

2013

Halq'eméylem Language Revitalization: Tracing Ideologies in Hybridity

Sonya Rao

Connecticut College, sonyasrao@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/anthrohp>



Part of the [Linguistic Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Rao, Sonya, "Halq'eméylem Language Revitalization: Tracing Ideologies in Hybridity" (2013). *Anthropology Department Honors Papers*. 5.

<http://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/anthrohp/5>

This Honors Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Anthropology Department at Digital Commons @ Connecticut College. It has been accepted for inclusion in Anthropology Department Honors Papers by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Connecticut College. For more information, please contact bpancier@conncoll.edu.

The views expressed in this paper are solely those of the author.

Halq'eméylem Language Revitalization: Tracing Ideologies in Hybridity

Sonya Rao

2013

Honors Thesis

Anthropology Department

Connecticut College

Thesis Adviser: Professor Anthony Graesch

First Reader: Professor Petko Ivanov

Second Reader: Professor Sandy Grande

Contents

Acknowledgments	3
Abstract	6
Chapter 1: Introduction	
Historical Overview of Native Language Decline and Revival.....	7
Recent Language Politics in First Nations of British Columbia, Canada	10
Chapter 2: A Post Colonial Perspective on Language Ideology.....	16
Chapter 3: Methods	23
Chapter 4: The Politics of Language Research	
Ideological and Rhetorical Context.....	27
Early Halq'eméylem Language Research.....	30
Halq'eméylem After the Rise of Linguistics	33
Early Efforts at Language Preservation	36
Problems of Textualization.....	38
Chapter 5: Consequences	
Academic Authority in Halq'eméylem Revival.....	44
Legacies of Academic Authority in Halq'eméylem Revival	49
Linguistics in Halq'eméylem Revitalization	52
Consequences of the Authority of Linguistics.....	56
Political Economy of Language and Linguistics.....	60
Conclusions.....	66
Works Referenced	68
Appendix.....	77

Acknowledgments

It was my sincerest pleasure work at Stó:lō Sxhweli Language Program. Jared Deck, Strang Burton, Sonny McHalsie and many others at Stó:lō Nation received me in such grace and for that I am endlessly grateful. I remember working for and with Jared very fondly, and am thankful in particular for his kindness in taking me on in the program and for the conversations we shared. Tia Halstead made my archive research a pleasure, and I could not have completed my research without her. Lisa Dojack housed me during my stay in Chilliwack, for which I was unbelievably fortunate, especially to have a personal (and authentic!) tour guide of Southwestern British Columbia.

My gratitude also lies with those that came before me in this research project. My academic interest in language revitalization is rooted in a deep admiration for the work that language activists take on, and for embracing language as a force for political resistance. The work of Stó:lō language revivalists not only afforded me a fascinating topic of research, these individuals also continue to astound me, humble me, and remind me of the importance of the work at hand. Admittedly my paper is a critical analysis, but it is not critical of any particular individuals, rather the ideological projects from which no individual is spared, that simultaneously bring some aspects language revitalization forward while putting others at risk. I espouse the views of Irvine & Gal (2000) on the importance of discussing the consequences of language ideologies:

“There is no 'view from nowhere,' no gaze that is not positioned. Of course, it is always easier to detect positioning in the views of others, such as linguists and ethnographers of an earlier era, than in one's own. Examining the activities of linguists a century or more ago reveals, via

the wisdom or hindsight or at least via historical distance, the ideological dimensions of their work... This historical inquiry also has a contemporary relevance, to the extent that early representations of sociolinguistic phenomena influenced later representations and even contributed to shaping the sociolinguistic scene itself” (2000:36).

Further, in my interpretation of this passage, Irvine & Gal implicitly refer to the inheritance that we as members of an academic community must negotiate. Our contemporary community of researchers has a responsibility to the past as well as our present work. In this way, my work comes from an obligation to re-examine the tools I have inherited from my field of study in order to enter a creative discussion around the betterment of academic research and alliances with community projects. I consider myself honored to be part of the academic community, enough to attempt to affect change from within, and therefore greatly respect those academics who have worked on Halq'eméylem language revival, and thank them for their work.

Of course, my sincerest thanks are extended to those who guided my work, in particular Anthony Graesch, the miraculous archaeologist who took in a lone linguistic anthropology student, sent me on my way to fieldwork, pained over my comma use for a year, and came out of it a friend I hope to keep for many years to come; Petko Ivanov for teaching me everything I needed to know to write this paper, and patiently nodding through my scattered thoughts; Sandy Grande, my academic and activist idol; Leo Garofalo for committing to the careers of our MMUF cohort on so many levels; Ron Flores for four years of consistent and holistic support; Simon Hay for the extra counsel and for re-learning Spivak with us; Nauman Naqvi for giving me confidence in myself to pursue an academic career; Deric Shannon for the constant reminder of our place on

the road to liberation; my unofficial readers and students in solidarity Nathaniel Pope, Katie Eelman, Javier Mijares, Susanna Sprague, Harry Squires, Mariam Tabatadze, all of my MMUF cohort; Charles Barstow, my sister Monica Rao and my mother, Smita Rao.

Abstract

Recently, indigenous language revitalization has gained attention from Western media and charitable organizations, a process that has depoliticized the history of indigenous languages. One result of this is the naturalization of the ideological projects that put Native languages at risk, as well as the practices that hinder their revival. I focus on how the scientific and intellectual project of linguistics can dispossess elements of Native languages from its speakers, using it as capital for its own objectives. I show that the history of speech communities shapes the language ideologies that inform choices in the revitalization process, the restraints under which revivalists operate, and their potential for success. I espouse the notion that language can be commoditized, I examine the historical implications of scientific authority, language technologies, and language ideologies in the creation of markets that are closed to language activists. In particular, I examine the consequences of the ideological project of linguistics as it took hold in language revitalization programs in southwestern British Columbia, Canada. By examining the role of ideology in language revival, I locate moments of hybridity in communal beliefs about the Halq'eméylem language in order to describe the transformation of language into capital, which is exchanged on an emerging market of language revitalization funding.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Historical Overview of Native Language Decline and Revival

In the face of territorial dispossession and political exclusion, genocide, and forced removal, the cultural and political survival of indigenous peoples is remarkable. Attempts to suppress the cultural expression of indigenous groups, disseminated by settler-colonial institutions and driven by the most grievous pressures of social and political modernity, are met with decolonization efforts and cultural resistance by indigenous peoples globally. Despite the enormous cultural and epistemological loss carried out by the colonial project, not the least of which is the decline of indigenous languages, efforts to reverse its consequences are many. The work of many indigenous communities, linguists, and researchers devoted to language preservation, reclamation and revitalization is a testament to the fact that indigenous and allied communities consider the rescue of dying languages vital.¹

In this paper I examine relationships between linguists and Native language activists during the process and work of revitalization as ideas about language form around such projects. I then abstract this analysis in order to discuss the relationship between linguistics and language revitalization as a locus of ideological struggle and knowledge production, valuation, and commodification. In many ways, this thesis follows a tradition of reflexive, and critical analysis of academic advocacy for and involvement in indigenous language revitalization that is epitomized in Reyhner and Lockard (2009). My aim is to contribute to important dialogues around the methods, work, and objectives of language revitalization, and, in turn, further efforts

¹ For examples across North American Indigenous groups, see Hinton and Hale 2001 and Kroskrity 2009.

to share ideas, make the projects more effective, and allow affected communities to make informed decisions for themselves.

Bureaucratized and overt colonial attempts to silence Native languages of North America only very recently ended. North American settlers waged the political and ideological war against Natives through the residential school system until 1974 in the United States and as late as 1996 in Canada. “Residential Indian Schools” went through various incarnations for almost two centuries, but children were consistently denied the right to religious practice and to speak their Native tongue in these schools. Corporal punishment and harassment of children who had not mastered English was common. For many survivors, the resultant psychological trauma became a barrier to speaking their Native language.² The reasons underlying the formal closing of Residential Indian Schools was varied- narratives of abuse, disease, forced labor, sterilization, and other human rights violations created a platform for redress. The American Indian Movement (AIM), parallel to but distinct from the American civil rights movement, brought public attention to these human rights violations. As a result, the United States passed the American Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 which disallows the removal of Native American children from their reservation. Indirectly, this act allowed for further educational autonomy on the part of tribal governments and authorities.

The elimination of native languages was internal to the logic of assimilative policy, demonstrating an understanding of the close relationship between language and ethnic identity on the part of colonial powers. In response to the linguicide that took place in residential schools and the larger ethnocidal policy that sponsored them, survivors returned to their communities

² For a comprehensive overview of Residential Schooling in British Columbia with attention to its aftereffects for Native Language use, see Levine and Cooper (1976).

emphasizing the cultural and spiritual need to use their own languages. In this way, the initial colonial attack on Native languages prompted a widespread indigenous mission to reestablish Native linguistic identity as a component of their larger socio-political resistance.

The age of political apology ushered in various policies to redress the ills caused by residential schooling. In the United States, the Native American Languages Act of 1990 and 1992 made Native language rights legally secure and funded revitalization projects (Arnold 2001: 45). Reflecting demands of the International Native American Languages Issues Conference, the acts (1) recognized the tribal right and necessity to use their native languages in schools, (2) officially legitimized native language curricula from elementary schools to community colleges, and (3) provided funding for language revitalization projects within the United States (Arnold 2001). This and related legislation opened channels to fund Native language education.

In Canada, the Federal government as well as territorial governments began to fund and support a wide variety of Native language education projects and revitalization programs (Meek 2009: 152). Additionally, Native self-governance afforded opportunity to financially compensate language educators and exert tribal control over the distribution of government funds (Meek 2009: 156). During the last three decades, numerous language reclamation and revitalization projects have emerged across Native North America. Languages that have not been uttered in over 100 years, such as Wompanoag on Massachusetts' Cape Cod, have been brought back to life (Ash et al. 2001). Similarly, universities and community colleges in Arizona offer classes in Navajo (Slate 2001), and the Akwasasne Mohawk of the United States and Canada offer

immersion schooling in Mohawk (Genesee 1985).³ Academic, corporate, and international political communities have played significant roles in the spread of language revitalization projects and continue to support general efforts for cultural revitalization, repatriation, and reclamation, both financially and scholastically.⁴ The involvement of non-indigenous institutions is not always easily accepted, given that revitalization programs are a response to Western attempts at ethnocide, thus Native groups often insist on control of curriculum and classrooms.

The brief historical overview in this introduction is not meant to represent every North American Native group. Instead, it is a brief sketch of the socio-political landscape in which language revival takes place: documentation, disinheritance of the Native language, and revitalizing the speech community are some of the varied and complex ways that Native groups have responded to ethnocidal policy and near-linguicide. The choices underlying these responses are anchored in varying cultural philosophies, demographic realities, and a host of other social conditions.

Recent Native Language Politics in the Fraser River Valley

The upheaval of assimilative policy is ripe in recent memory in British Columbia. Canada's famous "White Paper" policy of 1969 made bold attempts to absorb Native populations into Canadian society, particularly by undermining Native land sovereignty. Among those groups that actively contested this policy were the Stó:lō-Coast Salish communities of the Fraser River Valley in southwestern British Columbia. Stó:lō efforts to regain sovereignty ranged from

3 Language revitalization programs that employ a variety of methods, pedagogies, and technologies have emerged across Native North America. For detailed descriptions of revival work on Arapaho, Navajo, Karuk, Hawaiian, numerous Pueblo languages, and others, see Hinton and Hale (2001).

4 Some prominent examples include the Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages founded by linguist K. Harrison, the Endangered Language Fund, the United Nations Works Programme on Endangered Languages, and Google's Enduring Voices Project.

legal action (Carlson et al. 2001), to tactics of “mass demonstrations and civil disobedience” (Clapperton 2006: 100), to occupying historical Stó:lō sites (Carlson et al. 2001). In 1973, the Canadian Supreme court case Calder vs. British Columbia devalued White Paper policy, favoring aboriginal title and land claims. In the years following this policy reversal, the Stó:lō lobbied for aboriginal title, which they received in 1975. The return of sovereignty to Native groups had many positive outcomes for the self-determination of First Nations of British Columbia. Significantly, the formal closing of residential schools began in the mid-1970s, and the last closed as late as 1984.

The reorganization of federal-aboriginal relations in British Columbia led a number of Stó:lō bands to unite under The Chilliwack Area Indian Council (CAIC), an overarching governance that was “the first Stó:lō authority delegated to administer benefits under the health, social assistance and education programs of the DIA” (Stó:lō Nation 2009). In 1994, the many offices that arose from the CAIC merged to establish Stó:lō Nation, which has represented as many as 21 Stó:lō bands and currently represents and serves 11 Stó:lō bands. Whereas band governments have jurisdiction over their reservations, tribal councils, such as Stó:lō Nation, serve as overarching, practical liaisons to the Federal Canadian Government and the Provincial governments of British Columbia.

Although a formal historiography of recent Stó:lō political events is difficult to obtain, there is evidence of many disagreements over the form and function of an intermediary body, like Stó:lō Nation. In 2004, eight bands withdrew membership from Stó:lō Nation to join the newly re-established Stó:lō Tribal Council. Ethnically Stó:lō groups, such as Katzie First Nation⁵, assert their political autonomy from Stó:lō Nation while not denying their Stó:lō cultural heritage

⁵ Katzie First Nation website, accessed 11/21/2012. “The Katzie Nation has existed and prospered within our traditional territory since time immemorial. We are Coast Salish people. Our language is the Katzie language.”

(Katzie Indian Band 1994). Their decision to pursue formal relations with the governments of British Columbia and Canada independently of Stó:lō Nation and the Stó:lō Tribal Council may result from inter-tribal territorial disputes, including but not limited to disagreements over claims to land, natural resources, and federal funding. Other Stó:lō bands remain unaffiliated with either Stó:lō Nation or Stó:lō Tribal Council. In this way, the formation of tribal councils offers the power to define ethnicity through separatism and exclusion, as to reverse colonial and ethnographically determined ethnic categories.

