

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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“Time alone will tell what the future holds for us”: Language regeneration, family language
policy and practices, and language ideologies in Zuni Pueblo

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

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“Time alone will tell what the future holds for us”: Language regeneration, family language
policy and practices, and language ideologies in Zuni Pueblo

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By

Adrienne Frances Tsikewa

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ABSTRACT

“Time alone will tell what the future holds for us”: Language regeneration, family language policy and practices, and language ideologies in Zuni Pueblo

by

Adrienne Frances Tsikewa

When describing what home is like for a Shiwí tribal member, A:shiwí scholars Belarde-Lewis and Kostelecky briefly discuss their perception of the current language situation in Zuni: “Though it is common to hear the Zuni language being spoken at home and in school, many of us are not fluent; however, most of us can greet, joke, and pray in our language” (Belarde-Lewis & Kostelecky 2021:118). The acknowledgement that many tribal members are not fluent in the language is in stark contrast to Shiwí’ma’s status 25 years ago, when it was categorized as a “class A” language on Krauss’s (1998) “honor roll” of US Indigenous languages that were spoken by all generations at the time, including young children. The children Krauss was referring to over a quarter of a century ago are now in the parent and grandparent age group, and many of them are still speaking Shiwí’ma in their homes and workplaces. Indeed, my observation is that many adult community members are highly proficient Shiwí’ma speakers who use the language frequently along with English on a daily basis. This is less true for children, many of whom can understand Shiwí’ma and can speak it when necessary or at their own sporadic choosing, but whose dominant language is English.

This dissertation addresses community members' responses to the process of language disruption currently being experienced by A:shwiwi people living within the Zuni Pueblo reservation in New Mexico. To understand this situation, this study focuses on Shwiwi'ma-English bilingual families and approaches bilingualism as a social and cultural phenomenon. I examine the language ecology (Haugen 2001) of Shwiwi'ma, a perspective that scholars have argued is crucial in contexts of Indigenous language shift (Mackey 1980, Grenoble 2011). My analysis focuses in particular on the role of two interrelated issues in processes of Shwiwi'ma disruption and regeneration: family language policy (King et al. 2008) and language ideologies (Silverstein 1979, Woolard & Schieffelin 1994, Gal & Irvine 1995, Kroskrity & Field 2009).

The dissertation uses decolonial and Indigenous research methodologies (Smith 2012 [1999], Chilisa 2012, Kovach 2010) as these have been applied to the field of Linguistics (e.g., Leonard 2018, 2021, Davis 2017, Gaby & Woods 2020, Hall 2021, Rice 2022, Tsikewa 2021). Two methodologies that are central to the dissertation are Indigenous autoethnography and collaboration. Throughout the dissertation, I discuss my own positionality (Hou 2017) and share my story both as a Shwiwi (Zuni person) and as a language researcher. I also use autoethnography to reflect on the participants' insights and experiences. The six participants, all of whom grew up in Shwiwi'ma-speaking homes, represent different genders, ages, family structures, and levels of Shwiwi'ma ability. They were interviewed in a collaborative process which involved community members (and my own family members) not only as participants but also as co-researchers.

The analysis of the participants' family language policies demonstrates that all participants want the younger generation of their family to learn Shwiwi'ma, and all of them

engage in active family language planning (Curdt-Christiansen 2018), but with varying outcomes. One factor regarding language shift that emerges in the interviews is the role of children's linguistic agency within the home (Gafaranga 2010; see also Meek 2007).

The analysis of the participants' language ideologies examines attitudes toward two common bilingual practices: receptive bilingualism and language mixing, or Zunglish. The interview data reveals a range of attitudes toward both of these practices. I argue that negative attitudes in particular can result in linguistic insecurity that leads to language shift, and I identify four language ideologies that emerged from the analysis: language purism, osmosis, acquiescence, and the necessity of correction.

Finally, I discuss participants' perspectives on the current and future situation of Shiwi'ma, and I conclude by providing suggestions that the Zuni community can consider for intergenerational transmission and regeneration of the language.

All data in this dissertation is the intellectual property of the participant who produced it and may not be cited, reproduced, or otherwise circulated in any form without permission of the participant and author of this dissertation.

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Chapter 1

The Scholarly and Community Context of Shiwi'ma Regeneration

“Though it is common to hear the Zuni language being spoken at home and in school, many of us are not fluent; however, most of us can greet, joke, and pray in our language.”

(Belarde-Lewis and Kostecky 2021:118)

1.1 Overview and research goals

When describing what home is like for a Shiwi tribal member, in the epigraph above A:shiwi scholars Belarde-Lewis and Kostecky briefly discuss their perception of the current language situation in Zuni Pueblo. The acknowledgement that many tribal members are not fluent in the language is in stark contrast to Shiwi'ma's status 25 years ago, when it was categorized as a “class A” language on Krauss's (1998) “honor roll” of US Indigenous languages that were spoken by all generations at the time, including young children. The children Krauss was referring to over a quarter of a century ago are now in the parent and grandparent age group, and many of them are still speaking Shiwi'ma in their homes and workplaces. Indeed, my observation is that many adult community members are highly proficient Shiwi'ma speakers who use the language frequently along with English on a daily basis. This is less true for children, many of whom can understand Shiwi'ma and can speak it when necessary or at their own sporadic choosing, but whose dominant language is English.

For the A:shiwi community, the noticeable shift to the English language over the past generation demonstrates the need to examine the current role of the family in intergenerational language transmission of Shiwi'ma, as well as to explore how the language

experiences and attitudes of individual A:shiwí affect their language use and language choice. This dissertation builds on my previous questionnaire- and survey-based research on Shiwi'ma language maintenance (Tsikewa 2015), which revealed language ideologies regarding language competency as a factor in language choice, language and identity, and language for cultural continuity. The intent of the present research is to reveal how language practices and ideologies regarding Shiwi'ma and English contribute, or do not contribute, to language regeneration and the various social and cultural implications of this situation. Ultimately, my goal is to bring awareness to the Shiwi community regarding the current language situation in order to assist in reversing language disruption and sustaining intergenerational transmission of Shiwi'ma.

To address the community's perspectives on Shiwi'ma regeneration and its concerns about language shift from Shiwi'ma to English, this dissertation considers bilingual adult community members' views on three issues: (1) their own and others' family language practices and policies; (2) their attitudes and beliefs, or language ideologies, towards bilingual practices; and (3) their outlook on the present and future situation of Shiwi'ma. In examining these issues, I specifically focus on the viewpoints of A:shiwí tribal members in order to prioritize community perspectives over researcher perspectives, in line with Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies, as discussed further in Chapter 2. The analysis centers the voices of individual participants while focusing on the family dynamics and language ecologies in which they are situated. In these contexts, language users encounter and participate in language practices and ideologies that sometimes support and sometimes limit language regeneration. My research aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are participants' perspectives on intergenerational language transmission of Shiwi'ma?
2. How do participants' language experiences and attitudes affect their reported language use and language choice?
3. What role(s) do these attitudes have in facilitating or hindering language regeneration?

The remainder of this chapter examines the linguistic concepts and subfields that inform the current study and then provides background information on the sociocultural and historical context of the A:shiwí and a brief summary of Shiwi'ma's language ecology. This discussion provides necessary context for the following chapters.

1.1.1 A note on terminology

Throughout this dissertation, I use the endonyms *Shiwi* (plural *A:shiwí*) and *Shiwi'ma* to refer to the people and language often referred to in English as *Zuni* (or historically, *Zuñi*). In addition, I choose not to use the ISO code in identifying the language because it is an outsider colonial label that is not familiar to the A:shiwí. I use the term *Zuni Pueblo* to refer to the lands of the A:shiwí, since it is more common in English than the two endonyms used to refer to the ancestral area of A:shiwí, *Shiwi'na* and *Halona I:diwana*. When translating from Shiwi'ma, I use the term *Zuni* as the English equivalent of *Shiwi'ma*, in keeping with most community members' practice when speaking English.

1.2 Conceptual framework

This dissertation draws on a range of concepts and research traditions that have engaged with Native American languages to different extents and in different ways. However, most of this work has not focused on Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies. My research therefore illustrates some of the ways that these approaches need to be revised to be more useful for Native American communities. The five linguistic concepts and traditions that I utilize—and sometimes critique—are bilingualism, language ecologies, language ideologies, family language policy, and language maintenance and shift. I discuss my use of each of these concepts below as well as their limitations and potential for understanding Native American communities experiencing linguistic disruption (Grenoble et al. 2023).

It is important to note that linguistic research on Indigenous languages has proposed numerous “r-words” to refer to the process of supporting Indigenous languages: reversal, revival, revitalization, reclamation, reawakening, regeneration, and so on. Scholars have discussed the distinctions among these terms, arguing that a single umbrella term such as *language revitalization* is insufficient to describe different language ecologies. For example, Hinton et al. (2018) note that *language maintenance* was a common term in the 1980s and early 1990s that was connected to the onset of bilingual education programs. *Language maintenance* describes a scenario in which individuals worked to keep their ancestral language in daily use, as they were aware of an encroaching dominant language. The term *language revitalization*, by contrast, recognizes that some Indigenous communities have experienced a decline in ancestral language use by younger generations, in many cases resulting in decades or more in which the community’s ancestral language is not used regularly (also referred to as *language revival* or *language reawakening*). Hinton et al. define *language revitalization* as “now the most common term for activities designed not

only to maintain but also to increase the presence of an endangered or dormant language in the speech community and/or the lives of individuals” (2018:xxvi). Leonard (2011) has instead proposed the term *language reclamation*, which is rooted in decolonial methodologies and which he defines as “a larger effort by a community to claim its right to speak a language and to set associated goals in response to community needs and perspectives” (2012:359); by contrast, language revitalization involves efforts aimed at producing more speakers, increasing language usage opportunities, and developing language competencies (Leonard 2011). Lewis and Simons (2010) offer additional r-words, such as *re-established*, *reintroduced* and *rediscovered*. *Re-established* refers to a situation in which intergenerational language transmission is once again present among all living generations and children are acquiring the ancestral language in the home. The term *reintroduced* can be applied to parents and/or caregivers who are “reconstructing and reintroducing their language for everyday social interaction” (2010: 117), and *rediscovered* aligns with reclamation, as it relates to adults who “are rediscovering their language for symbolic and identificational purposes” (2010:117). While I acknowledge the value of all of these terms, in this dissertation, I choose to use the term *regeneration* because it most closely reflects my understanding of the Shiwi’ma situation, both linguistically and ideologically. Language regeneration acknowledges that “nothing regrows in exactly the same shape that it had previously, or in exactly the same direction...where the regrowth may be very contained and constrained initially and confined to limited settings, then gathering strength to push out in different directions and into different contexts” (Hohepa 2006: 294-295). (See Chapter 2 for a related discussion of “r-words” in Indigenous methodologies.) I turn now to consider how

the five linguistic concepts that guide this dissertation inform my understanding of the Shiwi'ma situation, as well as their limitations.

1.2.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism has been investigated through multiple approaches in order to explore questions related to language competence and/or acquisition, contact phenomena such as code-switching, and the language systems of a bilingual or multilingual individual (Grosjean 2008, Hamers & Blanc 1983, Li & Moyer 2008). Within linguistics, bilingualism has often been studied through investigations of language contact (Appel & Muysken 1987, Hickey 2010, Matras 2009, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Weinreich 1966). Focusing on genetic relationships and language change, this area of linguistic research has mainly explored which features are borrowed, how context affects the grammar of a language (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, Heine & Kuteva 2010, Matras 2011), linguistic areas that emerge through contact (Campbell 1985, 2006, Muysken 2008, Nichols 2010), and contact languages such as pidgins, creoles, and koinés (Bakker 1996, Bakker & Mous 1994, Matras & Bakker 2003). Bilingualism and multilingualism research has focused heavily on Indo-European languages (e.g. English and Spanish in the United States); relatively little research has been done on Native American bilingualism, as I discuss further later in this chapter.

The concepts of fluency, proficiency, and competency are central to linguists' and language scholars' notion of what it means to be bilingual (Mackey 1967), though there is a clear lack of consensus on clearly defining these terms. . Various labels and scales have been proposed to define and describe a bilingual's language abilities or linguistic competence (Macnamara 1967). Language proficiency and competency is also of concern to linguists

who focus on endangered languages or varieties, where “fluency” is often considered to be the ideal status (Campbell & Muntzel 1989, Dobrin & Berson 2011, Dorian 1977, Dressler 1978, Grinevald 2003, Sasse 1992). Although I use the terms *fluent*, *proficient*, and *competent* more or less as linguists do (e.g. Chambers 1997), I also acknowledge that they are highly ideological, especially in the context of Indigenous languages. As I discuss in Chapter 4, a perspective that emphasizes these concepts is particularly harmful in supporting Native American language regeneration efforts. I therefore do not rely heavily on the distinctions between these terms. In my analysis in subsequent chapters, I follow the participants’ use of the term *fluent* (and asked for clarification when needed).

One of the most researched practices associated with bilingualism is code-switching. A result of language change and contact, code-switching has been widely investigated through structural, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic approaches (Bullock & Toribio 2009, Milroy & Muysken 1995). A structural linguistic approach mainly focuses on morphological and syntactic patterns in code-switching (Poplack 1980), whereas a sociolinguistic approach (Heller 1988) examines topics such as the discursive functions of code-switching (Gumperz 1982), identity construction through the use of code-switching, and the relationship between code-switching and a bilingual person’s social networks (Milroy 1980, Milroy & Li 1995). The structural and cognitive issues that dominate much of the research on code-switching is of limited use in analyzing Shiwi’ma-English bilingualism or understanding Shiwi’ma’s language ecology. However, other bilingual practices do play an important role in the community. I discuss some of these practices and the ideologies toward them in Chapter 4.

Particularly important in this regard is the growing shift from code-switching to translanguaging as a conceptual framework (García & Li 2020). Whereas code-switching

focuses on structural linguistic competence in each language, translanguaging is concerned with how language users' linguistic repertoires are used in a unified way to skillfully carry out communicative and social functions. From an Indigenous perspective, a focus on translanguaging acknowledges language users' full range of linguistic resources, agency, and creativity as well as the inherently dynamic nature of language.

1.2.2 Language ecologies

The term *linguistic ecologies* first appeared sixty years ago in an article about Native American languages in which the authors, Voegelin and Voegelin, assert that linguistic ecology “represents a shift of emphasis from a single language in isolation to many languages in contact” (1964:2). Their article begins with the observation that language situations are traditionally described from the perspective of a single focal language, and they argue that this perspective should be broadened to include how the focal language has adapted to where it is currently being used as well as considering all the other languages in the area.

Haugen's seminal essay “The Ecology of Language” (1972; reprinted in 2001) provides a theoretical framework for a detailed examination of language ecology, which he defines as “interactions between any given language and its environment” (2001:57). To Haugen, the “environment” includes both the society that uses the language as one of its means of communication and the minds of its users. He poses ten questions that he states should be addressed for studying a language's environment (2001:65):

1. What is its classification (i.e. genealogical and descriptive) in relation to other languages?

2. Who are its users?
3. What are the domains of use?
4. What concurrent languages are employed by its users?
5. What internal varieties does the language show?
6. What is the nature of its written traditions?
7. To what degree has its written form been standardized?
8. What kind of institutional support has it won...either to regulate its form or propagate it?
9. What are the attitudes of its users towards the language...?
10. What is its typology of ecological classification? This typology would be a summary of its status in comparison to other world languages.

As researchers have argued, addressing these questions of language ecology is imperative for the study of language shift and endangerment (Grenoble 2011, Mackey 1980), individual and societal bilingualism and multilingualism, and language learning and teaching (Palmer 1974). I apply Haugen's questions to the Shiwi'ma language situation at the end of this chapter, with some revision to incorporate Indigenous perspectives.

Throughout the dissertation, I take a language ecology approach by examining the use of Shiwi'ma and English in the community and especially community members' attitudes toward each language. I examine these attitudes through the lens of language ideology.

1.2.3 Language ideologies

Language ideologies are “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979:193). These beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions about languages are deeply embedded in cultural, social, and political contexts (Irvine 1989); therefore, they play an important role in shaping not only community language ecologies but also language research, policies, and practices regarding language use, education, and language regeneration efforts. Addressing language ideologies was deemed irrelevant to language research throughout most of the twentieth century, but now they are seen as an essential and vital component of any analysis of a language and its speech community (Kroskrity & Field 2009), which highlights that language cannot be separated from the cultural beliefs about it (Gal & Irvine 1995, Silverstein 1979, Woolard & Schieffelin 1994).

While language ideologies arise in all social contexts, I focus specifically on language ideologies as expressed by members of bilingual A:shiwí families because of the central role of the family in the language ecology of Shiwí'ma. The language ideologies and practices present in the family context have come to be known as family language policy.

1.2.4 Family language policy

Following Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy, language ideologies ultimately determine language practices, both intentional and unintentional. The field of language policy therefore examines language ideologies, language practices, and efforts to regulate language through explicit planning and/or intervention. However, the field has mostly focused on language in institutional contexts such as the workplace or school environments. King et al. call for more attention to what is occurring in “the intimate sphere of the home

and family” (2008:909)—that is, the “language ecology of the family” (Luykx 2003:4). They particularly call for a greater focus on language use in everyday interactions between family members as well as their language ideologies. As they argue, examining these ideologies and how they are formed “is of primary concern to family language policy research” (King et al. 2008:911). The authors note that this examination inevitably leads to considering how these ideologies are situated within a wider sociocultural system; thus, family language policy connects to language policy as a larger field.

Family language policy simultaneously enriches and is informed by child language acquisition research (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). King et al. (2008) point out that child language acquisition researchers tend to concentrate their analysis on caregiver-child interactions, whether these occur in the home or in a laboratory environment, while paying noticeably less consideration to parental language acquisition objectives, attitudes, or intentions.

A focus on language ideologies in the context of family interaction can advance research on child language by examining the social, cultural, and ideological context of family language ecology (e.g. Hou 2020). A research area that is closely related to family language policy is language socialization, an approach that typically uses interactional and ethnographic methods (e.g., Duranti et al. 2011). Because of the long history of colonizing research on the A:shwi people, as well as time constraints, for this exploratory study I chose to avoid those methods, which were likely to be perceived as extractive or invasive in the Shwi’ma context (but see, e.g., Debenport 2010, Holton et al. 2022, Hou 2017, Meek 2012 for discussions of how to do such research ethically). I therefore do not frame this

dissertation as a language socialization study; however, in Chapter 6, I analyze how language socialization practices are discussed by the interviewees in my study.

King (2016) details the history of family language policy and divides the field into four phases. The first phase was concerned with bilingual first language acquisition and early second language learning in the home environment. Researchers in this tradition described their own children's language development through the use of detailed diaries which provided rich descriptions of early child language learning. These early studies were focused on major world languages, such as German, French, and English (Grammont 1902, Leopold 1939-1949, Ronjat 1913). This scholarship contributed to documenting the "one-parent, one language" family language policy, which is common in bilingual households (King 2016). A seminal study during this phase was conducted by Lanza (2004 [1997]) in which she examined the simultaneous acquisition of Norwegian and English in two children. A major finding of this research was the identification of five discourse strategies that the parents implemented. Lanza placed the strategies on a continuum, according to which each parent works towards creating a monolingual or bilingual environment with the child. The parents used these strategies to present themselves either as solely monolingual, so that the child was socialized into a one parent-one language environment, or as bilingual. The five strategies that Lanza proposed are detailed below (Lanza 2007:56; see also Gafaranga 2010:257) and will be discussed further in Chapter 6:

1. Minimal grasp strategy

- Adult indicates no comprehension of the child's language choice
- Located on the far left of the discourse strategy continuum; used to create a monolingual environment

2. Expressed guess strategy
 - Adult asks a yes-no question using their target language (usually the non-dominant/non-majority language)
3. Adult repetition
 - The parent/caregiver repeats the content of the child's utterance using their target language
 - Located in the middle of the continuum
4. Move-on strategy
 - Adult allows the conversation to continue in the child's choice of language
5. Adult code-switching
 - Parent/caregiver uses both languages
 - Located on the far right of the continuum; used to create a bilingual environment

In the second phase of family language policy research, child language development was primarily studied through a psycholinguistics framework using experimental methodologies. Thus, research questions focused on cognitive aspects of monolingual and bilingual development. The third phase was conducted through a sociolinguistic approach, which included examining parental or caregiver language ideologies in relation to child language development. It was also during this period that family language policy was defined (King et al. 2008, King & Fogle 2006, 2013) and was established as a field of inquiry. King (2016) notes that we are now in the fourth phase of family language policy research, which largely consists of addressing gaps in the earlier phases, such as diverse family types, languages, and contexts and families who use minoritized languages, especially but not only in transnational or diasporic environments. I would add, however, that even in this phase

family language policy research on Native American families remains limited. While there are important discussions of Native American family language policy in language revitalization and reclamation efforts and research (e.g., Hinton 2013, Leonard 2007, Meek 2007), researchers who explicitly engage with the framework of family language policy have not given much consideration to Native families. Given the pressures toward language shift that many of these families experience, understanding how family language policies can promote language regeneration and expand the language ecology of the ancestral language is of urgent importance. In Chapter 3, I discuss family language policies in bilingual A:shivi families.

1.2.5 Language maintenance and shift

The processes that are the focus of this dissertation have traditionally been conceptualized as language maintenance and shift, phenomena that have been studied extensively in a variety of contexts (Fishman 1964, 1991, Gal 1979, Garrett 2005, Hill 1993, House 2002, Trudgill 1991). However, as noted above, I prefer to use the terms *language regeneration* (Hohepa 2006) and *language disruption* (cf. Grenoble et al. 2023) rather than *maintenance* and *shift* to highlight Indigenous perspectives on these issues.

The aforementioned limited research that exists on bilingualism and Indigenous languages approaches the issue by acknowledging language disruption and has therefore primarily focused on bilingual education and second language acquisition (Allen et al. 2006, Meek 2019). Research on this topic that addresses language ideologies has examined language choice and intergenerational language practices (Choi 2003, Fishman 1964, Kulick 1992, Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002), agency (Kroskrity 2009a, Rinehart 2011, Sicoli 2011),

and the importance of an individual's or community's feeling about their language(s) in attempts to reverse language shift (Cavanaugh 2004, Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998, Leonard 2017, Rouvier 2021). Conflicting local ideologies about the value of the Indigenous language for cultural identity and survival and the value of the colonial language for mainstream cultural inclusion have also been explored (Anderson 2009, Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998, Lee 2009). This previous research provides the context for the analysis in the following chapters.

However, none of the studies cited above focus specifically on Shiwi'ma. In the next section, I discuss the key sociocultural and historical details of the A:shiwi and our community that inform the rest of the dissertation.

1.3 Sociocultural and historical background of the A:shiwi

The Zuni Pueblo reservation is located in McKinley and Cibola counties in the western part of New Mexico, with the main reservation covering approximately 450,000 acres (Pueblo of Zuni 2024). It is one of nineteen Pueblo tribes in the state of New Mexico and is federally recognized. *A:shiwi* is our autonym, and *Zuni* or *Zuñi* was historically used in linguistic and anthropological literature and elsewhere. The traditional range of the A:shiwi extended from eastern New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Southern Arizona, and Northern Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. We have occupied this area from time immemorial (Ferguson & Hart 1985).

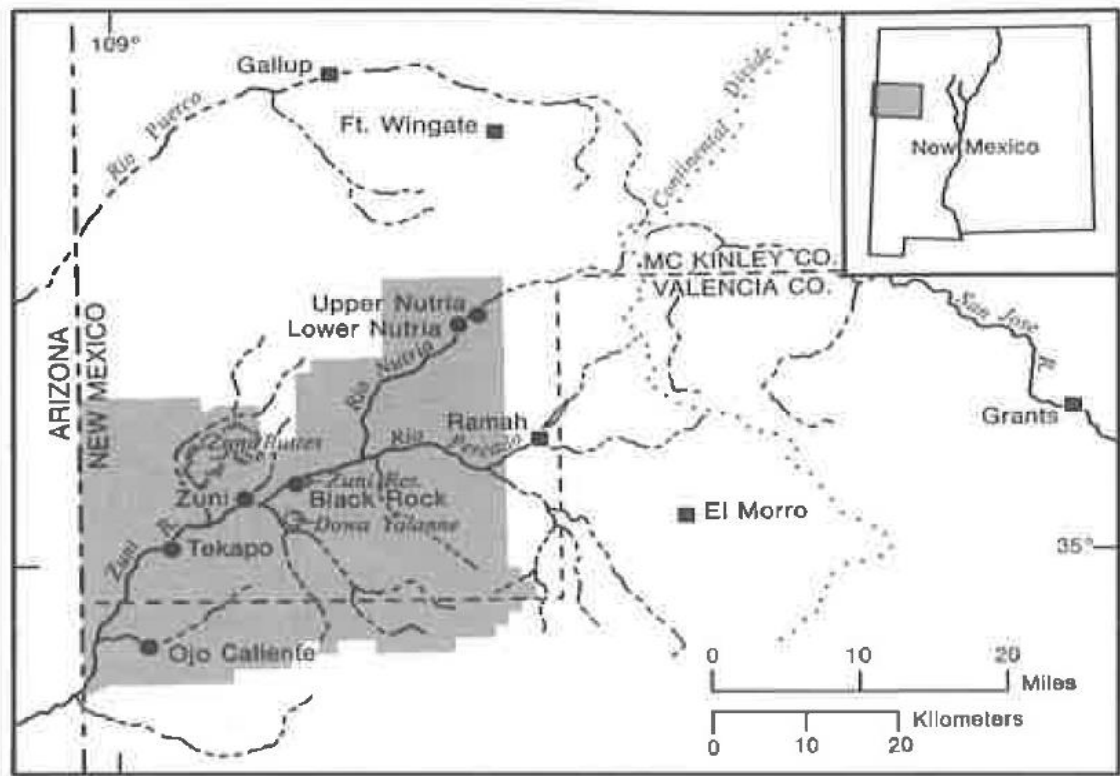


Figure 1.1 Zuni territory (source: Eggan & Pandey 1978)

A:shiwi territory, specifically the village of Hawikkuh, is the first point of contact the Spanish had with the Native peoples in 1539 in what was then the northern part of New Spain. As recounted by the Zuni tourism board on its website (Pueblo of Zuni 2024), the Spanish were in search of the legendary “Seven Cities of Cibola,” which were described as “cities of gold.” A friar named Marcos de Niza was charged with leading a group to locate these fabled cities. It is reported that although de Niza did not officially make contact with the A:shiwi at this time, the Moor slave who accompanied him, Estevan, did. According to our oral history, Estevan had traveled to the area ahead of the rest of the group and was killed due to his disrespectful behavior. De Niza returned to the New World (present day Mexico) with embellished reports of the region’s terrain and material wealth. A year later, a

bigger expedition in search of these fabled cities was led by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado. In July of 1540, he reached the A:shiwi homelands only to be disappointed. Nonetheless, he demanded that the people surrender to him and to Spanish rule. The A:shiwi refused, resulting in violence, and the expedition party eventually left the area to continue to seek the Seven Cities of Cibola, which they never found (Mark 2021).

The Spanish continued to make sporadic contact with the A:shiwi in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the goal of establishing a mission. A:shiwi participated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in which the Pueblos fought against Spanish rule and domination, resulting in the Spanish abandoning the territory until 1692 when Spanish control was once again installed. The Spanish continued attempts to settle in the area in order to reestablish the mission, which was destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt. These attempts continued until 1820 but were eventually discontinued due to prolonged resistance to conversion. During this time, the Spanish introduced sheep, donkeys, wheat, oats, peaches, metal tools, and a secular government structure (Woodbury 1978).

The United States territory of New Mexico was established in 1850, with statehood granted in 1912. Now under American rule, the A:shiwi were encountered by those participating in and contributing to the westward expansion of the United States, which included the development of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad in nearby Gallup, New Mexico. More importantly, they came into contact with traders and government delegates from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and from the Bureau of Ethnology. The A:shiwi agreed to the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The intent of this legislation was to proffer a way for American Indians to reclaim sovereignty and self-governance, mitigate the loss of reservation lands, and achieve economic self-sufficiency under the jurisdiction of the

Bureau of Indian Affairs. This marked the beginnings of significant American acculturation for the A:shiwí and our culture, aided by government funds. Some people left the reservation to serve in the US military during World War II and to pursue economic opportunities, and not all returned. I discuss the Indian Relocation Act in Chapter 3 and my family's participation under this act in Chapter 2.

Traditionally, the A:shiwí were a hunting and agrarian society, and in modern times, some tribal members continue agricultural practices for personal as well as cultural regeneration purposes. They also traded with both Native and non-Native peoples. Presently, many tribal members are skilled artisans, and Zuni is widely known for producing impressive silver and turquoise jewelry as well as arts in other medium types (i.e. pottery, painting, weaving, and traditional clothing). Tribal members are also employed in various industries such as tribal and federal government, education, healthcare, administrative, retail, and hospitality.

