I kinda figured but [laughs]
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
66:11.016 - 66:12.206  
yeah [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
66:13.651 - 66:19.751  
it was really interesting and I'm- I'm grateful that I was able to come here today and speak to your students
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
66:18.071 - 66:20.991  
oh yeah oh (.) no it was great having you here
- Caitlin Bergin  
66:21.636 - 66:22.516  
thank you
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
66:22.096 - 66:29.876  
it was- yeah of course it was uh... yeah no I thought you did great today (.) so especially speaking in the morning I know its-
- Caitlin Bergin  
66:27.986 - 66:28.786  
thank you
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
66:30.496 - 66:33.406  
a lot of people like "what do you mean got to stand up?!" [laughs]
- Caitlin Bergin  
66:32.206 - 66:33.456  
[laughs]
- Rohahiyo Jordan Brant  
66:33.731 - 66:36.111  
well I guess Ryan got you used to that eh yeah

Caitlin Bergin                      yeah  
66:35.461 - 66:36.726

Rohahiyo Jordan Brant            awesome  
66:36.741 - 66:37.251

### Appendix E: Ryan DeCaire Interview Transcript

Contributor: Ryan DeCaire (.) short pause (pause < 00:01.500)  
 Interviewer: Caitlin Bergin ... long pause (pause > 00:01.500)  
 Date: December 19, 2019 - interruption or repetition  
 Location: Interview conducted over the phone

Caitlin Bergin 00:00.771 - 00:08.821 so I'm going to begin just by asking you some basic um questions about your background

Ryan DeCaire 00:11.516 - 00:11.956 sure

Caitlin Bergin 00:12.166 - 00:14.866 so how long have you been a teacher of Mohawk?

Ryan DeCaire 00:17.266 - 00:36.366 10 years I've been teaching Mohawk (.) uh and that has been in a... in many environments but mostly in (.) uh in the- in the Mohawk community (.) adult immersion but also things like night classes... um (.) as well as the university

Caitlin Bergin 00:37.036 - 00:38.596 so where have you taught Mohawk?

Ryan DeCaire 00:39.596 - 01:26.371 I've taught Mohawk at Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa for a number of years at Six Nations as well as Ratiwennahní:rats and that's uh another adult immersion program in Kahnawá:ke which you're also close to (.) it might, I don't know if you thought about that in your design but it might be worth visiting them as well (.) um (.) very similar two-year adult immersion program (.) takes slightly different approaches to teaching but they're still really successful (.) um so taught there as well... uh (.) I taught night classes in their program I've taught at pol- Six Nations Polytechnic in Six Nations I've taught night classes in Wáhta Mohawk Territory where I'm from... uh (.) so kinda all over the place and also at the university at Trent University and uh University of Toronto

Caitlin Bergin 01:27.931 - 01:31.731 and prior to that how long did you study Mohawk for?

Ryan DeCaire 01:33.881 - 01:40.301 mm (.) three years I suppose (.) but I'm- yeah I'm still studying now (.) so

Caitlin Bergin 01:41.281 - 01:44.261 and those three years were at the immersion school in Six Nations?

- Ryan DeCaire  
01:44.321 - 01:47.571  
yeah oh sorry two years were at the immersion school in Six Nations
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:49.741 - 01:50.301  
where?
- Ryan DeCaire  
01:49.761 - 01:50.541  
[unclear]
- Caitlin Bergin  
01:50.931 - 01:51.321  
pardon?
- Ryan DeCaire  
01:52.106 - 02:21.371  
I started I started teaching while at school... to pay my bills (.) uh... so it was almost automatic so I- I uh took a year at the school (.) and the next year I started teaching in the evening so I could survive (.) so that was at Six Nations Polytech and then after that I was uh... I was... teaching immersion in Kahnawá:ke... so just- just two years yeah sorry two years
- Caitlin Bergin  
02:22.011 - 02:25.736  
okay (.) and what levels are you currently teaching?
- Ryan DeCaire  
02:27.336 - 06:20.406  
uh so if I'm at Onkwawén:na (.) um (.) then (.) that's anywhere from (.) beginner all the way to... depending on how you're measuring (.) uh levels um but all the way too... high intermediate or low advanced (.) and then (.) sometimes I'm taught- teaching even higher than that but that's rare... and then at the university it's all just like a novice (.) it's very low... and there's reason for that because uh (.) when (.) one thing that's interesting to look at if you have looked at for example the (.) uh what are they called sorry (.) my mind went in the [unclear] uh... Orange Services Institute in the United States (.) which is part of their military (.) they've issued because- because of the 30, 40 years of experience teaching di- dip- diplomats (.) in another country to- to serve in other countries (.) uh they- they've developed this scale of language difficulty... and they- categories one, two, three, four, five and (.) really they're distinguishing difficulty (.) based on... one the languages structure but differences- the cultural differences and you might even be able to consider orthography (.) so (.) you know learning (.) uh (.) Mandarin orthography is going to take a lot more time than if it was based uh Roman (.) characters but (.) uh (.) number- category one is languages that are (.) closest to English this is assuming that English is your first language by the way (.) um our (.) you know French and uh Spanish and German (.) and then working its

way up to category five which are languages like Arabic and... uh (.) Japanese (.) and it's likely- in category five they're saying that it takes around 2200 hours to learn a language to... um (.) basically that's low-level on the [unclear] scale and we're- what we're saying is because (.) what you've been talking about that there's so uh so little research out there... one on documenting um (.) languages for use in pedagogy so there's not combination between uh pedagogy and (.) linguistic work a lot of the time (.) um but there's not a lot of (.) um (.) work either around (.) how long it takes to learn complex languages like Mohawk if you're coming at it from an English language as your first language (.) so um (.) it's taken our students around that time a week's 22 hours but (.) what we're noticing is they need probably 3000 hours just to become an advanced (.) low give or take (.) and (.) so you compare that to the university and that's why the university is always going to be novice because (.) what you have 72 hours in a year? (.) so you need 3000 hours so what you need is basically 64 (.) something like that credits at the university who's going to do that (.) so this- that's the reason Onkwawén:na is working 'cause one (.) one of the reasons is they're giving adequate time to actually become a speaker (.) which really casts a light on the biggest challenge in my opinion you know about learning these languages (.) is (.) yes they're structurally different that makes it hard but really at the end of the day its access to language and use of it that's it (.) it's hard to find- go out into the world and hear a first language speaker or (.) to even have the opportunity to speak it so that's why we need to create these (.) so [unclear] is what we're using every day and you can't speak English like what you noticed at Onkwawén:na (.) so we can actually give them the amount of exposure that's required to become a speaker... anyways that's a bit of a tangent (.) sometimes interesting things maybe it might be relevant to your work