The term “Coast Salish” was an ethnographic construction based on language groups as determined by Western anthropologists. “Coast Salish” and “Stó:lō-Coast Salish” are both widely accepted ethnic categories, but their meanings are in flux and will continue to be determined by inter-tribal relations as well as Stó:lō collaborations on academic research and political geography (Carlson 2001, 1997). Stó:lō Coast-Salish of the Fraser River Valley in southwestern British Columbia are popularly associated with the language Halq'eméylem, which previously and occasionally is still referred to as Upriver Halkomelem. Situating Halq'eméylem in the Stó:lō political universe described above is important to gain context in the distribution of resources that are important to language revitalization.

Within the ideological framework of nation- building, a Western project adopted by colonized populations globally, language is a powerful tool to create ethnic solidarities and claim a unique culture. In this way, some groups have disinherited Halq'eméylem in order to pursue treaty relations separately. Katzie First Nation, which had initially been a part of Halq'eméylem revival (Galloway 2007: 216) and once claimed Halq'eméylem namesakes (Carlson 2007: 158), now claims the Katzie Language as their heritage language (Katzie Indian Band 1994). At the same time, the Stó:lō are not the only ethnic group that claim to speak Halq'eméylem. The

Sts'ailes band, formerly the Chehalis Indian Band, maintains separation from Stó:lō Nation and other Stó:lō political organization (Sts'ailes Band 2010). The territory to which the Sts'ailes Band have laid aboriginal claim suggests that the now-extinct Upper and Lower Chehalis languages were autochthonous to their present reservation. Nevertheless, the band-run community school hosts Halq'eméylem classes (Sts'Ailes Community School 2013). The Sts'Ailes band, who disassociate from Stó:lō political organization, have adopted Halq'eméylem as part of their efforts for cultural revitalization, which loosens the association between Halq'eméylem and Stó:lō ethnicity, and troubles ethno-nationalist categories Stó:lō political organization depends on within the framework of the BC treaty process. Continued political fracture and reformation also reflect which reservations can produce and access the educational resources that are crucial to revitalization.

The meaning of “Halq'eméylem” as a language itself implicates methods of establishing border and ethnic difference. In the ethnographic and linguistic record, Halq'eméylem has been discussed as both a language and a dialect of Halkomelem, which in turn is referred to as a language as well as a language family that includes three dialects: Hul'q'umín'um' (the Island dialect), hənqəmínəm (the Downriver dialect), and Halq'eméylem (the Upriver dialect).⁶ Native Nations do not identify with “Halkomelem,” but refer to the academically established dialects instead as languages. The difference between academic and Native categories of language likely arise from the Native imperative to assert ethnic and territorial difference, for which a claim to a distinct linguistic heritage can be a significant component.

Contemporary political geography of the region applies a largely undefined category of “Halkomelem” to a region that is generally comparable to Stó:lō traditional territory. Often this region is divided into dialect regions as seen in Figure 1 (Carlsoln 2001). In some maps of Stó:lō

⁶ e.g., Harris 1966, Galloway 1988, 1990, 1991, 2009.

territory, the “Downriver and Upriver Dialect” areas are used to indicate the boundaries of Stó:lō territory, as seen in Figure 3 (Canadian Geographic). Others reject the term “Halkomelem,” such as the First People's Language Map of British Columbia, in which the language is referred to as “Hul'q'umín'um'/Halq'eméylem/ həŋqəminəm,” perhaps to avoid implying the political dominance of any one group, illustrated in Figure 3. The many geographic representations of Hul'q'umín'um', həŋqəminəm, and Halq'eméylem suggest that they are on a dialect continuum, or a “continuous gradation” of dialects throughout a geographic region (Bloomfield 1933: 49).⁷ If so, the suggested language borders in Stó:lō territory reflect borders between native nations and ethnic groups. Because those groups in the region that are still in the process of nation-building appeal to language as a tool for building ethnic solidarities and national legitimacy, the boundaries of these dialects will remain in formation.

Unfortunately, the increase in self-determined aboriginal governance was not matched in education. Following the closure of residential schools, Stó:lō children attended local public schools where the curricula completely elided their history, culture, and language (Archibald 1977: 11). Parents and community members felt that this reflected the attempts at assimilation that they had suffered in residential schools and ultimately would engender feelings of shame towards their culture (Archibald 1977: 10). In the process of regaining control of traditional territories, the community retook Coqualeetza Hospital, previously a Methodist residential school, and established the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre (Carlson et al. 2001). As early as 1974, Stó:lō gathered here to assure that they were represented fairly in the local public school curriculum (Archibald 1977: v). Furthermore they aimed to provide the community with a wider access to cultural education, including classes in Halq'eméylem (Galloway 1988). In 1994, the

⁷ At any given point on a dialect continuum, speech will be mutually intelligible to its geographically neighboring speech. After a certain amount of geographic distance, this speech will become increasingly unfamiliar to a speaker from the first location (Bloomfield 1935: 49-54)

newly established Stó:lō Nation founded the Stó:lō Shxweli Language Program and proposed a merger with Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre. The combined project was unsuccessful, and they split again in 2001 (Bracewell 1997; Galloway 2007). The conflict therein was largely ideological, as evidenced in later Stó:lō and academic reflections (Bracewell 1997; Gardner 2002; Galloway 2007), and illustrates important consequences of community language projects without ideological clarification. This paper discusses the memory of these years (and conflicting accounts thereof) and how community and external academic language ideologies informed decisions and events in the many iterations of a language revitalization project.

In this paper I consider how the involvement of linguists in Halq'eméylem revival changed community beliefs about the meaning, form and life of the language. In Chapter 2, I discuss my methodology and reasoning for my approach, in Chapter 3 describe the theoretical work which directs my argument, in Chapter 4 I recount the history of language ideologies in Stó:lō territory. Finally, in Chapter 5, I show how the evolution of language ideologies in Halq'eméylem language revival aided the commoditization of the language.

Chapter 2. A Postcolonial Perspective on Language Ideology

There are few living fluent and native speakers of Halq'eméylem, and the language is not commonly spoken in the home or in the community.⁸ This of course is the impetus for revitalization, but it also means that the revitalization process takes place in English, and in recent years Halq'eméylem has been taught as a second language and not in the home. Much of the “work” of revitalization also functions in English, and in many cases, this work is carried out by English-speaking American linguists who have acquired some fluency in Halq'eméylem. Historically, linguists were thought of as a resource in language revitalization, and a few are involved in the current projects. Bakhtin (1986: 63) argues that “to ignore the nature of the utterance... distorts the historicity of the research, and weakens the link between language and life.” I attempt to restore that historicity by examining the ways that linguistic research on Halq'eméylem has transformed the language and its uses. In turn, this provides a framework through which to explore the language ideologies at work in creating the various Halq'eméylem revival projects in Stó:lō territory today.

“Language ideology” refers to a relative consensus of articulated ideas and beliefs about language in a speech-community (Kroskrity 2004).⁹ Language ideology is influenced by a variety of social institutions or shared historical memories and informs linguistic choices and praxis. The socio-historical forces contributing to the decline and revival of the Halq'eméylem

8 “Numbers” as reported by Stó:lō and experts vary from one to fifteen. This is related to ideological notions of fluency, and any assertion to the truth or falsity of the statistics would be equally so.

9 Further, in Kroskrity's introduction to *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics and Identities*, he refers to “language ideological research” as “understanding the language beliefs and practices of social groups and strongly connected group interests within society” (Kroskrity 2000: 2). He describes this research in reaction to the “many senses of 'language' that, by contrast, emphasize its form (not its meaning), decontextualize its use, limit its role to provide labels for preexisting things, and otherwise represent language as an apolitical, even sometimes asocial, phenomenon” (Kroskrity 2000:3).

speech community engendered a host of hybrid language ideologies in the Stó:lō community.¹⁰ Residential schooling created distinct generational patterns in Halq'eméylem speaking capacity. Anthropologists, linguists, and non-academic non-Natives who were interested in Stó:lō culture and Halq'eméylem were a presence in the region for over 100 years, and all asserted a type of authority on these topics. I explore the historical relationships between these groups in order to trace various intersections and divergences in language ideology. As language ideologies are in constant discursive formation in relation to historical narratives, it is from the historical record that I attempt to understand the ideologies that produced the present condition of Halq'eméylem.

Language ideologies are more than a matter of academic interest, especially when the language in question is under the threat of obsolescence. Language ideology informs choices in the process of language documentation and pedagogy, and ignoring their relevance can be an obstacle to revitalization projects (Grenoble 2009; Kroskrity 2009; Speas 2009). Kroskrity (2009) stresses the importance of “ideological clarification,” and “the necessity of recognizing and resolving ideological conflict that would impede local efforts at linguistic revitalization” (Kroskrity 2009:71). Language ideologies are connected to the cultural logic of social institutions (Kroskrity et al. 2000), and thus Native communities often look to preserve the knowledge contained within.¹¹ Though the work of Speas (2009) and others show the benefits of Native self-determination within language documentation and revitalization projects, it is a not yet standard practice. Epistemologies of the Western academy have devalued or occluded Native language ideologies, authorizing their own ideological assumptions that divorce language ideologies from the object of the language itself.

10 Bhabha's concept of “hybridity” attempts to account for the various importations and exportations of epistemologies that were central to the colonial project.

11 This is in the vein of Bakhtin's claim that speech genres, “forms of utterances,” are indiscernible, and should be discussed under that condition.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the language ideologies of Western academics who have had a strong influence on the revitalization of Halq'eméylem, and I investigate the function of scientific authority in the process of Stó:lō adopting facets of Western academic language ideology and its tools. I argue that the technologies and tools that Western academics offer for use in language revival reflect a set of assumptions about the language ideologies of the project that employs them. For example, I consider alphabetic literacy and orthographies, linguistics research methodologies, recording equipment, computers, and computer media as tools that are made universally language-relevant only by ideological notions (Donaldson 1998; Sheridan 1991). I also explore the inconsistent record of the relationship between Stó:lō and academic researchers, the latter of whom espoused the use of these tools, to understand the consequences of the notion of their universal applicability.

The endangered status of Halq'eméylem as a historical condition locks the language into a synchronic, unchanging state, with a number of theoretical and analytic consequences. First, because Halq'eméylem is not frequently or fluently spoken by a substantial community, a researcher cannot search for ideologies in speech praxis. Without frequent and fluent speech, language ideologies are displaced into texts, talk in the colonizing language, and ideas that are produced to defend, develop, and fund the revitalization process. Second, the diminished speech community of Halq'eméylem enables the commodotization of the language itself. Following Thibaut's (1997) analysis of the labor relations that, over time, account for any synchronic state of a language, Halq'eméylem is presently in an unusual position.¹² Without a strong community of speakers the language does not receive the input and innovation that changes a language over time, and therefore the relations of labor that produce change in a language are not present in the

12 "The language system, seen as a system of pure values, is produced by the totality of the social work which has gone into its production and re-production" (Thibaut 1997: 199).

Halq'eméylem community. Ultimately I argue that this state, in combination with its adoption of external technologies, makes Halq'eméylem, and its constitutive parts, unusually susceptible to commoditization (See Chapter 5). The distribution of the newly commoditized forms of Halq'eméylem, in turn, are exchanged on markets to which Stó:lō do not have full access.

In order to discuss the history and dynamics of linguistic and economic exchanges in and of Halq'eméylem, I draw from Bourdieu's (1991) assertion that linguistic capital, the value of which is anticipated in the process of utterance, is exchanged on a “linguistic market.” Thus speakers make choices about their language praxis while considering their own potential linguistic capital, anticipating a literal or semiotic power.¹³ Bourdieu's work allows us to conceptualize the potential profit of linguistic exchange. This is particularly helpful in the context of class hierarchies within a single language community, such as in large-scale societies with a standardized language. While this is a useful model, the sociolinguistic phenomena of Halq'eméylem are highly conditioned by the process of “dying.” In order to apply Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital and exchange to the case of indigenous language obsolescence, there are various phenomena to account for, many resulting from a history of dispossession and cultural genocide.

When there are very few remaining speakers, sociolinguistic hierarchies within speech communities begin to look quite different from symbolic-linguistic power relations within a large-scale society. For example, someone of a relatively undervalued social position may be one of the few speakers remaining, and perhaps would gain status simply by their ability to speak the language at risk. If there are only two or three speakers left, there may be felt hierarchies among them, but they still occupy a position of superiority over those community members who did not

¹³ “Linguistic exchange is also an economic exchange which is established within a particular symbolic relation of power between a producers, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit” (Bourdieu 1991: 67).

master the language. The permutations of social reorganization around linguistic capital in this situation are imaginably endless.¹⁴

The inferior status of “indigenous” languages in relation to the colonizing language is a condition that continues to contribute to the decline of Halq'eméylem, even within the revitalization process itself. I argue that the Stó:lō need significant linguistic capital in the colonizing language in order to go through the process of revitalizing Halq'eméylem, and even what could be considered other forms of capital in Halq'eméylem are exchanged in the linguistic and economic market of the colonizers. Indigenous communities are operating in a distinct arena of linguistic power relations, and for these reasons it is necessary to supply Bourdieu's theory of linguistic capital with indigenous-specific theoretical content.

The linguist-native speaker relationship is discussed in two different ways in this paper. First, I present conversations and observations documented during recent fieldwork in South West British Columbia. These data, however, only account for individuals working on the project today. With respect to language revitalization and documentation work in the mid-twentieth century, I argue the native informants on these projects are characterized by their foreclosure. Spivak (1999) describes foreclosure as a process of textualization that employs a partial erasure: the native informant is a bearer of knowledge, without which the ethnographic (linguistic) project cannot exist or have reason to exist. However, the objectifying act of naming the Native subject as an “informant” allows the subject to remain, and thus legitimize the truths put forward by the ethnographer, but remain inactive, silenced, its purpose complete.¹⁵ A crucial

14 Specifically, there are certainly gendered dynamics in the social life of Halq'eméylem (for example, the majority of the Elders who founded the initial revitalization effort were female, and those reported to have refused to participate were mostly male). To understand these in the Stó:lō social context would be a worthy but different project, but I was unable to pursue this issue for the practical reasons discussed.

15 This is a post-colonial re-formation of the Hegelian concept of *Aufhebung*, the process of which Bourdieu describes “simultaneously denies and maintains both the repression and the repressed, it allows for a doubling of profits: the profit of saying and the profit of denying what is said by the way of saying it” (Bourdieu 1991: 143).

component of this analogy is that foreclosure is necessary to remove the ethnographer and their informant from an ethical arena. The social dynamic of linguistic documentation and research methodologies invokes this narrative strategy, and I therefore import this description to re-frame the history of linguistic research in Halq'eméylem.