Pueblo societies are known for their secrecy regarding cultural, religious and linguistic practices (Debenport 2015, Eggan 1978, Kroskity 1998) due to forced proselytization by Spanish colonizers and their attempts to banish traditional religious ceremonies during the sixteenth century. Zuni has maintained many of our traditional religious ceremonies and practices due in large part to our geographical location (i.e. far from the Rio Grande River and surrounding mesas), and unlike the other eighteen Pueblos, we do not have an established annual feast day that incorporates religious syncretism and honors Catholic saints.

1.3.1 Language background

Shiwi'ma, the language of the A:shiwi people, has no close linguistic relatives. Attempts have been made to establish remote relationships between Shiwi'ma and Keresan (Powell 1891), Aztec-Tanoan (Sapir 1929), Tanoan (Trager 1967) and Penutian (Swadesh 1954, 1956, Newman 1964). Sapir (1929) proposed a link between Kiowa-Tanoan and Uto-Aztecan in the same phylum. Shiwi'ma was initially tentatively included in this classification but was later removed (Newman 1964). Mithun (1999) states that there is evidence of contact with Uto-Aztecan but does not provide evidence for this claim. Otherwise, Shiwi'ma is one of the few Native American languages that is a linguistic isolate. Due to trading, it can be inferred that some A:shiwi had knowledge of other Native languages such as Diné/Navajo and Keres as well as Spanish and eventually English.

In comparison with other Native American languages, documentation of Shiwi'ma is fairly recent. Bunzel 1934 represents the foremost grammar sketch of the language. Newman (1965, 1996) also produced a Shiwi'ma grammatical sketch; Davis (1966), Newman (1967), Tedlock (1969), and Walker (1964, 1983) have responded to various grammatical topics presented in Newman's 1965 grammar. A number of scholars have addressed Shiwi'ma phonology (Michaels 1971, Shaul 1982, Tedlock 1969, Walker 1972, Yumitani 1987), and syntax (Granberry 1967, Nichols 1990, 1998, Stout 1972, 1973). Other linguistic topics that have been examined are grammatical classes (Walker 1964, 1966), noun incorporation (Miner 1986), and the Shiwi'ma copula (Newman 1968).

Most previous research on Shiwi'ma has focused on its structure and history. The small amount of sociocultural research on the language was carried out decades ago and focused on traditional anthropological issues such as verbal art (Tedlock 1995), storytelling (Tedlock

1983), and kinship terms (Watts 1992, 2018). Although this work is valuable, there are significant gaps in scholarship on the sociocultural aspects of Shiwi'ma.

Understanding Shiwi'ma's language ecology requires information about its current status. While I acknowledge the important critiques of the discourse of enumeration, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 5, providing available statistical information about Shiwi'ma is beneficial both for developing a comprehensive analysis of the language situation and for language planning purposes. To my knowledge, no census or survey of speakers has ever been conducted by the tribe. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Krauss (1998) placed Shiwi'ma in his class A category, to which he assigned languages spoken by all generations, including young children. In the 2006 American Community Survey 5-year data report, published in 2011, Shiwi'ma is listed as one of the most common Native North American languages spoken by people aged five years and older.

The 2022 US Census supplies more recent information on the language(s) spoken at home by A:shiwi adults and children. Table 1.1 presents this self-reported information for those living within the Zuni reservation boundaries.

Population 5 years and older	6,484	Citizens 18 years and older	5,002
English-only speaker	844/6,484 13%		346/5,002 7%

English speaker and speaks another language	5,640/6,484 87%		4656/5,002 93%
Bilingual in English and Spanish	20/6,484 (18-64 years old) .003%		5/5,002 .0009%
Bilingual in English and other language	5,620/6,484 87% 5-17 years = 969 17% 18-64 years = 3,856 69% 65 years and older = 795 14%		4,651/5,002 93%

Table 1.1. Self-reported language spoken at home within the Zuni reservation.
Source: US Census 2022.

As seen in the table, the US Census provides minimal information on the actual language spoken at home. If another language besides English is spoken at home, the options include four major language groups: Spanish, other Indo-European languages, Asian and Pacific Island languages, and “all other languages.” Shiwi’ma falls under the “other languages” category, and it is safe to assume that it is the majority language in this category in Zuni. The high numbers in Table 1.1 indicate that the language is still widely spoken in Zuni households, but despite providing some information about two groups of speakers, those age 5 and older and those age 18 and older, the census data does not capture any demographic information about who speakers are. What can be seen from the table, however, is that a growing number of children speak only English, while most bilingual speakers are adults

rather than children. This evidence of language disruption has led to increasing attention to the role of education in promoting Shiwi'ma.

1.3.2 Language and education

Shiwi'ma use is supported by the availability of pedagogical materials and educational programs for the language that incorporate the practical orthography initially developed by Newman in the 1950s as he was working on his Zuni dictionary, published in 1958. Cook later used this orthography as a starting point to work with Zuni Bilingual Education personnel. Orthography updates were made during the late 1970s and 1980s. I do not consider it as a standard orthography, since although many tribal and community members have knowledge of the orthography they write the language in their own way. Pedagogical materials include a dictionary, a glossary, and a language learning manual, although all of these are 50 years old or more. Newman's (1958) Shiwi'ma dictionary is organized into three parts: "Zuni-English," "English-Zuni," and "Affixes," a structure replicated in Cook's (2014) dictionary. Cook's (1974) Shiwi'ma language learning manual includes an elicitation guide, a brief grammar sketch, and word lists and is intended to be used with audio recordings, though the whereabouts of these recordings are unknown. Hart's (1973) *Glossary of Common Zuni Terms* is a minimal compilation of word lists organized by thematic subject, such as natural phenomena, anatomical terms, and colors. The Zuni Public School District (ZPSD) Bilingual Education Program has also developed unpublished materials for classrooms aimed at the elementary education level written in a practical orthography, although many of these were not widely implemented (e.g., Casebolt 2005).

ZPSD, formerly a part of the Gallup-McKinley County School District, became its own public school district within the state of New Mexico in 1980 via an official resolution by the New Mexico State Board of Education. There are two major findings in the resolution that provided the justification and support for the inclusion of Shiwí'ma and Shiwí cultural education within the newly formed school district:

Finding 10: The creation of the Zuni Public School District would recognize the significance of the uniqueness of the Zuni Indian community and return to the Zuni Indian people the ability to preserve their heritage and culture, and would enable them to identify and attempt to solve the special problems and situation peculiar to the educational needs of the Zuni Indian children.

Finding 13: There currently exists a high percentage of Zuni children not completing their secondary education; and there also exists a high percentage of Zuni children, who despite completing various educational programs, are unable to perform adequately on achievement tests. These facts appear to be related to the unique cultural, economic, and social experience of the children, which experiences can be better understood, accepted, and worked with if the new Zuni Public School District is created. (ZPSD 2008)

The Zuni Bilingual Education program is part of ZPSD, which includes one elementary school, one middle school, and two high schools. There is no publicly available information on the Shiwí'ma classes the schools offer. However, Shiwí scholar and educator Lewis has stated that “at this point, there exists no coherent policy or comprehensive curriculum to include Zuni language, culture and history for PK- 12 students in any systemic manner. If

clear and culturally supportive policies regarding Zuni language and cultural integration are not ratified by the ZPSD school board and implemented by district administrators, then Zuni language classes, cultural studies, and history will continue to be relegated to an afterthought” (2019:viii).

The Zuni Bilingual Education program is supported under the regulation of Bilingual Multilingual Education Programs (BMEP), a sub-entity under the New Mexico Public Education Department. One of the objectives of the state program is for students to become bilingual and biliterate in English and an additional language. A requirement of BMEP is that school districts capture and report data on assessments of language proficiency, which is categorized into three levels: non-proficient, limited proficient, and fluent. The 2022-2023 BMEP Annual Report states that 744 students were assessed for Shiwi’ma proficiency and that the majority of these students (57%) were categorized as limited proficient. Of the remaining students, 26% were categorized as fluent and 17% as non-proficient. Details about the nature of the language assessment are unavailable.

Other educational programs and schools within the Zuni reservation are the Zuni Head Start program, St. Anthony Zuni Indian Mission and School, and Zuni Christian Mission School. (The Zuni Day School was operational from 1898 to 1965 [A:shiwí A:wan Museum n.d.]) The Zuni Head Start program is a separate entity from the school district and serves children ages three to five years old with the support of federal funding. St. Anthony Zuni Indian Mission and School (SAZIM) was opened in 1923 and serves students in grades PreK-8. The private Zuni Christian Mission School serves students in grades K-8 and teaches Shiwi’ma language and culture. The A:shiwí College and Career Readiness Center also offers Shiwi’ma language courses and is developing a Shiwi’ma immersion Pre-K

school. Outside of the reservation boundaries, Shiwi'ma is taught in five schools in Albuquerque, at one school in Gallup, NM, and at two schools in Ramah, NM.

Because of these developments, there has been some research, mostly led by tribal members, on Shiwi'ma education and curriculum (e.g., Krebs & Torrez 2019). Although this educational context and scholarship is important for the regeneration of Shiwi'ma, in the rest of this dissertation I focus not on the educational system but on the perspectives of Zuni adults from bilingual families, whose experiences and practices most directly shape the current status and future potential of the language.

1.4 The Zuni language ecology

Based on the background discussed in the previous section, I provide the following brief overview of the Shiwi'ma language ecology (Table 1.2), which I describe in more detail in the rest of the dissertation. I use Haugen's list of ten questions as the starting point for this overview, but I also make changes to his list based on an Indigenous perspective. In particular, I add two questions to the list: *What are community members' aspirations for the language?* and *What are the responsibilities of researchers toward the language and the community?*. The summary below relies more on my personal knowledge of the community's language ecology than published sources, as part of my commitment to centering lived experience and Indigenous epistemologies in this dissertation.

<p><i>1. What is its classification (i.e. genealogical and descriptive) in relation to other languages?</i></p>	<p>As a linguistic isolate, Shiwi'ma is a source of pride for community members who view the language as unique. It is also perceived as easier to work with when doing language work because there is no debate over a standard variety as there is between closely related Indigenous languages and varieties. Shiwi'ma's status as an isolate may additionally strengthen the community's desire to keep the language in use because there are no related languages that can be used to fill in missing linguistic documentation as part of future language regeneration efforts.</p>
<p><i>2. Who are its users?</i></p>	<p>Both tribal members and non-tribal community members as well as a handful of non-community members use the language. Although no demographic information about language users is available, Shiwi'ma is still being learned by children in the home in some instances and is more often used within Zuni reservation boundaries, but it is also used outside of tribal lands.</p>
<p><i>3. What are the domains of use?</i></p>	<p>Shiwi'ma is used in homes, in the tribal government, in the Zuni Public School District, through the tribal radio station, KSHI, and in some social media contexts.</p>

<p>4. <i>What concurrent languages are employed by its users?</i></p>	<p>Zuni Pueblo is a bilingual community where community members are bilingual in Shiwi'ma and English. The Spanish language is also reported to be spoken by a small number of people within the Zuni Pueblo reservation boundaries.</p>
<p>5. <i>What internal varieties does the language show?</i></p>	<p>Linguistically, Shiwi'ma does not have distinct regional varieties as it is primarily spoken in one area. Some community members have reported not being familiar with "old Zuni" words that can be heard in certain ceremonial contexts and by some members who have acquired these terms as part of their upbringing.</p>
<p>6. <i>What is the nature of its written traditions?</i></p>	<p>The practical orthography was initially developed in the 1950s and was later used as a starting point to work with Zuni Bilingual Education personnel.</p>
<p>7. <i>To what degree has its written form been standardized?</i></p>	<p>The Zuni Public School District continues to consistently use the orthography, but outside of this context, I do not consider it as a standard orthography since many tribal and community members have knowledge of the orthography but write the language in their own way.</p>
<p>8. <i>What kind of institutional support has it won...either to</i></p>	<p>Shiwi'ma is somewhat standardized in the context of the Zuni school system, and efforts to expand the language</p>

<p><i>regulate its form or propagate it?</i></p>	<p>ecology are largely based in the schools, but these efforts are limited due to other state-level policies and regulations.</p>
<p><i>9. What are the attitudes of its users towards the language...?</i></p>	<p>This question is at the heart of the dissertation and is explored in detail in Chapter 4. It is important to emphasize both that community members' attitudes are highly varied and that my research is a snapshot of a small group, not an exhaustive study of all community attitudes.</p>
<p><i>10. What is its typology of ecological classification? This typology would be a summary of its status in comparison to other world languages.</i></p>	<p>I address the question of language vitality in Chapter 5, but not from a comparative perspective, because my goal is to understand the status of Shiwi'ma on its own terms and in its own context.</p>
<p><i>11. What are community members' aspirations for the language?</i></p>	<p>I address this question in Chapters 3 and 5; again, my research on this issue is not comprehensive.</p>
<p><i>12. What are the responsibilities of researchers toward the language and the community?</i></p>	<p>As I discuss in Chapter 2, research on Shiwi'ma should follow methodologies grounded in Indigenous cultural principles in order to benefit the community. Researchers must recognize that academic expertise is</p>

	<p>not sufficient and that Indigenous community members' lived experience and knowledge is also an important form of expertise. Chapter 6 explores the possibilities for building capacity to support intergenerational language transmission in community-based, Indigenous-centered, and culturally sustainable ways.</p>
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Table 1.2. Overview of the Shiwi'ma language ecology from an Indigenous perspective.

1.5 Conclusion

The five concepts and fields I have discussed in this chapter—bilingualism, language ecologies, language ideologies, family language policy, and language maintenance and shift—have both strengths and limitations for understanding Native American language shift, and for understanding the Shiwi'ma situation in particular. When these concepts are brought together, they can be useful in addressing Native American community goals:

- A **language ecologies** framework is important in understanding the environment in which Shiwi'ma is used (or not).
- A fundamental aspect of this environment is the **bilingualism** of everyday life in Zuni.
- Community members respond to bilingual practices based on their **language ideologies**.
- The dynamics that result from this situation lead to language regeneration or linguistic disruption (**language maintenance and shift**).

- These dynamics are fundamentally based in families and play out through **family language policy** as well as language socialization practices.

However, none of these concepts were developed from an Indigenous standpoint, and they are often used in ways that overlook Native perspectives, as I discuss in more detail in the following chapters. For example, the dominant cognitive approach to bilingualism and the focus on competence and code-switching in bilingual research are of limited use in understanding the Shiwi'ma situation. Similarly, research on language regeneration and disruption (often through the lens of language maintenance and shift) typically examines these processes from an outsider viewpoint with an emphasis on metrics, which do not reflect Native lived experience. Likewise, the study of language ideologies is not framed around Indigenous epistemologies, even in influential work on Native American language ideologies like Kroskrity and Field (2009). In the same way, most of the research on family language policy focuses on non-Indigenous contexts and does not consider family structures that are common in Native American communities. Finally, studies of language ecologies generally do not take into account the role of the researcher, including their positionality as well as the relationality between the researcher, the participants, and the larger community. In the following chapters, I aim to address these shortcomings by taking an Indigenous perspective on Shiwi'ma linguistic disruption and regeneration.

1.5.1 Dissertation outline

This chapter has provided an overview of the linguistic concepts and subfields that inform the current study as well as background information on the sociocultural and

historical context of the A:shiwí; the chapter also included an Indigenous-informed overview of the Shiwí'ma language ecology.

Chapter 2 details the methodologies I employed for conducting this research, particularly decolonial and Indigenous research methodologies, Indigenous autoethnography, and collaborative research methods. I briefly introduce my collaborators and participants and describe the collaborative interview process we engaged in together. I also address my positionality and share my story both as a Shiwí and as a language researcher.

In Chapter 3, I outline the literature on family language policy in relation to language disruption and Indigenous languages. I describe the structure of Native American families and provide an overview of A:shiwí social organization as well as colonial disruptions to kinship relationships. I then summarize the participants' perspectives on Shiwí'ma language use in their household, analyzing their interview responses through a family language policy lens and reflecting on their implications for language regeneration.

Chapter 4 explores the language ideologies of the participants regarding two key aspects of language contact and bilingualism within the Zuni community: receptive bilingualism and language mixing. By eliciting responses to a social media graphic about receptive bilingualism, I examine the participants' attitudes both towards these types of bilinguals and toward language fluency within Zuni. Another phenomenon of language contact that I consider in this chapter is language mixing, particularly hybrid Englishes and participants' attitudes toward Zunglish. Finally, I discuss the causes and implications of linguistic insecurity in Zuni as well as the specific language ideologies that emerged from the analysis.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the participants' perspectives on the current dominant language spoken in the community, the challenges of speaking Shiwi'ma in the home, and what the language will be like in the future. I focus on the concept of linguistic responsibility and show that participants have different views regarding who has linguistic responsibility for regenerating Shiwi'ma.

In Chapter 6, I summarize the main arguments and findings of the dissertation and holistically reflect on the participants' responses and what they reveal about how to support language regeneration. Finally, I provide my own suggestions that the Zuni community can consider for intergenerational Shiwi'ma transmission.

Chapter 2

Sharing Our Voices: Indigenous Methods in Shiwi'ma Regeneration

2.1 Introduction: Indigenous research methodologies

First and foremost, my dissertation recognizes the “need for accurate and appropriate information about Zunis, particularly for Zuni people ... created by Zuni people, sharing our voices and perspectives on who we are, where we came from, and how we will continue” (Belarde-Lewis & Kostecky 2021:112) and is entrenched in decolonial and Indigenous research methodologies. By foregrounding Indigenous knowledge systems, languages, and protocols, these methodologies challenge the dominance of Western research paradigms and seek to address the historical injustice and power imbalances inherent in academic research (Brayboy & Chin 2019, Chilisa 2012, Kovach 2010, Smith 2012 [1999]).

In this chapter, I discuss the Indigenous epistemologies that inform my research. One consequence of the decision to center Indigenous ideas is that I am not always able to cite an academic authority to support my statements. Because Indigenous theory is emergent from Indigenous experience, I focus on my own and others' experience as A:shiwi to build my knowledge claims. As discussed in Chapter 1, I did not set out to build new theoretical tools as part of this dissertation; instead, I tried to use existing frameworks, but I discovered that these did not apply to my research in their original form because they lacked an Indigenous perspective.

In the following discussion, I focus in particular on four characteristics of Indigenous methods that I emphasize in this dissertation: relationality, reflexivity, reciprocity, and refusal. These and similar terms have been referred to as “r-words” by scholars engaged

with Indigenous methods (e.g., Leonard 2021a, 2021c, Snow et al. 2016, Tuck & Yang 2014). Holton, Leonard, and Pulsifer (2022) discuss the importance of such r-words in linguistic research which include, in addition to the four concepts I focus on here, rights, respect, responsibility, regulation, relevance, and reverence, among others. One of my goals in this dissertation is to bring the r-words specific to the processes of supporting Indigenous languages that I discussed in Chapter 1 into dialogue with the r-words of Indigenous methods.

Although discussions of Indigenous methods frequently cite Smith (2012 [1999]) and Kovach (2010), it is important to recognize that these issues were raised by Native scholars much earlier. In his famous scathing critique of anthropology, Deloria writes, “Compilation of useless knowledge for ‘knowledge’s sake’ should be utterly rejected by the Indian people. We should not be objects of observation for those who do nothing to help us” (1969:94). His critique of such “parasitic scholars” (1969:96) made possible the later introduction of Indigenous methodologies and epistemologies into anthropology and other academic disciplines, including linguistics. It also opened the door for more Indigenous scholars to enter the academy and pursue these methods in doing research with and for their own communities, as well as establishing the expectation that non-Indigenous scholars will familiarize themselves with these methods and use them in their research protocols to respect the intellectual sovereignty of Native people over the creation and circulation of knowledge about them.

Within Linguistics, scholarship on the use of and inclusion of these methods is a fairly recent trend led by Leonard, a Myaamia (Miami) academic and linguist, who has published extensively on decolonizing Linguistics (e.g. 2011, 2017, 2018, 2021a, Leonard and Haynes

2010). Other Native American/Indigenous linguists who have contributed to this movement are Davis (2017), Gaby and Woods (2020), Hall (2021), and Rice (2022). In my own research (Tsikewa 2021), I have aimed to introduce Indigenous and decolonial perspectives to enhance field methods training in Linguistics by providing three recommendations: (1) the recognition of Linguistics as a discipline rooted in colonization and the implications of this fact for speakers (both proficient and emergent) and community members, (2) the incorporation and explicit discussion of language research frameworks that include Indigenous research methodologies, and (3) the recognition and valorization of Indigenous epistemologies via decolonizing the concept of “language” (Leonard 2017).

Relationality is a core Indigenous cultural value and is therefore a foundational characteristic of Indigenous research methods. Holton et al. (2022:57, note 7) define relationality as “the concept that relationships and their associated complex interdependencies form a foundation to everything.” Tynan (2021:606) explains the significance of relationality for Indigenous research: “Through a relational ethos, the researcher is not the expert, in fact, the researcher relies on the knowledge, stories and intellectual property of participants (humans and more-than-humans) to be seen as an expert.”

A specific aspect of relationality that is especially important in Indigenous methodologies is relational accountability (Wilson 2008). In an Indigenous approach, researchers are accountable not only to the individual research participants but also to the entire community of which the participants are members. In fact, Fast and Kovach (2019) assert that in any Indigenous research project, the Indigenous community is of utmost importance. They highlight the central role of community relationality in Indigenous

methodologies and research, emphasizing that Indigenous research “involves and serves Indigenous peoples” (2019:22). Fast and Kovach recommend following community-specific protocols in order to situate “the researcher in relation to Indigeneity (and thus Indigenous knowledge systems), research community and place” (2019:24). One of the ways that I have maintained relational accountability in this dissertation is by working closely with other community members in carrying out the research and structuring the dissertation around the participants’ words and ideas. In linguistics, relational accountability opposes the objectifying approach taken in traditional research, in which researchers view themselves as working “on” a language rather than with a language community (see also Leonard 2024, forthcoming).

Being accountable to the community means making oneself known. Thus, closely aligned with relational accountability is the notion of knowing self, or reflexivity, which is an obligation associated with community-researcher relationships in Indigenous-centered research (Kovach 2010, Fast & Kovach 2019, Smith 2014). This obligation requires the researcher to situate themselves and share their story both with the community and in their writing about the research. A researcher can demonstrate knowing self through sharing their story with community members, through the use of autoethnographic methods, and through reflections on their positionality in their academic writing. Language researchers, for example, should begin by addressing questions such as: *How and why did you embark on your linguistic journey? How do you approach your language research? and How did your community-researcher relationship begin?* (see also Bucholtz 2021, Bucholtz et al. 2023, Muwwakkil 2023). This obligation, according to Fast and Kovach, “is about relational-

placing, collectivist ethics, and a practice of reciprocity” (2019:26). I discuss my own answers to similar questions later in this chapter and throughout the dissertation.

Many Indigenous scholars choose to share their stories through the use of autoethnography, a research and writing method aimed at systematically examining personal experiences to gain insights into cultural phenomena. This method recognizes the numerous ways these experiences shape and influence the research process (Ellis et al. 2011).

Autoethnography has been an especially important method for Indigenous scholars seeking an alternative to non-Indigenous research traditions. Higher education is encouraged and supported for Native Americans, and many of us enter academia with the goal of using the knowledge gained to benefit our communities. Our intersectional identities endow us with diverse perspectives and experiences which we bring into the academy as strengths.

Therefore, leveraging our diverse cultural backgrounds is integral to our research programs (see also Hou 2017, Jacobs-Huey 2002). Indigenous autoethnography recognizes that academia has extensively studied our peoples and cultures, leading outsiders to claim to be experts on us, and that this situation creates a tension for many Native Americans in these predominantly white spaces. In this context, autoethnography is a form of scholarly resistance (Houston 2007), as it challenges the ideology of an “objective” research paradigm and positions the researcher as an “expert when writing on their own culture and experience” (Houston 2007:47). One key aspect of this approach is that it does not necessitate constantly referring to outside scholarly sources to document knowledge that Indigenous scholars have gained through lived experience. Despite its value as an Indigenous methodology, autoethnography is not widely used within Linguistics, with a few

notable exceptions (Chew et al. 2015). This dissertation is therefore a contribution to expanding this method within our discipline.

A more widely used method in Linguistics and related fields is ethnography, which can also highlight the researcher's positionality (e.g., Muwwakkil 2023). Although this dissertation is informed by ethnographic methods, as I discuss below, I do not consider it an ethnography for several reasons. First, in my understanding, ethnography requires more long-term research than was possible for this study, both due to the COVID-19 pandemic and because of other factors, including a shift in my research focus partway through the study, from linguistic structure to sociocultural aspects of language. Second, and more importantly, although I spent extensive time in the Zuni community, most of the time I did not view myself as a researcher but simply as a community member. Third, I am uncomfortable with the ethnographic position of the participant-observer, which does not align with the way I think about Indigenous methodologies (see also Brayboy & Deyhle 2000). My approach is collaborative and is driven by community perspectives. One consequence of this is that I rely on interview methods more than observational methods such as taking fieldnotes or recording everyday interactions, which can be extractive and exploitative.

The third characteristic, reciprocity, stands as a fundamental trait within Indigenous research methodologies, stemming from a longstanding academic history marked by pervasive ethical misconduct towards Indigenous communities and extractive research. According to Kovach, "there are a host of ways to give back, and for Indigenous academic researchers, sharing knowledge is the most obvious means" (2010:149). This obligation also applies to non-Indigenous researchers who work with Indigenous and marginalized peoples

and communities, who must be attentive to the distinction between sharing information—“i.e. surface information or pamphlet knowledge”—vs. sharing knowledge, or “the theories and analyses which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented” (Smith 2012:17). Unfortunately, Linguistics as a discipline has not taken up this crucial distinction. Thus, the Linguistic Society of America’s Code of Ethics views reciprocity as a professional responsibility that involves “facilitating, as suitable to the context or community, participants’ access to research results” and “making results of our research available to communities....” Similarly, within the subfield of language documentation, giving back is equated with developing pedagogical resources that a community can use, a narrow understanding which has been critiqued by Leonard (2021a) and Sapién (2018). It is important to recognize that this dissertation is not an example of reciprocity, because it is written for academics rather than for the Zuni community. However, one form of reciprocity that I plan to use in the next stage of this project is to meet with community members to discuss my research in a dialogic way and to learn how to use the findings to support community goals for our language.

The final concept encompassed in Indigenous research methodologies that I discuss here is refusal, defined by Tuck and Yang (following Simpson 2007) as “attempts to place limits on conquest and the colonization of knowledge by marking what is off limits, what is not up for grabs or discussion, what is sacred, and what can’t be known” (2014:3). Refusal in research stems from the aforementioned history of ethical misconduct in research on Native communities. Indigenous research protocols are a type of refusal that are rooted in principles of Native self-determination and that emphasize relational accountability and beneficial research. These protocols recognize the rights of sovereign nations to be actively involved in

all aspects of the research process and in control of the outcomes that arise from it (e.g. Debenport 2015). I engage in numerous kinds of refusal in this research. I do not discuss certain aspects of Zuni culture, especially spiritual practices, and I do not discuss tribe-internal matters. I have chosen to transcribe and translate the data in a looser and more contextualized way than linguists typically do. In particular, I avoid interlinear glossing to make it more difficult for researchers and other outsiders to extract the data for purposes that do not benefit the A:shiwí. In addition, in the dissertation abstract, I call attention to the fact that the data (i.e. participant excerpts) is the intellectual property of the participants and may not be reproduced without permission. I also shared my initial analysis with my participants, so that they could exercise their own right of refusal by telling me to revise or delete material they did not want in the dissertation.

An additional Indigenous principle that is relevant to this dissertation is the link between language and land, with regard to sovereignty as well as cultural connection and relationality (e.g., Engman & Hermes 2021, Ferguson & Weaselboy 2020). In this study, the Shiwi'na lands are where the Shiwi'ma language is primarily spoken, and this connection is the larger context in which the research was conducted. At the same time, as I discuss in Chapters 3 and 5, many community members must leave their ancestral lands in order to find economic opportunities; as I discuss in my own story below, this issue affected my own family.

In addition to the Indigenous methodologies discussed above, this dissertation also draws on qualitative methodologies, particularly individual and small-group interviews. Interviews are common data collection methods both for ethnographic research and for family language policy research (Schwartz 2010) that can be used to investigate participants' language histories, language choice, and language attitudes (Codó 2008,

Nortier 2008). In addition, interviews are themselves instances of real language use through social interaction; in Indigenous contexts they therefore can serve as a form of language documentation. Moreover, enlisting a community member interviewer may assist with maintaining the conversation in the target language (Codó 2008) as well as with fostering metadiscourse about the interview process and the target language, which can also be analyzed. Finally, and most importantly, interview methods help center Indigenous voices and perspectives (Nicholas 2008).