Caitlin Bergin  
06:20.626 - 06:21.896

yeah very interesting

Ryan DeCaire  
06:22.531 - 06:23.876

yeah... mhm

Caitlin Bergin  
06:25.186 - 06:36.876

in terms of developing um... speakers and fluency (.) uh (.) what are your thoughts and opinions regarding materials that are available to students of the Root-word method

Ryan DeCaire  
06:39.041 - 10:08.776

um (.) well first we gotta define the Root-word method and you probably talked about that and when anybody asks me what a Root-word Method is I think it's more of an approach and I think that... all it is- is saying that... let the structure of your language be your guide (.) right and when you look at Mohawk it tells us that maybe we shouldn't approach learning Mohawk like we would approach [unclear] um we shouldn't say oh (.) you know... oh that uh- "learning an isolating language should be learned in the same way that we would learn agglutinating- agglutinative language or a polysynthetic language" (.) root-word is basically saying don't (.) Mohawk (.) words are sentences and sentences are unlimited (.) and why would you learn... why would you try to memorize the unlimited words which are in fact sentences (.) uh when you could learn about- about morpho-phonological change and how to put morphemes together and take them apart so that you can an infinite amount of words (.) so it's about giving students agency in that or the ability to create with and that um so that specifically... uh when you're looking at the Root-word and how that can be defined that way... the Root-word Method isn't really a thing in- throughout the community like (.) that label yeah people use that at Onkwawén:na and (.) but really what- that's what it means so when you're trying to define whether there's resources out there or not yes and no can I go find (.) a dictionary that's (.) organized (.) by (.) um... by roots (.) yes we have that (.) only for one dialect... so you got out to a community like Kahnawá:ke and Akwesásne (.) they do not have the uh (.) uh dictionaries that are- or at all one (.) let alone dictionaries that are organized by root-word and that's key for languages like ours so they can have access to these words... um especially when there's not a lot of first language-speakers around so that's one for dialect and then... uh... basically the only materials you're going to get for (.) quote unquote Root-word Method are out of Onkwawén:na Kentyóhkwa (.) which you- you visited and also Ratiwennahní:rats another adult immersion program (.) now this is- we're also talking about second-language learning here which would be different- second-language learning for adults which (.) is also (.) we're also assuming it would be a different... that if we're teaching children... um (.) 'cause we're we're saying that children (.) are just going to pick it up (.) ideally they're just going to pick it up and not think about the grammar (.) whereas adults are saying "well maybe we can use this grammar to help expedite the

process" (.) and uh (.) so that's why there's going to be more (.) focus- and focus on this Root-words for adults than they are going to be for children... um yes I know that doesn't really answer your question the an- answers no I guess there's no (.) um... you know you pick up a book where it's written it's not going to show you when one morpheme ends and the other begins or (.) you know a Bible translation is not going to show you that as well so it's rare to find um...I guess materials that actually point that out to you (.) um

Caitlin Bergin  
10:07.976 - 10:08.776

mhm

Ryan DeCaire  
10:10.006 - 11:11.351

you know so it's really just going to be in the curriculum at places like Onkwawén:na I believe anyway... but for materials as a whole that's a- there's not a lot out there no (.) uh there's very, very (.) little uh... you know depending on how you define materials whether its meant for language learning (.) or it's just- they're to read you know things like literature like a book or something like that to read more or (.) uh a movie to watch (.) or a website to visit no none of that really exists at all... um so yeah the language resources to actually (.) help you to be immersed in the language as much as possible- possible throughout the day (.) that- that's limited completely... um and then (.) if I was somebody who wasn't going to school at adult immersion I just want to learn then (.) there's very few things that are really available to me... yes

Caitlin Bergin  
11:12.811 - 11:14.651

how about as a-

Ryan DeCaire  
11:13.191 - 11:14.621

I get- I get-

Caitlin Bergin  
11:14.811 - 11:15.811

sorry go on

Ryan DeCaire  
11:15.156 - 11:27.366

oh sorry I- I- I answered that in a roundabout way because (.) it's hard (.) sometime I don't know what you mean by materials or... or- or resources that kind of thing I should see- you mean anything and everything

Caitlin Bergin  
11:29.286 - 11:35.076

basically I'm purposely trying to be vague just to see what you would think of

Ryan DeCaire  
11:35.866 - 11:36.766

right got 'cha

Caitlin Bergin  
11:37.396 - 11:39.841

yeah (.) um what about as a teacher?

Ryan DeCaire  
11:41.411 - 16:27.626

uh (.) no definitely not we (.) all of us (.) the few people the ones you talk to like Jordan and Brian and myself and the other people in other communities (.) almost all of us I'd say 90% of us if not more are all creating our own materials to be taught everyday... um (.) and that's for a number of reasons it's (.) one... well these are- this is a small language so compared to French so I'd go online (.) find all the French immersion materials I want but it's also about your pedagogical approach right so how are you going to approach teaching the language (.) for me there's (.) there has been previously (.) uh been (.) there's previously a lot of materials that were created since the 70s so our immersion school started in the late 70s for elementary immersion (.) and a lot of materials just had to be made (.) [five?] people working full-time they make them in the evenings and translate books and translate other curriculum (.) that they found from other schools and make things so um you can pull from that but at that time the strategy for language learning was based on... French immersion (.) and a lot of it was just translated over from French immersion curriculum so if you're trying now to take a different approach to learning it such as looking at the morpheme level and giving the students the ability to create words with morphemes (.) um and there's not a lot of material that way so the other thing that Maracle mentioned that's kinda embedded in the Root-word method that's not talked about is that from English learning perspectives (.) you can see langu- or from English learning perspective there's things that are complex and things that are simple about learning a language like Mohawk right... and (.) well then a linguist like yourself will be like “woah woah woah how do you define simple and how do you define complex?” and from this perspective is that one- one simple- simple means... the (.) least amount of morphemes possible within a word right so you can have little short words (.) you can have long words but a long word might actually have fewer morphemes than a short word (.) right it's because you have to learn how each one of those morphemes interact or (.) changes depending on its environment (.) whether there's noun incorporation or not... tense or aspect and... um etcetera... so the fewer morphemes (.) is- is better for a student who is- who's English is a first language and then you slowly add complexity using