A major role of the Native is to inform the “documentation” process. The resultant, often highly technical work changes the form of the language, and its textualization eventually becomes the linguists' marketable work, which is later distributed through academic publishing circuits. I argue that the process of realizing Halq'eméylem in this form allows non-indigenous communities to accumulate the language as capital, by introducing it into a market system. Further, the Halq'eméylem language commodity is exchanged on foreign market systems, particularly that of language revitalization funding. Native language activists are therefore subject to English symbolic, linguistic, and economic markets, where Non-natives reap the profit from the Halq'eméylem language commodity, and control the market where it is exchanged. Those working on the revitalization project who wish to access this market are not barred from it but must appeal to a market that they cannot gain the “symbolic power” to control.

Colonial-indigenous power-plays in the history of Halq'eméylem revitalization produced characteristically hybrid ideologies. Bhabha (1994: 297) claims that “ambivalent borderline[s] of hybridity... enhance our understanding of certain forms of political struggle,” and that negotiations of these “borderlines” are inevitable in a post-colonial space. Hybrid cultural forms can take diverse forms as Natives “construct their culture from the national text translated into modern Western forms of information technology, language, and dress” (Bhabha 1994:55). Contemporary Halq'eméylem revival exhibits such hybrid cultural forms, particularly the

employment of alphabetic literacy and linguistics in language pedagogies, which impact the revival project in a number of ways, discussed in Chapter 5.

I subscribe to Bhabha's notion that “the changed political and historical site of enunciation transforms the meanings of the colonial inheritance into the liberatory signs of a free people of the future” (Bhabha 1994: 55). However I argue that the case study of Stó:lō language ideologies shows the importance of frequent ideological clarification to bring about cultural generation on self-determined terms, to break out of the neo-liberal framework that continues to threaten Native autonomy today. Considering the larger historical context of Stó:lō appropriations of non-native space as an *empowered* enactment of hybrid ideologies (Clapperton 2006), I argue that hybrid, “un-clarified” language ideologies have subjected the Stó:lō to tenets of Western science, decentralized goals within the language revitalization project, and caused political fracture within the community. The intricacies of this relationship elucidate the importance of articulated language ideologies to the success of a self-determined revitalization project.

Chapter 3. Methods

In this study, I examine the long-term effects of academic authority to the tenuous situation of cultural loss and revival, by treating academic work as an ideological project. As this is a fairly academic project itself, my choices were highly constrained by the cultural logic that (1) research yields valuable information and (2) careful methodological choices assure the quality of the resultant conclusions.¹⁶ In response to these concerns, I combined research methods from different disciplines to expose the ideological dimensions of language research in Native communities and to continue the dialogue of improving alliances between Native and academic research communities. Although the value of my research to Stó:lō communities and cultural revitalization remains in question, I hope to at least engage a dialogue about these alliances.

I conducted fieldwork while working for the Stó:lō Shxweli Language Program (SSLP), which is housed at the offices of Stó:lō Nation (SN) and the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre (SRRMC) in Chilliwack, British Columbia. These organizations maintain a relationship but are administrated and funded separately. In large part, SSLP is funded and operated by Stó:lō Nation's Education Division of the Community Economic Development Department, but the program seeks funding through other sources from Government and Non-Government Organizations. Despite the administrative separation between the organizations, SSLP and SRRMC share archives and a library, both of which were crucial to my historical research.

¹⁶ “Because all methods are ways of asking questions which presume an underlying set of assumptions, a structure of relevance and a form of rationality, to understand what is meant by the term ethnography one must avoid thinking in terms of decontextualized techniques” (Simon and Dippo 1986: 195).

The ethnographic component of my fieldwork was characterized and constrained by my position at SSLP, which determined the resources I had access to, the opinions of my informants, and the hierarchy within which they could express themselves. Unfortunately my time at SSLP was short, and there are other ongoing Halq'eméylem revitalization projects which I could not fully access for practical reasons. In some cases, my conversations at SN made me unsure of the relationships between SSLP and those Halq'eméylem revitalization projects administered independently at other band reservations in the region. Considering my own ties to SN and SSLP and my limited time frame, I chose to investigate other projects through archival sources. During the fieldwork process I mapped the origins of competing epistemologies and proposed truths about Halq'eméylem revival, but was exposed to a narrow field of resources in which to pursue these.

A primary objective of my ethnographic investigation was to fill gaps in the historical record of Halq'eméylem revival: the driving force behind the political rifts between various language revitalization programs; the degree to which linguistics is still used as a pedagogical tool; and the relationship between formalized Stó:lō programs, political institutions, and language revitalization. Instead of actively pursuing personal accounts for this information, I waited until people felt they needed to explain present constraints, past decisions, or plans for the future. This proved effective because the individuals for whom I worked, including my immediate manager and the consulting linguist, were very open to informal conversation on all of these topics. Other informal, person-centered interviews included an elder and a Halq'eméylem language teacher who were working on a Language Nest program with SSLP, employees of the Stó:lō Nation archives and other offices, and administrators of the Coqualeetza Cultural Education Center. Very few of my interviews were formal or pre-arranged. Many of

these conversations suggested that there are events in the recent history of cultural revitalization about which people are not comfortable sharing opinions or narratives. Both in the written record and during my fieldwork, I was confronted with conflicting historical accounts and explanations of cultural logics. Instead of considering this a weakness in my data, I attempt to locate these narratives in their historical and social context to demystify their ideological function in the larger revitalization project. In this way, much of my observation was attentive to those memories that appeared in conversation but not in the historical record, and vice versa.

On a few occasions, I was able to observe the process of creating curricular materials with a hired linguist, an elder, a Halq'eméylem language teacher, and the manager of SSLP.¹⁷ My discussion of these sessions in Chapter Five relies on methods of conversation analysis, particularly of paralinguistic and metalinguistic phenomena. Specifically, I describe negotiations of authority in the group through conversational interruptions, corrections, and other details of interactive dynamics. While portions of my fieldwork were both participatory and observational, this is just as much a story of human death as it is of language death. That is, many vital “informants” have passed into the other world, and to base any conclusions on current ethnographic observation would suffer a dearth of important voices and memories that informed language ideologies. As a result, I analyze interplay between the ideological authority of those who are no longer present and the actionable authority of the generation who currently carries out the revival process.

Much of my work for the SSLP included converting several hundred tape recordings from the project's archives into digital form. The tapes ranged from two to ninety minutes, and their content includes but is not limited to recordings of classes, word lists, oral histories, radio shows about Stó:lō culture and language revival projects, interviews, and language elicitation

¹⁷ In order to maintain the privacy of these individuals, I will maintain these anonymous titles throughout the paper.

sessions with elders. The tapes and other archival materials from Stó:lō Nation constitute the majority of my data. Other useful archival materials included ethnohistorical papers official annual reports prepared for Stó:lō Nation, curriculum plans for public schools and community use, a Halq'eméylem- English dictionary, grammar, and word lists.¹⁸ All of these are taken as sources and expressions of different language ideologies. Some beliefs about language are directly expressed while others remain under the surface of seemingly unrelated discussions. Language revival is highly valued in the community and intersects with other dialogues, recorded or spoken, political or casual.

Therefore, my data are Stó:lō representations of Halq'eméylem, including discussions with community members about the history of language revitalization. Instead of basing any conclusions on ethnographic data extracted from such conversations, I interpret this data in relation to archival materials in order to form a richer account of the trajectory of language ideology during the years of Halq'eméylem revitalization. By examining the dominant language ideologies that informed the history of Stó:lō language revival in relation to other Stó:lō beliefs, I read for their role in the choices of the Stó:lō language revival community.

18 In large part, these are prepared by graduate students in Ethnohistory field school that is co-sponsored by Stó:lō Nation and University of British Columbia.

Chapter 4. The Politics of Language Research

Halq'eméylem decline and revival is shaped by linguistic scholarship as well as an academic movement for language documentation and revival. Globally, indigenous and academic communities are discussing the practical benefits and drawbacks of various methods and pedagogies as well as their cultural and political effects. In many ways, the history of Halq'eméylem language research is a microcosm of these debates. In this chapter, I examine the internal politics in the history of language research.

Ideological and Rhetorical Context

As in any moment of crisis, on the brink of extinction, death and demise, a certain human tendency for myth emerges- to give a warrant for claims of change and action, to give a sense of urgency to a dilemma. As Native peoples began to regain rights to sovereignty and self-determination, discussions of language decline became prevalent in both academic and Native communities, which told stories of language death that were quite different from one another. The interplay between these stories of language both reflect language ideologies and continued efforts for decolonization.

A dominant theme in popular advocacy programs for endangered languages is the reaction to “death” itself. First, the term *language death* itself has a function of historical erasure; it implies that this process is a natural death, rather than the deliberate murder we observe in historical accounts of settler-colonial states. Further, “The Living Tongues Institute” and “The Endangered Languages Project” intend to “preserve” languages while simultaneously ruing the imminent death of their speakers. The contradiction in this logic suggests that language is not

inherently connected to its speakers, that we may preserve the language despite the extinction of the people with whom we consult in order to preserve it. The groups that espouse this philosophy, including scholarly and philanthropic projects, dominate the indigenous language discourse and political economy. Their myth is that preservation is equivalent to life; recording languages on paper, in archives and in catalogs is equivalent to the life of a language.

Non-Native advocacy programs often urgently claim that language death is a permanent loss. The dominant view is that invaluable information about linguistic diversity and biological specimens (e.g., fauna, flora and medicinal plants) will be permanently lost once the language disappears from memory. This philosophy is epitomized by the Endangered Language Project (2012): “The disappearance of a language means the loss of valuable scientific and cultural information, comparable to the loss of a species.” Native intellectuals and non-Native advocates have critiqued academics, charitable institutions, and popular literature that espouses this approach (Hill 2002; Hinton 2002; Errington 2003). Such critiques raise questions of intellectual property rights, self-determination, and the potential that non-Native groups will prioritize the study of languages located in relatively biodiverse locations and languages which have not yet been documented, even if relatively few speakers remain (Errington 2003).

Native accounts of language death often diverge from the objectives and ideological justification of academic researchers (Dorian 2002; Hill 2002; Hinton 2002; Whiteley 2003). For example, indigenous people do not always claim that the loss of their language is comparable to the loss of a species. Hill (2002) examines the relationship between the “ecological and environmentalist logic” and themes of universal ownership in endangered-language rhetoric, the latter of which are directly contrary to contemporary indigenous struggles for cultural sovereignty. She describes the resistance to and the dangers of the universalism implied in

endangered-language rhetoric, but stresses that indigenous people may appeal to this logic for practical purposes, particularly to solicit funding or scholarly assistance.¹⁹

Many groups, including Stó:lō language revivalists (e.g., Archibald 1977, 2007; Gardner 2002; Harvey 2009), claim that heritage language is itself tied to the land, as seen in oral histories of specific sites, place names, and cultural worldview at the intersections of environment, aesthetics and language (Basso 1996). Where academic-run charities and research groups prioritize the preservation of dying languages, Native groups put their resources into revitalization programs. The two approaches diverge in action: to preserve is to keep safe, but to revitalize is to give life again. In her account of Halq'eméylem revitalization, Ethel Gardner wrote, “I discuss the demise of efforts to 'preserve' the language of a 'dying race,' to the rise of Halq'eméylem in community efforts to restore it to [a] normal language of family and community again” (Gardner 2002: 30). Gardner's epistemological claim is that the Stó:lō cannot keep Halq'eméylem safe without giving it life again on its land and with its people.

Gardner (2002) also shows revitalizing language is related to maintaining traditional family structure, land ties, and spiritual practices. For some indigenous groups, the goals underlying language revitalization may intersect with claims of repatriation of material culture and archival resources, political sovereignty, demands for cultural autonomy, and formalized autohistory. Charitable organizations, funding institutions and academic committees that fund language preservation often operate through universities and have a wider audience than individual Native Nations, do not frequently recognize these narratives or support indigenous

19 Hill's examples of indigenous groups who have taken issue themes of universal ownership within the “naturalist” tendency of endangered language- rhetoric include the Hopi and Nahuatl (Mexicano) language revival communities. In commentary on Hill (2002), Hinton (2002) points out that “The writings Hill discusses are writings by linguists, primarily non-Native (with the exception of Zepeda in Zepeda and Hill 1992) and are directed mainly at policy makers, funders, and the general public” (Hinton 2002: 151).

political objectives in addition to documentation and revitalization. Therefore anthropologists, linguists, and Native language activists with goals of self-determined cultural revitalization projects may question whether importing this rhetoric and its internal priorities.

Misrepresentation of indigenous objectives in endangered language rhetoric is a microcosm of the troubled relationship between academic institutions and indigenous peoples. In the case of language preservation and revitalization, it is difficult to point fingers, with both parties bearing credit and responsibility in each others' accomplishments and opportunities for advancement. The age has finally arrived in which Native linguists, language activists, anthropologists and non-Native scholars collaborate on conscientious cultural reclamation and repatriation projects. However, because both parties share an interest in knowledge production, it is imperative to historicize the “knowable” with which native language revivalists and academics work. In this way, language revivalists can read underlying ideology in praxis, decide which ideological notions resonate with community values and in turn, make informed programmatic decisions in the present and for the future.

Early Halq'eméylem Language Research

A rigorous investigation into the history and content of academic research in Coast Salish communities is vital for any examination of Stó:lō language ideology. This history illuminates the epistemological trajectory of the Stó:lō, reveals the source of the materials currently used in language revitalization, and accounts for present-day intra-community conflict discussed later in this paper. A history of knowledge formation is also useful to contextualize contemporary articulations of Stó:lō language ideology in appeals to funding, curricular materials, academic research, and personal accounts of language obsolescence and revival.

Many generations of anthropologists and linguists have shared an interest in Salishan languages of the Pacific Northwest. Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Diamond Jenness, and their students compiled detailed oral histories and word lists throughout Coast Salish territory. These oral traditions “reflected particular historical processes of each tribe in which they were told,” which Boas used to hypothesize ancient migration patterns (Thom 2003: 4). Investigations of this type were mostly in search for evidence for diffusion theories, which was a main anthropological focus of the time. This era in the history of anthropology is heavily critiqued by indigenous scholars (Deloria 1969; Gardner 2002: 64; Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). In the early twentieth century, Native historical accounts were seen by anthropologists as mere shadows of the past or clues to the truth, but not as the truth itself. This perspective undermined the potency of oral traditions within native communities.