I do not use quantitative methods because I feel it is not a good fit for this type of research. Grenoble summarizes the problematic nature of any kind of quantitative measures, especially regarding language vitality, by saying that they “reduce complex social dynamics to a single number or set of numbers” (2016:293; see also Hill 2002, Dobrin et al. 2014). They also result in seemingly unanswerable questions, such as the 2022 US Census data on self-reported language spoken at home within the Zuni reservation presented in Table 1.1 in Chapter 1, which raises questions such as: What is the “other language” besides English that respondents use? How does one find out this information? The problematic issues of enumeration and of the related discourses of language endangerment and language vitality are discussed in Chapter 5.

In this chapter, I first share my story and how it led me on a path to pursuing a doctoral degree. I then discuss my use of Indigenous research methodologies in this dissertation, focusing on my collaboration with community members. Next, I discuss how I engaged with the research participants and the methods I used to analyze the data. Finally, I provide an example that illustrates several key points of the following analysis: how my research

collaborator displayed her commitment to the use of the Zuni language, her metalinguistic communication about the language, and her use of translanguaging.

2.2 Situating self and sharing my story

Although I am a Shiwi person, I did not grow up on the Zuni reservation. I therefore had a different relationship to both the Shiwi'ma language and the land than someone who grew up within Shiwi'na lands. In the past, my family members who attended boarding school (or left for other reasons, such as military service) were able to return to Zuni and continue to use the language and perform traditional cultural practices. My elders who attended the Zuni Indian Day School or the Catholic school, both of which were originally and remain English-medium, and those who regularly interacted with outsiders such as missionaries or traders still had exposure to Shiwi'ma at home due to family language policies that emphasized the language. These policies continue in more recent generations with my family members who remain in Shiwi'na. For example, some of my younger relatives maintain their fluency in Shiwi'ma despite technological advances and consuming English-language media content.

I was primarily raised by my mother in a single-parent household in Denver, Colorado, with the support of my maternal grandparents, aunts, and uncle, who also lived in the Denver metropolitan area. The 1956 Indian Relocation Act had the goal of encouraging Native Americans to leave their homelands by providing them with vocational training in order to assimilate into a white-settler society. My grandparents elected to participate in this program, so in the mid-1960s, with all four of their children, they moved from Zuni Pueblo, NM to Denver, CO, where I was born and raised. Denver was one of the first cities to

participate in the federal relocation program, and many Native Americans moved there in the 1950s and 1960s; as a result, it still has a large Native American population. My grandparents, both first-language speakers of Shiwi'ma, used the language with each other and with their children but spoke English to all their grandchildren. My mother is also a first-language Shiwi'ma speaker, but now she and her younger siblings would be classified as receptive bilinguals (see Chapter 4). Most of my generation of siblings and cousins who were raised in urban areas grew up hearing Shiwi'ma spoken around us but not directly to us, both by our grandparents in Denver and by extended family in Zuni; we therefore did not learn either to speak or to understand the language. This situation is in contrast with cousins from my generation who were raised in or close to Zuni: They can all understand Shiwi'ma (that is, they are receptive bilinguals, like my mother's generation), but not all of them speak it. One cousin once explained to me that her reason for not speaking the language is that she was made fun of when she tried to do so (see Chapter 4). She told me that a frequent mistake she makes is "getting it mixed up," which I understood as using English phrase structure instead of Shiwi'ma phrase structure. (For a discussion on teasing and joking as part of Indigenous language socialization, see Chapter 6.)

My maternal grandparents remained close to our relatives in Zuni, and I am blessed that they made sure I knew my extended family by taking me back home frequently as a child. These childhood visits to Zuni also instilled in me a strong sense of cultural identity at an early age, and all of my educational experiences have been shaped by living in two worlds, the Shiwi world and the white-settler (*melika*) world.

In 2001, in the summer before my sophomore year of college when I was nineteen years old, my maternal grandmother moved back to Zuni from Denver, as my grandfather had

passed away in 1993. Since my grandma and I were very close, I visited her as often as I could. When she became sick with pancreatic cancer in the summer of 2009, I decided that I wanted to be with her during her illness and moved to Zuni in October 2009. She passed away three months later.

When I was eight or nine years old, I remember asking my grandma to teach me Shiwi'ma. She taught me a few words, but this did not develop into consistently teaching me the language. One of my favorite memories of her is when we were at a powwow at the Denver Indian Center when I was sixteen years old. We were sitting on the bleachers watching the dancers when all of sudden she turned around and started speaking Shiwi'ma to the two young guys sitting behind us. Apparently, they were speaking Shiwi'ma to each other and she overheard them. I obviously didn't understand what they were saying, but she probably asked them who they were, who their families were (i.e. their relationality) and what they were doing in Denver. They were equally surprised that she spoke Shiwi'ma. I remember that she was ebullient after that encounter. When I was with her at the end of her illness, she started speaking more Shiwi'ma to me, and toward the end of her life it eventually became the only language she used with everyone who interacted with her.

It was also around this time that I realized that I wanted to study Linguistics for my graduate education. I participated in the Graduate Horizons program hosted at the University of California, Berkeley in July 2009. This four-day biennial workshop, hosted at different institutions, assists Native college students, college graduates, and master's students in preparing for graduate school. At the time, I knew I wanted to attend graduate school but didn't know what discipline to pursue, so I registered as "undecided." During one of the workshop sessions, a facilitator asked the participants to consider what they would want to

study if money was not an option. I had always been interested in languages, in part due to my ancestral language, and I began my study of Spanish in high school and majored in the language in college in order to pursue opportunities to travel; I studied abroad in Oaxaca, Mexico, as an undergraduate. I also studied Chinese and minored in Linguistics, building on a class I took that discussed the situation of Native American languages. Linguistics was therefore a natural choice for graduate school. It was at the end of the Graduate Horizons program that my family and I were made aware of my grandmother's illness. A year and half after her passing, I began my master's program in Native American Languages and Linguistics at the University of Arizona. This program, along with the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) at the University of Arizona, has shaped me into the language scholar that I am today. It was through this program that I learned about decolonizing methodologies, applied linguistics, and working with Native communities to support their language efforts.

After completing my MA in 2013, I elected to move closer to Zuni in order to be immersed in my ancestral language and culture. During my time helping with hospice care for my grandma, I realized that one of the reasons she had moved back home to Zuni was to fulfill her kinship obligations: She wanted to be involved in and participate in our traditional religious activities. It was important for her, and it became important to me to be able to do so as well, but this required learning more Shiwí'ma. In Zuni, employment related to language is primarily limited to the school district. I was fortunate enough to obtain a position at the University of New Mexico-Gallup, where I worked with both traditional and non-traditional college students as an academic advisor. Gallup, NM borders both the

Navajo Nation and the Zuni Pueblo reservation, and the majority of the student population at UNM-Gallup are Native Americans.

I left this position in 2016 to begin my doctoral program at the University of California, Santa Barbara, with the primary goal of producing beneficial information and knowledge that would contribute to maintaining Shiwi'ma as an intergenerationally transmitted spoken language. I entered the program with the goal of studying the morphosyntax of Shiwi'ma, thinking that this knowledge would be helpful for language learners such as myself. While I still plan on pursuing this goal, in the course of carrying out this research, I realized that information and knowledge about A:shiwí language ideologies and language practices are necessary for language planning. We are fortunate that, in comparison to many other Native American communities, we still have people of all age ranges that can speak Shiwi'ma at a highly proficient level because their families made sure they were able to do so. It is important that we actively try to do all that we can to ensure that our language not only survives, but also thrives.

Throughout my time in the PhD program, I regularly returned to Zuni to visit relatives, to fulfill my familial cultural obligations, to meet with various stakeholders in my research, such as tribal councils, the tribal museum and archive personnel, and the Zuni language board, and to meet with the participants in my dissertation research. However, employment opportunities on my ancestral lands that match my training and expertise are limited to the point of being non-existent. This is the reason why I, like so many other A:shiwí people, do not live in Zuni. Regardless, I will always return to Zuni because it is one of my homes, and I know I will be welcomed back.

Over the years, my comprehension of both written and spoken Shiwi'ma has increased, largely due to reading and working through the Zuni texts collected by Bunzel (1933). I started closely studying these texts as a data corpus that I used for my graduate coursework. Through this work, my vocabulary has increased, which has helped my comprehension of spoken Shiwi'ma, along with contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982) such as gesture, prosody, and translanguaging. While my language knowledge has increased and I can speak a few basic phrases and greetings, I am hesitant to speak the language when I am in Zuni. This linguistic insecurity (see Chapter 4) is a personal challenge that I am still working to overcome. I have put more effort into learning about A:shiwi traditional practices and the associated language necessary to engage in them, although I still have a lot to learn. In addition, researching and writing this dissertation helped me to further develop my Shiwi'ma abilities. My lived experience of witnessing and being part of the loss of intergenerational Shiwi'ma transmission motivated me to focus on bilingualism and language regeneration in Zuni for my dissertation research.

2.3 Incorporating Indigenous research methodologies

I incorporated the four above-described principles of Indigenous research methodologies into this dissertation project. The first principle, establishing community relationality, was not straightforward. Because I did not grow up in Zuni, my family members are the only community members who know me well, and I have few outside connections. My relationality was questioned by potential participants, often directly, through inquiries such as "Who's your family?" This situation prompted me to create a short recruitment video where I began by introducing myself with my Shiwi clan and providing my grandparents'

names. I advertised the study on a private Facebook page for people interested in Shiwi'ma and invited them to share the information with others who might want to participate.

Beyond my accountability to individual participants, I also worked to hold myself accountable to the Zuni tribal government. I met with two different tribal councils several times between 2013 and 2021 to discuss my research. The first meeting occurred in 2019. Due to COVID-19, a scheduled March 2020 meeting with the tribal council to discuss this project was postponed indefinitely but was finally held in 2021 with newly elected council members. It was eventually determined that the Zuni Language Board (ZLB), which is not connected to the tribal government, has the authority to endorse language research projects, and I met with them in June 2021 and received their support. In addition, I asked a ZLB member with extensive expertise in bilingual education to serve as community reviewer of my dissertation. Unfortunately, this feedback was not received by UCSB's dissertation filing deadline.

Relational accountability includes sharing information and knowledge with the community, or reciprocity. As noted above, this step will be taken after the dissertation is completed. One of my hopes is that this research will result in greater community awareness of the current state of our language and eventually will lead to long-term language planning. It should be noted that although my data analysis has been shared with the participants, only two provided their feedback before the filing deadline. I speculate a possible reason for this is the timing of UCSB's dissertation filing deadline (early January 2025). October to December in the A:shiwi community is an extremely busy time as many are preparing for the annual winter solstice ceremonies and related obligations, therefore most participants were unable to provide feedback before the deadline.

Throughout this dissertation, I engage in reflexivity by incorporating Indigenous autoethnography. Through our lived experiences, there are concepts and experiences that are simply known to me as a Shiwí person, as a Pueblo person, and as a Native American. I admit that I forget that these concepts and experiences are not always familiar to outsider academics, and it can be frustrating to explain them. For example, in my article on decolonizing field methods courses (Tsikewa 2021) a reviewer required me to explain in a footnote what a reservation is and to provide a citation. In the same article, I recommended that outsider researchers need to learn from decolonial and/or insider sources about the cultural traditions and protocols of the community they wish to work with. I provided an example of how this can be done by outsider researchers who wanted to work with the A:shiwí community: They can provide a bag of Blue Bird brand flour as a gift, since bread baking is a significant traditional activity not only for A:shiwí but also for other Pueblos. I did not cite an academic source because I provided this recommendation based on my own insider knowledge and experience. As previously mentioned, Indigenous autoethnography allows the utilization of personal experiences to exemplify aspects of cultural relational practices and dynamics without an academic citation. There are several points in this dissertation where I felt that my knowledge and insights based on my personal experiences provide an authoritative voice that does not warrant a citation. In this sense, my approach aligns with what Million (2009) calls “felt theory” as part of an Indigenous feminist epistemology.

As noted above, another aspect of my accountability is my refusal to carry out certain kinds of research. I made it very clear to my department and others that I would not document any Zuni religious language, our ceremonies and related practices. I refuse to do

this kind of research because my elders taught me that I am not allowed to know certain aspects of my own culture. When I was younger, I questioned this restriction, but now I have accepted it. To quote A:shiwi scholars Belarde-Lewis and Kostelecky, “we understand and accept that there is some information that is known by only a select few”(2021:119). I am also very cognizant of the history of the ethnographic research done on Zuni and how information and knowledge about our esoteric traditions was freely published and disseminated, which was viewed as a betrayal (Pandey 1972). Some underrepresented scholars may feel pressure to provide wider academic access to the community that they are a part of (Tuck & Yang 2014). While I never felt this pressure directly, non-A:shiwi, non-Indigenous linguists sometimes told me that they were pleased that I might be able to gain access despite the secretive, private nature of Pueblos and thus make data available to other scholars. Besides the fact that I simply do not have access to certain information and knowledge, I agree with the Indigenous axiom that there are some forms of knowledge that the academy doesn’t deserve (Tuck & Yang 2014).

My decision to focus on sociocultural issues rather than traditional language documentation in this dissertation is a kind of refusal, in the sense that I prioritize the community’s language ecology and sociocultural concerns over the structural issues that interest many linguists. In the same way, many Native linguists use sociocultural methods rather than traditional elicitation while recognizing the value of structural linguistic analysis (e.g., Davis 2017, Leonard 2018, Meek 2012, Perley 2011).

2.4 Collaboration with community members

Collaboration is an important part of relational accountability in Indigenous research. Both because I am still in the process of learning my ancestral language and because of my commitment to Indigenous research methodologies, I collaborated with three community members, two of whom are also my family members, to gather, transcribe, and translate the data. (I use pseudonyms for all three of my collaborators.) The interviewer, Linda, is a female relative of mine who has always resided in Zuni; Shiwi'ma is her first and dominant language. At the time of the interviews, Linda was 65 years old. She had previously been an artisan who made silver and turquoise jewelry, but due to degenerative vision issues, she is not able to continue in this line of work. She is the seventh of eight children and was raised by her aunt and uncle in a traditional Zuni household. Her husband Ned (a pseudonym) and his family are also very traditional. Because of her upbringing, she is the relative that members of my family turn to if we have questions about traditional practices, ceremonies, or language.

Linda was an ideal interviewer for this study for two reasons. First, she is a very talkative person and knows a lot of people in the village. For example, she is a die-hard fan of the Zuni High School Thunderbirds. It doesn't matter which sport they are playing or if any of our relatives are on the team, she attends as many games as she can. High school sports events are social outings that are necessary for elders. I took advantage of this fact and had Linda distribute recruitment flyers for my study when she attended games. Second, Linda has very strong feelings about the importance of our language, and she tries to remain in Shiwi'ma as much as possible, even with those who don't know the language well. When I visited Zuni when I was younger, around seven or eight, I remember that she and Ned once came to visit with us at my great-grandma's house. Before their arrival, I was told, "Linda

and Ned are coming, they're going to talk Zuni to you," which made me nervous. Even though I didn't understand what they were saying, this did not deter them, and they both spoke as much Shiwi'ma to me as they could. This practice of theirs continued throughout my childhood. Ned passed away in 2008, but Linda continues speaking Shiwi'ma to me as much as possible.

My second collaborator became involved after the interviews were conducted. Denise, a Shiwi tribal community member and elder who is both a first-language Shiwi'ma speaker and a retired educator, assisted me with the translation and transcription of the spoken Shiwi'ma in the audio recordings. She was referred to me by her daughter, who is my colleague due to our shared interest in archives and museums. In addition to being a retired educator, Denise has worked with the Zuni Youth Enrichment Project on their annual winter storytelling production.

My third collaborator was my cousin/aunt Ella, who is also a first-language Shiwi'ma speaker and elder. She provided me with additional help with transcription and translation. I asked her for her assistance because she was involved with Zuni bilingual education efforts when these began in the 1970s. She is also an artisan specializing in silver and turquoise jewelry and a caregiver for her youngest grandson.

Working with these three collaborators shaped the research in important ways, especially in helping me to hear the Shiwi'ma data as they did, to understand the meaning of the data, to recognize the discourse-interactive practices, and to learn about the underlying cultural and historical context. It is important to recognize that in some ways these collaborators were also participants, especially Linda. During the interviews, she interacted and engaged with participants on the basis of their shared cultural knowledge, affirming their

contributions, adding more detail, and offering her own knowledge and point of view on the topics they were discussing. In addition, in some sense the other participants were collaborators as well. For example, when a participant in an early interview brought up an important issue, that topic was incorporated into the later interviews.

2.5 Engaging with participants

One way that I followed Indigenous research methodologies was by reconceptualizing what is often called “methods of data collection” as engagement with participants. This part of the research was delayed due to COVID-19, as Zuni implemented strict lockdown restrictions for the safety of our elders. I used a variety of methods to recruit participants: personal contacts, recruitment flyers posted in high-traffic locations in the village (e.g. the post office, the tribal building, the local market) in summer 2022, having Linda hand out recruitment flyers at high school athletic events, and posts on the social media pages of the Zuni Youth Enrichment Project as well as social media pages for Shiwi’ma speakers of all capabilities and. I also disseminated the recruitment information to tribal employees via their email list. (The recruitment flyer is included in Appendix A.)

Seven interviews were conducted in the summer of 2022. I was unable to conduct additional interviews due to a rise in COVID cases in winter 2022 before I temporarily relocated for three months to Washington, DC to complete an internship with the Smithsonian’s Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. I was present at each interview to explain the consent process and gain permission from the participants. While the interviews were primarily conducted by Linda, I participated by presenting the graphic discussed in Chapter 4 (see Figure 2.1 below) and asking the participants if they knew anyone who could

relate to the idea expressed in it. Multiple audio recorders were utilized for all of the interviews, including my Google Pixel phone, which produced an automatic transcription of the interviews. The other recorders were a Tascam DR-100 and a Zoom H1. One interview was conducted via Zoom video conferencing software because the participant does not reside in Zuni. The interviews resulted in approximately 4 hours of audio-recorded data. All interviews were conducted within the Zuni village in locations including the participant's home (two interviews), the Zuni tribal archives building (two interviews), the Zuni Youth Enrichment Project building (two interviews), and the A:shiwí A:wán Museum and Heritage Center (one interview). All participants selected the location for their interview except for the two conducted at the Zuni tribal archives. The Zoom interview occurred in the archives due to internet access and availability, and I selected it as a neutral location for the other interview. All participants were compensated \$25 cash for their time and participation.

Participants were asked interview questions relating to their daily language usage, including their language choices when speaking to children in their household, and their perspectives on the languages spoken in the community (see Appendix B for interview guide). The interview was semi-structured, in that I developed the questions in advance but the interview direction could change based on the interviewee's responses. I also showed each participant, via my phone (or screenshare on Zoom), a text-only graphic I had found on social media that reads "When you are fluent enough to understand but not fluent enough to respond." I felt that it captured the experience of many A:shiwí people that I know, so I incorporated it into my research design. This graphic elicited responses about what types of bilingual persons in the community might relate to its message as well as participant perspectives on bilingualism in the community more generally.



Figure 2.1 Image used to elicit participant responses during interviews (see Chapter 4).

2.5.1. Participants

The targeted participant population for this study were Pueblo of Zuni adult tribal members who self-identified as a Shiwi'ma/English bilingual person and as a past or present caregiver of one or more children in their household; in the Shiwi tradition, caregivers may be not only birth parents but also paternal aunts or other extended family members. Tribal enrollment was not necessary for participation. I had pre-existing relationships with two of the participants, as did Linda, although she was familiar with all of the participants and their families.

In this dissertation, I focus on six of the seven interviews in the data set. All participants were raised in households in Zuni where Shiwi'ma was spoken. All reported having knowledge of traditional religious and cultural practices and emphasized the importance of Shiwi'ma for these traditions and ceremonies. Each interview started with Linda telling the

participant in Shiwi'ma that she was going to primarily speak to them in Shiwi'ma but that they could answer in either Shiwi'ma or English, whichever they felt comfortable with. In the table below I summarize salient information about the participants. All names are pseudonyms.

Name	Demographics	Observed language use during interview	Place of interview	Length of interview
Carly	66-year-old woman with one son (deceased at the time of the interview), and two granddaughters	Both Shiwi'ma and English	Her residence	13 minutes 39 seconds
Eva	48-year-old woman with two daughters and no grandchildren	She primarily spoke Shiwi'ma throughout the interview. When I reviewed Eve's interview with Ella, she stated that Eve uses a lot of older Zuni words that are no longer often used. This characteristic of Eve's language use is probably	Her residence	51 minutes 4 seconds

		due to the fact that her parents were relatively older when she was born.		
Roger	40-year-old man with four children (two biological) and a grandson	Primarily spoke Shiwí'ma	Tribal archives building	51 minutes 2 seconds
Sammy	39-year-old woman who had no children at the time of the interview but helped her brother with his children, her niblings	Primarily spoke Shiwí'ma	Zuni Youth Enrichment Project building	16 minutes 31 seconds
Nicki	29-year-old woman with one infant son	Primarily spoke English	Zuni Youth Enrichment Project building	24 minutes 37 seconds

Melissa	31-year-old woman with one infant daughter	Both Shiwi'ma and English	Zoom due to military service; I connected to Zoom from the tribal archives building	19 minutes 20 seconds
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Table 2.1 Participant information.

The final participants, Charlie and Tammy, were partners who had three children, two together and Charlie's child from a previous relationship. They were interviewed together. As discussed below, this interview is not included in the dissertation.

2.6 Methods of data processing, transcription, and translation

I worked with two UCSB undergraduate research assistants from January through June 2023 who assisted me in segmenting the interviews with ELAN by utterance and speaker turn. After the interviews were segmented I transcribed, to the best of my ability, the spoken Shiwi'ma for two of the interviews and most of a third interview. As previously mentioned, my Google Pixel phone was used as one of the recorders for all the interviews and generated an initial transcript for all of them. The automatic transcripts did not include the spoken Shiwi'ma but only the spoken English, which I copied and pasted into ELAN. The transcripts were exported from ELAN as a single .txt file into LibreOffice, where additional organization of the data was carried out. The three interviews that I had initially transcribed were then shared via Google Drive with my collaborator Denise. She worked to transcribe

and translate the Shiwi'ma portions of the interviews as her schedule permitted, using recordings also shared on Google Drive. This process was not ideal, as it was time-consuming and I was not easily able to ask about unclear translations.

For this reason, I decided to return to Zuni and work on the translations with a collaborator in person. Before going to Zuni, I reviewed the remaining four interviews in ELAN and noted which parts were in Shiwi'ma and which were in English. I printed out these initial transcripts with time stamps. During my week-long visit, I worked with Ella to transcribe and translate the remaining four interviews. We listened to one interview together, and, using a pencil and looseleaf paper, she wrote out the Shiwi'ma parts to the best of her ability. When she became busy, as she was simultaneously watching her grandson, I wrote out the Shiwi'ma parts as best as I could. This was a very time-intensive process, so we went through the next two interviews segment by segment and she orally translated the Shiwi'ma parts, which I wrote down on the printouts of the rough transcripts. This process went much faster, but we only completed three of the remaining four interviews. Twice, I also enlisted my mom and my aunt's help with translation on certain excerpts. These sessions were conducted via Zoom. This dissertation focuses on the six fully translated interviews; the interview with Charlie and Tammy will be transcribed and analyzed at a later point with their approval.

It is important to note that in the transcripts in the rest of this dissertation, I have not focused on ensuring that the Shiwi'ma written language is prescriptively correct, as my analytic emphasis is on Shiwi'ma as a spoken language. As mentioned in Chapter 1, I do not feel there is a standard Shiwi'ma orthography, though I do utilize the sound system the Zuni Public School District uses. Both Denise and Ella have some experience writing the

language, and both write it the way they hear it or how they think it should be written. For the most part, I left their written representations unchanged, but I did alter some transcripts based on what I have seen written on the private Shiwi'ma Facebook page and from the printed dictionary of the language (Cook 2014). In addition, rather than a detailed morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, the translations of the data are free glosses based on my collaborators' interpretations. This decision is based on my commitment to centering community members' perspectives, but it is also motivated by the Indigenous principle of refusal, by preventing our language from being used by outsiders in ways that do not benefit the A:shiwi people. It is also a practical decision, due to the time-consuming nature of the transcription and translation process. The transcripts are exact representations of the participants' speech, including filled pauses, non-linguistic vocalizations, restarts, and self-repairs; in a few cases I use ellipses when religious information is omitted. The following section highlights the contributions of one of my collaborators, Linda, who shared her perspectives and stories as well as her linguistic and cultural expertise in the interviews.

2.7. Indigenous-centered research in action

The following example illustrates the benefits of using Indigenous research methods. The example is taken from the first interview that Linda conducted with Roger. In this example, we were at the end of the interview and Roger inquired if he was the only person who had volunteered to be interviewed. I explained that there were others who were initially interested, but that I didn't get a response when following up with them. This led me to explain my recruitment process, which included having Linda share recruitment flyers at the Zuni High School Thunderbirds games, which prompted Linda to spontaneously tell Roger

about an occasion when she went to a game at another Pueblo with her two nieces, where the three of them talked amongst themselves in Shiwi'ma. A couple from the other Pueblo was sitting behind them; overhearing their conversation, they became curious about them speaking in Shiwi'ma:

Excerpt 2.1 (Time code 49:06-50:22)

- 1 Linda: mas an a:chi bowak'ona lena chudi yakdona
the two that were sitting behind me tapped my shoulder
- 2 "Are you guys really fluent in your Zuni language?" hom leanikwa
"Are you guys really fluent in your Zuni language?" *they said to me*
- 3 "We are, aren't you?" le ho' anikwa lapba
"We are, aren't you?" *I said to them because*
- 4 and "because I see this elderly couple that came up,
5 they're speaking to each other in English" ho' lekwa
they're speaking to each other in English" *I said*
- 6 "Well, no we don't really have it in our homes."
7 "Why? Could- because um we have friends,
8 we used to have friends out there.
9 They were elderly,
10 they always spoke their language in- to their children" ho' lekwa
they always spoke their language in- to their children" *I said*
- 11 "No, le' ish den ana a:de melika"
No, they mostly speak English
- 12 "oh you guys made it" lekwa
oh you guy made it *they said*
- 13 kwa da yam bena:wak iya
They're not speaking their language here
- 14 ho'no le'an machu e:h hon' a:beye'a
we mainly speak our language
- 15 "but I like the way you guys are talking" ho'no leanikwa
"but I like the way you guys are talking" *they said to us*
- 16 "Ma, that's what we only talk
17 Sometimes, maybe if there's, um, a word
18 that we don't have in Zuni then we'll say it in English
19 like, like for instance, what <inaudible> "I'm sorry" ho' le' ikwaya
like, like for instance, what <inaudible> "I'm sorry" *I say to them*
- 20 because I'm still asking around"
- 21 Roger: kwa kwa uhsona sorry de'amme denna
There's really no word for 'I'm sorry'

In lines 7-10, Linda describes her surprise that the member of the other Pueblo did not speak their language anymore, because she had friends from that Pueblo who spoke their language to each other and their children. She was amused by their compliment (line 15) about how Linda and her nieces spoke to each other in Shiwi'ma, and in lines 14 and 16 she confirms that it is their dominant language when they are together. In lines 17-20, she adds that translanguaging is sometimes necessary, giving the example of the phrase 'I'm sorry'. She is not aware of a way to express this sentiment in Shiwi'ma but she is curious if others know of one ("I'm still asking around," line 20). Roger confirms that there is no way to express that a person is sorry in Shiwi'ma. This exchange provides an example of metadiscourse about the target language as well as translanguaging between Shiwi'ma and English. As the interviewer, Linda often engaged in spontaneous interaction of this kind with the participants, making the interviews richer and more beneficial both for me as the researcher and for the participants. Collaborating with community members in this way is both a qualitative research method and an Indigenous method that centers community voices.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the Indigenous methodologies I employed for conducting this research, with a focus on relationality and especially relational accountability, reflexivity or knowing the self and sharing one's story, reciprocity, and refusal. I then situated myself and shared my own story using Indigenous autoethnography. Next, I briefly introduced my collaborators and participants, and finally I provided an example of the benefits of utilizing Indigenous research methodologies for community-

based research. The next chapter discusses Native American families and kinship relations and explores the language ecology of the participants' households.

Chapter 3

“You need to teach them in a good way”: Family language policy and practices of Zuni bilingual parents and caregivers

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 provided an overview of the Indigenous and other methods I employed for engaging with participants in this research and briefly introduced my collaborators and the participants. This chapter discusses the participants’ perspectives on the intergenerational transmission of Shiwi’ma, the role of the family in this process, and how a person’s language experiences affect their language use and choice. The structure of the chapter is as follows: First I outline the literature on family language policy. Then I describe the structure of Native American families and provide an overview of Shiwi social organization. I discuss three colonial disruptions to kinship relationships, two of which are illustrated in the Native-themed television series *Reservation Dogs*. Next I summarize the participants’ perspectives on Shiwi’ma language use in their household. I then analyze the participants’ responses through a family language policy lens and reflect on the implications of my findings for Shiwi’ma language regeneration.