what they've already learned we call that scaffolding... so... um... previously language learning for our languages whether it be for children or not hasn't really taken that approach it's kinda (.) teaching (.) a word oh-simple must be a word that you use every day like "I went shopping" something like that but if you look at a word like "I went shopping" that might have seven morphemes in it (.) [unclear] and (.) they might be able to remember "I- I went shopping" but what about when they have to say "he will go shopping" or "he didn't go shopping" or [unclear] (.) uh "almost went shopping" all the sudden that whole word even though it's the same at the you know... you know it has all the same parts all those parts change depending on... uh the tense and aspect (.) so [if or it's] not (.) by them just memorizing these words they're not necessarily developing a capacity to create with language and use their own thoughts (.) um so... in... to answer that question is there's been a lot written but if I take the approach where I'm using scaffolding trying to find out what the simplest is for the language for a second-language learner to learn and then increase complexity and then also (.) use these roots to help them... uh... then I'm going to not- I'm not going to find anything out there so (.) there's nobody who's set- who has really created a curriculum... for teaching these languages and then in a multiplicity of situations right so (.) there might be a curriculum for teaching adults at Onkwawén:na well what about a curriculum for teaching... uh second-language learners at a Native studies program at university well... then it's going to be a total different approach as well because you have less time and then one for children and teenagers so (.) when you're (.) teaching French or Spanish there's... many many things out there for you to use you know if you'd like to but us at the end of the day we got to create it ourselves... yeah... so I hope that answered your question

Caitlin Bergin  
16:27.801 - 16:36.851

it did (.) so when you're creating your own (.) curriculums and materials do you consult with other teachers or is this strictly a sole endeavour for you?

Ryan DeCaire  
00:16:37.781 - 17:01.231

uh for me I'll (.) well... a lot of the times I won't (.) I'll just create them myself (.) uh but a lot of the times I will consult with uh colleagues (.) which are really just friends 'cause everybody knows each other if you're in language and culture for Mohawk Caitlin everybody knows each other right um so it's you know [laughs]

- Caitlin Bergin  
16:57.991 - 17:00.601 [laughs]
- Ryan DeCaire  
17:01.596 - 17:08.671 you're all best friends like um (.) so Onk- Brian who you spoke to the other day when you're at Onkwawén:na
- Caitlin Bergin  
17:08.311 - 17:08.611 mhm
- Ryan DeCaire  
17:08.861 - 18:58.606 he writes me every single day (.) almost asking me questions about Mohawk... right and that's because he's trying to just um he's basically going off me before he creates some kind of material for the program there right and we're all doing that all the time... uh whether it be about lexical choice or whether it be spelling or whether it be... whatever it might be (.) uh (.) that (.) we're kinda always talking to one and other about curriculum because... teaching- when I'm teaching at the university there's no real guidebook on how to teach Mohawk in a university so of course I'm going to create that on my own (.) um and right now (.) since I taught you every year has been like research for me so looking at what's important- what's best for students to know in an Indigenous studies degree one (.) um but also... what (.) is important for them to know about the language and then what is- what is important for them- how much- how much proficiency should they... acquire in a year or two at the university so looking at those things has lead me to uh work to develop a textbook for the university right so (.) you know I'm almost finished this textbook for teaching first year and second year Mohawk (.) but (.) so I could- I could finish that (.) to be totally honest I'll be- I'll likely be the only one that uses that even if uh- even if someone other people would be interested in using it at other universities because they might not want to take the same approach to teaching it that I do... right so they might use it as a (.) tool or they might use it as a reference but they might not actually use it for teaching right so it all comes down to your perspective on- your approach to teaching it
- Caitlin Bergin  
00:19:00.366 - 19:16.181 that's interesting to hear that you're uh developing a textbook when I was at the immersion school I was looking through theirs and (.) I was struck by how unbelievably customized and thorough it was
- Ryan DeCaire  
oh man it's incredible right they're not just buying a

00:19:16.676 - 21:33.881

book and going from this random book no they're creating it and changing it every single year... right (.) um and that's what we're trying to do there is that every year (.) it would- we're looking at the students basically as guinea pigs 'cause we have to be there's no research body out there doing the work for us on developing practices or best practices in teaching polysynthetic languages like Mohawk (.) there's no institute (.) there's no overarching body in the world doing that work so one we have to teach it two we have to be researchers on the best practices for teaching and then using our students as our guinea pigs to help us figure out whether we're doing well or not (.) and then three we have to do all these other things as well like manage the classroom and be psychologists when our students break down and have hard times in their lives we're doing basically everything right (.) as that [unclear] type of person so yeah it's extremely customized and that's one of the reasons why (.) I think it's... is- is the approach that makes it work right it's this idea that... we should never be complacent we should never think that we're doing the best like we should pat ourselves on the back and say yeah we're doing a good job but what can we tweak what change (.) whether it be (.) um what we're doing in the classroom with our- exactly our teaching method is that day or what we're- what- what lexemes we've given them for this unit whether we should change those or not to something else that is more relevant to their lives these kinds of things rights (.) um (.) so there's always discussions like little tiny discussions that nobody will ever hear about like "hey should we teach them a word for the subway?" (.) and then we'll talk about it and say "no we shouldn't teach them the word for the subway 'cause nobody's ever been on a subway before in this class and maybe never will be" (.) right so "but maybe they will" you know these kinda things so we'll have little discussions like that (.) and yeah etcetera so (.) you're right it is extremely- extremely uh customized and almost down to each and every day in the whole year is written in that book you might have looked at... or our curriculum text I should say

Caitlin Bergin  
21:33.846 - 21:41.706

mhm... so the textbook you're developing for a university course I imagine would cover maybe different topics or