Halq'eméylem speakers have indeed been under political threat since the arrival of missionaries (Bracewell 1997), who eventually mechanized the removal of the language through residential schooling. The loss of speakers was also fueled by drastic population decline from a series of smallpox epidemics, social stigma around Stó:lō culture, and continued pressures of assimilation.²⁰ These facets of settler colonialism, beginning with early conflicts of contact, are historical conditions of the Halq'eméylem language.²¹ Interaction with xwelítem (white people, or “the hungry ones”) initiated the re-imagination of Halq'eméylem as a language, as language is conceived in the Western cultural logic. In the Western academic tradition, language carries a number of symbolic markers- ethnicity, difference, and group identity. Missionaries were the

20 The first of these epidemics was in 1782 and killed two-thirds of the Stó:lō population, and the last was in 1932. Many of the people who died were Elders, resulting in a significant loss of Stó:lō knowledge and oral history (Carlson 2001: 19). In an interview, Yomalot, a Stó:lō Elder, describes the permanent neurological side-effects of smallpox suffered by her brother, saying that he could not speak fluently or with ease for the remainder of his life (Stó:lō Nation Archives).

21 Carlson (2001) provides complementary quantitative and historical analysis of the long-term effects of these many facets of settler colonialism.

first to translate of Halq'eméylem into English, and the divine authority they claimed played two important roles in the history of the language. First, the necessity of translation established Halq'eméylem as a language in Western epistemological categories. Second, the recognition of Halq'eméylem was simultaneously an act of cultural hegemony and epistemic violence, because translation framed Halq'eméylem as that which must be translated into the *correct* language, English (Bracewell 1997). Even the translation of religious texts into indigenous languages was a means to the colonial end of eradicating those languages.²²

Early in the twentieth century, Franz Boas (1890), Diamond Jenness, Edward Sapir and his students investigated the distribution of Salishan languages in order to hypothesize pre-contact Salish migration patterns (Bracewell 1997; Gardner 2002; Thom 2003). This research included rigorous and systematic classification of Coast Salish and Interior Salish languages, again reifying these languages in a Western conception and categories. Decades later, anthropologists William Elmendorf and Wayne Suttles (1960) used ethnographic data to develop these hypotheses. Linguist Dale Kinkade added to the evidence by comparing lexical items of different Salish languages in order to relate local plant species as geographical markers (Bracewell 1997). The ethnographic and scientific authority of these claims create a cultural hegemony, similar to claims of religious authority, and have substantively influenced Stó:lō perceptions of origin.²³

22 “The purpose of orthography development for Native American languages has shifted through time. After first contact it was seen as a matter of importance for translating texts in order to spread Christianity. Increasingly, assimilation became a part of the colonial agenda, particularly for Protestant missionaries and government agents” (Neely and Palmer 2009: 271).

23 For a further exploration of this change, see A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas, esp. page 20. “Xwelítem (white people's) investigation of the first people of North America has led to the development of numerous scientific, religious and mythic “origin theories.” This is followed by anthropological and archaeological theories of settlement, but the Aboriginal presence remains open for interpretation.

Halq'eméylem After the Rise of Linguistics

In the mid-twentieth century, after linguistics was established as an autonomous and distinct discipline with its own objectives, linguists began to join anthropologists in recording and studying indigenous languages, largely in order to have the data recorded before the languages became extinct. The historical relationship between academics and Coast Salish communities provided linguists easier access to willing speakers of Salishan languages, resulting in a large body of work on Salishan linguistics. The International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages has taken place annually since 1965 (ICSNL 2013). The most prominent expert linguists on the Upriver Halkomelem language (Galloway, Gerdtz, etc.) are frequent, if not dominating, contributors. The works presented at the conference are entirely theoretical linguistic analysis. There is minimal research addressing the social dimension of language praxis except some very formal ethnosemantic analysis.

Salish Linguists Dale Kinkade and Eva Higgins compiled selections from the archives of the conference into *Salish Languages and Linguistics: Theoretical and Descriptive Perspectives* in 1997. In the preface to the book, the authors acknowledge (with a tone of regret) the missing ethnolinguistic, historical, and social information that gives context to the larger role of the language to its speakers. The stated goal of the volume was to create a “comprehensive introduction to Salish linguistics... [that demonstrates] what research on Salish languages can and does contribute to the study of linguistics in general” (Higgins and Kinkade 1997: v). Such an objective articulates a standard facet of the language ideology of linguists, explaining their conception of what makes a language worth studying, and what information Salish languages contain that is valuable.

Between an apology to those linguists whose work could not be included and acknowledgment of some missing references, the authors lament, “for reasons of length, we have had to limit the volume to discussions of, information about, and references to, linguistic rather than pedagogical work: to do justice to the pedagogical work on Salish languages and to the vibrancy of Salish communities would require a volume in itself” (Higgins and Kinkade 1997: vi). From it seems there may be scholarly work on the revival of Salish languages or community learning programs. However it does not direct a reader in pursuit of such information, in some ways assuming a linguist would not have an interest in such studies. The semantically ambiguous “pedagogical work” is clearly distinguished from “the study of Salish languages” themselves.

The authors mention the historical and social conditions of the language and its people: “Since this is a specialized volume in linguistics, the articles rarely make explicit reference to the historical and cultural contexts of European-First Nations contact. As linguists, we are only too aware of the mixed results of this still-continuing contact” (Higgins and Kinkade 1997: vi). Here, the authors affirm that such information is not *vital* to discussion of Salishan languages. Therefore the underlying this claim is that linguistics can be an ahistorical and socially objective inquiry, if the researcher desires it in that form.

The final note of the preface offers a last acknowledgment of the social dimension of language study. After thanking the editors, readers and commentators involved in the book, the authors thank the native speakers who served as informants. Unlike the academics, native speakers are thanked as a general category of “teachers” and “friends.” At the closing the authors state: “Without their knowledge and their willingness to teach us and work together with us no linguistic research on Salish languages would be possible.” The editors offer them general thanks in Spokane, an Interior Salish language. This provides a valuable window into the ideology of

the “experts” on Salishan languages. According to Higgins and Kinkade, native informants are both possessors and givers of knowledge, but not interpreters or analysts. While they possess a stock of knowledge, they do not use the tools of thinking, only of safeguarding and transmission; they have no agency over the knowledge they possess. In this brief statement, the motive of natives to participate in linguistic research, as well as their own linguistic projects and ideologies, are assumed existent, natural, uniform, and universally knowable; but they are not formally represented or described.

The discussion of the above text displays the process of foreclosure of the native by linguists. Information about the native informants on the linguistic project is undeniably textualized. Alongside the elision of the historical and social place of the native, the authors note the obvious fact that the natives' “knowledge and willingness” enabled the project. The authors do not come to terms with the fact that, without the social counterpoint of the native informant, they themselves could not exist at all as experts on Salishan languages. Applying the model of foreclosure, the mention of the native serves to deny that reality, but at the same time enforce the legitimacy of the arena which has fostered that same reality; it allows the authors to appreciate the authenticity of their data while textually silencing the historicity and locality of their data. The relationships between linguists and native informants are complex, but posited as simple and irrelevant to the *essential work* of linguistics. And yet the true concerns of linguistics is not explicitly stated, but it is assumed by the established scientific authority of its discipline. Thus while historicizing language revitalization in Coast Salish communities, we must deconstruct the universal assumptions of linguistics itself to map its ideological force.

Early Efforts at Language Preservation

The first linguists began work with Halq'eméylem in the early 1960s. Jimmy Gene Harris (1960) began the documentation process, and published some of his phonological work in a masters thesis. His fieldwork overlapped with the documentation carried out by Oliver and Casey Wells, two brothers who were raised in the Chilliwack River Valley. Although neither was trained as a linguist or ethnographer, the Wells brothers collected oral histories and a substantial word list. Oliver Wells worked with Chief Richard Malloway to establish Halq'eméylem classes, which ended unfortunately quickly (Galloway 1988; Wells and Wells 1965). Oliver Wells' collected interviews with Stó:lō elders was later published as *The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors* (1987). Casey Wells formulated a writing system for the language, as the International Phonetic Alphabet proved impractical for transcriptions, but his own phonetic orthography was not practical for encouraging Native literacy either. Later in the decade the linguist Randy Bouchard created a phoneme-based orthography in the interest of encouraging Native literacy (Bracewell 1997; Galloway 1988). Bouchard founded the British Columbia Indian Languages Project, which created ethnographic and linguistic archives and resources for community use (Galloway 2007).

Harris and Bouchard are rarely mentioned as the first professional linguists to work in Stó:lō territory in the historical record.²⁴ The Wells brothers are often mentioned, but authors stress their amateur status (Bracewell 1997; Galloway 1988). The historical record most often mentions Brent Galloway as the first linguist to work with Halq'eméylem, although he did not arrive in Stó:lō territory until 1971 (Galloway 1988). A doctoral student at UC Berkeley, Galloway spent the following years writing a comprehensive grammar of the Upriver

²⁴ The history of language research in Stó:lō territory is most comprehensively explored in Bracewell 1997, Galloway 1988, Galloway 2007, Gardner 2002.

Halkomelem language for his dissertation, completed in 1977 and published in 1993. He conducted fieldwork with the Stó:lō between 1971-77, during which time he kept an exhaustive word list which was later published as a two-volume dictionary (Galloway 2009).

The work of Harris, the Wells brothers, Bouchard, and Galloway preceded the language revival movement in Stó:lō territory and therefore comprised the materials for the revitalization project. These scholars' word lists, dictionaries, and orthography are still widely used by various revitalization projects. Critically examining the form and formation of these materials reveals their influence on the revitalization projects they eventually supported. Bakhtin (1986) claims that

“a study of the nature of the utterance and of the diversity of generic forms of utterances in various spheres of human activity is immensely important to almost all areas of linguistics and philology. This is because any research whose material is concrete language- the history of a language, normative grammar, the compilation of any kind of dictionary, the stylistics of language and so forth- inevitably deals with concrete utterances (written and oral) belonging to various spheres of human activity and communication...” (1986: 62)

Early language research on Halq'eméylem suggests an elision of socio-historical context, the aftereffects of which have not been discussed in the academic record, and have larger implications for language revival as a whole. Below, I will explore each the language ideological and social dimensions of language research, while investigating the ideological function of its erasure from the general discussion of Halq'eméylem revitalization.

Problems of Textualization

The efficacy and appropriateness of alphabetic to indigenous language revitalization is still under debate within academic and indigenous communities.²⁵ In many ways, the history of the Halq'eméylem orthography exposes sites of ideological struggle in the larger language revival project. The development an effective orthography for Halq'eméylem took many years. Part of the reason for this were the different motives for creating an orthography in the first place; Casey Wells wanted to facilitate his own transcriptions, but Randy Bouchard and Brent Galloway wanted to establish a paradigm of native literacy for revitalization.²⁶ Parallel to this is a seldom- mentioned record of the Stó:lō who did not believe Halq'eméylem should have been written at all and defended a heritage of oral traditions (Bracewell 1997).

The individuals who opposed written forms of Halq'eméylem are not mentioned by name; and there is no record of their specific opinions. I inquired about these individuals in a personal conversation with Albert “Sonny” McHalsie, cultural adviser for the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre and advocate for cultural revival. At first he did not seem to remember any one person in particular, but as we talked more about his work publishing oral traditions, he told me about prominent community members who publicly opposed his work on *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History* (Carlson 1997), a Stó:lō historical account which includes transcribed oral histories. He also told me about a Stó:lō elder and master story teller, who for most of his life refused to have his voice recorded or tell stories to anyone with a pen and paper. McHalsie described the unfailing engagement of his audiences and how many people would gather around him with a sense of urgency to truly absorb his

25 For a recent summary of this debate, see Neely and Palmer 2009.

26 Brent Galloway often describes at length the inefficiencies of Bouchard's orthography and the corrections he had to make to it (Galloway 1975, 1988, 2008). In comparison to Bouchard's work from the ground up, these changes are actually quite minor, as noted by Maureen Bracewell (1997: 16).

words. Toward the very end of his life, the storyteller decided to allow his stories to be recorded, but McHalsie claims there was hardly enough time to record his immense mental store of oral histories (McHalsie, personal conversation 8/21/2012).

JoAnn Archibald, a Stó:lō educator and expert in indigenous pedagogies addresses these questions in *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit* (2008). Her ethnography of cultural preservation and revitalization focuses on those teachings inherent in the storytelling process itself, and her project illustrates why “the foundation of learning to tell stories must be passed on from personal interaction with a storyteller” (Archibald 2008: 80). Archibald recognizes the necessity of revitalizing Halq'eméylem, but perhaps underestimates the profound relationship between the pedagogies she describes and the debate around written language. It is possible that the generational transmission of Halq'eméylem and the practice of oral narrative are equally important and inextricable components of Stó:lō culture that are ultimately undermined by the practices entailed in adapting the language to a written form. Joe Sheridan argues that oral cultures build a life experience and worldview that relies on the senses, and that alphabetic literacy is a form of mediating realities, instead of living them (Sheridan 1991). These epistemologies and their related phenomenological fabrications are not mutually exclusive. Laura Donaldson argues that the forms of knowledge and being that are inherent in oral cultures have become systematically devalued by colonial technologies of education, including alphabetic literacy (Donaldson 1998).

However, the potential limits of written Halq'eméylem are not discussed in the academic record or in the dialogue of revitalization, leaving the problem of textualization unresolved implicitly positing that the colonizing tools are superior. Oral histories and the Halq'eméylem language are highly valued in the Stó:lō community, but the domains of their revival are separate

and ideologically disparate. Oral traditions are increasingly textualized through the language revitalization process, and many oral traditions are passed on in English.