3.2 Family language policy, language disruption, and Indigenous languages

Because family language policy research investigates how family language practices contribute, or fail to contribute, to the child’s acquisition of and development in the target language, it has a crucial role to play in language maintenance. Language shift, or what I refer to as *language disruption*, as noted in Chapter 1, toward the dominant language has

taken place or is evident in nearly all Native American communities. Language and cultural vitality is predicated upon many factors, and various measures have been proposed to use these factors to assess language endangerment. A foundational metric was proposed by Fishman (1991), who developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. In developing this scale, Fishman emphasizes the critical importance of intergenerational transmission in language preservation and maintenance while also acknowledging that this process is influenced not only by individual parental decisions but also by societal and institutional factors that shape parental language choices concerning their children.

Research on the relationship of bilingualism, Indigenous languages, and language shift has revealed various factors in language disruption, such as children's reluctance to use the Indigenous language because they associate it with a particular generation and persons in authority (Meek 2007), linguistic insecurity on the part of Indigenous language learners (Abtahian & Quinn 2017), and the role of intermarriage, migration, and educational levels in creating a diglossic situation in which Indigenous languages are viewed as non-prestigious (Liu et al. 2015). An additional area of focus has been youth perspectives on bilingualism (Charles 2009) and their awareness of the connection between language and identity (Lee 2009, Nicholas 2008, Wyman et al. 2013). Such a focus is especially important in the context of changing language ecologies (Wyman 2009).

King and Fogle provide an annotated timeline of empirical research that specifically connects “parental language policies, strategies, or ideologies with child outcomes in terms of language competencies, identity, or use” (2013:173). A number of studies included in their timeline focus on Indigenous languages. For example, Kulick's (1992) ethnographic study in Papua New Guinea revealed how the normalization of community language

disruption from the Indigenous language Taiap to Tok Pisin leads to practices that reinforce this shift within family interactions. In another Indigenous-focused study, King (2001) examined the various processes contributing to language disruption from Quichua towards Spanish in two Indigenous Andean communities of southern Ecuador as well as parents' attempts to reverse the shift. She found that despite these attempts, Quichua language use in children was restricted to a small set of specific domains and functions (see also Luykx 2003 on the intersections of bilingual language socialization and gender socialization in Aymara-speaking households in Bolivia).

Several of the studies summarized by King and Fogle focus on young people's agency in family language policy. For instance, McCarty et al. (2008) used ethnographic interviews conducted with members of the Navajo (Diné) Nation to understand how both implicit and formal language policies are realized in everyday social interactions. This research found that the declining use of the Navajo language among the younger generation was caused by societal stigma and feelings of shame when speaking the language. However, the researchers also observed that Navajo youth potentially possessed higher Navajo language proficiency than they exhibited or than was acknowledged by adults. Similarly, in his analysis of micro-interactional processes in Rwandan Kinyarwanda-French bilingual families in Belgium, Garafanga found that child agency was a prevalent family language policy, as children were observed using a specific type of practice, the "medium request," to shift the language of interaction to French. All of these studies demonstrate the complex dynamics of family language policy in Indigenous contexts as well as the central role of kin relationships in language maintenance and disruption (see also Smith-Christmas 2016, 2020 for child agency in Gaelic family language policy). As I discuss further in Chapter 6, Hopi researcher

Nicholas (2008) has also shown that young people's agency interacts in important ways with that of multigenerational family members.

3.3 Kinship in Indigenous research methodologies

As discussed in Chapter 2, relationships serve as a foundational principle of Indigenous research methodologies and are embedded in these methods (Wilson 2008, Kovach 2010). At its core, relationality emphasizes the interconnectedness and interdependence of all aspects of existence, including human relationships, land, culture, and spirituality. In Indigenous research, relationality extends beyond the individual researcher and research participant and encompasses the broader web of relationships with community members, ancestors, and the natural world.

Central to relationality in Indigenous research methodologies is the recognition of Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Indigenous research methodologies prioritize Indigenous voices, perspectives, and knowledge systems, challenging colonial frameworks and Eurocentric paradigms that have historically marginalized Indigenous peoples and their ways of knowing. By centering Indigenous perspectives, relationality in research methodologies fosters a more holistic understanding of complex issues and challenges, one that is rooted in Indigenous worldviews and lived experiences. Moreover, relationality underscores the importance of ethical research practices that prioritize cultural safety, community involvement, and the protection of Indigenous intellectual property rights.

Within academia, it is now becoming more common for researchers, especially Indigenous scholars, to provide information or a statement detailing their personal relationship with Indigeneity in a variety of professional contexts. This can range from

listing one's tribe in one's email signature to a few sentences describing where the researcher and their family are from in academic presentations and publications to extensive positionality statements or the use of autoethnographic methods.

For Native Americans, the ultimate connections we have to one another are through kinship. I state this as a matter of lived experience, not scholarship. Kinship includes not only those who are related to us by blood, but also those related by marriage/partnership, by clan, and by choice relations, as well as relationships to nature. Our kinship relations entail our collective responsibility to one another, thus providing the structure for our social relationships as well as the foundation for our cultural worldviews.

3.4 Native American families

Much of the research on Native American families is written by and for non-Indigenous people, often from a clinical, outsider perspective. In this section, I therefore draw primarily on my own knowledge of Native American family structures based on my own and my family's lived experience as well as Indigenous media representations.

Historically, Native American families consisted of multiple generations (e.g. grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, in-laws) who all lived in close proximity to one another, creating expansive social networks. This structure currently continues for many families, while others vary in their familial structures. Some families represent the normative American nuclear family structure consisting of two heterosexual adults and their biological children. Single-parent households are also common, in which the children either spend time with both parents separately or have a single household experience. Children are

sometimes raised by grandparents or other relatives such as an aunt or uncle if the parents are unable to do so due to work or other circumstances.

These varied family structures are represented in the acclaimed TV show “Reservation Dogs,” created by Indigenous writers, which is centered on four Native American teenagers – Elora, Bear, Cheese, and Willie Jack – who live in a rural Native American community in Oklahoma. Viewers learn that Elora was raised by her maternal grandmother, as her mother died when she was a toddler, and she does not meet her biological father until the final season. When her grandmother also passes away in Season 2, various community members check in on her. At one point in the series, the teens’ adult caregivers decide the teens need to be punished for traveling to California without their knowledge and permission; the caregivers make sure to include Elora in their punishment, which she accepts out of respect for them. Bear was raised by a single mother and has an estranged relationship with his father. Cheese was raised by his uncle Charley until Charley was arrested, resulting in Cheese being sent to a group home before he was adopted by a community elder. Willie Jack was raised in a two-parent home and has an especially strong relationship with her father.

Throughout the series, the themes of community and family are prominent, and the characters are all connected to each other. This is best reflected in the final episode of the series. Willie Jack visits her aunt Hokti in prison after the death of her mentor, an elder and medicine man named Old Man Fixico who also mentored Hokti. When Willie Jack laments the short time she got to spend with him, Hokti uses a bag of chips (Flaming Flamers, a brand that is featured throughout the series) to demonstrate that Fixico is physically gone, but not truly gone. She explains that everyone who knew him has a piece of him inside

themselves, just as he had a piece of everyone he knew inside himself. Hokti says, “That’s how community works. What do you think they came for when they tried to get rid of us? Our community. You break that, and you break the individual.”

“Reservation Dogs” provides a clear example of the range of possible Native American family structures and their connections to the larger community. It also is an example of Indigenous autoethnography on the parts of the creators and writers, who portray their cultural lived experiences for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences.

3.4.1 Colonial disruptions to Indigenous kinship relationships, language, and culture

Cultural values, traditions, and worldviews, such as the aforementioned exchange between Willie Jack and Hokti, are transmitted from one generation to the next through kinship relationships. This sharing of knowledge is fundamental both to shaping a person’s identity and for the maintenance of culture and language. The importance of imparting cultural values via kinship relations was recognized by colonial authorities, who deemed Native Americans and other Indigenous peoples across the globe as less than European-descended peoples. A goal of the United States federal government in dealing with Native Americans was to eliminate their cultures and languages, to “civilize” and “Americanize” them. This objective can be summed up with the infamous proclamation “Kill the Indian in him, save the man,” which was spoken by Captain Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, PA in 1892.

The first Indian boarding school opened in 1801, but the majority of schools were established in the late 19th century as part of systemic efforts to assimilate Native American children into non-Indigenous American society. Government and colonial authorities

believed that removing Native American children from their families, languages, cultures, and homelands would expedite their integration into the dominant society and eradicate their Indigenous identity (Lomawaima 1994, McCarty 2013). In these schools, children were subjected to coerced manual labor, neglect, and physical, sexual, and emotional abuse; they were also forbidden from speaking their ancestral languages and practicing their cultural traditions. Many children died at these boarding schools either due to the physical abuse inflicted upon them or because of illness. Their bodies were not returned to their families but instead were buried on the boarding school premises. Another way that these schools kept Native children away from their families was by forcibly placing them in the homes of white Americans during school vacations (Mannes 1995). Many Native American caregivers recognized the dangers of boarding schools and refused to send their children to them, resulting in government employees forcibly removing children to schools distant from their homes. Incarceration and other severe punishment, such as withholding food supplies guaranteed by treaties, were other dire consequences of non-compliance. A noted example is the imprisonment of nineteen Hopi men on California's Alcatraz Island in 1895 for nearly a year. Some families even set up camp near these schools as an effort to maintain connections with their children.

Assimilationist governmental policies, broken treaties, and encroachment on and theft of Native lands resulted in many Native Americans living in impoverished circumstances on reservations (Fixico 2002). Disguised as a social welfare initiative, the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 promised economic opportunities and improved living environments in urban areas such as Denver, Los Angeles, and Chicago, but it has been criticized by Native American scholars as an attempt to displace Native Americans from their lands and

terminate their rights (e.g., Deloria 1969, 1974). Despite this initiative and others such as the Vocational Training Act of 1956, many Native Americans continued to live in destitute conditions due to a lack of adequate support structures and did not make economic progress (Philip 1985). In addition, the separation of relocated Native Americans from extended family members, elders, and their homelands sometimes fractured vital connections to traditional cultural practices, which included speaking their ancestral languages.

These conditions often resulted in governmental intervention, with children being removed from their families and placed in government-approved environments. Forcibly removing Native children from their families and sending them to boarding schools was already a government-sanctioned practice. When Native children were believed to be living in unsuitable conditions, government officials continued this practice and removed them from their homes. They were usually placed with white American adoptive parents or foster care away from their families and homelands, which became a cause for concern among tribal officials. In the late 1960s, with the assistance of the Association of American Indian Affairs, these officials organized and conducted research that revealed that Native American children were more likely to be “routinely removed from their families and placed in foster homes and for adoption with non-Indian couples” (Mannes: 265) than non-Native children.

The officials also saw a need to build the capacity of tribal governments for self-determination in actions on child welfare concerns. Through extensive organizing and awareness campaigns, numerous Senate hearings, and tireless advocacy efforts, the Indian Child Welfare Act was enacted on November 8, 1978. It is intended to “protect the best interests of Indian children and to promote the stability and security of Indian tribes and families” (25 U.S.C. § 1902) by mandating tribal governments’ authority to take jurisdiction

over child custody placement matters concerning reservation children and requiring state courts to transfer jurisdiction to tribal courts regarding cases involving Native American children residing off-reservation. This law was left intact by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2023 in *Haaland vs. Brackeen*.

These colonial forces disrupted the families of the A:shivi as they did with all other Native people. However, as discussed below, the traditional Shivi family structure is still found in Zuni alongside the other Native American family structures described above.

3.4.2 Shivi kinship

The family structure of Southwestern Pueblo tribal communities differs from the stereotypical white middle-class American family unit in that it goes beyond the nuclear family. At the core of this familial structure are individuals within the child's birth or adoptive family. Extending outward from this central household are individuals from related families who hold specific responsibilities in guiding, supporting, and assisting the child. At the outer edges are friends, more distant relatives, neighbors, and other community members. Watts (1997) describes a Zuni's child primary caretakers as *a:lasshina:we*, which in my own interpretation means 'relatives' or 'elders'. These caretakers can be numerous: "A child's primary caretakers, who might as easily include biological parents as grandparents, maternal aunts and uncles, adoptive parents, or older siblings who step in to assume parental duties, are the child's immediate *a:lashhina:we*" (1997:19).

Because Zuni is a matrilineal society, a child belongs to the same clan as their mother and is also considered a child of their father's clan. These intersectional identities govern a person's obligations when it comes to traditional religious activities. For Zuni, these

activities are central to some people's day-to-day tasks; Shiwi'ma is the primary language used when engaging in these endeavors.

Shiwi scholar Ladd states that "the mother's household is the social, religious, and economic unit" (1978:482). When I was growing up, my immediate family primarily visited and stayed with my maternal grandmother's side of the family. When visiting Zuni when I was a child, we would always go to my great-grandmother's house. Her house, which is still standing, is where my large family continues to convene for both social gatherings and our religious affairs.

Having provided background on the family structures of Shiwi and other Native American tribes as well as the impacts of colonialism on Native families, I now turn to the family language policies experienced and enacted by the six participants in this study.

3.5 Shiwi'ma family language policy: Six perspectives

As discussed in Chapter 1, understanding the language ecology of Shiwi'ma requires understanding the family language policy of Zuni community members—that is, their "deliberate and observable efforts...and their conscious involvement and investment in providing linguistic conditions and context for language learning" (Curdt-Christiansen 2018: 420). This section provides an overview and analysis of the six participants' past and present experiences with family language policy based on their language history and current language use in the home. I discuss the participants in roughly ascending order of age.

3.5.1 Nicki

Nicki was in her 20s at the time of the interview. She was fully receptively bilingual and minimally spoke Shiwi'ma during the interview. Nicki reported that when she was growing up her parents spoke a mix of both Shiwi'ma and English, with Shiwi'ma being the primary language used in the household. In her home currently, she said that she and her partner use both languages as well. She did not state which is the dominant language in the household, but her responses to other questions suggest that English is used as much as or more than Shiwi'ma. She has a toddler son, and she said that she tries to speak Shiwi'ma to him as much as she can. When asked why she uses English with her son, she indicated that linguistic insecurity was the primary reason.

Excerpt 3.1a (2:09-2:30)

- 1 Linda: melika'ma lekwap kop la:di?
When you say English, why?
- 2 Nicki: I don't feel confident enough to or fluent enough to continue speaking only
Zuni to him
- 3 I think my vocabulary level in Zuni is well probably at his his level of
toddler

While Nicki highlights the issue as one of fluency, characterizing her Zuni vocabulary as at the “toddler” level, she emphasizes the emotional dimension of language choice as well: “I don't feel confident enough” (line 2). Nicki went on to say that her son's Shiwi'ma abilities are stronger than her own or her partner's abilities in the language, and she credits her parents for his language skills. She then stated that she believes it is important for her son to speak Shiwi'ma and to know the importance of our language, but she also feels anguish that she is not able to fully help him develop his language skills in Shiwi'ma.

Excerpt 3.1b (3:57-4:15)

1 Nicki: I want him to grow up speaking Zuni
2 knowing the importance because I know it
3 but I feel stuck
4 and I- I feel like I'm living the life I've been striving for
5 but I feel this empty void and it's because I'm not fluent

Nicki frames her lack of fluency in Shiwi'ma as a negative as shown by her statements in line 3, "I feel stuck," and line 5, "I feel this empty void." This emotional dimension of language came up repeatedly in my data.

This emotional dimension is also seen elsewhere in Nicki's interview. She said that she does think that her son wants to learn Shiwi'ma, and this causes her to reflect on when he uses English. (Overlapping speech is indicated with square brackets.)

Excerpt 3.1c (15:11-15:55)

1 Linda: Do' ts'emap dom ts'ana yanikwadiniha' Shiwi'ma?
Do you think that your little one will want to learn Shiwi'ma?
2 Nicki: he does he he really enjoys it and
3 it's it's scary to sometimes see like when he's leaning more towards the
English
4 It's like, "Oh no, How come he's doing that?"
5 and then I have to reflect like, okay what was I just speaking in, even to
other people.
6 cause to him, I will speak Zuni, you know
7 but then when I turn to other people,
8 I flip back to English
9 Linda: [and he hears it?]
10 Nicki: [and he sees it] and he hears it
11 and so and and you know
12 He's talking only Zuni to my parents, his grandparents
13 He comes to me and it's Zunglish with me
14 He goes to his dad and it's only English usually
15 and then unfortunately,
16 he's watching videos and what are those videos in?
17 English.

Nicki displays a pessimistic view toward her child's orientation to English by using terms such as "scary" in line 3 and "unfortunately" in line 15. Although she grew up in a

Shiwi'ma-dominant household, English is more frequently used in her and her partner's home, and her current family language policy does not entirely align with her own goals for her son's language acquisition and development.

3.5.2 Melissa

Melissa was in her early 30s; in her interview she displayed translanguaging abilities. (I discuss translanguaging in more detail in Chapter 4.) In Melissa's home growing up, Shiwi'ma was primarily spoken, and it is still the language she uses when she talks to her parents, as her father is a Shiwi'ma language advocate. She recalled that around middle school, she began speaking only English. She does not live in Zuni, as she is in the military and is stationed in another state. She and her partner, who is Chinese, have a young daughter. Her partner speaks Mandarin and tries to speak to their daughter in Mandarin, although she did not state when or how often he does so or if she is present.

Excerpt 3.2a (1:00-1:19)

- 1 Linda: kwap do' bena dechish iya shuwenna
What language do you speak to each other?
- 2 Melissa: ho' yam ts'ana an Shiwi'ma beye
I speak Zuni to my little one.
- 3 ho' samma illi deyan
When I am alone with her
- 4 ho' Shiwi'ma a:beye but
I speak Zuni but
- 5 dap ho' yam a:lashina call e:de bowa
and my elder parents call
- 6 a:chi Shiwi'ma beye but hom łashik um kwapbi ho' melika illi beye'a
I speak Zuni to them but my husband/man I speak English with him

Melissa states that when she and her partner are together, they speak English to each other and that when she's alone with her daughter, she speaks Shiwi'ma to her. She and her

partner are intentionally creating a multilingual household where all family languages are used. She says she is committed to speaking Shiwi'ma to her 'little one' using the one-parent one-language (King 2016) strategy used in many multilingual households.

Excerpt 3.2b (3:23-3:39)

- 1 Melissa: ho' unap I really want her to carry it on
I see I really want her to carry it on
2 akkya isho isho an beye dap
Therefore I only speak to her and
3 uh kwapbi hom datchu ish ashe language
uh what my father is very strong in language
4 like he's su- such su- a good supporter for the language
5 akkya akkya a:beye'a
therefore they speak

Melissa's desire for her daughter to speak Shiwi'ma is seen in line 1, "I really want her to carry it on." Moreover, she still continues to speak to her parents in Shiwi'ma, even from a distance while she is stationed far away. She also notes her father's role as a language advocate (line 4), implicitly acknowledging the influence of her parents' family language policy and practices on her own family language policy of speaking only Shiwi'ma to her daughter.

3.5.3 Sammy

Sammy, who was in her late 30s, spoke almost entirely in Shiwi'ma throughout the interview. Sammy was raised in a primarily Shiwi'ma-speaking household, but notes that as time passed, her family started speaking more English.

Excerpt 3.3a (1:18-1:36)

- 1 Sammy: mas le' son le dela'ab denna ts'ana le ish dom Shiwi'ma ma' dech hon
a:beyakya
well, when I was a child we spoke just Shiwi'ma

2 hom a:łashshina an tsam'ona dom lesna hom Shiwi'ma dech hon a:beyekya
 all my elders spoke only Shiwi'ma
 3 lesnapdes le' tokson ihoiha iyak'yana:wanap
 as of now, after all this time, as we grew up
 4 melika'mas emma a:beyenna
 we speak more and more English

Despite this experience of shifting toward English earlier in her life, Sammy has maintained her Shiwi'ma fluency because of her family's influence; in fact, the only reason she used English during the interview was to accommodate me.

Sammy does not have any children but helps to take care of her brother's children. She says that she and her brother speak to them in Shiwi'ma because of her mother's guidance (Excerpt 3.3b). She also notes that even though they do so, the children are speaking more English (Excerpt 3.3c).

Excerpt 3.3b (1:38-1:48)

Sammy: homma a:tsitda ho'na uh yadinne ansammana ho'na chawe yadinenna don yam
 ałashina Shiwi'ma dechi a:washuwenna
 Our mom told us (children) to speak only Zuni to our elders

Excerpt 3.3c (1:50-1:59)

Sammy: dem akkya dem le' delap hon ed emmam Shiwi'ma a:beyenande lesnade hon an
 a:ts'ana emma melika'mas a:beyenna
 That's why all this time we speak Shiwi'ma, but our children speak more English

When asked about her opinion on whether A:shiwí children want to learn Shiwi'ma, Sammy said yes, based on her experience with her own family as well as her professional experience working with Shiwi youth at the Zuni Youth Enrichment Project.

Excerpt 3.3d (14:08-14:36)

1 Sammy: do' dikwahna do' yanik'enna do' lesna um a:washu'ep
 you need to teach them in a good way and talk to them,

2 ma ed yuheduna:wa
 they will understand
 3 kwa uhsona ma' ish dem a:ts'ana dehde lesna yannikep akkya
 if you teach them at a young age and speak in Shiwi'ma to them often,
 4 akkya a:wan bena i:ts'umme <inaudible> akkya
 their language will become stronger
 5 da lesdik leya lesna isha- ishamałde Shiwi'ma a:beyenna les-
 and they will speak more Shiwi'ma then.
 6 lesnapde a:wan ałashina honkwa dom melika'ma ikwał lesna a:washu'ep
 But if their parents talk to them in English
 7 akkya kwa lesna bena wo:dina:wamme
 in response they will not pick it up strongly

Sammy is explicitly stating that a certain, positive approach needs to be used when speaking Shiwi'ma to children: “you need to teach them in a good way” (line 1). This approach needs to be combined with speaking frequently to children in Shiwi'ma and starting this practice at a young age. By doing so, children's language abilities, both comprehension and production, will strengthen. Sammy's current family language policy is influenced by a variety of factors: her own experiences growing up, her mother's explicit instructions to her and her brother about how to raise their children, and her observations of the young people she works with.

3.5.4 Roger

Roger, the only man included among the participants discussed in this dissertation, was in his early 40s and spoke almost entirely in Shiwi'ma throughout the interview except when repeating himself in English as a form of linguistic accommodation to me (as in the examples below). He was raised in a primarily Shiwi'ma-speaking household (lines 7-8). He has two sons, two daughters, and a toddler grandson from one of his sons. He says that he uses both Shiwi'ma and English when speaking to his children (line 1), whom he co-parents.

Excerpt 3.4a (2:44-3:13)

1 Roger: so I- I do speak to my children in both English and Zuni
2 but dominantly Eng- English is the dominant language
3 that I speak to them because uh
4 if I do do that, speak to them in Zuni
5 um it's mainly asking me questions
6 what am I saying in Zuni so
7 but I did grow up in a home where my grandmother
8 where Zuni language was the dominant

While Roger's household is bilingual, he says that English is the main language he uses when speaking to his children, as they do not fully understand Shiwi'ma. When he does attempt to speak to them in Shiwi'ma, they frequently question him for clarification (lines 5-6).

Similar to Melissa, Roger tries to implement the one-parent, one-language strategy as much as he can when he is with his children; however, he said that when they are with their mother, they mostly speak English.

Excerpt 3.4b (35:54-36:47)

1 Roger: Because um, for for myself, you know,
2 I'm in a co-parent relationship.
3 And when I'm with my kids,
4 you know, it's a lot of Zuni,
5 but then English but,
6 when they're with their mom,
7 that my two daughters that I'm raising,
8 um, they're always at their mom's
9 so it's always English English English.
10 But when it's really my son's turn to be with them,
11 it's always English.
12 And I- I always tell her to say,
13 Shi- Shiwi'ma a:washuwe, please
 You all speak Zuni, please
14 and it's hard.
15 Some- and sometimes, you know, it's-
16 I think for myself it gets frustrating because
17 there are certain things that they should already know

18 that I've been repeating for what,
 19 maybe nine or ten years already.
 20 It gets hard, you know, I- it does.

Despite all of Roger's attempts to ensure that his children understand and speak Shiwi'ma, it is not their preferred language. Since A:shiwi children typically spend more time with their mother and the maternal side of the family, the mother's preferred language choice tends to prevail (line 9). This lack of Shiwi'ma exposure in the household where Roger's children spend most of their time possibly contributes to them not retaining the language that he has consistently tried to use with them, resulting in frustration for him (lines 16-19). In this case, the family language policy that Roger has tried to establish in his household conflicts with the family language policy of his children's mother.

3.5.5 Eva

Eva was in her late 40s and was raised in a household where only Shiwi'ma was spoken due to the fact that her parents were older when they had her. She is a single parent and has three children; her two daughters, who are high school students, live with her. In the interview, Eva focused on her daughters and stated that she speaks to them in both English and Shiwi'ma. They mainly speak English but also understand and speak Shiwi'ma. Eva encourages the use of English in school but tells her daughters that they should speak Shiwi'ma when at home (line 2).

Excerpt 3.5a 19:36-20:00

1 Eva: ho' akk ishamałde ho' a:chi a:ho a- a:bey'a don ts'inawashnan don melika
 kwin don uhsona ifimonande
 I always talk to them that while they're in school, they follow the white
 ways
 2 don shi lił do yam heshoda kwin iyanan don Shiwi'ma

3 *and when you come to the house, you talk Zuni*
 iyashu wawa'ak'yanna don dekwin kwilimakde don its'umme dinande
 4 *you will be strong (in speaking both languages)*
 do' yam akkya kwa do yam Shiwi'na okyashukwa
 so you don't lose your language
 5 ana ho' uhson a:chi ishamaɫd akkya ho' an bey'a
 that's why I always talk to them about that

Linda, the interviewer, is related to Eva, and the two have social visits with each other. The interaction in the following excerpt took place before the interview started. Eva mainly asked me about higher education, but other topics were also discussed, like her daughters' experiences in the local school district and their use of Shiwi'ma. Linda then initiated the exchange in this excerpt by commenting on how Eva's daughters speak Shiwi'ma.

Excerpt 3.5b (13:06-13:44)

1 Linda: They speak Zuni and da shikwi you know they'll laugh
 They speak Zuni and *and laugh* you know they'll laugh
 2 Eva: They make like, you know with these kids,
 3 they're- they make it really like elaborate,
 4 so it's kind of funny like our language at,
 5 you know it's like they say it at the right moment
 6 but then they make it so elaborate that we all start laughing.
 7 Adrienne: Oh that- the Zuni that they learned in school?
 8 Eva: No.
 9 Linda: No, here.
 10 Eva: Here but-
 11 Linda: They know.
 12 Eva: They tend to make it to where
 13 if we're all talking and then they would
 14 like imitate us but they'll use it in a different sentence to where
 15 we would never get away with it with our parents
 16 But nowadays it's okay

Linda says that Eva's daughters know how to speak Shiwi'ma (line 1) and that they feel comfortable enough to speak the language in front of visitors. She and Eva also confirm that the girls learned Shiwi'ma at home (lines 8-11). Eva's description of the way her daughters

speak Shiwi'ma highlights variation between the two different generations' language production and characterizes their "elaborate" language use as both marked and comical. Her daughters are listening and learning (line 14), but they are also introducing linguistic innovations ("but they use it in a different sentence," line 14). This innovative language use results in a marked language change which would not be acceptable to Eva's parents but is acceptable to her as a parent (lines 15 and 16). Eva's family language policy is therefore responsive to her daughters as language learners, who use innovative linguistic structures that would not have been permitted under her parents' family language policy.

3.5.6 Carly

Carly was in her mid-60s at the time of the interview; like Eva, she was also raised in a Shiwi'ma-speaking household. She raised her son (now deceased) in a Shiwi'ma-only household as well and she continues to primarily speak Shiwi'ma at home. Carly reports that even though her son spoke Shiwi'ma, he did not speak it to his daughters (line 5).

Excerpt 3.6a (11:34-11:51)

- 1 Carly: Shiwi'ma be' ke ishde
He always talked Zuni
2 and that's why that oldest daughter said,
3 it's because of them.
4 "How come you guys didn't teach me when you were talking Zuni?" lekwap
"How come you guys didn't teach me when you were talking Zuni?"
they said
5 Shiwi'ma beyenna de kwa a:nik'yanama <inaudible> da lesanikwekya
He was talking Zuni but never taught her

Carly talks to her granddaughters in Shiwi'ma as much as she can, especially as they have certain traditional religious obligations, the details of which are intentionally omitted

below as part of my commitment to the Indigenous methodological principle of refusal (line 4).