Ryan DeCaire  
21:43.076 - 21:49.041

well yeah it depends on one the (.) goals of the program in which it's taught so

Caitlin Bergin  
21:48.491 - 21:49.001

mhm

Ryan DeCaire  
00:21:49.546 - 24:57.956

at the University of Toronto Mohawk exists within Indigenous studies and they're of the opinion that if you're going to get a degree in indigenous studies (.) you... are likely going to work in Indigenous communities maybe you're going to be a good neighbour by working in policy around Indigenous issues (.) maybe (.) you're- maybe you're going to work in linguistics (.) depending on what you're going to it seems to be relevant and important for you to at least have an understanding of (.) one specific local Indigenous language to know (.) uh (.) to really understand why language is important to a community (.) a community's well-being and their resilience... and also (.) to look at language as a- a lens into culture and why that might be important to culture as well so... giving the students this exposure to the language will make them better practitioners in whatever they end up being whether it be a nurse or a lawyer or a linguist... so (.) from that you have to think about okay is the goal to create speakers at the university? and really no and the reason why the goal isn't that way too is 'cause we just can't give them enough time (.) um (.) and especially when we are limited in human resources and our language is declining (.) that really from a Mohawk perspective we want to put all our time into community (.) to learn the language so (.) it only makes sense that we're going to basically give students at the university (.) kinda real- real tip of the iceberg when it comes to language learning and then to also give them opportunity to think about (.) things like uh language loss and language revitalization... um (.) and culture and uh understanding of you know local speech communities in the area so that's all kinda embedded in the curriculum so it's not always about proficiency uh and becoming a speaker however (.) the other thing that we talk about in Indigenous studies is the reason why our language classes are important is that (.) they're almost like um... uh... a step in one student's learning... where you... are encouraged to reconsi- or encouraged to think about your own ego and humility right so in Indigenous studies when you come into that Mohawk class (.) you're basically made to feel like you don't know anything right because you're put on the spot (.) you're (.) basically you don't know anything (.) you have to admit that in front of this whole group of students (.) and academia especially at UofT is not

designed around showing people you don't know anything it's about proving that you know things even if you don't (.) right (.) so just that exercise in those classes is ho- hope- you know there's the hope that you kinda work on developing (.) a student's person as well... you know... so in a long- you know- yeah it's completely different from uh the community classes that's for sure

Caitlin Bergin  
00:25:02.986 - 25:12.546

that was interesting that last line about thinking about your own humility and kinda going against UofT's... um... programming [laughs]

Ryan DeCaire  
25:13.331 - 25:17.226

yeah you know that's (.) that's not just UofT it's al- most

Caitlin Bergin  
25:16.546 - 25:16.956

yeah

Ryan DeCaire  
25:17.541 - 26:13.936

it's the ivory tower right and that you... it's not encouraged that in almost um... like uh humility or (.) ignorance and humility are almost equated sometimes right like as soon as you say to somebody you don't know something it's almost like- it's like a bad thing oh you know there you go there you're a (.) getting up and doing a dissertation (.) um (.) defence or whatever it might be you know you get up and say you know I've only been studying this for four years (.) and so therefore I only know very little about the topic because there's a whole lifetime to learn about things you know someone might look at you and go well you're supposed to be a master on this so it's um... we realize that (.) well learning is a lifelong process and I think it's important for students to realize that and I think (.) these language courses, if they're taught in the right way, can encourage students to think about that

Caitlin Bergin  
00:26:15.591 - 26:35.401

yeah one thing that struck me when I was at the immersion school was just... how different the environment was even from our class at UofTum for example the lunches on Tuesday and Thursday where both the classes come together just so there can be conversation and they can hear stories

Ryan DeCaire  
26:35.916 - 31:01.666

yep... yeah it's- it's- it's completely different right there we're trying to... um (.) see language learning... is (.) when you look at it at a sys- at a systems level um (.) language learning isn't about or sorry language revitalization (.) isn't (.) really only about individuals becoming proficient (.) at the end of the day it's about

(.) it's about community revitalization right (.) um (.) if you have a billion people that become speaker well if they don't like each other and talk to each other than what does that matter right and that's the thing about when you measure language vitality to where it (.) that isn't- isn't helpful (.) is you'll see a language (.) that a community that says well there's 20 first-language speakers well you also need a scale on how likely out of one to ten they're going to actually talk to one another (.) because a lot of these communities' people can't stand each other their family- their families don't get along or maybe three of them are deaf and they don't leave the house and these kinda things so what we realized at Onkwawén:na is that... we could- our focus is on creating speakers but... we also need to have some focus on (.) creating a community who defines themselves by use of the language because (.) once they finish what's going to happen is they're going to go out to (.) they're gonna need jobs (.) they might have children whatever they end up doing is that (.) you need to do your best to ensure that they can maintain (.) or have a sense of community around use of the language so that it can continue to be used uh the last thing we want is to get them to this proficiency level where they can pretty well use the language and all in differing situations throughout their entire day (.) and they can survive in the language but (.) they don't have a community to use it so therefore they just stop using it over time right so I think that's why things like... lunches and spending time together and talking about all your challenges in your life (.) your feelings and (.) your issues with your family and (.) you know things like you're family being sick and (.) you know whatever you got kicked out of your house all these things your- you're not encouraged to talk about your- your real everyday life at the university right... whereas this school is a totally different focus cause we're trying to create community... and for some people that's hard even when uh- even students that are there right cause we're dealing with (.) uh (.) intergenerational trauma that's tucked up in student's baggage right... you don't know what they're like when they go home they go home and they're probably frustrated 'cause they can't speak the language well they're trying really hard (.) it may lead to them being (.) maybe like (.) quitting or it may lead to them you know not doing well (.) we don't know (.) and we know that Native students have this baggage and it's really hard to admit you don't know your language (.) when you know that you should and when it was taken away from you (.) you feel like it was

taken away from you (.) and (.) to get- to go into a classroom and say (.) "I don't know" (.) is real, real tough so (.) we realize that we also need to work at that and creating a sense of well you know a safe environment where students are encouraged to talk about anything they want about their lives... uh yeah so there (.) I think that's why one of the reasons why you noticed it being different but it's also not a... the focus isn't... it's not like- the end of the course isn't focused on (.) achievement and uh... I don't know (.) necessarily getting a- most people who go there aren't necessarily- aren't going there to get a job or to get higher pay or because their parents told them to like they would- like for university they're going to there because... they feel like somethings missing inside (.) and that (.) and that's their language because they want to connect to who it is- who they truly are as distinct peoples and that's really what's pushing them to be there (.) so I think the motivation of students often is different as well which contributes to a different environment there... so that's why it's always fun and people are laughing or- maybe things aren't- you know people are talking about anything and everything you know it's not an academic exercise there