The conflict between these two possibilities of cultural revival is ideological in nature. In particular, it is unclear how the present form of Halq'eméylem should represent, embody or relate to the past or future of the community. In other words, reviving Halq'eméylem by using Stó:lō legends in storybooks suggests to language learners, most of whom are likely to think of Halq'eméylem as a language of the past, that written Halq'eméylem also belongs to the past. In turn, this symbolic notion can dissociate Halq'eméylem's importance to oral traditions. Conversely, a pedagogy of oral tradition in English, which is typically associated as the language of the present and future, suggests that oral traditions in English are “progressive,” which can devalue the role of Halq'eméylem in Stó:lō oral traditions. A pedagogy of culture that functions in English may not be able to communicate subtle facets of a Stó:lō phenomenology. Yomalot, a Stó:lō elder and vital revivalist, recalled a discussion with another woman about teaching traditional dancing with instructions in English: “They do it in English way, instead of a Halq'eméylem way” (Gardner 2002: 283). Therefore, the present situation leaves the form of pedagogy in question. In teaching tools where Halq'eméylem is transmitted as a written language, the pedagogies of oral traditions that Archibald (2008) describes are notably absent; the process of learning to sense and remember the world with enough accuracy and creativity to re-tell stories in the Stó:lō tradition requires a social pedagogy (Archibald 2008; Donaldson 1998; Sheridan 1991).²⁷

27 Bakhtin elaborates on the consequences of ignoring the phenomenological complexities of communication, “...the [linguistic] schema distorts the actual picture of speech communication, removing precisely its most essential aspects. The active role of the other in the process of speech communication is thus reduced to a minimum” (1986: 70).

To complicate the matter further, oral histories have been incorporated into the the historical process of giving cultural value to the written text. Sonny McHalsie recounted to me a Stó:lō story told by elder Bertha Peters that directly refers to the value of written language, and published in *You Are Asked to Witness*:

“A person from Chilliwack Landing told me this story: The Great Spirit [Xá:ls] traveled the land, sort of like Jesus, and he taught these three si:ya:m, (these three chiefs) how to write their language. And they were supposed to teach everyone how to write their language, but they didn't. So they were heaped into a pile and turned to stone. Because they were supposed to teach the language to everyone, and because they didn't, people from all different lands will come and take the knowledge from the people. Because they wouldn't learn to write they lost that knowledge.” (Carlson et al. 1997: 187).

The message of the story is clear, but the narrative trope of punishment by transformation is inconsistent with Archibald's description:

Sometimes Xá:ls changes people to elements of the environment, not as punishment but as a symbol of the goodness that the individual has performed. Xá:ls transformations remind us about the close connections that humans have to nature” (2008: 66).

The contradiction between these two accounts shows language ideology reforming to correspond to modern expectations and practices, as well as the process of obscuring competing and/ or preceding ideologies.

The debate surrounding the textualization of Halq'eméylem presents an opportunity for ideological clarification within the Stó:lō language revitalization community. Halq'eméylem with hybridity features is not a negative prospect, as evidenced by the Stó:lō's past negotiations with settler governments, social institutions, religions and law (Clapperton 2006). It is possible that the cultural components at risk of devaluation or transformation would not be a tremendous loss to the community.²⁸ However, in order to move forward with language pedagogies that can holistically reproduce Stó:lō worldview and tradition, cultural revitalization projects with different goals should be in communication with each other, and use methods that will not put another aspect of the culture at risk. In this way, the debate of textualization is inconclusive. Ideological clarification would allow Stó:lō to strategically plan where written Halq'eméylem is appropriate and which require an oral pedagogy, and whether they can be mutually exclusive.

The initial work to transform Halq'eméylem into a written language was largely for the convenience of archivists and linguists. Although Native interests were certainly considered by these individuals, the consequences of written Halq'eméylem were not seriously discussed by the various researchers and academics who worked in the Stó:lō community. The subtext of some recollections of the early years of Halq'eméylem revival denotes a cultural bias to alphabetic literacy:

“We transcribed a number of stories from both my tapes and Coqualeetza's and from Oliver Wells' earlier interviews with Stó:lō elders... However, much more remains to be done to give the people a sense of their own literature in written form and to study as linguistic texts” (Galloway 1988: 295)

28 “Maybe our language will evolve into a sort of 'Halq'emeylish' as Katelila describes the prospect, and she is perfectly comfortable with the idea” (Gardner 2002: 291).

Galloway's assumption of a general Stó:lō association of literature with the written form is significant in several ways. First, it reveals his own feelings or even assumption of the cultural superiority of a literary canon to an oral tradition, where he may then perceive himself as giving the gift of literacy to the Stó:lō. Second, the inconsistency of Galloway's assumption with McHalsie and Bracewell's accounts shows that he was likely in touch with only a portion of Stó:lō society, and therefore was not confronted with other interpretations or opinions. Finally, in the formative years of Halq'eméylem revitalization, there was no investigation into language ideology by the “experts” or “professionals.” Rather their own ideas of the language were posited as most relevant to the truth. This process of ideological dominance was made possible by the discussion and application of linguistics as extra-ideological and exceptional for its scientific authority.

Chapter 5. Consequences of Language Research

Over the years, the work of many language revivalists, ethnographers, and linguists has culminated in an archive of curricula, documentation, and reflections on Halq'eméylem language revival in the Stó:lō community. The voices of these scholars are present in this record, some of which propose new directions for Halq'eméylem revival (Bracewell 1997; Gardner 1986, 2002; Russel 2009). Nonetheless the ownership and use of this corpus has shaped and continues to constrain, or enable possibilities for the future of Halq'eméylem revival. In this chapter, I examine the form, location, and use of Halq'eméylem language materials as well as the impacts of their authorship and political economy on language revitalization.

Academic Authority in Halq'eméylem Revival

In the process of cultural revitalization, Stó:lō have articulated language ideologies through a number of venues. Ethel Gardner's (2002) account of the language and cultural revitalization efforts at Coqualeetza Education Centre and JoAnn Archibald's (1977) defense of the Stalo Sitel curriculum for use in local schools are prime examples. These ideas are reflected in other literature on Stó:lō worldview (Archibald 2008, Gardner 1986), and are important resource for cultural revivalists, activists, or allies in implementing culturally sensitive curricula in local school districts. For the purposes of this paper, expressed beliefs about language expose a contrast between ideology and practice. Where Stó:lō language ideology might have been the guiding force for language revitalization, I argue that inconsistent practices in delegations of authority during the early stages of the project engendered a pattern of academic authority that remains today, with tangible consequences for revitalization efforts.

After Galloway's work to create an orthography and complete fieldwork for his dissertation, *A Grammar of Upriver Halkomelem* (1993), he moved on to work with Salishan Languages in other communities. Around this time the Skulkayn Heritage Project, a general cultural revitalization project, received federal funding. Brent Galloway requested to design the language component of the program, his proposal was accepted, and he began work in 1975 (Galloway 1988). In this way, the first formal effort at Halq'eméylem language revitalization was conceived by a linguist.²⁹ Just as the utility of written language is an ideological notion, the assumption that linguistics is the most useful way to describe and teach a language, or teach language pedagogy, is ideologically motivated (Speas 2008).³⁰ From 1975 to 1980, Galloway moved forward with linguistics as a teaching tool. In Galloway's (1988; 2007) later reflections of the curricula he designed, he does not consider the ideological dimensions of the project of linguistics. Galloway's self-determined success with these curricula maintains the discipline-wide narrative that linguistics may be universally applied, and carries it further to suggest linguistics is a tool that inherent uses in language revitalization.

Brent Galloway is a figure of exceptional importance in the lives of Stó:lō individuals who participated in early Halq'eméylem revival. He is often mentioned in *Remembering the Sacred Time of our Elders* (2001), a collection of commemorative biographies and eulogies of Stó:lō community Elders. In Shirley Leon's eulogy for Memxe (Edna Bobb), Galloway's authority as a linguist eclipses the fact that he himself was Memxe's student. The narrative also posits Memxe's importance in the community by way of her role as his teacher:

29 Some Stó:lō elders informally taught Halq'eméylem classes prior to Galloway's teacher training programs (Bracewell 1997: 13).

30 It should be noted that although the Western cultural preference to literacy and written language is not an axiom of linguistics, a substantial portion of the language of study must be written down to carry out linguistic research. Therefore transforming an oral language into a written language is to the necessity, and eventual profit, of the linguist and the general project of the discipline.

Dr. Brent Galloway, linguist and professor, Department of Languages, Literature & Linguistics, Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, University of Regina, is especially fond of Memxe because of her patience and perseverance in teaching him to speak Halq'eméylem (Archibald 2001: 8).

Galloway's academic accreditation recurs throughout the biographies. Despite the fact that Memxe and other Elders taught Galloway Halq'eméylem, his teaching role is described in much more detail in the Elders' biographies:

Dr. Brent Galloway, linguist and instructor of the aforementioned course... also stated... that the course content included reading Halq'eméylem, writing and spelling. The Halq'eméylem grammatical subjects were also studied: ten pronoun sets, doubling, plurals, prefixes, suffixes, roots of words, families of words, analyzing place names and animal names, names for the anatomy, methods of presenting complicated grammar for beginners level... (Archibald 2001:13)

In general, the pattern therein indicates a high respect for Dr. Galloway and his expertise. At the same time, remembering the Elders' roles in relation to Galloway's expertise undermines their own statuses as knowledge bearers. The resultant metanarrative frames their knowledge as

“known,” rudimentary, or primitive and posits methods of describing Halq'eméylem through linguistics as the authoritative, if not exclusive, pedagogical option.³¹

Considering the relationship between Galloway and the Stó:lō language revivalists, as well as the lack of clarity in Galloway's own accounts, it is uncertain at which points he solicited opinions from the community and where Stó:lō revivalists had opportunities for active decision-making roles in the process. In many of his reflections, Galloway frequently uses the passive voice to describe the curriculum-writing process, obscuring who exactly determined the content or approach. Galloway carried out Teacher Training with the assistance and employment of members of the Coqualeetza Elders' group, allowing him to use the collective pronoun in his recollections. A close reading of the content of the curricula, with attention to the proportion of its linguistic content and ethnosemantic research methodology, indicates the extent of Galloway's control (Galloway 1975:1, 1988: 294; Gardner 2002:17). Further Galloway's reflections suggest he largely improvised his lessons and field tests: “jumping into the fire like this proved to be a good method” (Galloway 1988: 294).

Academic authority itself was taken seriously by the Stó:lō, as evidenced by their respect for Brent Galloway's academic research and status mentioned in biographies of Stó:lō Elders.³²

Siyamtelot notes that language retention programs in the Band

Schools were highly influenced by the linguistic approach, which in

the 1970s was thought to be state-of-the-art and the best method.

31 Though this description of Galloway's own reporting notes that “teaching techniques were researched for the right one to teach Halq'eméylem at the different stages” (Archibald 2001: 13), it is unclear the “researching subject” includes the Elders who were students in the class.

32 The Elders who worked with Galloway remember their part in these projects proudly. In a very short biography of Susan Peters, LaVerne Adams writes, “Susan [Peters] also contributed to the research of Stó:lō ethnobotany with Dr. Brent Galloway. A book was published under the title, Upper Stó:lō Ethnobotany” (Archibald 2001:33).

Teaching techniques which focussed on grammar, sounds, drill and correction, did not promote understanding of the cultural identity, meaning or significance inherent in the language (Gardner 2002: 34).

Espousing Bhabha's concept of hybridity, Halq'eméylem began to take on new forms by inhabiting Western forms and adopting western technologies, particularly alphabetic literacy and linguistics. The dominance of academic authority undoubtedly played a role in the adoption of these technologies as well as the naturalization of scientific authority.

Galloway often refers to his own deferral of authority to the Stó:lō, mixed with praise for their own previous and separate accomplishments.³³ In his own Teacher Training program, “Co-ordinators were hired from both Indian and non-Indian applicants, with the understanding that the non-Indians would be eventually training Indians to take over their departments” (Galloway 1988: 293). Clearly Galloway felt that transferring agency to the Stó:lō was important. He did not recognize, however, that the Stó:lō could not gain agency over the scientific tools he offered them.

Bracewell (1997) describes Galloway's efforts as the first collaborative work in Halq'eméylem revival. Indeed, Galloway's approach was progressive, particularly considering that language revival was an emerging phenomenon at the time (Kroskrity and Field 2009). At the same time, his work cannot be considered truly collaborative when evaluated against recent Indigenous methodologies, notably those discussed by Tuhiwai-Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999). Tuhiwai-Smith argues that Indigenous people should determine the agenda of academic research in their communities, ensure that there are positive outcomes for

33 “This impressive project [Stalo Heritage Project] was all Indian-run” (Galloway 1988: 293).

the community before initiating research, and all publishable outcomes should be equally owned by the community and researchers. She argues for other tenets of collaborative research that reflect still- emerging research methodologies, which have been adopted by other dispossessed and politically disenfranchised communities. Rather, Galloway's work represents an intermediate stage in which researchers partially recognized their informant's labor by employing them, but not yet as equal research partners.

Galloway eventually hired “team teachers” and an assistant (Galloway 1988: 294), but he designed all of the language lessons and curricula. He writes, “...I taught them (mostly night classes)... I field tested the lessons on all levels from adult classes to mixed grade school levels and revised and wrote up more” (Galloway 1988: 294). Although it is unclear whose creative or critical input initiated revisions, the narrative structure Galloway employs suggests that he wrote much of the curricular material without significant consultation with the Stó:lō revivalists.

Legacies of Academic Authority in Halq'eméylem Revival

Presently, the Stó:lō Shxweli Language Program hires a part-time linguist as a consultant. My work at the program was directed almost entirely by him, except for those times when I had finished the work he had assigned me. These tasks involved editing recordings of songs and phrases that supplemented the curricula and creating videos out of SSLPS's storybooks to post on YouTube. All of my work was submitted to the linguist for critique and approval. Although the manager of the program was present, he had little authority over my work. His own work was also almost entirely determined, and later monitored, by the linguist. On occasion we were at a loss of how to pass the time, as the linguist had not approved or disapproved our work, and thus

not given us permission to move on. In this way, the linguist exercised considerable authority over the program despite being present at Stó:lō Nation for one or two days each week.