Excerpt 3.6b (12:48-13:09)

- 1 Linda: is it important do' yam chawe
Is it important *your children*
2 Shiwi'ma dech ed a:washuwe
To speak Zuni?
3 Carly: lehapba yam kwał akkya
yes because
4 a:wan...
What we have here
5 uhson akkya lesnap a:wan yuhe'do
It's because of them that we teach them
6 denna uhsona kwał a:chis yakshey
They both are participating in the Zuni ways
7 akkya Shiwi'ma
That way they'll learn

As previously mentioned, these religious obligations require the exclusive use of Shiwi'ma, and these cultural values, traditions, and worldviews are transmitted from one generation to the next through kinship relationships. Carly emphasizes the importance of participation in these activities to truly learn (lines 6-7) what needs to be done and how to do it, as well as the language needed to realize our traditions. This aligns with the Learning by Observing and Pitching In (LOPI) approach to Native language maintenance (Henne-Ochoa et al. 2020), which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 6. Although Carly's son's family language policy did not focus on intergenerational transmission of Shiwi'ma, her own family language policy for her granddaughters emphasizes this goal as part of a larger emphasis on continuity of cultural and religious traditions.

3.6 Discussion

The above analysis of the participants' family language policies demonstrates a wide range of language practices within the home. All six participants grew up in households where Shiwi'ma was the primary language, and they all stated that they want their children and grandchildren, or children in general, to grow up in the same environment. Eva and Carly, the two oldest participants, were able to ensure that their children are (or were) able to speak Shiwi'ma. Younger participants' responses revealed that they too value the language and consider it important for their children to be able to speak Shiwi'ma, yet intergenerational transmission was more difficult for these younger participants, one of whom, Nicki, did not consider herself fluent in the language. Even fluent speakers of Shiwi'ma, however, struggled to pass the language down to the next generation, suggesting that societal factors are as important as individual choices in language disruption and regeneration.

Another key factor in whether intergenerational language transmission is successful is the agency of young people as language users. While interactions between children and caregivers are not within the scope of this study, they were referenced by Sammy in excerpt 3.3d when she noted, "*if their parents talk to them in English, in response they will not pick it up strongly.*" Similarly, Roger stated that he needs to switch to English in order to be understood by his children.

Gafaranga discusses how speakers "categorize each other in terms of language preference" (2010:265). This phenomenon can be seen with Nicki's son, who has categorized her as preferring English based on his observed interactions of her with others, even though she speaks Shiwi'ma to him as much as she can. Nicki's son is also demonstrating his agency by selecting who he speaks Shiwi'ma with. Young people's role

as interactional partners and their agency are prominent themes in family language policy (Luykx 2005, Lanza 2007, Fogle & King 2013, Smith-Christmas 2020). As this chapter has shown, their perspectives need to be considered in studies of Indigenous language disruption and regeneration (Wyman et al. 2013).

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined the six participants' past and present family language policies by considering their own language history and their current language use in their homes. As the analysis has demonstrated, all six participants engage in explicit family language planning as defined by Curdt-Christiansen (2018). Curdt-Christiansen notes that one of the major themes of family language policy research is language ideology. In the next chapter, I examine in detail the participants' language ideologies regarding bilingual practices.

Chapter 4

“It could be a stepping stone”: Language ideologies and Shiwi’ma/English bilingual practices

“...an ongoing challenge that language reclamation aims to remedy involves the hegemony of dominant (often colonial) ideologies, which frequently guide expectations about speakerhood and proficiency in ways that impose a narrow notion of speech community rather than engaging the broader notion of the metalinguistic community.” (Leonard 2021b:253)

4.1 Native American language ideologies

Language ideologies have been defined as “the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989:255). In this chapter, I discuss language ideologies about bilingualism as part of the larger language ecology of Shiwi’ma. While a comprehensive analysis of language ideologies would examine their sources, uses, and circulation, the goal of this chapter is not to explain the participants’ language ideologies or to compare their ideologies to their linguistic practices, which would require a larger ethnographic study. Instead, in this chapter I focus on what Irvine calls the “moral interests” behind the participants’ language ideologies in order to show the potential and actual impact of these ideologies on language disruption and regeneration. I consider these moral interests to encompass both Indigenous cultural values and individual values.

Kroskrity and Field (2009:10) have argued, “Without understanding...Native American language ideologies, scholars and researchers—both Native and non-Native—cannot hope to understand Native American languages and the ways speakers use them, change them, and renew them.” These ideologies are rooted in the historical, cultural, and social contexts

of a given community as well as in an individual's lived experiences. Native Americans are not a homogeneous group; therefore, Native American language ideologies often vary widely within and between communities. Scholars have examined Native American language ideologies pertaining to ethnolinguistic identity (Kroskrity 2000, Bender 2009, Davis 2016, 2018), literacy (Neely and Palmer 2009, Morgan 2009, Shaul 2014, Debenport 2015), and agency (Kroskrity 2009a, Sicoli 2011), as well as perceptions of loss (Meek 2022). A particularly common and extensively studied language ideology in Native American communities is language purism, or the association of the ideal version of the ancestral language with the pre-colonial past or elders and the belief that innovations or contact features should be avoided (Kroskrity 1998, Field 2009, Kickham 2015, Debenport 2015, Cru 2016). Conversely, youth practices tend to be devalued as incorrect language (McCarty et al. 2006, Lee 2009). For language disruption situations and language regeneration, revitalization and reclamation efforts, this examination of language ideologies, or what has been called ideological clarification, has been argued to be essential (Fishman 2001, Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer 1998). However, Kroskrity cautions that ideological clarification should not be viewed as community consensus, and he emphasizes the need to recognize the "multiplicity of ideologies" (2009b:73) in any Native American community.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, a key area of interest in family language policy research is understanding how language ideologies are manifested, yet there is minimal research that addresses how parents and caregivers form their language ideologies and the influences that are involved in developing them (King et al. 2008). King et al. observe that in Western societies, a possible influence on language ideologies is the "professional parenting advice industry that offers books, websites, and training" (2008:913). This is in stark contrast to the

situation of A:shiwi parents and caregivers, who are heavily influenced by the cultural values and traditions that are embedded in our language and are shared through kinship relations (see also Parson-Yazzie 1995, Chew 2015).

In this chapter, I explore the language ideologies of the study participants regarding two key aspects of language contact and bilingualism within the Shiwi community: receptive bilingualism and language mixing. I begin by discussing the notion of speakerhood in language research and how speakers are classified both in situations of language endangerment and as bilingual individuals. I then foreground a specific bilingual type, the receptive bilingual, and emphasize linguistic insecurity as an emotional aspect of this status that many receptive bilinguals experience. By eliciting responses to a social media image about receptive bilingualism, I examine the participants' attitudes both towards these types of bilinguals and towards Shiwi'ma ability. Another phenomenon of language contact that I consider in this chapter is language mixing, particularly hybrid Englishes and participants' attitudes toward Zunlish. Next, I discuss the causes and implications of linguistic insecurity in Shiwi'ma as well as four language ideologies that emerged from the analysis: language purism, osmosis, acquiescence, and the necessity of correction. Finally, I link these ideologies to specific Indigenous cultural values.

4.2 Speakerhood definitions and characteristics of bilingual individuals

Nearly all empirical language research is fundamentally rooted in the problematic concept of speakerhood (Birkeland et al. 2024). This concept is central to research with endangered languages, a category which comprises many, if not all, Native American languages. Historically, outsider language scholars working in endangered language

contexts have adjudged themselves the experts at assessing the language competencies of members of a given speech community. An infamous early example of a linguist assessing a Native American’s bilingual competencies comes from Bloomfield: “White Thunder, a man around 40, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small, his inflections are often barbarous, he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models. He may be said to speak no language tolerably” (1927:395; see also Collins 1998). (For critiques of linguists’ assessments of Indigenous language competencies and determinations of speakerhood, see Leonard & Haynes 2010, Davis 2017, Tsikewa 2021, Boltokova et al. 2022).

For nearly a century after Bloomfield’s harsh judgement of White Thunder’s language abilities, linguists have deemed it essential in endangered language contexts to categorize speakers based on these perceived competencies. Initial proposals included the categories “semi-speaker” (Dorian 1977) and “rememberer” (Campbell & Muntzel 1989). A fuller model is Grinevald and Bert’s (2011) classification of speakers in endangered language contexts, which consists of seven types. These are detailed in Table 4.1 below, in which I also compare these categories to the roughly corresponding classifications of bilingual individuals (Li 2000).

Speaker types in endangered language contexts (Grinevald & Bert 2011)	Bilingual types (Li 2000)
Fluent speakers or traditional speakers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Full acquisition and no loss 	Dominant bilingual <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone with greater proficiency in one of their

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two subtypes: old fluent speakers (conservative, “pure” form) vs. young fluent speakers (somewhat modified form) 	<p>languages, which they use significantly more than the other language</p>
<p>Semi-speakers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partial acquisition and possible loss (modified form) • Varying levels of productive skills; knowledge of language use in socioculturally appropriate ways • Language skills and usage are in dominant language 	<p>Recessive bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone who begins to feel some difficulty in either understanding or expressing themselves with ease in one of their languages, due to lack of use <p>Receptive bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone who understands an L2 in either its spoken or written form or both, but does not necessarily speak or write it (also known as passive bilingual, semibilingual, asymmetrical bilingual) <p>Subtractive bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone whose L2 is acquired at the expense of the

	aptitudes already acquired in the L1
<p>Terminal speakers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Either limited acquisition or acquisition but advanced loss • Some passive knowledge of the language; very limited productive skills • Negative connotation; “partial speaker” has been suggested as an alternative 	<p>Minimal bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone with only a few words and phrases in an L2
<p>Rememberers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Similar to semi-speakers or terminal speakers, but evokes the possibility that such speakers may regain or reacquire some partial active use of the language 	<p>Dormant bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone who has been away from the primary place(s) where the L1 is actively spoken for a considerable amount of time, resulting in minimal opportunities to use the L1
Ghost speakers	Covert bilingual

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conspicuously deny any knowledge of the endangered language in spite of evidence that they do have some level of competence • Associated with negative ethnolinguistic ideologies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone who conceals their knowledge of a given language due to an attitudinal disposition
<p>Neo-speakers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language learners • Level of fluency attained varies 	<p>Ascendant bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone whose ability to function in the L2 is developing due to increased use of the language <p>Incipient bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone at the early stages of bilingualism where one language is not fully developed <p>Secondary bilingual</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Someone whose L2 has been added to an L1 via instruction
<p>Last speakers</p>	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Status may be self-attributed or assigned by the community • May not fall into the traditional “old fluent speaker” category (self-assessment vs. linguist’s assessment) • Grinevald believes this category does not belong in her typology but recognizes it as a point of entry into the phenomenon of language endangerment 	
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Table 4.1. Comparison of typology of speakers in endangered language situations, based on Grinevald and Bert (2011), and of bilingual persons, based on Li (2000).

With the exception of “ghost speakers” and “last speakers,” all of the types in the above table apply to the Shiwi’ma language situation. I turn now to one of these categories, the receptive bilingual, which corresponds to the “semi-speaker” classification originally proposed by Dorian. The term *receptive bilingual* rejects the traditional deficit framing of previous terms by highlighting the skills that such bilinguals possess. Receptive bilinguals have been described as “individuals whose comprehension skills are sufficient to participate in a conversation but whose production skills are not” (Sherkina-Lieber 2020:413).

Receptive bilinguals may not recognize themselves or be recognized as having any bilingual

ability at all, yet they play an important role in Indigenous language regeneration by making communication in the Indigenous language possible.

4.2.1 Receptive bilinguals

I have observed that many people in Zuni can be categorized as receptive bilinguals; therefore, this type warrants close attention. Just as a typology of bilingual persons has been proposed, a typology of receptive bilinguals has been suggested based on the receptive language. The three types of receptive bilingualism identified by Sherkina-Lieber (2020) are based on (1) a mutually intelligible language (MIL), or a language that is similar enough to the recipient's own language to be comprehensible; (2) an L2; and (3) a heritage language, which I refer to as *ancestral language*. The two latter types are distinguished from the MIL type because they involve a language acquisition process leading to some degree of bilingualism. As English is not mutually intelligible with Shiwí'ma, the MIL type is not relevant to this study. Sherkina-Lieber states that the acquisition process for ancestral-language receptive bilinguals starts at birth, whereas for L2 receptive bilinguals the acquisition process begins at a later age, between 4 and 10 years. For ancestral-language receptive bilinguals, language abilities depend on exposure to and use of the ancestral language, with "outcomes ranging from full fluency to lack of any knowledge" (Sherkina-Lieber 2020:416). Outcomes also differ for L2 learners; although they undoubtedly have some knowledge of the target language (which may also be their ancestral language), they may not achieve, or be perceived according to local language ideologies as having, full fluency. The L2 and ancestral-language types of receptive bilingualism occur when there is insufficient exposure to and use of the language, resulting in language attrition (i.e., recessive bilingualism in Li's 2000 typology; see also Montrul 2008). While production is

difficult for receptive bilinguals due to insufficient grammatical knowledge, they are “typically able to say at least a few words” (Sherkina-Lieber 2020:418).

Sherkina-Lieber’s analysis primarily focuses on the linguistic characteristics of receptive bilinguals and minimally addresses other concerns such as social aspects (e.g. identity) and language attitudes. The omission of these details is problematic from the standpoint of Indigenous research. For example, researchers’ failure to connect a receptive bilingual’s difficulty with language production to language disruption is an erasure of colonial agency (Davis 2017).

4.2.2 Linguistic insecurity

One consequence of deficit-based assessments of a bilingual person’s language production abilities, like that of Bloomfield (1927), is linguistic insecurity. This phenomenon, described by Meyerhoff as “speakers’ feeling that the variety they use is somehow inferior, ugly, or bad” (2006:292), can also be caused by speakers’ previous experiences of being laughed at or made fun of when they did try to speak their ancestral language. This type of negative reaction is exemplified by the following reflection from a Shiwi educator after a professional development workshop for teachers:

I never spoke Zuni other than the “slang” that many of the younger kids knew. I was afraid to even try because of my mom’s story. She would tell us about how she and her sister were put on the spot by an elder because of the way they spoke Zuni. I could relate to the student who told stories of trying to speak the language. Like her, instead of being corrected, many of us were made fun of. That student was not the only one who expressed the embarrassment they felt trying to speak the Zuni

language. Many students told their stories. A couple of the adults told similar stories, which surprised some of the students, not knowing that some of the adults had also been embarrassed too, while trying to speak the language when they were younger.

(Bowannie 2019:13)

Abtahian and Quinn (2017:142-143) propose three types of linguistic insecurity in language endangerment scenarios:

- the insecurity of speakers who were punished for speaking their native languages
- the insecurity of young speakers who might be criticized by older fluent speakers for not speaking the language correctly
- the insecurity of non-speakers whose identity/authenticity/solidarity is questioned due to not speaking their ancestral languages

The situation described by Bowannie in the above example is the second type; this is also the type I have observed within Zuni, although it should be noted that this insecurity is felt by both younger and older individuals. As Abtahian and Quinn note, “fear of being laughed at by fluent speakers is an intensely strong motivator away from even attempting to use the language” (2017:144), which can inevitably lead to a loss of intergenerational language transmission (see also Charles 2009, Wyman 2012, among others).

McKenzie (2022), also writing in the context of Navajo language reclamation, emphasizes that negative emotions towards the use of the ancestral language originate in colonialism and ongoing historical trauma:

These can be caused by internalized oppression carried by speakers due to trauma that they may not know they carry. I will never forget, after committing to (re)learning Diné bizaad [the Navajo language] as a young adult, being laughed at

and told I was too old by a man from my own community. As learners internalize negative feelings surrounding our language, I have heard them put themselves down for not speaking it. They have voiced apprehension at trying to use our language, and they are not alone. (McKenzie 2022:73)

As these examples show, linguistic insecurity is not simply an individual psychological obstacle to Indigenous language regeneration, revitalization and reclamation but a response to colonial trauma that can only be overcome by replacing colonial thinking with Indigenous ways of knowing and cultural values. A similar shift in perspective is needed regarding ideologies toward other bilingual phenomena, such as language mixing.

4.3 Code-switching, language mixing, and translanguaging

While receptive bilingualism is one outcome of language contact, productive bilingualism is also common. A widespread linguistic practice of bilingual individuals is combining two or more languages, which has been termed *code-switching*, *language mixing*, or, more recently, *translanguaging*. Although this practice has been extensively researched since the 1970s, linguists still lack a “unified framework for dealing with contact phenomena” (Romaine 1995:180; see also Matras 2009). Linguists who study this bilingual practice have distinguished different aspects of the phenomenon. Muysken defines code-switching as the “rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event” and code-mixing as “all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence” (2000:1). Bullock and Toribio define code-switching as alternating “between languages in an unchanged setting, often within the same utterance” (2009:2), while Li defines it as “grammatical integration of one language in another” (2000:14). Meisel (2000) distinguishes between code-switching, or a bilingual person’s ability to

choose which language to use according to the situational context, and language mixing, which he characterizes as an indiscriminate amalgamation of linguistic elements from each language.

By contrast with these traditional definitions, some of which rely on a deficit ideology, the translinguaging framework views this linguistic practice as “the use of language as a dynamic repertoire” (García & Li 2020:1093) that may or may not correspond to the established norms (Spolsky 2002) of named languages. This framework challenges theories that draw a sharp separation between the languages that bilingual/multilingual speakers use, which may not accurately reflect how these speakers perceive their linguistic repertoire (García & Li 2020). This framework acknowledges and takes as given the high level of bilingual competence of individuals who engage in translinguaging and views translinguaging as a valuable practice (see also Peters 2024).

Translinguaging includes practices that have been labeled *codeswitching* or *language mixing*, with an emphasis on valorizing speakers’ abilities rather than analyzing the structural properties of their language or assessments of their levels of bilingual competency. One form of language mixing is hybrid Englishes, or varieties that “liberally blend elements from English and from one or more local languages” (Schneider 2016:341; see also McArthur 1998). A common naming formula for these varieties is combining the first part of a given language name followed by *-(ng)lish*. In the United States, a widely known example of a hybrid English is Spanglish, which combines Spanish and English. On a global level, hybrid Englishes are difficult to compare and generalize about due to the diverse language ecologies in which they emerge. In Lambert’s (2018) attempt to catalog the world’s “lishes,” he discusses the denotation and connotation of hybrid English terms. He

categorizes the denotations into three groups: “(a) no definition—the words are left to speak for themselves; (b) a simple listing of the languages involved; and (c) a more detailed, yet still generally vague, description of the character of the hybridity” (Lambert 2018:5). He further observes that the connotations associated with these terms are predominantly negative, aligning both with prevalent deficit-based language ideologies that view hybrid Englishes as poor or broken English rather than as distinctive varieties and with language purism ideologies that devalue hybrid Englishes as “impure.” Schneider similarly notes that the stigma frequently associated with hybrid Englishes is “fueled by concerns about the loss of ‘purity’ of local languages” (2016:349-350).

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the ideology of linguistic purism is also widespread in Indigenous communities, with implications for language disruption and regeneration. Compared to global Englishes, which are the focus of most of this work, the study of hybrid Englishes with Native American languages is understudied (but see Webster 2008, 2010, Field 2009 for Navlish, or Navajo and English, and Kickham 2015 for Choclish, or Choctaw and English).

In the following analysis, I first examine how the participants discussed receptive bilingualism. I then consider how they talked about a particular variety of hybrid English, Zunglish, that is widespread in Zuni. In the discussion following the analysis, I characterize the language ideologies that emerge in the interviews and their relationship to Indigenous cultural values.

4.4 Asymmetry between language comprehension and production

In Chapter 2, I described an image that I found on social media that read “When you are fluent enough to understand, but not fluent enough to respond” (Figure 2.1). When I came across this image, I thought of some of my relatives who had expressed a similar sentiment about understanding but not speaking Shiwi’ma. As a community member with limited proficiency both in speaking and in understanding the language, I have observed (as noted in Chapter 1) that most adult community members are fluent Shiwi’ma speakers and switch between the two languages frequently on a daily basis. This is less the case for children, many of whom can understand the Zuni language and can speak it when necessary or at their own sporadic choosing, but whose dominant language is English. I wanted to incorporate the image into my research in order to explore the ideologies that the participants have towards receptive bilinguals. The following examples are taken from the part of the interview in which I showed the participants the image on my phone (or, in one case, via a shared screen on Zoom) and asked if they knew anyone who might resonate with its wording. Since I asked this question in English, the participants’ responses are mainly in English.

Nicki is the only participant who self-identified as a receptive bilingual, as seen in excerpt 4.1.

Excerpt 4.1 (5:51-6:18)

1 Nicki: That’s me (laughs)
2 Like completely me
3 I I-
4 I’m really really like uh
5 I feel very blessed that I can understand a lot
6 I really love listening to prayers and and
7 knowing that I can like understand it too and I listen to conversations but
8 when I’m ready to respond,
9 it’s like (choking vocalization) uh uhhhh you know
10 And it’s like man, how come I can’t speak, you know?

Nicki is grateful for her ability to comprehend the Shiwi'ma she encounters in everyday and religious settings ("I feel very blessed that I can understand a lot"; line 5), as it allows her to participate and be included in social and cultural interactions. In these situations, she tries to respond using Shiwi'ma, but when she attempts to, she struggles; in describing this experience, she makes a choking vocalization as though something is stuck in her throat (line 9). Nicki's description reflects the language production difficulties that receptive bilinguals experience. Here Nicki frames this difficulty as a somewhat mysterious individual problem ("how come I can't speak...?", line 10); she does not attribute the difficulty to any particular possible cause.

In contrast to Nicki, Carly did not initially identify any specific person as a receptive bilingual but did recognize that this type of bilingual person exists in Zuni, as seen in excerpt 4.2a.

Excerpt 4.2a (15:09-15:30)

- 1 Carly: e:h ma yeah
 yes (filler) yeah
- 2 Adrienne: Who? or who do you know,
- 3 do you know anyone who feels like that?
- 4 Linda: e:h chuwa ma-
 Yeah someone
- 5 Carly: Like an individual?
- 6 Adrienne: Grandchildren? Relatives?
- 7 Carly: Relatives.
- 8 Probably relatives and grandkids

Here Carly associates receptive bilingualism with younger people, specifically her grandchildren. Later in the conversation, Linda asked her if she thought that A:shiwi children really want to learn Shiwi'ma. This led Carly to start talking about her oldest

granddaughter, who works as a medical professional and had to learn Shiwi'ma in order to speak to and assist elderly patients. Linda recalls noticing the receptive bilingualism of Carly's older granddaughter and describes this experience to me.

Excerpt 4.2b (23:15 - 24:17)

- 1 Linda: They'll they'll not, you know
2 the younger one she's still in school
3 but the oldest one is outta high school
4 so she'll talk to ma-
5 she'll talk to us in English
6 but I'm talking to her in Zuni
7 Carly: do' ashuwaneps dom Shiwi'ma a:washuk'enna
as you're talking to her, she'll respond to you in Zuni
8 Adrienne: So the fluent enough to understand
9 but not fluent enough to respond?
10 Carly: [yeah]
11 Linda: [yeah]
12 Carly: The little one, little one
13 Linda She e:de she will
14 Carly: Little one is well then
15 Linda: The younger
16 Carly: Younger one, a little bit,
17 but she's kind of like reluctant
18 she understands but
19 Adrienne: Just doesn't have confidence to?
20 like doesn't feel-
21 Carly: She's like, maybe she saw her sister
22 being laughed at by her grandma
23 So I think she's kind of hesitant
24 but like her sister said you can do it
25 wowo's not going to laugh at you.
26 So she's trying with me
27 so I'm encouraging her

In this excerpt, Linda observes that Carly's older granddaughter, who is probably in her early 20s, does understand Shiwi'ma but responds in English, thus conforming to the communicative pattern of a receptive bilingual. Carly clarifies in Shiwi'ma that her older granddaughter is gaining more confidence in her speaking abilities and now switches to Shiwi'ma if she is addressed in that language (line 7). The conversational topic switches to

the younger granddaughter, who is a teenager and also a receptive bilingual. Carly's description of this granddaughter as "reluctant" (line 17) indicates linguistic insecurity, which is confirmed in lines 21-25. Carly suggests that her younger granddaughter's reluctance to speak Shiwi'ma is related to seeing her older sister being laughed at by her maternal grandmother (*hotda*) when she attempted to speak Shiwi'ma, an example of the second type of linguistic insecurity proposed by Abtahian and Quinn. Carly reports that the older granddaughter encouraged the younger granddaughter to try to speak the language, reassuring her that their paternal grandmother, Carly (*wowo* in line 25), wouldn't laugh at her. Carly confirms that the younger granddaughter heeded her sister's advice and that Carly herself created a safe environment where the granddaughter feels comfortable and confident enough to try to use Shiwi'ma (lines 26-27).

Sammy's response to the image is different to that of both Nicki and Carly. She does not identify a specific person as a receptive bilingual, but instead states that there are many such bilinguals in Zuni. She also discusses linguistic insecurity as a reason why people may not use Shiwi'ma even though they may have the linguistic ability to do so.

Excerpt 4.3 (6:39-7:56)

- | | | |
|----|--------|---|
| 1 | Sammy: | Yeah. A lot of people like that. Yeah |
| 2 | Linda: | kwa yam ish bena dem k'op le' <aleto> ma' yuhedunan uh
<i>She doesn't understand fully</i> |
| 3 | Sammy: | e:h ma den emma le' isno hom em'ona a:wanap
<i>There's a lot of people that I know that do understand it</i> |
| 4 | | There's a lot of people that I know that do understand it |
| 5 | | but uh there mi- it might have been something that caused them to
not learn it |
| 6 | | or some are embarrassed to speak it |
| 7 | | which is, which is not, it's unfortunate |
| 8 | | I know a lot of people that, you know, |
| 9 | | when we're working here at ZYEP (Zuni Youth Enrichment Project) |
| 10 | | they talk about how hard it is for them to try |
| 11 | | because somebody in their, maybe their past |

12 told them that you know
13 they were making fun of them for saying a word wrong
14 or or they weren't saying it right
15 and they- they were too embarrassed to ask how to speak it
16 And I think that's the wrong attitude for us to-
17 for a lot of our elders to have because we need to-
18 if they think that it's important for us to learn the language
19 then they also need to be aware of
20 not shaming people on how to speak it
21 and I think it's important that even if you're-
22 you've never speak spoke spoken it before
23 that there's never, it's never too late to learn

In line 2, Linda notes that I need more context to understand Sammy's response, which prompts Sammy to switch to English. Sammy, like Carly, points to being laughed at when attempting to speak Shiwi'ma as a cause of linguistic insecurity (line 13), which she views as "unfortunate" (line 7). She also points out the conflicting ideologies present in the village: On the one hand, it is important for A:shiwi to learn our language (line 18), but on the other hand, the shaming that can occur when people do attempt to speak Shiwi'ma (line 20) actively contributes to A:shiwi not wanting to use their receptive language knowledge to learn how to speak. Although Sammy initially frames the people who have this negative response in general terms ("that's the wrong attitude for us to-," line 16; "we need to-," line 17), in both cases she rephrases her statement to specify that it is elders who have this "wrong attitude" despite their view "that it's important for us to learn the language" (line 18). By drawing a distinction between "us" learners and "them" (i.e., elders), she aligns herself more with the former than the latter, despite being a fluent speaker of Shiwi'ma. She concludes her response with the optimistic words "it's never too late to learn" (line 23).

Similar to the discussion of Carly's older granddaughter in Excerpt 4.2b, Roger identifies his oldest son, who is in his early twenties, as a receptive bilingual.

Excerpt 4.4a (8:36- 9:15)

- 1 Roger: Yeah, e:h.
2 I, I do know that, you know,
3 I can be fluent in my language and understand it well,
4 but the barrier, I would say I can put it to is my oldest son
5 you know he does understand being spoken to in Zuni
6 e:h do' Shiwi'ma ashu yuhede
when you speak to him in Zuni he understands
7 dapde an benan kwainake deni
has a hard time speaking
8 an an an bena-
his speech
9 Linda: k'op debikwaikya
How old is he?
10 Roger: uh la:k'is uh kwili asdemla dobinde yałdo debikwaikya twenty-one
Today twenty-one twenty one
11 e:h uhs- uhsonas iskon dechi iskon dechi
He's getting there

Roger describes his son as struggling with speaking Shiwi'ma (line 7), but he indicates that despite the difficulties, his son is progressing (line 11). Roger's optimistic tone echoes Carly's statement that she is "encouraging" her granddaughter to speak as well as Sammy's statement that "it's never too late to learn."

This topic leads Roger to discuss his ideologies of language learning, agency, and obligation. Here his viewpoint diverges from that of Carly and Sammy by focusing not on the attitudes of fluent speakers but on the motivation of the individual learner.