Caitlin Bergin  
31:03.106 - 31:07.066

it really did come across as a safe environment

Ryan DeCaire  
31:07.506 - 31:12.836

yep yeah... and we need to create that... you know

Caitlin Bergin  
31:12.556 - 31:32.561

it- it was interesting when I was talking to Brian Maracle he said that he comes across a lot of Mohawk speakers (.) um (.) that learnt Mohawk as whole-words (.) rather than the Root-word Method (.) so when they're asked to use it productively they can't

Ryan DeCaire  
31:28.491 - 31:28.671

yep

Caitlin Bergin  
31:33.401 - 31:46.331

and he was talking about creating a course to try and help them learn word construction but again adults (.) at least in his perspective adults don't want to be told what they're doing wrong

Ryan DeCaire  
31:47.776 - 33:09.221

well he- that's kinda the thing is that (.) if you look at how our language has been taught how our language use and I mean Iroquoian languages beyond Mohawk because they all have the same structure... uh (.) um (.) been taught since the late 70s... and Brian's right

they've been taught as whole words right and like I said earlier... well pol- words are sentences and therefore unlimited how do you memorize all these whole words you can't (.) why learn 1000 words when you can learn 10 rules to put words together to create those 1000 words that seems a little more productive for the mind (.) and a little bit less taxing on the mind so that's kinda the approach that we take it the one challenge with that is... one of the issues with um derivational morphology is that you can create words that aren't said right like it's (.) the morphemes are put together you create it- you know this perfectly created word (.) but it's just not right (.) right you can equate that to English where if I know like how to say... I know how to say "entertainment" (.) therefore I will say "happiment" (.) "why doesn't that work? you know it seems alright to me you know there's a lot of happiment here" (.) right so [laughs]

Caitlin Bergin  
33:07.731 - 33:08.861

[laughs]

Ryan DeCaire  
33:09.596 - 34:16.676

you can do the same thing in Mohawk right where it could be put together right 'cause other words are put together that way (.) however people just don't say it that way or it's just a funny thing to say (.) and that's one of the things that we are challenged by because... we're not exposed at Onkwawén:na specifically because we just lost our last first language speaker there (.) we're not exposed- or not we I mean the students aren't exposed enough to (.) first-language speakers so that they can (.) weed out these things that they say that aren't really said... by first-language speakers where they'll often say they kinda sound almost robotic 'cause they're saying things that make sense but nobody would say it that way (.) uh so that's one of the challenges with the quote unquote Root-word Method and why people wouldn't be into it as... why first-language speakers or people who learn whole-words wouldn't be into it because the people learning whole words are mostly just memorizing things they've heard from other speakers right

Caitlin Bergin  
34:16.846 - 34:17.376

mhm

Ryan DeCaire  
34:17.401 - 35:39.371

and the thing is (.) when you're looking at measuring ones proficiency (.) to get to an intermediate level if you're using the ACTFL oral proficiency interviews which um we're- well I'm trained in doing those

interviews (.) you have to see if people can create with language by the time they get to a high intermediate level (.) can you cr- cause at the novice level you're just memo- you're just using memorized words and phrases... and (.) if you can't really cr- how do you define create for a polysynthetic language what does that really mean and all these.. even using that scale ACTFL isn't designed for polysynthetic languages what do you know... so we have to think about what does it mean to create can you- can you manipulate morphemes can change the pronouns can you excorporate nouns and incorporate nouns can you add uh descriptive suffixes and do that all at the same as you're... uh talking about something emotional to you or what not so (.) those um... that's what we're trying to aim at in giving our students and that's one reason why learning whole words is just (.) to taxing on the mind and (.) going to be way too hard for learning these languages and it's so it just seems obvious to me (.) doesn't it seem obvious to you? like yeah language

Caitlin Bergin  
35:38.801 – 35:39.371

yeah

Ryan DeCaire  
35:40.336 - 35:50.531

are set up these ways and we ought to use that to help us...uh yeah so that's (.) I don't know if I answered your question

Caitlin Bergin  
35:50.631 - 35:51.951

yeah you did [laughs]

Ryan DeCaire  
35:53.281 - 35:54.771

cool [laughs]

Caitlin Bergin  
35:54.786 - 36:14.411

so... moving to the (.) linguistic documentation side um...have you encountered any... speech formulas or speech acts, idioms, colloquialisms (.) local phrases, cultural contexts of language that you think should be documented

Ryan DeCaire  
36:16.121 - 36:41.706

uh... well there's all sorts of documentation that hasn't been documented uh really um... let me think (.) [unclear] you've done a lot of the research and... probably found that uh... most language documentation for any language is really any of these Indigenous languages are really monologue narratives or maybe they're word lists

Caitlin Bergin  
36:39.296 - 36:39.726

yes

Ryan DeCaire  
36:42.221 - 37:03.781

or like verb paradigms... uh lexicon development (.) and really it's all (.) used not to- not to have a monologue narrative really their purpose is to (.) have something where you could describe the grammatical or the phonological features right that's really what language documentation has been about... um (.) and that's one thing that I'll say is that language documentation... linguists all give themselves a pat on the back saying they're doing language documentation saying they're doing language revitalization and I'll be like what do you mean (.) how- how is- how is that contributing to language revitalization and they'll be like- say things like "oh it's for the data" "we have the data for later" like what

Caitlin Bergin  
37:26.881 - 37:28.021

[laughs]