The freelance linguist's work at SSLP is comparable to Galloway's role in early revitalization. He carries on Galloway's method of partial deferral of authority when working with community members. While working for SSLP, I was given the opportunity to observe two recording sessions involving a Stó:lō elder, a Halq'eméylem teacher, the manager of SSLP, and the linguist. The work entailed was aimed at developing materials for a Language Nest project, an early-childhood language immersion program which was due to begin three weeks from the first of these sessions.³⁴ During these sessions they recorded sing-along songs for distribution to Language Nest teachers and participants. The Elder was present as a language expert, her fluency in Halq'eméylem authoritative in comparison to the others present. The Halq'eméylem teacher was being recorded by the linguist, who managed all technological aspects of the process. My manager played a small role in the choices and discussion around the recordings, but stayed in the room to spend time with Elder and the Halq'eméylem teacher, often as a source of laughter and support. In the first of these sessions that I joined, I was not entirely aware of the details of the project, and therefore proved non-participatory or helpful at the time.

The active role of the Elder was to answer questions about usage or vocabulary, point out mistakes, and make corrections. She was notably gracious about making these corrections; she gently chided and sometimes joked with the language teacher for mispronunciations or misgendering nouns, but gave ample explanation and examples in return. The linguist would notice these mistakes as well, stop recording, but defer to the Elder to provide an explanation. At

34 This "language nest" program is modeled after the successful Maori Language Nest program in which parents and children attend classes. The objectives of this type of learning environment program are to immerse the children in the heritage language, and encourage a pattern of adult to child transmittance. Stó:lō Nation received funding from the Federal Government's Head Start Family Program, which has an early education initiative for this project.

times, he would correct the language teacher's grammar in the circuitous form of asking the Elder grammar questions that indicated the language teacher had erred. His questions could all be answered in either the affirmative or the negative, and hardly required any explication. The answers to these questions would prompt re-recordings and discussions.

Some discussion of pedagogical choices and possibilities took place during these recording sessions. The language teacher would bring up concerns of class format, how to open classes by recalling the lessons from the previous class or periodically remind students throughout the class. All of the participants present were part of conversations about the attention span of toddlers and the patience of parents. At other times, the linguist would interrupt the recording to make pedagogical suggestions, which he would then incorporate into the recordings themselves. None of the others protested these reformations, re-orderings, or additions, although he would ask if everyone thought it was appropriate.

Considering the authority that the linguist exercised over my manager and myself in comparison to his generous negotiations of authority with the Elder and the language teacher, it is clear that the ebb and flow of linguist authority is site-specific. This authority was deferred in interpersonal facets of creating curricular materials, but asserted in larger procedural choices. No party exerted complete control over the other; community members granted control to the linguist in the minutia of production, and the linguist granted the community members authority over the minutia of grammatical corrections. I argue however that the authority conferred to the methods of Western academic linguists- or the process by which grammatical knowledge is confirmed or denied, mistakes are corrected and knowledge is produced – structures the work and interactions of both parties.

Linguistics in Halq'eméylem Revitalization

A significant portion of the Halq'eméylem teacher training programs from 1980-2004 included training in linguistics. At least three linguists taught aspiring Halq'eméylem teachers linguistics: Brent Galloway, a theoretical linguist; Strang Burton, theoretical linguist; and Susan M. Russel, a phonologist. All of these individuals collaborated with multiple Native communities on language revitalization throughout their careers. With respect to Halq'eméylem revival, each of these linguists organized and instructed teacher-training courses. The content of these courses, many of which took place at the same time, reflects the ideological notions of scientific authority and linguistics as cutting-edge technologies.

In a sense, the courses were an attempt to bring all of the Halq'eméylem teachers to the same level of speaking proficiency. All of the students had some knowledge of Halq'eméylem, but pronunciation, speaking proficiency, and grammatical knowledge was not standardized. Galloway, Burton, Russel all tried to use linguistics as a medium to reach a level of standardization (Tape 228, 231, 327). To this end, Galloway used syntactic explanations as the standard frame of reference for lessons, answering questions, and describing the phrases and words that students would use as examples (Tape 327). His lessons and assignments were organized around concepts of grammar and explained through the language of syntax. In class, Galloway sometimes diverted to more accessible language than the jargon of syntax in order to explain the function or form of words and phrases. However, he concluded each of these plain-language explanations with a formal grammatical explanation, asserting this as the viable standard descriptive framework (Tape 327).

In many of his classes, Galloway discussed the discrepancies in pronunciation between speakers of Halq'eméylem from Chilliwack and Chehalis.³⁵ The idiom of phonetics was consistently used to describe these, as a tool to standardize pronunciation across the group. However, for words which had multiple pronunciations, or which he himself did not know how to pronounce, Galloway would consult with the elders in the class and search for the “correct” pronunciations of the largely unstandardized Halq'eméylem (Tape 327).

The majority of Susan Russel's classes focused on the Halq'eméylem orthography in relation to phonetics. In Tape 231, Russel explains that the orthography was designed to accommodate the use of typewriters, which lead to some logical flaws and inconsistencies with International Phonetic Alphabet. To resolve the resultant confusion, Russel employed phonetics as the standard frame of reference for correction and clarification. Of the three linguists, Russel's class had the most content of linguistics. In some cases, the students' confusion over technical language Russel to discuss phonetic environments and write phonological rules and formulas. Burton's pedagogical approach was similar in that he offered the International Phonetic Alphabet to resolve confusion over pronunciation (Tape 228). Like Russel, Burton also relied on descriptions of allophones and phonemes as central, organizing concepts to standardize explanations of pronunciation (Tape 228). At times, the students' confusion over the terminology of linguistics in Galloway's formal grammar of Halq'eméylem required Russel to clarify grammatical concepts and terminology (Tape 231).

The content of these classes is significant because it determines what knowledge is authoritative in Halq'eméylem pedagogy. Those who wanted to become certified Halq'eméylem teachers were required to learn this content as well as to learn the language *through* the

35 Chilliwack and Chehalis are sometimes referred to as dialects, which is contrary to the notion that Halq'eméylem is a dialect of Halkomelem.

epistemological framework of linguistics. For those students in the class who were already fluent or near-fluent in Halq'eméylem, these classes served to re-teach Halq'eméylem in the logic of linguistics. Again, this affirmed that if the students gained the knowledge of linguistics, and therefore also the ideological notions about language inherent to its logical structure and methods, they would gain a type of “language authority.” The same logic necessarily delegitimizes the value of the knowledge of Halq'eméylem speakers arrived with as well as their beliefs about language.

The heavily linguistics-focused teachers training program was eventually rejected by the elders who took over Halq'eméylem Revival:

After Galloway left, work on the language was continued by the Coqualeetza Elders and staff. According to Shirley Leon, they became dissatisfied with the 'linguistic approach' they had been following, which the elders felt was changing the language. They began working on an immersion model of instruction, which they continue to believe is the best method for learning the language (Bracewell 1997: 14).

Disagreements and competing beliefs about the curricular style caused rifts in the language revival community for many years afterward. Several members of the community mentioned differences of opinion about the content and method of the Halq'eméylem language classes, including the manger of the SSLP, the archivist at Stó:lō Nation, and the manager at Coqualeetza Education Centre. Although they cited a difference in visions of the project, I did not hear a direct or detailed account of the split between SSLP and CEC. Nonetheless, Ethel Gardner and other community members observed that linguistics-driven pedagogy was not helpful in the long

run (Gardner 2002). She claims that this is particularly noticeable compared to the knowledge of Halq'eméylem that children had absorbed from elders in their homes. Although such exposure was limited, many believed it was the most effective, and therefore the Halq'eméylem revival community began to endorse the language immersion approach (Gardner 2002: 34-35, 1986; Bracewell 1997: 14).

CEC reoriented their goals to language immersion instruction at the time of their split from SSLP (Bracewell 1997), and at the time of my fieldwork, SSLP was developing a Language Nest Program. The Halq'eméylem revival community is reassessing its methods and priorities, but political rifts between revival groups puts additional strain on already limited funding and resources (Bracewell 1997). Linguists are recently re-examining their role in Halq'eméylem revitalization; Susan Russel (2009) reflects,

“Perhaps linguists (and sociolinguists) could focus less on proclaiming the imminent death of Aboriginal languages and focus more on just speaking them; less on saving Halkomelem and more on learning Halkomelem. As linguists working with Aboriginal communities, maybe we should go back to the business of finding out how people learn languages, in cooperation with other researchers finding out how people learn, and then bring our special understanding of the structures of languages and skills in documenting them, and set about devising practical applications to assist people in learning” (2009: 181).

In some ways, the past decade of Halq'eméylem language revival exhibits unstructured and informal ideological clarification. I argue that the domination of Western language ideologies

incited ideological clarification within the revival community. Although ideological clarification developed organically and over time, a structured, inclusive and holistic community dialogue about language beliefs may serve as a platform for reconciliation between factions of the Halq'eméylem revival moment.

Consequences of the Authority of Linguistics

During the era of linguistics and memorization-centered pedagogies, living sources of Stó:lō linguistic and cultural knowledge were lost. Galloway conducted a massive amount of work eliciting and recording linguistic data from the Elders, an approach that simultaneously helps produce reference materials for revitalization. At the same time, this approach symbolically positions the Elders as a resource to be tapped, rather than recognizing them as individuals capable of designing language revitalization efforts independently.

The process of introducing the methods of linguistics as the most practical, useful, and rational way to describe any language is based in ideological notions which arise at many points in the language revitalization process (Grenoble 2009; Kroskrity 2009; Speas 2009). A scientific-linguistic approach has dominated the content and structure of curricular materials in Halq'eméylem revival and its epistemological framework was assumed to be the superior or only option. Even if a linguist relinquishes his/ her personal, interactional, or academic authority at any stage in the revival process the larger project maintains notions of scientific authority, the ideologies of linguistics can be easily normalized. Accompanying the language ideologies of linguistics is the naturalization of the ideologies of scientific progress and authority. The naturalization of these ideologies can then preclude the possibility of institutionalizing

community dialogue about Stó:lō language beliefs, as well as consensus on the methods and pedagogy of revitalization.

In the twentieth century, a set of unifying principles about language extracted from the philosophy of Ferdinand de Saussure became naturalized assumptions in linguistics (Agha 2007): linguistic phenomena may be studied outside of their social context, abstracted from its speech context, and divided into parts based analytic categories. The scientific project of linguistics extends these beliefs about language. When linguists posit these beliefs as natural truths outside of their cultural context of the Western academy, the scientific project of linguistics becomes an ideological project as well. Below, I explore the ideological dimensions of applying linguistics outside academic communities exposes the social and economic consequences of its scientific project.

Research and analysis in linguistics relies on the separation of language into abstract units. Phonemes, morphemes, and noun and verb clauses, among more complex units of study, are taken from a larger social context into an ahistorical, asocial universe of the linguistics-relevant epistemological framework. Agha (2007) claims that the epistemic project of Saussurean linguistics, which dominated twentieth century linguistics, is “extractionist” in nature:

...it pulls out from the totality of language a fraction called langue, singling it out for exclusive attention. The extraction of the object of linguistics is achieved by a metonymic reduction: a part replaces a whole” (2007: 22).

Outcomes of the “extractionist impulse” include treating language outside of its social, historical, political, and experiential contexts as well as limiting practitioners' ability to make coherent,

truthful claims about language. In other words the Saussurean approach prioritizes the study of “abstract [language] schemata” that “distort the actual picture of speech communication, removing precisely its most essential parts” (Bakhtin 1986: 70).

The consequences of the authority of linguistics for language ideologies and language survival are many. First, the methods and conclusions of linguistics automatically create hierarchical relations between beliefs about language, suggesting its own ideological commitments lead to necessary scientific conclusions, while the ideological dimensions of the language of study may safely be ignored. Second, as the work and products of linguistics reside almost entirely in the academy, it is inherently a literate tradition, and excludes an oral-intellectual tradition.³⁶

The linguistic study of Halq'eméylem has transformed the way the language of Halq'eméylem is imagined and abstracted.³⁷ Halq'eméylem is firmly established in the linguistics tradition as a language, and many of its speakers have been taught and re-taught the language through its epistemology. As a result, the whole of the language has constituent parts, which Bakhtin (1986: 70) refers to as “language units, which are then interpreted as segments of language.” The assumption that all languages can and should be divided into these abstract parts is an ideological notion of Saussurean linguistics and thus is necessary not only to linguistic analysis, but also to the content and structure of grammars, dictionaries, and other products of

36 For example, Bakhtin (1986) writes: “The text is the unmediated reality (reality of thought and experience), the only one from which these disciplines and this thought can emerge. Where this is no text, there is no object of study...” (1986: 103).

37 Bracewell (1997) acknowledges that the Elders “felt [the linguistic approach] was changing the language” (1997:14). Similar expressions can be found in Gardner (2002). Nonetheless these sentiments were not explicitly expressed to me in conversation, for which there may be a number of reasons. It is my present interpretation that the diversion from linguistics as a pedagogical tool was an empowered choice on the part of Stó:lō, thus a lack of discussion around the shortcomings of the linguistic approach indicates that language revivalists are more interested in moving forward with new methods than discussing past problems. This is certainly an area of interest for those pursuing ideological clarification with the Halq'eméylem revival community, a project most appropriately carried out by Stó:lō researchers and language activists.

linguistic study. The way that Halq'eméylem is described, imagined, and represented, conforms largely to the ends of the project of linguistics. While of the materials produced by linguists help with the work of revitalization, the results are mixed.

For example, Galloway's 2009 *Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem* is designed and written for linguists, or an audience with a substantial education in linguistics. In the introduction, Galloway explains the format of the dictionary with brief overviews of his Halq'eméylem orthography, the phonetic set of the language, and sample dictionary entries. Following these is a section titled "How to Use the Dictionary (an introduction for those with linguistic training)," but there is no equivalent for readers without training in linguistics. Furthermore, he explains the Stó:lō orthography through the International Phonetic Alphabet and uses both throughout the dictionary. The dictionary contents' valuable ethnosemantic and ethnobotanical information as well as local placenames in many of the entries, but the format and heavy linguistics content makes this information difficult to find and extract. Therefore while much of the dictionary's content is potentially useful for creating pedagogical materials for language revitalization programs, primarily the content is linguistics.³⁸

Gardner's (1986, 2002) observations that grammar drills and linguistics detracted from the lived experiences of Halq'eméylem are in line with the critiques of Agha (2007) and Bakhtin (1986). Gardner's work is an indispensable reevaluation and revaluing of Stó:lō aesthetics and language ideologies that explains the ideological shift to immersion programs in Halq'eméylem revival. Unfortunately there are additional political-economic realities of language revitalization that threaten the possibilities of Halq'eméylem revitalization.