Excerpt 4.4b (9:22-9:42)

- 1 Roger: dachi ho' duna
This is what I see
2 yam do' Shiwi'ma benan yanikwa delenan do' yanikwadinna
It's really up to you if you want to learn Zuni
3 dom kwał denas da dewusu lesna
What you're going to learn first is the prayers
4 You have to be committed to learning language
5 as well as the prayers
6 because that's that's that's the way we learn.

Roger states that if a person wants to learn Shiwi'ma, it has to be their own choice to do so (line 2) and that "you have to be committed" (line 4). He emphasizes that it is not enough to learn everyday language but that A:shiwi people also need to learn our prayers. In a part of the interview not included here, he explains that our prayers are important because they are sacred and we need them to carry out our traditional activities. Nicki also highlights prayers as an important context for Shiwi'ma use, but in contrast to Roger's perspective, she considers herself "blessed" simply to understand the prayers, even though she cannot produce them.

In Excerpt 4.4c, Roger concludes his response by questioning the younger generation's attitudes toward speaking Shiwi'ma.

Excerpt 4.4c (10:32 - 10:46)

- 1 Roger: what- how- how important is it to our younger generation
- 2 to be able to speak the language.
- 3 Are they able to carry that on to our next generation
- 4 is what my question is

Roger was very vocal about questioning whether children really want to learn Shiwi'ma (line 4). Thus, Linda and I decided to incorporate his question into the later interviews: Do you think children really want to learn Shiwi'ma?. (This is the question that Carly is responding to in excerpt 4.2b above when she discusses her granddaughters.) For Roger, the moral responsibility for maintaining Shiwi'ma lies with "our younger generation" (line 1). Again, this contrasts with Carly and Sammy's view that elders have a responsibility to support younger people to learn the language.

Like Sammy, Melissa does not identify a specific person as a receptive bilingual, but she recognizes that this type of bilingual exists and that they tend to express the sentiment seen

in the image on social media (line 1). However, where Sammy was more empathetic toward receptive bilinguals, Melissa is more critical.

Excerpt 4.5 (6:06-6:23)

1 Melissa: Yeah a lot of people especially on Facebook
2 like sad to say it's like
3 a lot of um people around my generation.
4 They're very ignorant like in a way li-
5 and then they always post stuff like this
6 I was li- uh you know

She indicates that the receptive bilinguals she encounters on social media tend to be from her “generation” (line 3; i.e., early 30s), a fact that she considers “sad” (line 2). However, she does not view herself as a member of this category, which can be seen by her labeling them as “ignorant” (line 4). Where Sammy aligned herself with receptive bilinguals despite not being one, Melissa distances herself from this group and indicates her negative attitude toward them.

Eva focuses in her response on the role of language purism ideologies in the perception of fluency. In addition, in contrast to Carly and Sammy, who were critical of correction as a way to support language learning, Eva emphasizes the importance of correction in achieving fluency. Her English-language response is addressed to me.

Excerpt 4.6a (23:27 - 24:34)

1 Eva: Well it- when when you're fluent
2 it depends on what the identification of fluency is
3 because I actually have friends
4 that are the same age as I am
5 It depends the era that they were raised
6 So my era of speaking is more your relative Linda actual era
7 because my parents they won't ever allow you to speak slang
8 They would have you- if you did they would say, no,
9 that's not the proper way to speak
10 And the reason why we're losing it again

11 is that they were never corrected
 12 at the time of a conversation
 13 or a time of an actual occasion that were participating
 14 That's when you learn a lot
 15 And that's when you actually speak more Zuni
 16 is when you're actually in a big group
 17 and sometimes people nowadays
 18 people get offended because they feel that
 19 if you correct them
 20 they think you're trying to be better
 21 They feel intimidated because
 22 they weren't ever properly corrected in their home.

Eva feels that fluency in Shiwi'ma is based on the "era" in which someone was raised (line 5). She specifically refers to Linda's era of growing up in Zuni (line 5), the late 1950s through the 1970s. While she did not complete her thought about her friends in her own age cohort in lines 3-4, I think she was trying to say that she considers herself to have the same level of fluency as Linda, who is around 20 years older than her, unlike others in her age group. She recognizes at least two varieties of Shiwi'ma, which she labels with the terms "slang" (line 6) and "proper" (line 8), and states that her parents reinforced the "proper" way of speaking Shiwi'ma by explicitly prohibiting children's use of "slang" (lines 6-8). Eva expresses a positive attitude toward the "correcting" of others' speech (line 11), which she feels is not a widespread practice in the village because many people take offense if they are corrected (line 18). To her, not correcting people is the key factor in the shift away from Shiwi'ma; as she puts it, it is "the reason why we're losing it" (line 10).

I wanted to explore further Eva's notion of fluency that she alludes to in line 2 of excerpt 4.6a, so I asked her to expand on this issue at the end of the interview.

Excerpt 4.6b (33:35-35:01)

1 Adrienne: So I have a question
 2 or because I -when um that the fluent-

3 you said it depends on what is fluent
 4 or I guess what is meant by fluent
 5 What do you what do you
 6 what do you think fluency is in Zuni?
 7 Eva: Fluency is
 8 Adrienne: and you can answer in Zuni too
 9 Eva: Oh okay.
 10 Adrienne: (laughs)
 11 Eva: To me fluency is
 12 when you're actually in a public audience
 13 or talking to just anybody
 14 feeling that confidence level of explaining
 15 or having a conversation without having diff- difficulties
 16 So our language
 17 if you're able to be fluent in English
 18 you should be the outmost same way in Zuni
 19 without any difficulties
 20 And that this is the choice that you make
 21 based upon how you're raised again
 22 And how like, just like, when you go to college
 23 there's a actual professor that corrects you
 24 about what the correct way of speaking
 25 The language of Zuni is our second
 26 I mean English as our secondary
 27 So, the same thing should be taught in education
 28 where they should correct children when they're young
 29 and not allowing it to say it's okay
 30 to define certain things
 31 or the dialects
 32 or their pronunciation
 33 or at the time of the means
 34 when it should be already been um
 35 to where they understand what the meaning is

Eva in her response describes fluency as the ease a person has when speaking a language (line 15) due to their “confidence level” (line 14) in their knowledge of the language.

Similar to Roger, she views fluency as a “choice” (line 20) that an individual makes, and she argues that a person has agency regarding their language abilities that is also influenced by their upbringing (line 21). Eva refers to the idealized notion of a balanced bilingual, defined as “someone whose mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent” (Li 2000:4). She states

that if a person is fluent in English (line 17), then they should have the same level of fluency in Shiwi'ma (line 18). Her response also reiterates her language purism ideology as well as her ideology regarding the necessity of correction (lines 23, 27).

This part of the analysis has demonstrated the participants' wide range of perceptions regarding receptive bilinguals and who has the primary moral responsibility for maintaining Shiwi'ma. I now examine how the participants viewed another bilingual practice, the use of translanguaging, or Zunglish.

4.5 Zunglish

I first heard the term Zunglish when I was conducting a community-wide survey of Shiwi'ma in 2014 (see Chapter 2). I conducted the survey during our tribal fair, which is held in the summer. I found a place to sit close to the main road of the village, Highway 53, and asked passersby to complete the paper survey. One of the survey questions asked what languages the respondents spoke, and as someone was completing the survey they jokingly asked, "Does Zunglish count?" I don't recall my exact response, but I do recall that I was dumbfounded. I probably told them to put it down in their survey sheet. The term has stuck with me since then, and as I spent more time in Zuni, I observed that Zunglish was a common linguistic practice in the village. I therefore wanted to further investigate this practice and attitudes toward it. As part of the interview, Linda asked participants if they had heard of Zunglish, and if so, what they thought about this concept.

The only participant who said they had not heard of Zunglish before was Melissa.
(Overlapping speech is indicated with square brackets.)

Excerpt 4.7 (6:34-7:03)

- 1 Linda: dosh k'yaki lu bena hadiya:wa Zunglish?
Have you ever heard of Zunglish?
- 2 Melissa: Zunglish? E:ta
Zunglish? No
- 3 or is it kwapbi ashe like
or is it *what really* like
- 4 I think I've- maybe I have
- 5 it's ashe it's like really broken English
it's *really* it's like really broken English
- 6 Linda: do' lena Shiwi'ma bene da do melika'ma
you speak Zuni and English
- 7 do' lena Shiwi'ma bene da do melika'ma dap iskona dop beyena uhso lesna
lukkya ihmadi
*you speak Zuni like this and speak English and the way you are speaking, I
guess so*
- 8 Melissa: [Zunglish? huh]
- 9 Linda: [e:h akkya do' Shiwi'ma beyeme e:h]
yes therefore you speak Zuni yes
- 10 [dosh Shiwi'ma be-]
Do you speak Zuni?
- 11 Melissa: [I've- I've never heard it]

While Melissa initially states that she has never heard of Zunglish (line 2), she then adds “maybe I have” (line 4) and goes on to associate it with “really broken English” (line 5). The descriptor broken English connotes a nonnative speaker of English and indexes a negative attitude towards such a speaker (Lindemann & Moran 2017). However, as Linda points out (line 7), in her answer Melissa herself uses Zunglish (lines 3, 5), although Melissa does not seem to understand Linda’s statement and reiterates that she has not heard the term (line 11).

Carly, like Melissa, does not seem to be familiar with Zunglish and characterizes it as simply the combination of Zuni and English (line 4), which Linda confirms (line 5).

Excerpt 4.8 (15:39-16:26)

- 1 Linda: Dosh k'yaki lukkya benan hadiya:wa Zunglish?
Have you ever heard of Zunglish?
- 2 Carly: Sort of, but to me

- 3 Linda: do' ts'ema kwap uhso
What do you think of that?
- 4 Carly: English and Zuni
- 5 Linda: e:h
yes
- 6 Carly: e:h but it seems like
yes but it seems like
- 7 *like hon an alasha bena dom yam bena washena*
like the elders used to say you're making up words
- 8 k'yaki lesnadinne k'op ma' siskon a:detchi
in the future it's going to happen, now we're here
- 9 making their own words
- 10 Linda: yeah
- 11 Our grandmas and grandpas they told us
- 12 time goes, you're gonna start making your own words
- 13 and that's what is happening now
- 14 But then we know the Zuni way of talking
- 15 and then we have to um, correct them, huh?

For both Carly and Linda, this combination of Zuni and English was foreseen by their older relatives and is now happening (line 8). These ancestors viewed younger speakers as “making their own words” (line 9). Lines 11-13 are directed at me as Linda translates what Carly has said in Shiwi'ma. Linda then adds, in an echo of Eva's interview (excerpts 4.6a and b above) that both she and Carly know the “Zuni way of talking” (line 14) and will correct those who use neologisms (line 15).

Nicki reports that she has frequently heard of Zunglish and has mixed feelings about it, as she considers it “a double edged sword” (line 3).

Excerpt 4.9 (6:54-7:58)

- 1 Linda: kwap do' akkya uhsi do bena: do' ts'emma k'op leya
What do you think about that word?
- 2 Nicki: Zunglish I- I'm- I think it's it-
- 3 it's a double edged sword
- 4 I think it's good in the sense that
- 5 people who might not be fluent can use it as a stepping stone
- 6 to- to get to just Zuni
- 7 Um it's a balance

8 and almost like represents how we have to live in both worlds
9 But then the other side is that
10 it could really really make us
11 not as connected to like
12 you know with Zu-, we might be taking shortcuts, you know
13 We might we- you know here's the proper way of speaking
14 and then it's kind of like slang and English too.
15 You know it's like,
16 uh here's the proper way of speaking English
17 and then if you're throwing in like street English
18 then it's like ok, well
19 how far are we, you know?
20 So because Zuni is kind of endangered right now
21 I don't know if Zunglish,
22 again it could be a stepping stone to get to fluency.
23 But it could also make us relax in a way.
24 I hope that makes sense.

The good side of Zunglish, to Nicki, is that it can be helpful to people who are not fluent and can serve as a “stepping stone” (line 5) to becoming a stronger Shiwi'ma speaker. The bad side of Zunglish is that it could result in language change, or “taking shortcuts” (line 12). Her use of the term proper in line 13 indicates that in her view there is a correct or standard way to speak Shiwi'ma, just as there is a “proper” way to speak English (lines 16-17). She suggests that speaking Zunglish is not “proper” and compares it to using English slang (line 14). Her word choice is similar to Eva's in excerpt 4.6a in section 4.1.2, but where Eva does not view linguistic innovation as beneficial, Nicki sees it as a resource as well as a risk.

For Nicki, Zunglish is reflective of the fact that A:shiwi “have to live in both worlds” (line 8). Our dual existence requires us to live with the effects of settler colonialism, such as language contact. From my understanding, Nicki's statement that Zunglish can “really make us not as connected to...” (lines 10-11) combined with her discussion of the “proper way of speaking” (line 13) alludes to how speakers' intended effect can be lost in translation. Her

response made me think of my aunt, a receptive bilingual, who would recount in English past comical events in which Shiwi'ma was used by one of the narrative's participants. At the end of her retelling, she would add, "But he/she/they said it in Zuni, so it was funnier."

Perhaps surprisingly given his concerns about the younger generation's commitment to Shiwi'ma, Roger views Zunglish more positively than many other participants.

Excerpt 4.10 (11:19-12:09)

1 Roger: ho' echi ko de kokoł ho' le'amme
If I leave it out, it doesn't bother me
2 I don't see anything wrong with it
3 but we have to do it because
4 that's the only way our children will understand
5 That's the only way my sons and my daughters understand
6 and my grandson because um
7 it's it's like uh the way I see it is growing up
8 I was always watching that Peanuts Charlie Brown
9 and they were talking to their teacher
10 they're (mimicking) wah wah wah
11 you know you get that response
12 It's just like us talking to our children in Zuni that way
13 it's like they're wondering what we're saying
14 and that's why our younger generation question us
15 my kids question me saying, "what are you saying, dad?"

Similar to Nicki's view of Zunglish as a "stepping stone," Roger sees Zunglish as a necessity, as something "we have to do" (line 3) so that the younger generation understands what is being said, including his own children and grandchild (lines 4-6). His children not being able to understand him when he speaks to them in Shiwi'ma reminds him of the teacher in the cartoon Peanuts (lines 8-9), whose speech sounds muffled and garbled and is unintelligible to viewers. In this analogy, Roger is the teacher whose Shiwi'ma is incomprehensible to his children.

Sammy is familiar with Zunglish because of her mother and her aunt, who were bilingual teachers. She implies that they observed this linguistic practice among their students (line 5) and explicitly states that they did not condone Zunglish (line 7).

Excerpt 4.11a (7:59-8:50)

- 1 Linda: dosh lukkya benan kya hadiya:wa Zunglish?
have you ever heard of this word Zunglish?
- 2 Sammy: e:h
yes
- 3 Linda: k'op do akkya ts'ema k'o-?
what do you think of that?
- 4 Sammy: hom ts'itda-hom tsitda a:chi um
My mom, my mom DUAL
- 5 uh tsitda łashshi kwın uhson a:chi ts'ina:washe yanik'ekya a:ts'ana
my aunt were both teachers, teaching young children
- 6 a:chi an bilingual teachers deyan
they were bilingual teachers
- 7 akkya ish a:ch uhsona ibisankya
they were bothered by that word and the use of it
- 8 da hom hotda deya'kona da ish ibisankya
my grandmother also was bothered by that
- 9 akkya um ho'na ishamałde lesna
so she always told us like that
- 10 don- don honkwa melika'ma a:bey iyan doms don demła melika a:beyen
if you want to speak English, just speak all English
- 11 da:chat don Shiwi'ma a:bey iyan demła Shiwi'ma beyenna
if you want to speak Zuni just speak all Zuni
- 12 eł don kwilide uhsona k'op la iyasek'enna akkya
don't mix them together
- 13 akkyap le'hon a:wan bena kwa hinina a:beye:nama
so that our language will still be the same, not mixed up
- 14 ma le'kwan isha'małde
she always used to say that
- 15 da les- lesdikwan hon' a:wayuhudenennap
and she told us not to do that
- 16 Linda: ma:
oh really?
- 17 Sammy: e:h
yes

Sammy's language ideology regarding Zunglish is heavily influenced by her upbringing within the maternal side of her family, specifically her mother (*tsitda*), aunt (*tsitda lashshi*; lit. older mother), and late maternal grandmother (*hotda*). Sammy reports that her grandmother forbade her grandchildren to speak Zunglish (line 15), explicitly telling them not to mix the two languages (line 12) and to speak either one or the other (lines 10-11).

In the following excerpt, Sammy goes on to discuss her coworkers who use Zunglish.

Excerpt 4.11b (9:07-9:29)

- 1 Sammy: e:h lił lił ho' ikwanikenna lesna em'on a:beye
here where I work, my coworkers talk like that
 2 kwa ish da Shiwi'ma be- el a:beyenamen
they don't talk Zuni well
 3 akkya isno i:dechinap doms ho' akkya ho' um melik- hai oh Shiwi'ma
when we get to a point I do talk to them in English oops Zuni
 4 ikwał ho' lesan kwahoł
at the same time I don't
 5 kwa do' hinina leskwan le'kwan ho' kwa le'a:wanikwana:ma doms
ik'wał
I don't tell them you're not speaking it correctly
 6 ho' a:washuwep sonkwa a:wan ho' dechi do' yuhedudin
I talk to them, maybe they'll eventually understand

Sammy states that her co-workers use Zunglish because they don't speak Shiwi'ma well (lines 1-2). However, the fact they speak Zunglish in the workplace implies that they feel comfortable enough to try to speak it there. This is confirmed when Sammy states that she doesn't explicitly correct her co-workers (line 5) but instead continues to speak Shiwi'ma to them, serving to model the language (line 6). Sammy's emphasis on avoiding correction here aligns with her earlier statement that correction tends to discourage people from speaking Shiwi'ma (Excerpt 4.3).

Eva's response to the question about Zunglish likewise aligns with her previous comments about receptive bilingualism, but unlike Sammy she is consistently negative toward both bilingual practices.

Excerpt 4.12 (24:37-26:12)

- 1 Linda: dosh lukkya benankya hadiawakya Shiwi'ma da melika'ma benan Zunglish?
have you heard of Zuni and English Zunglish?
- 2 Eva: uhsi chimnakwe ho' hadiyakona
I heard that the first time
- 3 a:ts'ana ts'inawashnap like
little kids at school
- 4 ma:shi le'dikwap lesna
(gives example) they said it like that
- 5 da ishikwe'a o'wowoa
and (gives two more examples)
- 6 ho' lesawanikwekya kwa uhsi benan de'amme ma'a
I told them that's not a word
- 7 and lał do' chuwał anikinama hołon iwosipab
wherever you are and you greet somebody at a gathering
- 8 do' uhsi dewołashi do' yayułashina bena illik'enna anadun dekwin
you have to talk respectfully to elders so that in the future
- 9 kwa ho'n okk'yanapshu kwa doms son e:h honkwa uhsi
so we won't lose it or maybe
- 10 Zun- what is it?
- 11 Linda: Zunglish
- 12 Eva: Zunglish le'dikwap de
Zunglish you said
- 13 uhson akkya son yam benan okk'yanama lesap
That's why we're losing our language
- 14 ma' e:h honkwa ho'na honkwa do' iho iyakyap dom ałashina a:ho
ayyanap kwa a:wan haydoshna lesna de'ammap
maybe because as you are growing older and your older parents and their traditions are not the same way
- 15 eła kwa uhsi bena de'amme lena don a:benakya do' yayyunishi do'
benawa le'dikwekya slak'i
that's not the way you say it, it's this way so you'll learn that's what they used to tell us
- 16 uhson akkya yam hon Shiwi okk'yana:we
that's why we're losing our Zuni language
- 17 kwa kwał der- kwa kwał uhsi
there's really nothing
- 18 e:h honkwa benan de'ammap de doms iha do' akkya en
maybe there's not a word for it

19 honkwa ts'ana leskwap
 maybe if a little child says that
 20 honkwa kole- honkwa kwał akkya ya:muen lesna lesna les kops owowodip
 kwa hoł-
 maybe he's joking in a way that they all laugh and no one
 21 I mean there's a time for being a comedian versus
 22 when you're going to identify
 23 being to where you want to be fluence (sic)
 24 They have to know a balance
 25 It's- it shouldn't be accepted in education.

Similarly to Carly and Linda, Eva views Zunglish as simply making up words (line 6), again revealing her language purism ideology. As in Excerpt 4.6, she repeatedly asserts that language shift away from Zuni (lines 13, 16) is caused by linguistic innovations such as Zunglish. She speculates that one of the reasons for the shift is that different generations have different traditions (line 14), indicating that Zunglish is used when there is no word for a concept in Shiwi'ma (line 18), similar to Linda's metalinguistic commentary detailed in Chapter 2. Eva surmises that a child may use Zunglish to be funny (line 20), which is unacceptable, especially in an educational setting (line 25). It is striking that for Eva, students "have to know a balance" (line 24) and therefore avoid Zunglish in school contexts, while by contrast Nicki views Zunglish positively as a "balance" between the Shiwi'ma- and English-speaking worlds.

4.6 Discussion

The preceding examination of participants' views of receptive bilinguals and of language mixing, or Zunglish, has revealed several consequential language practices and ideologies in the Zuni community. The practice of laughing and/or teasing someone whose language production does not align with highly proficient Shiwi'ma speakers is not new. This practice

was observed in the 1990s according to our (now defunct) local community newsletter, The Shiwi Messenger. In 2003, I was a summer youth intern for the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center and had access to copies of past newsletters. (Available copies were digitized by the University of New Mexico Library:

https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/shiwi_messenger/index.3.html.) While I was browsing through them, one issue, dated July 10, 1998, caught my attention (Qualo et al. 1998). It included the results of an informal community survey that posed the question “Do you think the Zuni language is disappearing?” The survey asked for recommendations for maintaining Shiwi’ma, and the newsletter featured selected anonymous perspectives from the respondents. One comment addressed linguistic insecurity: “I think the reason why the language is disappearing is because when young people try and talk in Zuni after they have not talked it in awhile, they are made fun of and that discourages them from attempting to try” (Qualo et al. 1998:6). More than a quarter-century later, this practice continues and is likely to be a paramount factor in the loss of intergenerational language transmission in the Zuni community.

I am confident in stating that every Zuni family within the reservation boundaries includes receptive bilinguals, and based on the participants’ responses, this category of bilinguals is age-based. Nicki, the youngest participant at age 29, self-identified as a receptive bilingual. In addition, Carly and Roger both identified a younger relative (Roger’s 21-year-old son and Carly’s teenage granddaughter) as receptive bilinguals. However, Melissa is only two years older than Nicki and does not identify as a receptive bilingual, viewing those who express sentiments similar to that on the social media image as

“ignorant.” She does note that she sees this concept expressed by others close to her age, which she views as dismal.

Linguistic insecurity is also a consequence of what I refer to as the ideology of osmosis and the ideology of acquiescence. The ideology of osmosis refers to the belief that individuals, in particular children, will acquire both language comprehension and production abilities if the language is frequently spoken around them. I also held this ideology before I began my graduate-level training in Linguistics. I couldn’t understand why one of my cousins, who was raised with three generations of speakers (our great-grandmother, her grandmother, and mother) is not able to speak Shivi’ma but understands everything said in the language.

This ideology also relates to what Parsons-Yazzie (1995) found in her interviews with ten families about their concerns relating to the loss of Navajo language transmission between parents and children. She particularly wanted to know why a child might not speak Navajo even though they are surrounded by Navajo speakers who actively use the language on a daily basis. She notes that during the interviews, “Navajo was spoken regularly and fluently. Why then are the children of the respondents not speakers of Navajo? There seemed to be no reason that the children could not be speakers of Navajo. The richness of Navajo flowed around them on a daily basis” (1995:37; see also Kulick 1992, Nevins 2004). She then goes on to detail her observations of what happened when adults initiated a conversation with a child using the Navajo language. She noted four possible outcomes: (1) a bilingual conversation takes place, with the adult maintaining their Navajo language preference and the child responding in English, (2) both adult and child use both Navajo and English, but the Navajo spoken by the child is minimal, (3) the conversation switches

entirely to English, but the English spoken by the adult is minimal, and (4) the conversation ends after a few spoken exchanges. In no instance was a child ever asked to speak or respond in Navajo. The first and the third outcomes, in which the adult accepts and sometimes accommodates the child's use of English, illustrate what I call the ideology of acquiescence. This practice may be viewed as a form of politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987) or accommodation (e.g., Atkinson & Coupland 1988), but what I want to highlight here is the adult's decision to give in to the child's language preference as opposed to insisting on the Indigenous language; this ideology therefore motivates a language socialization practice. This decision not to force the language on the child has several benefits: It does not lead to the child's resistance, to family conflict, or to rejection of the language. Kroskrity describes a similar phenomenon as a "strong ideological preference for 'respecting' the autonomy of individuals" (2009b:75) and their language preference (see also Bunte 2009). Gafaranga (2010) observed similar conversational outcomes in his examination of Kinyarwanda-French bilingual families' interactional practices. The third outcome described by Parsons-Yazzie is what Gafaranga refers to as a "medium request." He argues that this practice facilitates language shift, or rather, that language shift is "talked into being" (2010:266).

A third language ideology that is prevalent within Zuni, and in the interviews, is the ideology of language purism. Since there are highly proficient Shiwi'ma speakers in Zuni of various ages, it is perhaps not surprising that language purism is a widespread ideology. Even though language mixing was foretold by our ancestors, as Carly states in excerpt 4.8 above, at least within some families such as mine, they were not able to stop it from happening. In addition, while many highly proficient Shiwi'ma speakers are able to maintain

conversations almost entirely in Shiwi'ma, the use of English is sometimes necessary to express a concept or sentiment that "pure" Shiwi'ma is not able to express. Although non-Indigenous linguists might argue that all languages can express all ideas, I follow my participants in taking an Indigenous perspective that some ideas are specific to certain languages and cultures. This is seen in the example in section 2.7 in which Linda and Roger both acknowledge that there is no way to apologize (i.e. 'I'm sorry') in Shiwi'ma. Not being able to apologize in Shiwi'ma and the desire to express this concept in the language is reflective of us having to live in both worlds, of us not completely assimilating but adapting to American culture due to colonization. Goodfellow opined that the biggest challenge to Native American language maintenance is the desire to maintain the ancestral language in its "pure" form, to have children "speak the same way that their grandparents do or even the way their grandparents did" (2003:43), and they questioned whether this is a realistic community goal. This ideology conflicts with the translanguaging framework, which was developed and has been widely used in educational settings, including in Indigenous contexts (see Seals et al. under review).

The final ideology that I identify in this chapter, the ideology of the necessity of correction, was strongly held by some participants. Eva firmly believes in this ideology. In excerpt 4.6a, she reported that her parents did not allow her to use slang and explicitly assessed this linguistic practice as "not the proper way to speak" (line 8). In excerpt 4.12, she talked about how some elders viewed explicit correction as necessary for language learning: "that's not the way you say it, it's this way so you'll learn that's what they used to tell us" (line 15). Eva perceived the correction of others' spoken language as a common cultural and family practice that is no longer widespread. Presently, when people are

corrected at gatherings, it results in negative reactions, which Eva discusses in excerpt 4.6a. Bowannie's narrative quoted above also speaks to the expectation of being corrected, but instead experiences this practice as teasing or mockery: "I could relate to the student who told stories of trying to speak the language. Like her, instead of being corrected, many of us were made fun of." The ideology that correction is always beneficial for language learners is discussed as a pervasive second language acquisition myth by Brown and Larson-Hall, who emphasize that "there is a place for effective correction, but it has to be quite conscious and deliberate and sustained over a period of time" (2012:107). While their research and analysis are primarily based on and designed for formal language learning and teaching, I believe their recommendation can be beneficially applied to the Shiwi community, which is also indicated by Sammy's interview responses.

These ideologies are related to Indigenous cultural values in complex ways that I can only begin to explore here. For example, language purism and correction are often seen by linguists as negative ideologies. However, these ideologies can also be viewed more positively because they often focus on the knowledge of the elders and can thus be seen as examples of A:shiwi ways of knowing, or systems of knowledge (Belarde-Lewis 2013; see also Hinton 2002 for language as a carrier of culture and worldview). Similarly, the ideology of osmosis can be viewed as recognizing the close connection between Shiwi'ma language and A:shiwi identity, so that it is inevitable that a Shiwi child will learn the Shiwi'ma language if exposed to it. Acquiescence is rooted in the Indigenous principle of relationality and our responsibilities to others. At the same time, ideologies that hold individuals responsible for language regeneration, whether young people or elders, tend not to give enough attention to the role of colonialism in language shift. An approach to language

regeneration, revitalization, and reclamation that is respectful of the full spectrum of language ideologies and the cultural values that underlie them is likely to be more successful in regenerating Shiwi'ma into the future.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed how the study participants oriented to two major bilingual practices: receptive bilingualism and language mixing or translanguaging. Their interviews revealed four language ideologies that can unintentionally obstruct Shiwi'ma language maintenance: the ideologies of osmosis, acquiescence, language purism, and the necessity of linguistic correction. These ideologies are also informed by harmful notions of speakerhood that circulate not only in the A:shiwi community but also among academic linguists, often due to the ongoing legacy of colonialism. I have argued in this chapter, along with a number of the study participants, that valuing rather than disparaging bilingual practices such as receptive bilingualism and Zunglish is essential to creating the conditions for younger speakers to gain confidence in using the language. In the next chapter, I discuss the participants' perspectives on the current dominant language spoken in the community, the challenges of speaking Shiwi'ma in the home, and what Shiwi'ma will be like in the future.