Ryan DeCaire  
37:28.301 - 00:43:58.691

so have you even thought about- and this is the question you're asking for your thesis is (.) have you even thought about how that would be used at- in the classroom or how it'll be used to- or how it will be uh disseminated to the community so it's actually of use (.) and they'll go "no that's not our responsibility as linguists" our you know right our responsibility as theoretical linguists is beyond that it's to understand our cognitive process- processes and... uh understanding how the mind might be universal and how it produces language or etcetera etcetera etcetera (.) uh so... uh and that's one thing that I'll say is that language documentation (.) is different than language... um... description... right... and language des- and this is usually what it's been about its not documentation it's (.) his- historically language documentation is really about (.) had been about language description so describing it's (.) whatever its rules it's abstract constructions these things right and... language documentation should be different from that where it should be really focused on (.) things like you're talking about- uh actual- how is language actually used? we don't want to be prescriptivists we want to know how it actually is used every day... uh how its (.) au- an authentic [unclear] things like functions (.) how would- you know language functions things like tasks (.) um (.) like uh (.) I don't know like (.) let me think here for a sec... um... so (.) you might have somebody who documented (.) a speaker telling a story (.) well that's just that's one

register them telling a story (.) and that's also one person who's comfortable with telling a story not everybody who speaks the language wants to tell stories or is a good orator these kinda things so (.) when we're talking about language uh things like language functions we don't (.) that's not documented at all (.) so what I mean by that is (.) speakers uh... I don't know (.) uh (.) asking somebody for information or disagreeing with them or um (.) describing people or maybe (.) expressing their feelings or maybe complaining (.) uh giving their opinion on something uh (.) giving- commanding somebody to do something requesting somebody to do something giving somebody advice... I don't know convincing somebody persuading them... maybe (.) also comforting people or condoning somebody when they lost something or cancelling a plan or... what they do to order food at a restaurant (.) making a deal with somebody or haggling with someone at a street market or (.) what they say when they're... paying their bills or (.) uh I don't know then we can go down to things like (.) uh (.) like what we talked about um (.) could be also small talk and then leading with the things like uses of metaphors and idioms and... uh (.) whatever else we could use puns these kind of things (.) all (.) which is not documented at all and because that's actually how language is used it's not (.) language isn't just somebody telling stories every day (.) things like well how do people actually take turns now this gets more to the pragmatic level of language documentation that is really rare for languages like Mohawk how do they move? how are they sitting? how do they take turns? what words do they use in that context? right um how do they speak to a child? versus when they speak to their family what about motherese speaking to a kid or like a baby none of these things have (.) really been documented at all... so it's (.) or even just people talking to one another (.) so yeah one-somebody talking by themselves and telling a story but what about people... talking to one another just having a conversation uh that's rare too (.) so these (.) in my opinion... that interactional language (.) um conversations about everyday life... uh (.) all that is going to ca- give a better uh... corpus a real- real... robust documentation of the language that we can actually use in everyday settings because that's usually when we- when we- when we get down to looking at whether students are able to use the language on an everyday basis (.) that's usually the challenges that they have cause they'll leave school and they'll realize (.) damn I don't actually know how to use the language in

these contexts in my life that I thought I did but- I don't actually know... um (.) so (.) uh documentation needs to transcend what you talked about and describing it (.) and then also- then capture as many things about everyday life to the best it can sometimes students can make use of it in their everyday lives (.) um and you know (.) I guess there's a reason for that I don't know if you want to talk about this (.) um that (.) generally in the past when I look at uh documentary linguistics... uh (.) the research agenda has been set by the linguists they don't even speak the language (.) so if they don't even speak the language how can they be involved with like (.) with (.) like there's no participant observation because you can't even be involved in using it so... um and this I guess is exacerbated by things like the research model right if you're a PhD student or a masters student and you wanna document a language (.) do whatever with it well you're only given a year or two to... be involved with the community and...you know trying- and to actually be expected to speak the language and be involved with this it's not lending to... lending to that it's not going to give you the ability to do that (.) so (.) uh (.) yeah (.) I don't know if that answers any your questions I'm kinda rambling on so it's like... yeah (.) you need to go beyond

Caitlin Bergin  
43:56.831 - 43:57.481

[laughs]

Ryan DeCaire  
43:59.596 - 45:04.911

just... observing the language and it being spoken and I guess a story (.) and even go beyond elicitations asking them things you actually need to... maybe even be engaged in staged events right and those are these functions I was telling you about getting second-lang- or getting first-language speakers to... basically act out situations that they'd would be in everyday life and a good friend of mine is actually doing this work and he might be somebody (.) be interesting to talk to and his name is Joe Brant Tahohtharátye Brant his work is focus- his work in the last couple years has actually been doing that where he's (.) been giving these first-language speakers (.) questions (.) or situations that they have to act out whether they be in a restaurant or whether they be chastising or... you know their- their children or they'll be teaching their kids a lesson or (.) whatever it might be in an everyday setting so that you can capture how it that's actually done and then hopefully use that in an immersion setting (.) so he might be a good one to talk to

- Caitlin Bergin  
45:05.426 - 45:08.266  
interesting uh where is Joe Brant located?
- Ryan DeCaire  
45:08.476 - 45:14.616  
he's in Tyendinaga (.) so on your way to Ottawa- on your way from Ottawa to uh Toronto right off the 401
- Caitlin Bergin  
45:13.801 - 45:14.371  
yeah
- Ryan DeCaire  
45:14.906 - 45:20.106  
yeah (.) yeah so he might be somebody interesting to talk about I know he's thought a lot about these things too
- Caitlin Bergin  
45:21.366 - 45:22.076  
hm
- Ryan DeCaire  
45:22.501 - 46:24.706  
yeah... yeah so things like speech acts I know you mentioned speech acts really the only (.) only speech acts that have been documented for Mohawk and other Iroquoian languages are... uh (.) may- are (.) are ceremonial things (.) like uh speeches and... um (.) songs and (.) um that are used in the Longhouse and that's been documented since (.) since (.) for... lemme- early 1900's at least by anthropologists and linguists (.) and a lot of that- there's a ton of material out there on that um... and that was- of course none of that was focused on (.) “hey we want to record these speeches so that people can use them in the future to become speakers of these languages” no (.) a lot of the times it was recorded because somebody wanted to get tenure and- and write a book about it... so yeah (.) hopefully that can change
- Caitlin Bergin  
46:24.941 - 46:51.326  
yeah (.) it's interesting that you mentioned- mentioned um (.) actually having some connection with the language either by learning it (.) uh rather than just observing and eliciting (.) uh responses cause that's also something that the students mentioned when I asked (.) uh how (.) documentary linguistic practices could be updated or improved to aid Indigenous language revitalization efforts and education
- Ryan DeCaire  
46:52.226 - 47:10.661  
yeah... [unclear] yeah... you know that's just- and I'll think well- actually being (.) just using the language (.) uh you know traditionally (.) linguistics sees that as you being... you impacting the res- you're impacting the research outputs by