38 Bracewell (1997:12) makes similar comments about Galloway's Grammar of Upriver Halkomelem.

Political Economy of Language and Linguistics

In order to discuss the political economy of the scientific and ideological project of linguistics, it is useful to apply a variety of theoretical notions of the labor and market relations of language. First, I argue that the application of Labor Theories of Value to language shows how a language that is well documented but lacks a stable speech community is particularly vulnerable to commodification. Second, Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital and symbolic power allows for an examination of access to the market system where Halq'eméylem-commodities are exchanged. Finally, Irvine points out that “some [linguistic phenomena] are products of a social and sociolinguistic division of labor, and as such they may be exchanged against other products in the economy,” (Irvine 1989: 262), in other words, as commodities. There are three particularly lasting effects of the subjection of Stó:lō language revivalists to linguistic markets and the formation of the Halq'eméylem language-commodity: it fostered a reliance on language commodities, which are exchanged on a markets that naturalize unequal exchange, and access to these markets heavily depends on linguistic and symbolic capital in the colonizing epistemology and language.

Bakhtin (1986: 123) writes, “Linguistics deals with the text, but not the work.” That is, linguistics treats language in a static and ahistorical or synchronic state, which indicates the discipline's disregard for the labor internal to linguistic praxis. Thibault (1997) conceptualizes language at any given synchronic state as the culmination of generations of speakers' social work. Languages arrive at their present state as a result of all of their speakers' linguistic innovations and speech praxis, or a “human linguistic labor power” (Thibaut 1997: 199), “In other words, the work of very many social agents has led to the social and historical production of a given synchronic state of the language system” (Thibaut 1997: 201). Human linguistic labor

is vulnerable to commodification because Saussure's theories of the oppositional value of language still dominate linguistics and all of its sub-disciplines. According to Saussure (1983), linguistic value results from the contrastive nature between its internal constitutive parts. For example, a word can only command a meaning, and therefore value, because it does not have the same meaning as those words that are close in meaning. In linguistics, this logic is applied to all stages of speech praxis. Rossi-Landi (1977) draws a homology between this axiom of linguistics and the law of capitalist competition, arguing that language gains value in ways that are similar to how commodities acquire exchange value. Thibaut (1997: 202) argues the law of capitalist competition “regulates the modes of social, economic and linguistic production.” I advance his argument further to suggest that we can locate the application of the linguistics-epistemology to Halq'eméylem as the point of its acquisition of exchange value.

Native languages occupy a crucial position for the value of linguistic research. The epistemic project of linguistics requires data from as many languages as possible to continue. In a somewhat circular logic, the discipline of linguistics cannot make universal claims about language without further documentation and analysis of the world's languages. Similarly linguistics cannot muster the financial and academic support to document the world's languages without claiming to be a discipline that can discover universals. Because linguists cannot claim universal truths about language while so many remain undocumented in the framework of linguistics, there is a rush to record “dying” languages for the advancement of the discipline. In this way, the epistemic project of linguistics needs Native languages more than Native language speakers need linguistics. In order to advance their discipline, linguists must accumulate linguistic data, abstract these data to fit the analytic categories that are conducive to scientific inquiry, and enter the products into the market system that is academic publishing and the

prestige-based system of advancement in the academy. The development of language commodities, necessary to the very objectives of the discipline of linguistics, also is justified by the “scientific” and “progressive” ideology of contemporary linguistics.

The point at which Halq'eméylem was re-imagined into a language that can be used by linguistics, (i.e., in the form of orthographic representation and description through grammatical categories) marked the first stage of its acquisition of exchange value. After these transformations, the linguistics-determined language fractions of Halq'eméylem enter a market system as commodities, particularly with the production of documentary and reference materials. Thus when Galloway published his *Grammar of Upriver Halkomelem* and *Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem*, he introduced Halq'eméylem into the market system where it gained exchange-value. Galloway published a few word lists under Coqualeetza Education Centre in Sardis. Importantly, he granted to them full rights of reproduction. Considering the era, handing over copyright ownership was indeed progressive. Nevertheless I argue that this is part of a commodification process that needs reevaluation. The variety in objective and genre of the publications leads to internal competition on the forming market of Halq'eméylem commodity exchange.

The exchange value of the language commodities that are created by documentary and analytic linguistics can never be of equal exchange to the value of Halq'eméylem to language revivalists, including its spiritual and political value, and its meaning to the Stó:lō aesthetic and worldview, as shown in Gardner's work (2002: 81). Exporting the technology of linguistics to non-academic, non-Western communities follows the inclusive logic of neo-liberal globalization. de Sousa Santos suggests that (2008: 396) , “...what we call globalization is always a successful globalization of a particular localism.” The neo-liberal paradigm relies on a set of assumptions

about the universal efficiency, functionality, and applicability of free markets and private property, and this attitude translates to other social spheres through the globalization of localisms. In this case, the particular localism is the scientific project of linguistics, which assumes the legitimacy of intellectual property as well as its own universal access to the worlds' languages (Hill 2002; Errington 2003; Whiteley 2003). Therefore, the introduction of the Halq'eméylem language-commodity into a market system suggests itself as a normal process, when in fact it was part of a larger scheme of absorbing Native resources into Western markets that do not account for the intrinsic values of Halq'eméylem to the Stó:lō people.

Bourdieu (1991: 61) writes that “the educational systems tends... to produce the need for its own services and its own products, i.e. the labour and instruments of correction.”³⁹ Each new technology that a Native community employs in revitalization or documentation, including alphabetic literacy, linguistics and information technology, result in that which Bhabha (1994) refers to as moments of hybridity. Moments of hybridity expose sites of political struggle and new forms of resistance while anticipating liberation from the neo-colonial project. In this case, revitalizing the Halq'eméylem language is a distinctly politically liberating struggle. However, Stó:lō adoption of Western technologies have not yet overcome the neo-liberal project that accompanies the epistemic project of linguistics.

After such a transformation, the exchange value of the constitutive parts of the language are more powerful than their use value or even their potential use value. In other words, the role of the exchange value of the materials necessary for revitalization, including but not limited to those reference materials produced by linguists, dominates the value of language praxis in daily life and the possibility of full revitalization. The distribution and applications of documentary

39 He continues, “One only has to think, for example, of the *cultural industry* oriented towards producing services and instruments of linguistic correction (e.g., manuals, grammars, dictionaries, guides to correspondence and public speaking, children's books, etc.)...” (Bourdieu 1991: 260).

and reference materials in Halq'eméylem suggests the “linkage between linguistic phenomena and political economy” that may be described as “utterances as commodities exchangeable for material goods” (Irvine 1989). She continues,

A view of economy that can incorporate verbal practices and products will be useful for understanding systems where linguistic texts can become alienable property, and systems where some forms of speaking are institutionalized and receive financial reward (1989: 258).

Irvine's description is germane to the case of twentieth century Halq'eméylem research, in which utterances were elicited from Elders in the speech community and then divided into abstract, alienable units, before being compiled into exchangeable material goods, such as a grammar and a dictionary.

The market system where Halq'eméylem commodities (e.g., Galloway's dictionary and grammar) are exchanged is mostly beyond the control of language revivalists. This is abundantly clear with an examination of the institutions that language revivalists must appeal to for funding. During my fieldwork, there was discussion of Seabird Island School's interest in partnering with Rosetta Stone to create language software programming. The application was for a \$40,000 grant to produce language software, the rights to which thereafter belong to Rosetta Stone. The emergence of corporate funders indicates further privatization of language revival and thus a heavier reliance on language commodities, and therefore on the markets where they are exchanged.

SSLP is presently funded by First Voices, which provides internet software resources to Indigenous language revivalists across Canada.⁴⁰ Each language has its own website through First Voices, to which language revitalization programs may upload audio recordings for pronunciation, word lists, pictures and videos. Language revitalization efforts may choose to keep their sites closed to their community members; SSLP elected to make their materials publicly accessible. First Voices funds SSLP and other language revitalization programs by through grants, the amounts of which are determined by the volume of content uploaded to the website. The manager at SSLP informed me that they received a \$15,000 grant for the 2000 words and a few interactive games uploaded to their website.

The pattern of funding language revitalization programs suggests a larger trend in which the constituent parts of language, abstracted into that form by linguistic research, are exchanged on a market as language commodities. The most important feature of these markets is that Indigenous language revivalists must appeal to them, with the appropriate linguistic capital in the colonizing language, in order to complete an exchange. Language revivalists must surrender control to the market in order to persist with the revitalization process. In order to do so, they must hire linguists to fashion the language commodities in the way that allows them to acquire exchange value, which requires the social and linguistic capital of an academic degree. As a result, the emerging market of language revitalization funding simultaneously fosters a reliance on its own markets and its initiators authority. Because these markets are closed to indigenous language revivalists, they must either gain the symbolic capital of academic accreditation, or enter further onto the market system of language revitalization funding, a cycle that significantly disadvantages language activists.

40 First Voices is funded by the New Relationship Trust, TELUS (the dominant telecommunications corporation in British Columbia, with which First Nations have tense relations) the Government of British Columbia, The Department of Canadian Heritage, First Nations Technology Council, and others.

Conclusions

Historical inquiry into language research in Stó:lō territory is helpful in understanding the ideological dimensions and practical choices of contemporary Halq'eméylem language revivalists. The Halq'eméylem language revival community continues to engage in an informal process of ideological clarification, through the application of various methods. The results are mixed, as seen with the growing acceptance of a Halq'eméylem as a written language and the rejection of linguistics as a teaching tool. There are many drawbacks of this negative-feedback model of ideological clarification. First, it has taken many years, during which irreplaceable human resources were lost. Second, the language revival community has fractured over the endorsement of different methods, resulting in competition over limited financial and human resources. Finally, without a structured, inclusive dialogue to clarify community beliefs about language, there is a significant risk of excluding important ideas or creative solutions to the problems facing the general Halq'eméylem revitalization project. Nonetheless, this does not diminish the power or potential of Halq'eméylem revival. Instead, it calls to attention larger aspects of language revitalization that need reevaluation by the participating academic communities language and revivalists alike.

Language revival, as part of ongoing decolonization and community development projects, is an encouraging prospect. Indeed, the appropriation of Western technologies such as alphabetic literacy and linguistics for language revitalization projects are characteristically hybrid phenomena, that anticipate liberation from linguistic imperialism. Given that linguistic identities enforce ethnic solidarity, and therefore also political autonomy and resistance from the larger colonial project. Speas (2006, 2009), Kroskrity (2009) and others describe the value and success of self-determined Native language revival projects that adopt Western technologies,

resulting in the exact liberation that moments of hybridity offer. This recent academic endorsement of self-determined language revitalization projects and revaluing of Native language ideologies is accompanied by a dialogue about the political economy of language revitalization. As I have shown in this paper, the politics of language research and language can lead to the commoditization of indigenous languages that may, in turn, hold back language revival efforts, as in the case of Halq'eméylem revival.

Just as language revitalization projects may adopt Western technologies for decolonizing objectives, there is equal potential to generate or uncover a cultural logic that liberates language revivalists from the neo-liberal framework. However, the academic community that allies with and funds language revivalists must reexamine the ideological dimensions of their own intellectual projects as well as the way that those beliefs about language may inhibit language revitalization projects. I see two necessary directions to take within the academy. First, the ideology of progress within the discipline of linguistics may stand counter to the language ideologies and political objectives of indigenous language revivalists, in which case the academic community should defer to the self-determination of Native language activists. Second, the universalist ideology of linguistics, which treats all languages as homogeneously available to be abstracted into the analytic categories of its scientific logic, should be deferred with respect to threatened languages. In order to activate these solutions, languages must be considered in their socio-historical context, and academics must therefore resist the “extractionist” impulse of contemporary linguistics. In this way, the project of neo-liberalism, which relies on notions of progress and universalism, may be resisted within the academy, despite its own complicity with the colonial project.

Works Referenced

Agha, Asif

2007 The Object Called “Language” and the Subject of Linguistics. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 35 (3) 217-235.

Archibald, Jo-ann (Q'um Q'um Xiim)

1977 Stalo Sittel Native Studies Multi-Media Curriculum, Fourth Edition. Sardis: Stó:lō Sittel Curriculum Committee, Coqualeetza Education Training Centre.

2001, ed. *Remembering the Sacred Time of Our Elders*. Chilliwack: Coqualeetza Cultural Education Centre.

2008 *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Arnold, Robert D.

2001 “...To Help Assure the Survival and Continuing Vitality of Native American Languages.” *In The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale eds. Pp. 45-50. London: Academic Press.

Ash, Anna, Jessie Little Doe Fermino, and Ken Hale

2001 Diversity in Local Language Maintenance and Restoration: A Reason for Optimism. *In The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale, eds. Pp. 19-35. London: Academic Press.

Bakhtin, M. M.

1986 *Speech Genres and other Late Essays*. University of Texas Press.

Balikci, Asen

1957 Bio-Bibliography of Diamond Jenness. *Anthropologica* 4: (pp. 37-46).

Basso, Keith

1996 *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache*.

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.

Bhabha, Homi K.

1994 *The Location of Culture*. Oxford: Routledge.

Bloomfield, Leonard.

1933 *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Boas, Franz

1890 *Fieldnotes on (Upriver) Halkomelem, Scowlitz Dialect*. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1991 *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bracewell, Maureen

1997 *Halq'eméylem Language Programmes in Stó:lō Territory: An Historical Review and Current Summary*. Report prepared for Stó:lō Nation, Ethnographic Field School, University of British Columbia.

Carlson, Keith Thor

2007 *Toward an Indigenous Historiography: Events, Migrations, and the Formation of "Post-Contact" Coast Salish Collective Identities*. In *Be of Good Mind*. Bruce Granville Miller, ed. Pp. 138-181. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Carlson, Keith Thor, ed.

1997 *You Are Asked to Witness: The Stó:lō in Canada's Pacific Coast History*. Chilliwack: Stó:lō Heritage Trust.

2001 *A Stó:lō Coast Salish Historical Atlas*. Chilliwack: Stó:lō Nation.

Clapperton, Jonathan A.