Chapter 5

Relational agency: Linguistic responsibility and the current and future situation of Shiwi'ma

“But the people themselves will bring upon themselves what they receive. From what has resulted, time alone will tell what the future holds for us.” (translated by Quam 1972:3)

5.1 Introduction

Spoken by a Shiwi elder, the epigraph above is described as a prophecy that *hon a:wan alashshina* (our elders) had many years ago and that was intergenerationally shared. While the prophecy that I have access to does not explicitly address our Shiwi'ma language, I view it as highly relevant to our current language situation. Our actions, both intentional and unintentional, will ensure the survival or loss of our language, but only time will tell.

In this chapter, I first provide an overview of language vitality and discuss the role of agency in language disruption. I then explore the study participants' views of the current and future situation of Zuni and their ascriptions of agency and responsibility for language disruption and regeneration.

5.1.1 Language endangerment and language vitality

In language disruption situations, linguists have generally viewed evaluating the vitality of Native American, Indigenous, and other minoritized languages as a fundamental research component that serves various purposes, not least of which is controlling those languages as objects and by extension controlling the people who claim those languages (Leonard 2017).

In the subfield of language documentation, the vitality of a language or group of languages is used to determine funding for research projects, among other factors (Holton & Seyfeddinipur 2018); this issue has recently been the focus of critique by documentary linguists. For example, the Language and Community working group is in the process of critiquing the discourse of the National Science Foundation Documenting Endangered Languages–Dynamic Language Infrastructure request for proposals for including in its evaluation criteria “degree of endangerment” and “the urgency of the need for documentation” along with terminology such as “imminent loss” and “extinct” (Hildebrandt & Sapién 2023). In general, the more endangered a language is perceived to be, the higher priority it is given for funding. For language planning purposes, a language’s vitality can also be used to raise community awareness of language disruption and to justify community-based language revitalization and reclamation efforts.

Since the early 1990s, various language vitality assessment tools and language endangerment scales have been created, including Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergeneration Disruption Scale, Simons and Lewis’s (2010) Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) nine “major evaluative factors of language vitality” (2003), Lee and Van Way’s (2018) language endangerment index, and Grenoble and Whaley’s (2006) stages of language endangerment and their later Language Vitality Network Model (2021). Common factors that are generally considered when assessing language vitality or endangerment include the nature of the speaker base, if the language is transmitted intergenerationally, the domains of language use, and internal and external support for language use. As the names for these tools demonstrate, researchers have shifted from a focus on language endangerment to a focus on

language vitality. This change is a response to the numerous critiques that have been produced by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars about the discourse of language endangerment (e.g., Hill 2002, Duchêne & Heller 2007, Leonard 2011, Perley 2012, Meek 2016, Davis 2017).

While the discourses of endangerment can be useful, some factors and the way they are assessed are problematic, and other important factors are not considered at all. For example, the common practice of speaker enumeration is dependent on either self-reporting or an outsider linguist's assessment of the language competencies of speech community members, among other problems (Hill 2002, Moore et al. 2010, Muehlmann 2012, Boltokova 2017). Moreover, this practice does not address the question of how community members perceive speakerhood, especially in language revitalization and reclamation contexts (Leonard and Haynes 2010, Meek 2014, Fitzgerald 2017). In addition, some assessment tools do not consider the amount and quality of documentation, let alone the language researcher's positionality and behavior within the community, which could affect these issues as well as how community members perceive future researchers. In general, community members' perceptions are often treated as less significant than measures that are viewed as more "objective"—for example, not all assessment tools include community members' attitudes toward their own language as a factor in language vitality. Finally, vitality-based approaches rely on discourses of endangerment in ways that echo the harmful "salvage linguistics" and "salvage anthropology" eras (Meek 2017), in which Indigenous languages and cultures were seen as mere museum artifacts, with an emphasis on preservation and archiving rather than regeneration and reclamation. These shortcomings demonstrate the need for researchers to recognize that Indigenous futurities are rooted not in past histories of loss and trauma but in

survivance (Vizenor 2008, Davis 2017). Taking an Indigenous approach, in this chapter I prioritize the perspectives of community members and their views of the current and future situation of the Shiwi'ma language.

The limitations of vitality assessments are illustrated by my own experience with them. When I initially presented myself as a language researcher to the first Zuni tribal council I met with in 2019, I included UNESCO's (2019) vitality assessment of Shiwi'ma, thinking it would justify the need for linguistic research. At this time, the intergenerational transmission of Shiwi'ma was assessed as "vulnerable" (i.e., children do not speak the language outside of the home). One council member questioned how UNESCO arrived at this status as they weren't aware that anyone had conducted any language research. I did not have a definitive answer for them but speculated that UNESCO used information obtained from a missionary linguist connected to SIL International who had long-term working relationships with some community members. Only a few years later, UNESCO updated its classification of the intergenerational transmission of Shiwi'ma to "definitely endangered," which means either that children are not learning the language in the home or that when parents speak the ancestral language at home their children do not respond in the same language. As with the original classification, there is no source information provided for this assessment.

5.1.2 Language "choice" and the question of agency

A common theme of research on language vitality and language disruption is choice. In the rhetoric of choice, language users "choose" not to use their ancestral language, or more harshly, they "give up" on their language. For example, in a recent prominent discussion of language vitality, Mufwene states, "Overall, the success of such [language revitalization]

efforts depends largely on whether a population wishes to save their language (variety) from the threat of another or does not care” (2017: e202), framing language disruption as a black and white issue of individual preference. As critics note in their responses, this framing does not take into account the external factors that have a major role in language disruption and language choice, such as colonization and language contact that result in bilingualism or multilingualism. Bowerman views this oversight as denying “the realities of the contexts of [language users’] ‘decisions’” (2017: e247; see also Hinton et al. 2018). Baptista describes a different language disruption scenario in which a “dominant language can gradually and irrevocably eliminate the other one, in ways that do not always come to the awareness of its speakers” (2017:e300). These critiques acknowledge that language users do not necessarily have full freedom of choice to reverse the process of language disruption.

As both Bowerman and Baptista highlight, discussions of choice are also discussions of agency, a topic that has begun to receive attention in language disruption and language revitalization and reclamation contexts (e.g., Kroskrity 2009a, Sicoli 2011, Boucher-Yip 2019). Although in traditional Western philosophy agency entails individual autonomy, conscious choice, volition, and action (Ahearn 1999), such actions in fact “are socioculturally constrained in both the possibility of their deployments and in their effects” (Sicoli 2011:162; see also Ahearn 1999, Duranti 2004). Bowerman (2017) notes, for instance, that even when an adult chooses to learn and speak their ancestral language, they may not have much time to do so due to other obligations. She dismisses the counterargument that if it is truly important to an individual to learn their ancestral language then they will make time to do so and notes that such an argument comes from the privileged position of someone with a good salary and job security.

Because of the ongoing harmful social, political, and economic impacts of colonialism on Native and Indigenous people, language revitalization and reclamation efforts are socioculturally restricted in their potential application and their impacts. However, this does not mean that Indigenous people have no agency to shape the future of our ancestral languages. From an Indigenous perspective, agency is a relational dynamic rather than an individual choice. Indigenous scholar Martin argues that “we must recognise that within an Indigenous worldview, all ‘things’ have agency and are interconnected through a system of relationality” (2017:1392). The prophecy that introduced this chapter illustrates this idea of relational agency, which I define in this context as the assertion of the linguistic responsibility that Indigenous peoples have regarding our ancestral languages, by highlighting the collective efforts and actions of “the people themselves.” In this dissertation, relational agency takes the form of caregivers’ intentionality and deliberate action to prioritize the ancestral language in daily life in the home and community settings to support children’s language regeneration.

Although the concept of relational agency is also used by non-Indigenous scholars (Burkitt 2016), I focus on the Indigenous version of this concept, which is closely tied to the Indigenous value of responsibility, or the moral obligation to be responsive and take an active role in family and community endeavors. As Indigenous scholar Tynan explains, relationality involves both agency and responsibility, especially to kin: “beyond understanding the concept of relationality, to *feel* the world as kin is to enact a relational ethos and the responsibilities and accountabilities that accompany it” (2021:600). Also in the context of language revitalization and reclamation, Chickasaw scholar Chew (2015: 162) also invokes kin in proposing the concept of “linguistic responsibility”. She states, “While

this notion of linguistic responsibility is not thoroughly analyzed across scholarly literature, it is a common theme in accounts of individuals and families working to prioritize endangered heritage languages in their daily lives” (see also baird 2013, Baldwin 2013). This linguistic responsibility is discussed in Henne-Ochoa and Bauman’s (2015) analysis of a high school speech contest that addressed the question, “Whose responsibility is it to save the Lakota language?” The focal teenage participant stressed that the adult generation, consisting of parents, grandparents, and elders, is mainly responsible for language safekeeping and transmission, while her generation is responsible for making the effort to learn Lakota, and children are responsible for “carrying the Lakota language forward” (2015:135). Ultimately, her perspective is that everyone is responsible, “everyone has a part to play” (2015:134; see also Kaartinen 2020 on responsibility and agency in language revitalization). This personal conviction to learn, use, share, and embrace the ancestral language is central to the goals of language regeneration, revitalization and reclamation by repairing the disruption to intergenerational language transmission and healing self and others by recognizing the importance of the ancestral language. This perspective also aligns with the concept of linguistic sovereignty and the related idea that sovereignty lies in the collective, not the individual (e.g., McCarty & Lee 2015).

In the following analysis, I engage relational agency in focusing on participants’ responses to two questions: (1) *What language is spoken most in the village?* And (2) *Do you think Shiwi’ma will still be spoken by our children or in general ten, fifty, a hundred years from now?*. In addition, I discuss selected responses to the following question: (3) *What do you want to tell those who may encounter this research in the future? Or is there anything I left out?*. I discuss each participant’s answers to the first two questions in turn in

order to highlight the shared themes in each individual's responses, particularly in regard to agency and responsibility for Zuni language regeneration.

5.2 Analysis

Although I did not explicitly ask which generation or group has the primary responsibility for regenerating the Zuni language, participants' responses to the above questions often made this clear, as I highlight in my analysis. The examples are roughly ordered according to the least to greatest emphasis on relational agency and responsibility.

5.2.1 Carly: "Bilingual classes ... should be really the first choice for Zuni"

In response to Linda's first question, "do' ts'ema lił hon a:wan luwallan kwap ish detch a:beye'a? Shiwi'ma melika melika'ma?" (*What is being spoken more in the village? Zuni or English?*), Carly answers "melika" (*English*). The rest of her response is too quiet to hear. However, she provides a more detailed response to Linda's next question. (Overlapping speech is indicated with square brackets.)

Excerpt 5.1 (18:44-19:40)

- 1 Linda: do' ts'ema kya:k'i honkwa
do you think in the future maybe
- 2 Ten, fifty, a hundred years from now
- 3 do' ts'ema dem hon an chawe a:beyen hon an a:ho'i Shiwi'ma
do you think our children and people will still be speaking Zuni?
- 4 Carly: hamme hinikchi right now
I think maybe some right now
- 5 they're kind of influencing everybody to talk
- 6 I mean like in schools kesi
I mean like in schools right now
- 7 I'm glad that they're picking it up the Zuni language
- 8 encouraging them and lesnup
encouraging them and they do
- 9 akkya I think that's where the parents are learning

10 so I think that's where the parents are learning
 11 and with the prayers too
 12 especially the Head Start kids say prayers
 13 and it's so interesting
 14 but I wish they would keep it up [and it's not as uh yeah]
 14 Linda: [keep it up but some just forget it once] they go to mid school
 15 or whatever e:h holoni
 15 or whatever *yes I agree*
 16 Carly: e:h dena so just hoping akkya bilingual classes uhsona
 16 *yes yeah* so just hoping *so* bilingual classes *that*
 17 should be really the first choice for Zuni

Carly's response is not a straightforward yes or no, but her statement "they're kind of influencing everybody to talk" (line 5) indicates the possibility that our language will still be spoken in the future. As indicated by her mention of schools in the next line (6), *they're* in line 5 refers to the schools, which are influencing and "encouraging" (line 8) people to use Shiwi'ma. In addition, children are learning our prayers such as the morning greeting in the schools (lines 10-11), which she finds "interesting" (line 12). She provides two salient observations regarding language learning in the school environment: First, both children and parents are learning Shiwi'ma through the schools (line 9), and second, eventually children stop learning the language in school (line 13). Carly's second observation is confirmed by Linda (line 15), who adds that some children forget the language they learned at school as they advance to higher grade levels (line 14). Carly's first observation coupled with her opinion that "bilingual classes ... should be really the first choice for Zuni" (lines 16-17) strongly indicates that she thinks the schools have the paramount linguistic responsibility for transmitting Shiwi'ma. This sentiment is also seen in the high school student's speech discussed by Henne-Ochoa and Bauman, in which she says, "If you really think about it, it's the schools that are the most important part of- in all this. We, the students, spend most of

our time in school. The school should make our language a mandatory subject just like English” (2015:133-134).

5.2.2 Melissa: “With today’s road *it’s very hard*”

Also similar to Henne-Ochoa and Bauman’s findings, Melissa’s response emphasizes generational differences regarding language use and linguistic responsibility.

Excerpt 5.2 (7:12-8:18)

- 1 Linda: uh do ts’ema lił hon a:wan łuwalan kwap detch ish a:beye’a hon
a:ho’i lił łuwala
what do you think is spoken more in the village?
- 2 Melissa: ma: a:łashinap like hom hotda kwapbi dom Shiwi’ma a:beye uh
relatives like my grandma they speak Zuni to you
- 3 but for like my generation or younger dom melika a:beye’a
but for like my generation or younger *they speak English to you*
- 4 it’s really really rare to find somebody that just speaks Shiwi’ma
- 5 Linda: e:h les a- a:ts’ana
yes the children
- 6 Melissa: e:h
yes
- 7 Linda: e:h m- dem melika’ma lekwa k’op leyab do’ ts’ema bish da uhsona
dechi
Why do you think that only English is spoken?
- 8 Melissa: honkwat maybe technology you know TV wise dap like I said
maybe maybe technology you know TV wise and like I said
- 9 uh kids having kids akkya kwa ele yu’he:du
uh kids having kids *so they don’t understand well*
- 10 they don’t really like speak it
- 11 or kwapbi um at school kwa emma Shiwi’ma teachers a:de’amme
or *what um at school there’s not a lot of Zuni language teachers*
- 12 akkya that’s why it’s part of it
so that’s why it’s part of it

Melissa says that the older generation uses Shiwi’ma when speaking to other A:shiwi people (line 2), implying that it is their preferred, habitual language. However, she goes on to say that the preferred language for people in her age range is English (line 3). In line 4,

she notes that monolingualism in Shiwi'ma is "really really rare" for her generation. For Melissa, language shift from Shiwi'ma to English is due to three factors that create a monolingual English acquisition environment: technology (line 8), the loss of intergenerational language transmission (line 9), and an insufficient number of Shiwi'ma language teachers (line 11). This final factor aligns with Carly's comments in the previous example in emphasizing that education also plays an important role in language transmission, but while Carly was relatively optimistic about the impact of the schools, Melissa is more pessimistic. In addition, Melissa's observation about "kids having kids" (line 9) highlights generational differences. She implies that many young people who become parents are English monolinguals. She characterizes this generation as having minimal comprehension and production of spoken Shiwi'ma (line 9). Because of their limited Shiwi'ma abilities, she suggests, the young parental generation is not able to transmit the language to their children.

Several of Melissa's observations match my own experience. If a person is perceived to be Shiwi, elders will speak Shiwi'ma with them. If the person comprehends the elder but responds back in English—that is, if they are a receptive bilingual, as discussed in Chapter 4—the elder will usually continue speaking in Shiwi'ma. Only if the person does not clearly understand will the elder switch to English. This type of interaction is typically between strangers and is an accommodation switch to achieve communicative effectiveness. I experienced this type of interaction in the local grocery store in Zuni while browsing the food selections when an elder approached the area I was in. We made eye contact and smiled at each other, and she started speaking to me in Shiwi'ma. My blank stare indicated

non-comprehension of what she said, and she switched to English. It turned out that she was making small talk that I do not exactly recall.

I also agree with Melissa that it is rare to find anybody who only speaks Shiwi'ma. In my experience, everyone in the community has bilingual Shiwi'ma/English abilities, even elders. During my time at UCSB, my late great-grandfather was in his late eighties and early nineties and mainly spoke Shiwi'ma (he passed in 2020). He could speak English, but the extra mental effort for him to do so was apparent when he spoke to me. In this case, I do not attribute this to the ideology of acquiescence, as he did not have direct involvement in my upbringing. He knew I didn't fully understand or speak Shiwi'ma because that's not how I was raised.

Melissa's focus on generational language shift continues with her response to the next question about whether future generations will still speak Shiwi'ma.

Excerpt 5.3 (8:29-8:56)

- 1 Linda: um ma melika'ma dap ten, fifty, hundred years from now
English and ten, fifty, hundred years from now
- 2 do' ts'ema demshi hon awan a:ts'ana Shiwi'ma beyenna
do you think that our children will still be speaking Shiwi'ma?
- 3 Melissa: kwa honkwadi
maybe not
- 4 Linda: kop' do' leya ts'emapba
why do you think that?
- 5 Melissa: lapba kwapbi kwa em'ona
because what not a lot of people
- 6 they're moving away cause of jobs
- 7 like like me like
- 8 there's sadly nothing there for me akkya lił ho' imme
there's sadly nothing there for me so here I stay

Melissa's uncertainty about the future of Shiwi'ma can be seen through her response, "maybe not" (line 3), to Linda's polar question. While the negative response expresses

pessimism, the hedge *maybe* implies hope that there is a chance for the future of our language. Melissa explains that she has observed that when people move away from the reservation because of the lack of economic opportunities, this results in language disruption. This is her experience, as she moved away because “there’s sadly nothing there for me” (line 8) in Zuni. Again, this statement resonates with me personally. I discussed in Chapter 2 the language-related consequences of my family moving away from the reservation. These new environments reinforce English as the dominant language.

Melissa’s ambivalence about the future of Shiwi’ma continues in her response to Linda’s final question.

Excerpt 5.4 (10:32-11:09)

- 1 Linda: e:h kwa do’ lak kwahol’alna beyennama yadinenaman yamde
 2 kya:k’i a:ts’ana dom anhadiyanna dihap
at this time, do you want to tell those coming after anything
 3 Melissa: uh just to keep practicing.
 4 I mean kwapbi ho’na donda ho’na our ways
 I mean *what our ways our our ways*
 5 are with our with Shiwi’ma beyena
 are with our with *Zuni language*
 6 and once that’s lost we lose everything
 7 And that’s I think that’s what people are scared of
 8 but if we keep trying
 9 hon- honkwa one day we’ll go back to where we were
may- maybe one day we’ll go back to where we were
 10 but with today’s road hish deni
 but with today’s road *it’s very hard*

Melissa’s message to future generations begins with encouragement: “just to keep practicing” (line 3). She then talks about the importance of our language (“our ways are with our ... *Zuni language*,” lines 4-5), the dire consequences of our language not being spoken anymore (“we lose everything,” line 6), and the fear that this possible loss evokes in people (line 7). In lines 8-9, she once again is hopeful that with our intentional actions and

relational agency (“if we keep trying”) there is a chance to reverse language disruption (“we’ll go back to where we were”). Her final statement in line 10 is overtly pessimistic and covertly realistic: “but with today’s road hish deni” (“but with today’s road *it’s very hard*”) (see also King & Hermes 2014). The image that comes to my mind with this comment is a spectrum between monolingual Shiwi’ma and monolingual English, withh our language situation currently closer to the English-only side of the spectrum. If we want our language to move towards the other side, there will be many challenges which will require the intentional effort of relational agency to do so.

5.2.3 Sammy: “*That is what we wish for*”

Sammy shares Melissa’s concerns about the Shiwi’ma abilities of the younger generation. Sammy works at Zuni Youth Enrichment Project, where she was interviewed; her response is based on her workplace observations.

Excerpt 5.5 (9:32-10:22)

- 1 Linda: do’ts’ema bish hon a:wan luwallan kwapish dech a:beye’a a:ts’ana
a:ho melika’ma Shiwi’ma
What do you think is spoken more in the village? Zuni or English?
- 2 Sammy: melika’ma
English
- 3 ho’na lił yam kwathol i:kwanikenanan hon kwa ał sports league
here at work when we do a sports league
- 4 kwa lesna i:koshnan da kwa hon ts’inawashenan
it’s not that way playing or learning
- 5 hon i- iskon hon da dinan
or where we’re at
- 6 hon yanhadinanap ma ish don don melika detch a:beye’a
we listen to the participants and they usually talk English
- 7 ho’- ho’ den isoł a:ts’ana a:washuwenna ho’
even when I talk to the children
- 8 ho’ kwa yayalep kwa hom ay:yuhedenamme
they don’t understand what I’m saying
- 9 ho’ kwap do’ shina le’a:wanikwap do’

10 *I ask them what's their name*
 kwa da uhsona dapde yuhedunam
 and they don't understand
 11 e:h
 yeah
 12 is dom is- ishołde dom dom kwa kwihol dechi yuhedun
 there may be one or two who understand
 13 lesnapde dom ikwał melika'ma dom ashuwe ansewashk'enna
 but they would respond in English

She reports that many of the young participants in programs sponsored by Zuni Youth Enrichment Project primarily communicate in English (line 6). She tries to talk to the children in Shiwi'ma, but the majority do not understand her (lines 7-10), and those that do understand tend to respond in English (lines 12-13). Like Melissa, Sammy does not recognize receptive bilingualism as a linguistic skill that helps maintain the language, even though both participants point out that most young people understand very little to no Shiwi'ma.

In fact, my own level of Shiwi'ma comprehension played a role in this interaction. At the end of the interview, I asked Sammy if the staff at Zuni Youth Enrichment Project speak Shiwi'ma to the program participants. I did not realize that she had already discussed this issue with Linda, as I didn't fully understand her response at the time, due to not being fully receptively bilingual. She graciously and patiently repeated her response for me in English, with no sign of irritation. This kindness is consistent with her remark in Chapter 4 that it is important not to shame or embarrass language learners. Here, as with the example of my great-grandfather, Sammy accommodates my use of English.

Excerpt 5.6 (15:55-16:32)

1 Adrienne: with the kids that come here do you guys speak Zuni to them?
 2 Sammy: Yeah, we- we try
 3 A lot of them don't understand

4 I was telling her that I always like
 5 try to speak Zuni to the kids
 6 and whenever I see them here
 7 I'll go up to them and ask them in Zuni, what's your name?
 8 And even that simple question is something that they don't know
 9 And that makes me really sad
 10 because I grew up speaking Zuni
 11 and that was like it's like
 12 it's a essential part of how I grew up
 13 and even though I go back and forth between Zuni and English
 14 I always revert back to Zuni

Although the program participants most likely attend (or attended) the local elementary school and probably had exposure to the bilingual education classes there, this exposure and their home environment did not result in these children understanding a basic question like “k'op do' shina?” *What's your name?* (lines 7-8). As mentioned in Chapter 3, Sammy's family ensured that she was able to speak Shiwi'ma (line 10) and that she knows the importance of being able to do so. Her upbringing is why she speaks Shiwi'ma to the youth participants in ZYEP's programs. Even though she is not quite yet an elder or grandparent, she is a part of the generation whose preferred language is Shiwi'ma (“I always revert back to Zuni,” line 14).

Similar to Melissa's ambivalent response to the question of the future of Shiwi'ma, Sammy is also uncertain while still expressing hopefulness. However, she also uses the rhetoric of “choice” to explain why language disruption is occurring.

Excerpt 5.7 (10:41-12:07)

1 Linda: do' tsema kya:gi like asi asdemla hai
 do you think that in like ten
 2 asi asdemla lesho! debikwai kop' le' hon a:wan
 a hundred years our
 3 bena Shiwi'ma ma ma dem lesa <dekyan>
 will our Zuni language will be the same?
 4 Sammy: ma' i:me

- 5 *I don't know*
ma' eton kwa honkwa deton a:ts'ummenen ho' lena ishamałde hom yam
bena
maybe if we speak our language all the time it will get stronger
- 6 kop leya hon uh a:ts'ana a:benan hon a:ts'ummenap honkwa chi e:htoł
dechi demusi kon de hon lesn a:benna lesna demma
*how do you say maybe having our children speak the language again and
we push forward to that, at some point the language will be spoken again
as it was*
- 7 ma' i:me ma' eton kwa ma' dacho ho' - ho' andeshema
I don't know, that is what I want
- 8 ma' akkya lesna ho' hon a:ts'ummene uh kwachi hoł dechi hon nana ts'una
desna le' Shiwi'ma ikwał a:beyenna
*that is what I strongly wish for; there will be a point in time when we will
speak Shiwi'ma again*
- 9 ma' e:hd- isdon A:shiwi A:wan College iskon um yam
The A:shiwi A:wan College
- 10 bilingual ts'inawasha uhson
their bilingual schooling (education)
- 11 lesunawa de'ama honkwach uhson akkya
doing it that way maybe they can
- 12 em hon a:wan yuhedadin lesnapde
more people will begin understanding the language again
- 13 kwa honkwa lił hon a:wan a:ho'i ayyuyanamme domto lił lił konde
Shiwi'na dechun lukkya bena illapba
*maybe A:shiwi people here don't know that we are the only place, our
community, in the world, who speak Shiwi'ma*
- 14 akkya kwa honkwa akkya kwa a- uhson a:ts'ummenawamme
maybe that's why they don't have a strong desire
- 15 honkwa kwa akkya em'ona a:beyenamme lesnapde ma'
and a lot of people aren't speaking (Zuni)
- 16 ma' i:me ma' honkwachi hoł dechuna ikwan a:ts'an ikwał da lesna Shiwi'ma
da a:beyen
*I don't know, maybe at some point our children will be able to speak
Shiwi'ma again*
- 17 dom dom lesna hom a:ts'ummena
that is what we wish for

Sammy states several times in different ways that a robust Shiwi'ma language ecology is what she and others “*wish for*” (lines 8, 17), and each time she expressed this desire it is preceded by saying that she doesn't know what the future holds (lines 4, 7, 16). Like Melissa, she hedges her speculations with “*maybe*” (lines 11,13-15), but instead with a focus

on possible reasons why younger generations “don’t have a strong desire and wish to speak” Shiwi’ma. Sammy’s description of her interactions with youth demonstrates that she has a strong sense of linguistic responsibility, but here she emphasizes what she perceives as a lack of linguistic responsibility among younger people, and points to a possible solution with education (lines 9-11). In this situation, a focus on relational agency across generations could be a helpful reframing.

5.2.4 Roger: “*In the future are we going to be saying our prayers in English?*”

Like Sammy, Roger also responded emotionally to the current and future situation of our language. For him, the shift to English has the additional effect of changing how people speak Shiwi’ma.

Excerpt 5.8 (13:49-14:23)

- 1 Linda: kwap do’ ts’ema ish hon an luwanan ish
what do you think in our village
- 2 uhsi do’ Shiwi’ma detch a:beye bish melika’ma
is spoken more? Zuni or English
- 3 [do’ hadiyawa]
you hear
- 4 Roger: [mas] mas ho’ dunap
what I see
- 5 ish melika’ma detchis a:beye kwas
they’re only speaking English
- 6 kwas da den honkwa lukkya
maybe this
- 7 hon an ałashshina a:wan benan
so how our ancestors spoke
- 8 so yam kowelahoł shonichish a:wan an yam shiwan a:wan haydoshna dap
bena dap
they want to shorten our Zuni language but
- 9 ma’ kwa uhsona ho’yam andeshamanama
I don’t want that for myself

He notices that others shorten what they say (line 8) and states that this way of speaking is not what he wants for himself (line 9). In lines 6-7, I believe he is referencing that this language change was foretold by our ancestors.

When Linda asks him if he thinks our language will still be spoken in the future, Roger becomes reflective and states that he's "*talking from the heart*" (line 4), indicating a deep emotional response.