Caitlin Bergin  
47:10.831 - 47:11.301

mhm

Ryan DeCaire  
47:10.841 - 48:01.636

involving yourself[unclear] that thing um (.) you know so...uh (.) I think that should be encouraged anyways if you're doing documentary linguistics because (.) yeah I guess from an outsiders perspective you could- you're maybe less- some linguists would say it's good not to know the language so that you can remain objective (.) yeah (.) yes and no you know there's many things you know about the language by being a speaker that you would never know as a linguist and that usually has to do more with these actual (.) what- how you actually use it on an everyday basis (.) how you move how you (.) uh ask for permission... all these kinda cultural things that you can't really learn unless you're actually speaking among them every day... yeah... and these things are hard to document of course

Caitlin Bergin  
48:04.061 - 48:04.771

mhm

Ryan DeCaire  
48:06.416 - 48:21.536

it's hard to document somebody gossiping about somebody else because nobody wants to publish (.) somebody gossiping about somebody else right cause that's uh or how to- how do you whisper sweet nothings to your partner right?

Caitlin Bergin  
48:20.381 - 48:21.381

[laughs]

Ryan DeCaire  
48:21.771 - 48:49.851

so [laughs] um that's going to be something that's hard to document as well (.) uh (.) so there's things that... about language that... are (.) there's things (.) guarding the language that will be extra hard to document even though it's something that's used (.) on an everyday basis yeah... or even- there's so many other things we can talk about like has anybody documented how first-language speaker code-switch (.) when why

Caitlin Bergin  
48:49.101 - 48:49.851

hm

Ryan DeCaire  
48:50.151 - 49:28.061

I think "I'd like to know more about that" shit I know- like I know about that I know how to do that I know how they do it but nobody's actually- but that's because I've lived with elders I (.) I- I lived with first-language speakers for a number of years (.) I mean I just learn that from (.) being part of that (.) but (.) you know not everybody's gonna get that opportunity so this is the

reason why documenting how the language is actually used is important to students at Onkwawén:na (.) because not all them are going to get the opportunity to get to live with first-language speakers so if they're not going to get the opportunity we need to show them through video (.) or through docu- written documentation (.) how it's actually used

Caitlin Bergin  
49:28.581 - 49:40.656

yeah that was uh (.) another thing (.) all the students and teachers mentioned was just this desire to (.) interact with first-language speakers whether it be recordings or videos

Ryan DeCaire  
49:41.206 - 50:01.426

yep (.) exactly and that's one of the things where we really are we don't have a lot we have none (.) pretty much none (.) I mean um... I'm really- I'm involved with documentation as well uh I just finished a big documentation project it's a three and a half hour documentary and it's completely in Mohawk

Caitlin Bergin  
50:01.776 - 50:02.576

oh really?

Ryan DeCaire  
50:03.106 - 50:44.026

yup (.) and its first-language speakers and what we did was (.)interviewed uh people individual to talk about their life history and how their community has changed and... these kinda things and from that we pulled out (.) commonalities between each interview and then stuck them all together to talk about that uh so we could also document how they acted with one another when they spoke (.) so that was one thing that we- I thought was clever... you know being innovative (.) most people have documented people speaking Mohawk together so we did that um... you're- you're welcome to uh grab a copy of it or I can send you something on it

Caitlin Bergin  
50:44.196 - 50:45.936

sure that would be great thank you

Ryan DeCaire  
50:46.776 - 50:59.566

that kinda thing hasn't been done right and also making it available to other people that's the other thing about that I want to mention is the (.) yeah they- you know big names like don't put this in your uh transcript right now

Caitlin Bergin  
50:58.746 - 50:59.296

mhm

[51:00.000 – 51:52.841 REDACTED]

Ryan DeCaire

so we need to be critical about okay even if you get a

51:52.841 - 53:38.271

good um (.)uh- uh you doc something- documenting- if you document something well in the way you intended so (.) you wanted to uh document certain speech acts or you want to document people taking turns you what to document people telling stories whatever it might be (.) um elders speaking to children or whatever (.) you did that okay that's great you're getting a more robust corpus that can actually be used in language learning (.) but then the next question is how does it actually become available to these programs right? how does it actually disseminate it? um (.) so is it actually (.) uh you know... made- made available whether it be in print form or... or... uh DVD or whatever so this one we did (.) it's a DVD and it's also matched with a book that we transcribed and translated it (.) so as a speaker or a learner you're able to watch the DVD and also have the book in hand to follow the write- the written material that's uh almost exactly what's said on screen (.) so the idea was that you'd be able to use that in your language learning right... um (.) however you noticed that... I thought it'd be great but then there's other- there's issues with it because (.) it's a three-hour movie and you realize most people aren't going to watch a three-hour movie... um... so (.) maybe we should've broken it down into smaller bits and made it a little bit more accessible like in that way so... uh not to mention people aren't really using DVDs anymore either (.) so maybe we should've- it's not posted on the internet so (.) so things like that [unclear] kinda get in the way we never thought about when we did it

Caitlin Bergin  
53:38.956 - 53:51.756

but that documentary sounds really interesting and I imagining the people that would be watching it would be Mohawk language learners or academics and I- I personally think that they would invest the three hours into

Ryan DeCaire  
53:52.506 - 53:59.206

yeah well you notice it's- I thought they would too but it's maybe they would if it was posted on YouTube or something

Caitlin Bergin  
53:58.476 - 53:59.276

[laughs]

Ryan DeCaire  
53:59.506 - 55:10.581

the fact that it's a DVD the other thing that's interesting in that document uh -tation project was... we interviewed people who were first-language speakers but have lost the language since 'cause going away to residential schools or moving away or being disenfranchised and then they came back to the

community later (.) so these are speakers who (.) um (.) myself as a second-language speaker is much better at speaking the language but their first-language speakers who just forgot (.) so if- that's another aspect of (.) documentation which one might consider as contributing to a more robust corpus is that you also need to document people- document people who (.) are (.) you know (.) um semi-speakers I guess they call it people who will kinda... you know use a sentence in English and maybe a sentence in Mohawk or whatever it might be we (.) because there's only a few first-language speakers left in (.) in the Wáhta community we decided to pick people who were... at least had some language and could use as much as they can so there's interviews in there where (.) they'll maybe speak half English and half Mohawk a few of the speakers anyway (.) or maybe that's

Caitlin Bergin  
55:09.881 - 55:11.221

and did- sorry

Ryan DeCaire  
55:11.381 - 55:12.371

oh sorry no go ahead

Caitlin Bergin  
55:12.816 - 55:14.966

did you just focus on the Wáhta community?