2006 *Presenting and Representing Culture: A History of Stó:lō Interpretive Centers, Museums, and Cross-Cultural Relationships*. Masters Thesis, Department of History, University of Victoria.

Deloria, Vine.

1969 *Custer Died For Your Sins*. New York: McMillan.

Donaldson, Laura E.

1998 Writing the Talking Stick: Alphabetic Literacy as Colonial Technology and Post-Colonial Appropriation. *American Indian Quarterly* 22 (1&2): 46-62.

Dorian, Nancy

2002 Commentary: Broadening the Rhetorical and Descriptive Horizons in Endangered-Language Linguistics. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 12(2): 134-140.

Endangered Languages Project

2012 About the Endangered Languages Project.

http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/about/#about_language_information

Elmendorf, William W., and Wayne Suttles

1960 Pattern and Change in Halkomelem Salish Dialects. *Anthropological Linguistics* 2(7): 1-32.

Errington, Joseph

2003 Getting Language Rights: The Rhetorics of Language Endangerment and Loss. *American Anthropologist* 105 (4): 723- 732.

Foucault, Michel

1972 *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Galloway, Brent.

1975 Two Lessons in Time in Upriver Halkomelem. *International Conference on Salishan Languages* (10): 55-66.

1988 The Upriver Halkomelem Language Program at Coqualeetza. *Human Organization*, 47(4): 291-296.

1993 *A Grammar of Upriver Halkomelem*. University of California Publications: Linguistics. 96 Berkeley: University of California Press.

2007 Language Revival Programs of the Nooksack Tribe and the Stó:lō Nation. *In* Be of Good Mind: Essays on the Coast Salish. Bruce Granville Miller ed. Pp. 212-233. Vancouver: UBC Press.

2009 *Dictionary of Upriver Halkomelem*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gardner, Ethel

1986 Unique Features of a Band- Controlled School: The Seabird Island Community School. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 16 (2): 3-24.

2002 Tset Híkwstexw Te Sqwélteltset, We Hold Our Language High: The Meaning of Halq'eméylem Language Renewal in the Everyday Lives of Stó:lō People. Dissertation, Department of Education, Simon Fraser University.

Genesee, Fred

1985 Second language learning through immersion: A review of U.S. programs. *Review of Educational Research*, 55: 541- 561.

Grenoble, Lenore A

2009 Linguistic Cages and the Limits of Linguists. *In* J. Reyhner & L. Lockard (eds.) *Indigenous Language Revitalization: Encouragement, Guidance & Lessons Learned*. Pp. 61-69. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University.

Harris, Jimmy Gene

1960 The Phonology of Chilliwack Halkomelem. Masters Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of Washington, Seattle.

Higgins, Ewa and Dale M. Kinkade (eds.)

1997 *Salish Languages and Linguistics: Theoretical and Descriptive Perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hill, Jane H.

2002 "Expert Rhetorics" in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who is Listening, and What Do They Hear? *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 12(2): 119-133.

Hinton, Leanne

2002 Commentary: Internal and External Language Advocacy. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 12(2): 150-156.

Irvine, Judith T.

1989 When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy. *American Ethnologist*, 16 (2): 248-267.

Irvine, Judith T. and Susan Gal

2000 Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In P. V. Kroskrity (ed.) *Regimes of Language* Pp.35-83. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

International Conference on Salish and Neighbouring Languages
2013 ICSNL Archives. <http://icsnl.org/>

Katzie Indian Band

1994 Katzie Statement of Intent. <http://www.bctreaty.net/soi/soikatzie.php>

Kroskrity, Paul V.

2000 Regimenting Languages: Language Ideological Perspectives. In P. V. Kroskrity (ed) *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

2004 Language Ideologies. In A. Duranti (ed.), *Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* Pp. 496-517. Malden, MA: Basil Blackwell.

2009 Language Renewal as Sites of Language Ideological Struggle: The Need for "Ideological Clarification." in J. Reyhner & L. Lockard (eds.) *Indigenous Language*

- Revitalization: Encouragement, Guidance & Lessons Learned Pp. 71-83. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University.
- 2011 Facing the Rhetoric of Language Endangerment: Voicing the Consequences of Linguistic Racism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 21 (2) :179–192.
- Kroskrity, Paul V., ed.
- 2000 *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Kroskrity, Paul V., and Margaret C. Field, eds.
- 2009 *Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices, and Struggles in Indian Country*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Levine, Robert and Freda Cooper
- 1976 The Suppression of British Columbia Languages: Filling the Gap in the Documentary Record. *Sound Heritage* 4(4): 43-75.
- Meek, Barbara
- 2009 Language Ideology and Aboriginal Language Revitalization in the Yukon, Canada. *In Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices and Struggles in Indian Country*. Paul V. Kroskrity and Margaret C. Field, eds. Pp. 151-171. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Neely, Amber A. and Gus Palmer, Jr.
- 2009 Which Way Is the Kiowa Way? Orthography Choices, Ideologies, and Language Renewal. *In Native American Language Ideologies: Beliefs, Practices and Struggles in Indian Country* Pp. 271-297. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Russel, Susan

2009 Ways of Talking Halkomelem: Interaction in Classroom Procedural Talk. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Education, Simon Fraser University.

Rossi-Landi, Ferruccio

1977 Linguistics and Economics. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.

Saussure, Ferdinand De, Wade Baskin, Perry Meisel, and Haun Saussy.

1983 *Course in General Linguistics*. New York: Columbia UP.

Sheridan, Joe

1991 The Silence Before Drowning in Alphabet Soup. *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18 (1): 23-21.

Simon, Roger I., & Dippo, Donald

1986 On critical ethnographic work. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 17(4): 195-202.

Slate, Clay

2001 Promoting Advanced Navajo Language Scholarship. *In* The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice. Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale eds. Pp. 389-410. London: Academic Press.

Speas, Margaret

2006 Language Ownership and Language Ideologies. Electronic Document.
<http://people.umass.edu/pspeas/lgownership.pdf>

2009 Someone Else's Language: On the Role of Linguists in Language Revitalization. In J. Reyhner & L. Lockard (eds.) *Indigenous Language Revitalization: Encouragement, Guidance & Lessons Learned* Pp. 23- 36. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty

1999 *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present*.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Stó:lō Nation

2009 *Our History: Organizational History of Stó:lō Nation*.

<http://www.stolonation.bc.ca/about-us/our-history.htm>

Stó:lō Shxweli Language Program

n.d. Tape 228. Stó:lō Nation Archives.

n.d. Tape 231. Stó:lō Nation Archives.

n.d. Tape 327. Stó:lō Nation Archives.

Sts'Ailes Band

2010 *Who We Are*. <http://www.stsailes.com/about/who-we-are>

Sts'Ailes Community School

2013 *Programs*. <http://www.chehalisschool.com/>

Thibaut, Paul J.

1997 *Re-reading Saussure: The Dynamics of Signs in Social Life*. London: Routledge.

Thom, Brian

2003 *The Anthropology of Northwest Coast Oral Traditions*. *Arctic Anthropology*, 40
(1): 1-28.

Tuhiwai-Smith, Linda

1999 *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed
Books.

Wells, Casey and Oliver Wells

1965 *A Vocabulary of Native Words in the Halkomelem Language*. Sardis, BC.

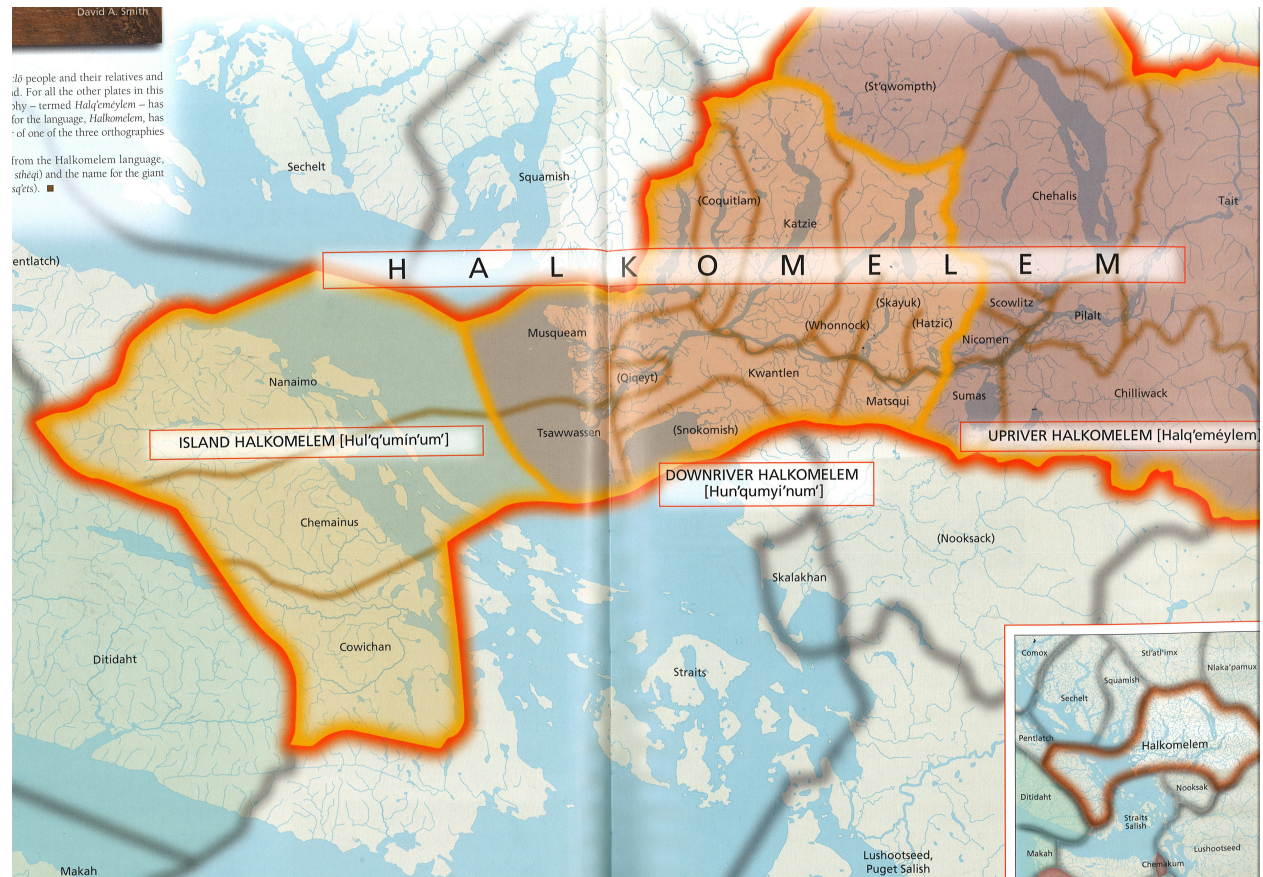
1987 *The Chilliwacks and Their Neighbors: The Oliver Wells Interviews*. Ed Ralph
Maud, Brent Galloway, and Marie Weeden. Vancouver: Talonbooks.

Whiteley, Peter

2003 Do "Language Rights" Serve Indigenous Interests? Some Hopi and Other Queries.
American Anthropologist 105(4): 712-722.

Appendix

Figure 1



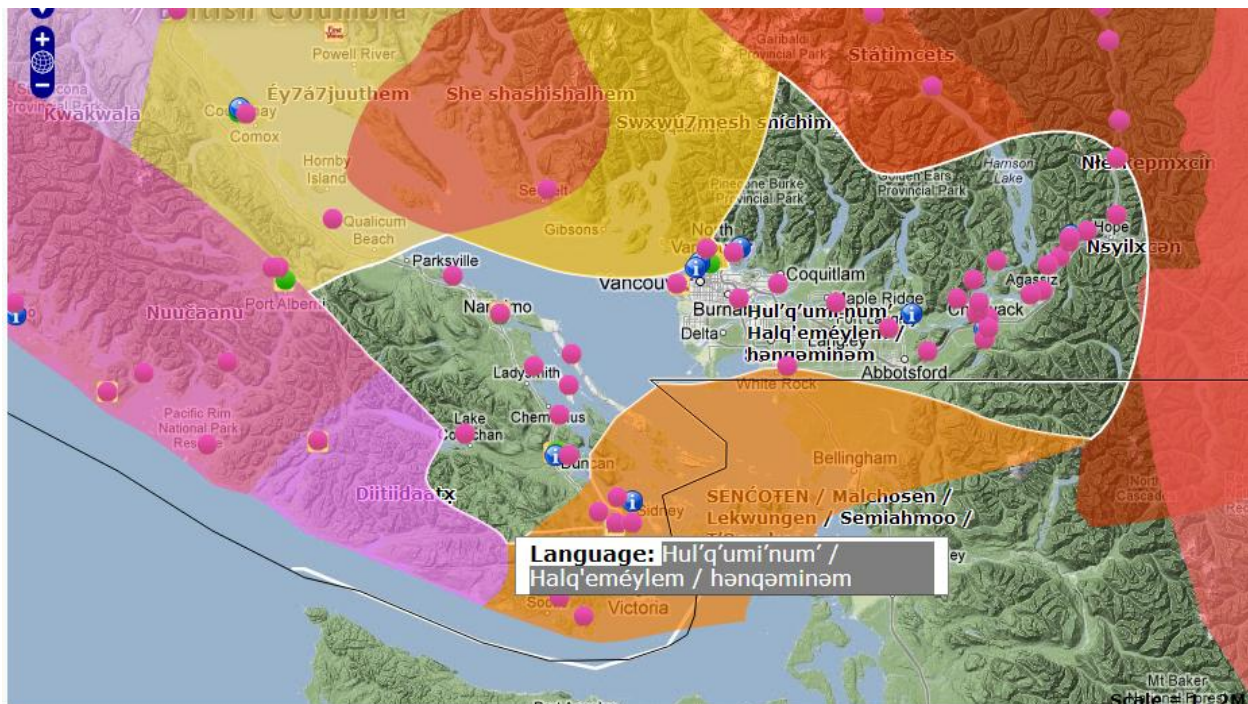
Source: A Stó:lō Coast Salish Atlas, Pp 22-23.

Figure 2



Source: Canadian Geographic

Figure 3



Source: First Peoples' Language Map, <http://maps.fphlcc.ca/>