Ryan DeCaire  
55:16.191 - 55:31.146

yeah I just focused on the Wáhta community because (.) um (.) they (.) that's the one community where there's been absolutely no documentation whatsoever (.) in Six- in Six Nations there's a lot more documentation there

Caitlin Bergin  
55:31.886 - 55:32.736

mhm

Ryan DeCaire  
55:33.111 - 55:41.746

yeah (.) not to say- not to make it seem like there's a lot of documentation there- there isn't but Wáhta there's none that's the first-

Caitlin Bergin  
55:41.006 - 55:41.746

yeah

Ryan DeCaire  
55:42.436 - 55:45.526

first documentation project that's ever been documented ever

Caitlin Bergin  
55:46.001 - 55:55.966

and you mentioned that it was a DVD and a book um (.) how do you plan on um making that available for the community or do you plan-

Ryan DeCaire  
55:55.086 - 57:12.381

right now- right now the DVD and book is available for free at the community so anybody to have there's- they can go to our band office and pick it up (.) um (.) but (.) at a meeting in the community after we published it and put it out that was one thing that was said is that... that doesn't necessarily make it available for the community so (.) what we need to think about now is (.) maybe breaking up that DVD into smaller videos and then posting it on... the community website or on YouTube that kinda thing (.) uh and (.) matched- matched with their this- their (.) um transcripts that we would put in (.) ph- or PDF all that or something like that online so (.) something like that uh would be ideal and then the other intent of that project was to do exactly what you're thinking about in your ph- or in your master's dissertation is (.) making use of that in our adult immersion program so (.) we've noticed in our adult immersion- well I don't know if you know... uh... we have a two year program but myself and another colleague Jeremy Green last year we wrote a third-year curriculum for Onkwawén:na and the third-year curriculum is all focused on

Caitlin Bergin  
57:09.001 - 57:09.761

hm

Ryan DeCaire  
57:13.731 - 57:52.916

uh so the first and second year are structural based curriculum so it's looking at the structure of the language and using the structure to help guide you and working up to more challenging (.) structures over time and the third year is about themes and actual language use every day (.) so your trying to basically mimic first-language speakers in their everyday lives and focusing on what actually students do in their everyday lives so that's what the third year focused on (.) so you got that (.) things like this project would be of great use to those students to um (.) basically do their best to mimic these first-language speakers so the intent was for it to be used in that third-year curriculum as well

Caitlin Bergin  
00:57:54.416 - 58:00.406 6

yeah that was interesting- I heard whispers of a third year course but no one was certain if it was happening or not

Ryan DeCaire  
57:59.496 - 58:18.761

yeah... well the curriculum is done (.) it's just uh (.) what's getting in the way is money (.) if- if having some money to pay people... um and... that's the money that pay our students and keep the lights on... so we don't have that yet still looking for that

Caitlin Bergin  
58:18.691 - 58:20.541

right cause uh-

Ryan DeCaire  
58:19.506 - 59:13.361

the thing [unclear] the end of the day [unclear] with these discussions around whether our students really are proficient enough (.) and (.) uh... you know there's a lot of- there's literature out there that I'm not that familiar with about student resilience who have become speakers (.) how to- how- how do they become resilient in... to um... so that they don't lose their language once they finish (.) that's our big challenge and that's why we really need this third year is to make them ever more proficient so they have the- even greater capacity to (.) be confident in their everyday lives when they're raising their children or teaching the language in immersion settings... this is going to be a long transcript for you to type out

Caitlin Bergin  
59:12.336 - 59:16.856

[laughs] well I'm on my last question (.) um

Ryan DeCaire  
59:16.251 - 59:16.861

okay

Caitlin Bergin  
59:17.191 - 59:22.291

do you have any advice or suggestions for new and emerging documentary linguists?

Ryan DeCaire  
59:23.861 - 60:59.641

yeah learn the language... um (.) that would be number one and that's an easy thing to say and very hard to do because (.) most (.) one you need (.) in order to learn the language you almost need to become part of this community and (.) in order to that it takes years and years of doing that... um (.) because (.) that's... in order to really document how language is used in everyday settings you need to be (.) in... people need to be comfortable with using the language right (.) um and if you're just going in there and asking them to tell a story or asking them (.) I don't know... uh verb conjugations or whatever it might be (.) and whatever elicitation they're not necessarily gonna (.) going to speak to you as they would (.) to their partner or to their children whatever so in order to really get auth- quote unquote authentic language I think it makes it easier to actually be part of the speaking community (.) um... and (.) and being an out- a quote unquote outside linguist trying to document the language (.) and if you're unable to do that (.) um and you still want to be involved with that then you need to partner up somebody who's part of the community so that you can um work with them (.) to develop what's nec- what's needed for the community so

(.) this is what you're talking about is that (.) the (.) documentary linguists should not necessarily set the research priorities they should be

Caitlin Bergin  
60:58.651 - 60:59.301

mhm

Ryan DeCaire  
60:59.936 - 62:20.211

involved in conversations around- with the community with the organization with the school (.) to determine what's best for everybody... uh rather than saying "no, no I think this is what'll be best for you because I'm an expert" no (.) it's "let's have a discussion around what's best- what's needed for this program" so we can target that and make use of it later... um at the academic level and the university level there needs to be more bonds between... linguist- linguists (.) um whether they're doing documentary linguistics or maybe a more... um (.) applied linguistics or sociolinguistics (.) there needs to be partnerships between them and education (.) uh when we're uh really being critical about how to teach these languages um... and currently there's very little discussion around um how... how one goes about (.) documenting so it can be used in pedagogy uh so there's uh (.) that's the other big piece is that if I was talking to an academic or a research uh (.) uh professor or somebody developing a program at the university I'd say that those partnerships need to be made... uh (.) uh yeah that's all I can think of right now but maybe I'll think of more later

Caitlin Bergin  
62:22.591 - 62:27.056

well this has been really, really informative and helpful

Ryan DeCaire  
62:27.486 - 62:27.826

yeah