Excerpt 5.9 (15:45-17:32)

- 1 Linda: k'op na do' ts'ema hon a:wan bena k'yaki
do you think our language in the future
- 2 honkwa asdemla
maybe ten
- 3 asi asdemla debikwaina kwas de'ashu
hundred years
- 4 Roger: isho yanik'ennakwin bena beya
I'm talking from the heart
- 5 ma hinik kwas ko'nas a:wan a:wan a:wan'ona ma asdemla debikwai dem
dek'yanna
I think it will still be here in ten years
- 6 kwili asdemla debikwai
twenty years
- 7 ma honk- ma i'me ma imatchion a:wan aho
well maybe I don't know it's really up to our people
- 8 hon a:wan ałashina ma imatchi
up to the older people too
- 9 chiko detayam a:ts'ana a:- a:washuwena:we
we talk to our children
- 10 dapde yamandesh benan andeshemanna ho' lekwe'a
at least I'm asking if they still want the language
- 11 ma i'me ma honkwa de yam hon
I don't know maybe
- 12 kwap ed lak'i hon a:wan ts'inayanik'enna ke deli dawa kon ed
now at the schools how we're learning
- 13 chiko de yanik'ennawap de ts'ina nak'yani kepba
they're learning but they're teaching them by book
- 14 kwa lesna hon iho iyak'enamme
I didn't grow up like that
- 15 ish yam benanne k'e ho'na hon ho' iyak'enapkyak akkyak hon
I only spoke (Zuni) growing up, we were taught very well
- 16 kwał ele dokna yu'hedunna hon iyyayu łashik'enna

17 *whatever we didn't understand we asked each other*
 hon iyam bena lesna ho' iya k'en a:wik'e
we grew up like that, talking to each other
 18 lał ish lał ish do' uhsona yałen'ona
what you're asking about
 19 koł ma' ho' deshlana da'i ma' le'apba
I'm also scared because
 20 honsh habish ho' de'chipsh hon melika'ma dewusuk k'enna:washe
in the future are we going to be saying our prayers in English?
 21 kwa uhsona ho' andeshemanamme
I don't want that to happen
 22 elechi an lena Shiwi'ma bena its'umme shenan
let's talk our Zuni language to keep it strong

Roger says that he does think our language will still be spoken in the near future of the next ten years (line 5), but after that he is uncertain. His response “*it's really up to our people*” (lines 7-8) aligns with the prophecy spoken by our elders at the beginning of this chapter: “*But the people themselves will bring upon themselves what they receive.*” He highlights linguistic responsibility, much like Sammy, but unlike in her response, he emphasizes that this is an intergenerationally shared responsibility (“*up to the older people too,*” line 8).

Roger's answer resembles earlier responses in other ways as well. Like Sammy, he also uses the rhetoric of choice, wondering whether children want to learn their ancestral language (line 10). And like Melissa, he notes the limitations of education for intergenerational language transmission. He creates a contrast between how the current generation of Zuni children learn Shiwi'ma in the schools through the use of books (line 13) and how he learned the language growing up with his relatives speaking to him (lines 15-17). The uncertainty of the situation makes him “*scared*” (line 19). This sentiment was also expressed by Melissa. Roger feels fear especially when it comes to our prayers (line 20). Communicating with our ancestors is only possible through Shiwi'ma, and there needs to be

intentional effort to use our linguistic responsibility and relational agency (line 22) to ensure that our people are able to continue this crucial cultural tradition. It is important to highlight that even though Roger expresses fear regarding the possibility of our traditions being conducted in a language other than Shiwí'ma (“*in the future are we going to be saying our prayers in English?*,” line 20), he implies that he believes that these traditions will continue.

5.2.5 Eva: “*maybe with our language...our children (and our language) will live longer*”

Linguistic responsibility and relational agency are even more central to Eva’s responses to the question of the current and future state of Zuni.

Excerpt 5.10 (26:15-26:32)

- 1 Linda: do' ts'ema bish lił hon an luwanan kwap dechish a:beye'a
what do you think is spoken more in the village?
- 2 Eva: melika'ma
English
- 3 Linda: shi an melika'ma dop kochima do' ts'ema k'opladi
why do you think this is?
- 4 Eva: ma' lesapba kwa son yam k'yakwin ulli
That's because throughout our households
- 5 kwa son lak'i iyashuwena:wamme
nowadays we don't talk to each other

For Eva, the reason why English is spoken more in Zuni Pueblo is because “*we don't talk to each other*” (line 5). In a part of her interview that is not included here, she went on to describe what tends to happen when people visit each other or are just in each other’s presence: they don’t pay attention to each other but rather focus their attention on their technological devices, such as their TVs and cell phones. Technology was also mentioned by Melissa and Nicki as a reason for our language disruption.

Compared to the more hopeful or uncertain responses previously discussed, Eva was the only participant who responded with an outright no when asked if Zuni children will still be speaking Shiwi'ma in the future (line 4).

Excerpt 5.11 (27:24-28:08)

- 1 Linda: e:h do' ts'ema
yes what do you think
- 2 k'ya:ki <honkwa> asi asdemlam asdemlan asi asdemlan debikwaikya
maybe in ten, a hundred years
- 3 do' ts'ema dem a:beya [hon an] chawe
do you think the children will be talking Zuni?
- 4 Eva: [e:la]
No
- 5 ho' ho dunap ma
what I see
- 6 ikwa ma' honkwa hon a:wan kwas lak'i iluwak'yanna do' yuhadian <ho' op>
well maybe we will no longer understand
- 7 ma'a hon iskon dayum okkyana:wap ma' iskon hon an ts'inawan
we're losing that a long time ago it was written on paper
- 8 bachi kyakoł dewusu an i:bachima sons kyatsowakwin a:dechi
even long time ago in the prayers we're getting to the point
- 9 emma uhsi kwał demla do' ildemap
with what you believe in
- 10 ma' hon a:wan <sma>son haydoshna son i:do son iyap
we are losing our traditions (beliefs)
- 11 ma' akkya hon da Shiwi'ma kwa son kona hon a:ts'umme kona kwa son
a:dey'a
we're not strong like we used to be anymore

I believe Eva's response, like Roger's, aligns with the prophecy by our elders at the beginning of this chapter. Also like Roger, in line 8 she references our prayers and how they allude to our current situation, namely, that we are losing our traditions (line 10). Because of this, she states, "*we're not strong like we used to be*" (line 11), and that is why she believes that our language will not be spoken in the future.

Despite this pessimism, Eva does offer some hope at the end of her interview. When asked the question, "*what do you want to tell them today in your own words?*", her response

is almost four minutes long (28:40-32:48). I include only the final part of her response in the example below. Before the example begins, Eva states that with our Shiwi ways, we're strong and that her elders told her that even if she leaves Zuni, she will always be Shiwi and that she will return home eventually because that is where we are rooted. Even though she lives in both worlds, she says, she needs to believe and reinforce our traditions because this is what the ancestors want, and in return, they give us their blessings. She goes on to say that now we're becoming like the white man, speaking English and/or Zunglish. When those whose preferred language is English or Zunglish do attempt to speak Shiwi'ma, they stutter. She finds this embarrassing, especially when those in leadership positions do so. She also rejects the ideology of acquiescence as well as the practice of receptive bilingualism, saying that in the past, if elders talked to someone in Shiwi'ma and that person responded in English, the elders didn't like it and would ask why they're acting like a white person. Despite these multiple critiques of the current language situation, Eva ends on a hopeful note.

Excerpt 5.12 (32:25-32:48)

- 1 Eva: ma' honkwa ton ikkwa yam chawe a:wenlimona:wap
nowadays maybe if we encourage our kids
- 2 hon iskon ikkwa ton lukhya dachi hon ayyalopnan
we'll go back to that point
- 3 hon lukhya yam melika'ma ikwena yam hon Shiwi'ma
and put speaking English and speaking our Zuni language (speak more Zuni)
- 4 iskon hon yam a:chawe dachi hon iskon ilimonap honkwa ton iskon da
and our children also if we could encourage
- 5 dap honkwa ton iskon hon a:wan bena:w akhya hon a:wan chawe a:-
a:dasha'an
but at least maybe with our language so that our children (and our language) will live longer

Eva invokes a shared linguistic responsibility, but she especially emphasizes the relational agency of older speakers. She states that “*maybe if we encourage our kids*” (lines 1, 4) we can reverse our language disruption by speaking more Zuni (line 3) and with our language, our children will “*live longer*” (line 5). Here she seems to be suggesting that language disruption is not an all-or-nothing process and that any amount of experience with Shiwi’ma will benefit young people (Kroskrity 2012).

5.2.6 Nicki: “We all understand that we have a part in this”

Nicki’s responses to the question of the present and future situation of Zuni were remarkably nuanced and insightful. Because she was the only participant who answered almost entirely in English, I was able to participate more actively in this interview than in the others.

Excerpt 5.13 (8:00-9:44)

- 1 Linda: Do’ ts’emap il hon a:wan luwallan
What do you think in our village
2 kwap ish uh bena detch a:beye’a
what is spoken more?
3 melika’ma Shiwi’ma
English? Zuni?
4 Nicki: I’m afraid to answer that probab-
5 probably Zunglish probably Zunglish now
6 and I think there’s these
7 there’s a the like the age like average released for Zuni
8 I think and like the average age of a person in Zuni right now
9 is close to like mid-forties
10 and I think about all the mid-forties and under that I know
11 and it’s primarily English that we’re speaking
12 and then everybody above Zunglish
13 and then we have our elders who are still fluent but
14 Adrienne: also do Zunglish
15 Nicki: but also do Zunglish yeah and if you
16 when I think about it
17 my my wowo and my nana raised me and my sibling

18 because my parents were working
 19 and my parents spoke Zuni to us but they weren't around as much
 20 and I don't know for whatever reason
 21 it's not just my grandparents too
 22 but I see it in a lot my peers and younger
 23 our grandparents are speaking to us in English
 24 and it's like whoa what the heck? yeah
 25 Adrienne: and why? cause your-
 26 Nicki: [but they're fluent yeah and it's like whoa] yeah
 27 Adrienne: [well that's mhm yes yes]
 28 Nicki: and you you- we could explore like
 29 oh the- the boarding school kinda
 30 like you gotta speak English kind of thing
 31 but I don't think that that was as strong here I think we're
 32 we were really privileged as a community to be so isolated
 33 and not have so much like contemporary influence coming in
 34 um but again for whatever reason it's happening

Nicki was the only participant who said that Zunglish is primarily spoken in the village (line 5). In other words, while other participants perceive community interactions as taking place predominantly in English, she recognizes a Shiwi'ma component to these interactions as well. She also emphasizes generational differences, like Melissa does (lines 11-13): People under forty speak English, those over forty speak Zunglish, while the elders are "fluent" speakers who are capable of speaking exclusively in Shiwi'ma, but also speak Zunglish. I anticipate that this is what she is about to say when she pauses ("we have our elders who are still fluent but," line 13), which she confirms (line 14). This caused her to reflect on our elders' linguistic practices. She has observed that many grandparents, not only hers but those of her peers, speak to her and others of her generation in English (lines 21-23). She says that she does not know exactly why they do this and mentions boarding schools as a possible cause (lines 29-30). However, she ultimately doesn't feel that our ancestors who attended these schools were affected as strongly (line 31) because our geographical location did not initially allow for "contemporary influence coming in" (line

33); I interpret this phrase as referring to mass media and digital technology. which she confirmed in a follow-up email conversation. She also stated that the linguistic practices across the different generations correlate with the introduction of mainstream mass media to the village. Nicki acknowledges that elders often follow the ideology of acquiescence to younger speakers' use of English (line 23), as other participants also discuss. Unlike other participants, however, she recognizes that even elders' language is strongly influenced by language contact, thus complicating the ideology of linguistic purism, which views older speakers' language as "pure."

Excerpt 5.14 (9:50-10:58)

- 1 Linda: kya:k'i ma melika an benan ten, fifty, a hundred years from now
in the future speaking English ten, fifty, a hundred years from now
2 do' ts'ema dem Shiwi'ma a:beyen hon a:wan a:ts'ana
do you think Shiwi'ma will still be spoken by our children?
3 Nicki: I hope I hope
4 I would really love that I think
5 we- we have the ability right now to
6 save it you know how like
7 I don't know why I'm thinking about it in the health way
8 when when somebody has pre-diabetes
9 you know they have that ability to
10 get back on track
11 to be healthy and get out of that range
12 or just fall off and become diabetic
13 I feel like we're in that but related to language
14 we're pre-diabetic (laughs) in losing Zuni
15 we can make the effort which will take real intentional effort
16 to stay fluent or at least keep the language
17 or we can just kind of let go and lose it
18 Adrienne: that's a good way to think about it
19 or like a good
20 Nicki: like an [analogy yeah]
21 Adrienne [an analogy to kind of put] it in that way
22 Nicki: we all understand diabetes because of the rates here yeah

Nicki is hopeful that our language will still be spoken in the future (line 3), focusing on positive feelings (“I would really love that,” line 4) rather than the more negative feelings expressed by most other participants. She is cognizant that our own relational agency is necessary to ensure that this happens (lines 5-6), which she describes as “real intentional effort” (line 15). She provides a thoughtful analogy with pre-diabetes (line 14), stating that we are currently at a turning point between “keep[ing] the language” and “let[ting] go” (lines 16-17). Although this framing may seem similar to the rhetoric of choice, Nicki’s point is more about the importance of relational agency and linguistic responsibility, and she offers this powerful analogy knowing that many, if not all, in our community have someone in their lives who is or was diabetic (line 22), since Native Americans experience high rates of type 2 diabetes (Lucero & Roubideaux 2022).

Nicki’s final message is also powerful, arguing that linguistic responsibility and relational agency are cultural and moral obligations for the entire community, regardless of their linguistic abilities.

Excerpt 5.15 (13:18-15:10)

- 1 Linda: honkwa kwahol if I left anything out
maybe something if I left anything out
2 kwash do' kwał lał yam'ona bena beyenama iha
do you have anything you want to say?
3 Nicki: I think that if there could be a mutual understanding between
4 fluent speakers and people like me who understand but aren't fluent
5 and then people who don't understand and don't speak
6 if we could all get on the same page to understand that
7 I think we all know that Zuni language is important to keep
8 but the importance and like
9 the sense of urgency differs amongst everybody
10 for some people who aren't fluent might think like well
11 it doesn't- it's not really important
12 or they might think like it's really important
13 but I don't have the resources or support to learn it
14 people who are fluent might be like, well I'm fluent so I'm okay

15 you know they might not see the importance to pass it on
16 or they might be so terrified like there's not enough fluent speakers
17 but then sometimes the urgency pushes people out again
18 so I just I- I hope that we can get to a place where
19 we all understand that we have a part in this
20 and that we have to create supportive spaces um
21 and and compromise from both sides
22 yes we can be teased but it's gonna be supportive you know
23 we can support but show loving acts of teasing you know um
24 and then just create opportunities
25 I think there's a language class at the college right now
26 but that's just one opportunity you know
27 I think um we have different org- organizations like like this
28 the one that we're in right now that have opportunities
29 but it needs to be more intentional you know um so
30 yeah I think just everybody seeing that they need to jump in

Nicki emphasizes that if we work together (line 19), we can strengthen our language.

She says that we are all coming at our current language situation with different perspectives and attitudes but that one commonality we all have is recognizing the importance of our language (line 7). To Nicki, a person's language maintenance ideologies are dependent on their current Shiwi'ma abilities; her description shows great empathy for people of all abilities. Like some other participants, she says that for those who are not "fluent," they may view Shiwi'ma as "not really important" (line 11), thus invoking the rhetoric of choice. However, she goes on to emphasize that such individuals have a range of language ideologies, including the view, overlooked by other participants, that "it's really important" (line 12) but they lack needed "resources or support" for language learning (line 13). Similarly, for those who are "fluent," she suggests a spectrum of ideologies from seeing intergenerational language transmission as inessential because they are content with their own speaking abilities (line 14) to seeing it as essential but coupled with panic-stricken feelings due to the awareness of the diminishing number of "fluent" speakers (line 16)—which is perhaps the situation for Roger. She is hopeful for a "mutual understanding" (line

3) between all of us so that we can work together to “create supportive spaces” and “opportunities” (lines 20 and 24) not only through traditional education (lines 25-26), the focus of several other participants, but also through the various organizations in the village (line 27). This work needs to be “more intentional” (line 29), and everyone can and should contribute (line 30). Both this example and the previous one correspond to the prophecy spoken by our elders, offering the most hopeful and realistic vision for the future of Shiwi’ma: *“But the people themselves will bring upon themselves what they receive.”* Through linguistic responsibility and relational agency, we can work together to strengthen our language’s health.

5.3 Discussion

Nearly thirty years ago, bilingualism researcher Crawford wrote of Native American language disruption:

Yet ultimately speakers themselves are responsible, through their attitudes and choices, for what happens to their native language. Families choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they don’t. Elders choose to speak the language on certain important occasions or to insist on its use in certain important domains, or they don’t. Tribal leaders choose to promote the tribal language and accommodate its speakers in government functions, social services, and community schools, or they don’t. (Crawford 1996:50)

While recognizing the external pressures such as the ongoing harmful social, political, and economic impacts of colonialism on Native and Indigenous people that causes language disruption, Crawford emphasizes familial, generational, and governmental linguistic

responsibility. In other words, linguistic responsibility is collective. The prophecy by Zuni ancestors at the beginning of this chapter strongly suggests that our actions, both intentional and unintentional, will move us towards a desirable or undesirable outcome. While I may not be able to transmit the language to future generations, it is my responsibility to use my academic background to produce beneficial information and knowledge, such as this dissertation, that will contribute to maintaining Shiwi'ma as an intergenerationally transmitted spoken language.

One common answer to the question of what causes language disruption, which is illustrated by Melissa's response but is also widespread in the scholarly literature, is that technology is primarily to blame. Mass media has been noted as a key cause, as it elevates the dominant language and culture through entertainment and pop culture (Fishman 1991, Crawford 1996), contributing to acculturation. To be sure, the proliferation of mass media and the use of advanced technology within the Zuni village was inevitable, just as it was in many Native American communities. I recall an elder telling me that they remembered when one of the first televisions arrived in the village, probably in the mid 1950s or early 1960s. Children gathered around outside the window of the family that owned the television, trying to catch a glimpse. The elder noted that this event sharply demarcated the beginning of many changes in the village.

Technology also plays an important role in how families communicate, or don't communicate, with each other in their households. A social media post by Michael Owaleon Sr., a Shiwi artist, shows his artwork, which he captioned as follows: "Makes you think pictures. How we are an example to our children and they see and learn from us. And you see this every where now, people on their phones and it just being a normal thing now....one

love people ❤️.....” (Figure 5.1). This picture captures Eva’s sentiment in excerpt 5.10 that “nowadays we don’t talk to each other. (line 10).



Figure 5.1 “Makes you think” picture about family interaction and technology. Used by permission of the artist. © 2024 Michael Owaleon Sr.

Ironically, technology is widely advocated for language revitalization and reclamation efforts (Penfield et al. 2006, Galla 2009, 2016, Morris 2015, among many others) because it expands the domains of language learning and use and is viewed as a means to engage youth in Indigenous language revitalization and reclamation efforts. I am unsure if digital technology is incorporated into the Zuni Bilingual Education program. Outside of the schools, I only know of the Shiwí’ma group’s private Facebook page, Shiwí’ma A:beye:na:kwe’ Wokkwinne. The “about” section of the group reads as follows: “A group of Zuni language speakers of all levels who are dedicated to the formal and informal preservation of Zuni language skills in both written and spoken format.” Many of the posts

within this group pertain to asking how to say or write something correctly. Technology-enhanced language learning efforts for Shiwi'ma are fraught with common questions such as what to include (content) and which technology to utilize, but also questions about who should have access to the language. Public access to Shiwi'ma materials is a concern to some community members, and the private Facebook page is evidence of this concern, as a few tribal members administer the group. Other technology efforts are limited. Melissa did mention at the end of her interview that she developed a mobile app for a Shiwi'ma dictionary when she was an undergraduate student. She said that she presented it to the Zuni Bilingual Education department thinking that it could be useful in the schools but ultimately, there was no support for it. This topic could be a dissertation on its own, and I'm certain that technology-enhanced language learning materials will continue to be discussed in the village. Only time will tell if the community will utilize technology for language learning efforts.

It is important to recognize that technology is only part of the problem (or solution). Language users have experienced dramatic changes in their physical language ecology from one that is Shiwi'ma-dominant to another, associated with Western education and relocation to cities, that is English-dominant. The virtual language ecology is also encroaching on the physical language ecology, so that community members do not have to leave the village to experience a loss of intergenerational language transmission. This situation complicates the Indigenous cultural value that draws a close connection between language and the land (as discussed in Chapter 2), due to these and other factors disrupting use of Shiwi'ma even in and around the village.

This chapter has also demonstrated the importance of amplifying and centering Native American and Indigenous voices and perspectives about the health and future of their language (see also Kelly et al. 2010, Chew 2015, Peterson & Zepeda 2022, Gomashie 2023). This chapter also aligns with Henne-Ochoa and Bauman’s suggestion “to study not only how generational frameworks within language-endangered communities are discursively and metadiscursively constructed, but also how they interrelate with various factors, such as definitions of linguistic competence and incompetence (and their construction...), as well as relationships and interaction patterns within, between, and among cohorts” (2015: 147). Following Fitzgerald’s (2017:e292) argument, placing Native and Indigenous ways of knowing at the heart of our scholarship serves to decolonize language research by raising “consciousness of how Western notions, methods, constructs, and research are privileged” and also serves to “create a more inclusive space for Indigenous linguists, thus broadening participation and further increasing educational outcomes for Indigenous people and advancing the language sciences” (2017:e292).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has used the Indigenous concepts of relational agency and linguistic responsibility to understand how the study participants view the present and future of Shiwi’ma. Participants’ responses ranged from a focus on the schools as having the primary responsibility for intergenerational transmission of the language, to more ambivalent or pessimistic comments that younger generations held this responsibility but were unlikely to maintain the language, to a more hopeful perspective that emphasizes relational agency and shared responsibility across all generations. In the final chapter, I summarize the main

findings of this study and reflect on its implications for maintaining Shiwi'ma in the present and the future.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: “Gathering Strength to Push Out in Different Directions and in Different Contexts”

“In an era of aboriginal self-governance and multilingualism, Indigenous language initiatives may be one of the best ways to attenuate risk, overcome a legacy of insecurity and trauma, and find resolution in difference.” (Meek 2022: 239)

6.1 Summary of the argument and findings

In Chapter 1, I presented three research questions:

1. What are participants’ perspectives on intergenerational language transmission of the Zuni language?
2. How do participants’ language experiences and attitudes affect their reported language use and language choice?
3. What role(s) do these attitudes have in facilitating language maintenance or language shift?

As stated in Chapter 2, this dissertation recognizes the “need for accurate and appropriate information about Zunis, particularly for Zuni people...created by Zuni people, sharing our voices and perspectives on who we are, where we came from, and how we will continue” (Belarde-Lewis & Kostelecky 2021:112). In the three preceding analytic chapters, I therefore explored each of the above questions in depth by centering the words and ideas of the study participants.

In Chapter 3, the six participants’ language history and current language use in the home were analyzed through a family language policy lens. All participants grew up with

Shiwi'ma as the primary home language and reported that they want their children and children in general to have that foundational experience as well. Unlike parents in Western societies who might rely on advice from books, A:shiwi parents are influenced by cultural values and traditions that are passed down through families. Shiwi caregiver-child interactions warrant closer examination as children also play a role in shaping language use at home; therefore, these interactions can affect development in Shiwi'ma.

In Chapter 4, I explored the language ideologies of the study participants regarding two key aspects of language contact and bilingualism within the Shiwi community: receptive bilingualism and language mixing. A common emotional issue that many receptive bilinguals experience is linguistic insecurity due to negative reactions such as laughing at and teasing a person who struggles with Shiwi'ma language production. This experience discourages many people from trying to speak the language, even if they have some capability to do so. Four language ideologies emerged from the analysis: language purism, osmosis, acquiescence, and the necessity of correction. As I discussed, the ideologies of osmosis and acquiescence do not actively support a child's development of Shiwi'ma, and the ideologies of language purism and the necessity of correction can also discourage people from speaking Shiwi'ma.

In Chapter 5, I examined the study participants' views of the current and future situation of Shiwi'ma and their ascriptions of agency and responsibility for language disruption and regeneration. In my analysis, I acknowledged the external pressures that contribute to language disruption but emphasized relational agency and collective linguistic collective responsibility: Everyone can and should assist with strengthening Shiwi'ma. In the data, technology was ascribed an important role in the shift from Shiwi'ma to English. This

perspective is in contrast to the widely acknowledged benefits of technology for Indigenous language revitalization and reclamation efforts, and more research on this issue is needed.

Crucially, I approached the three research questions from the perspective of Indigenous research methodologies and epistemologies. As relational accountability is a foundational component of these methodologies, I designed this dissertation to involve and benefit my community. I situated myself and shared my language story, incorporating Indigenous autoethnography as a form of scholarly resistance to Western-centered perspectives that prioritize outsider authority over Native lived experience. By amplifying my own perspectives, experiences, and knowledge about my culture as well as those of the participants, I highlighted the importance of centering Native American and Indigenous voices and perspectives about their language. I consider it an ethical responsibility to use my academic background to produce beneficial information and knowledge, such as this dissertation, that will contribute to maintaining Shiwi'ma as an intergenerationally transmitted spoken language. Sharing these findings with the community will be an ongoing process, and I hope that it will raise awareness about the current state of Shiwi'ma, our collective linguistic responsibility, and our agency to safeguard our ancestral language.

In this chapter, I reflect on the implications of my research for achieving these goals and for advancing knowledge in Linguistics. First, I discuss the complex question of linguistic responsibility for language regeneration. Then I explore recommendations for the regeneration of Shiwi'ma. Next, I discuss the contributions of this study to Linguistics scholarship, before offering some final reflections. Throughout, I draw on my lived experience as a Shiwi person as well as my own and others' research in order to provide an Indigenous-centered perspective on Shiwi'ma language regeneration.

6.2 Whose linguistic responsibility is it?: The case for family-focused language regeneration and revitalization programming

Commenting on the emphasis on school-based interventions for language regeneration in Native communities, Hinton writes, “And yet, many of us would say that the most important locus of language revitalization is not in the schools, but rather the home, the last bastion from which the language was lost, and the primary place where first acquisition occurs” (2013: xiv). Previous research has emphasized the importance not only of parental and caregiver language input for the transmission of the ancestral language (De Houwer 2007, Smith-Christmas 2016, Forrest 2018) but also active involvement from all generations (Purkarthofer 2020). This point is showcased in the following example from my own family.

With this concluding dissertation chapter on my mind, at the beginning of July 2024 I went back home to Zuni for our annual summer dances. My family gathered to bake bread and cook stew for our clan child, an all-day process. My younger cousin brought her one-year-old son who was starting to walk and talk. My collaborator and family member, Linda, previously told me that my cousin spoke only Shiwi’ma as a child but that once she started going to school, she switched to speaking English. Now as a parent, my cousin wants her son not only to understand Shiwi’ma, but to speak it. She is using all her linguistic knowledge to speak to him primarily in Shiwi’ma, and our other adult relatives are following her lead and are also speaking to him in Shiwi’ma. It made my heart happy to hear my cousin’s son try and repeat after his mom *mol’aknana* ‘watermelon’ and *elahkwa* ‘thank you’ when he was done eating it. His *hotda* (maternal grandmother), Ella, is also my relative and collaborator on this dissertation. Ella is one of his primary caregivers and is likewise

committed to speaking as much Shiwi'ma as possible to him. This family language policy demonstrated to me that linguistic responsibility begins with the relational agency of at least one caregiver and underscored my position, which I have argued throughout this dissertation, that families, including extended family members, are ultimately responsible for transmitting ancestral languages to children. This linguistic responsibility ensures the survivance of language and culture because it recognizes that language “connects them [children] back to family, history, identity and maintains a sense of belonging crucial to health and well-being in a changing world” (Gaffney et al. 2021:242).

In Hopi scholar Nicholas's examination of language shift and vitality from the perspectives of Hopi youth, she discusses the role that parents and grandparents have in the shift from Hopi to English:

Asked why teasing of language learners seemed so prevalent, Jared offered this perspective: “Probably because they [speakers] expected them [children of non-speakers] to learn that a long time. And then that kind of puts it back to their parents, ‘Doesn't your mom and them teach you?’” (Nicholas 2008:166)

Nicholas interprets Jared's perspective as implicating those who tease and pass judgement on non-speakers as responsible for not ensuring the child learned to speak Hopi; thus, she argues, they “must also share in the responsibility for the shift from Hopi to English among the younger generation” (2008:166). This discussion highlights two important issues regarding shared linguistic responsibility: (1) parents and grandparents have the linguistic responsibility to ensure the children know how to speak the ancestral language, and (2) it is never too late for parents and grandparents to fulfill their linguistic responsibilities by sharing the ancestral language with their children and grandchildren (see

also Baldwin 2024). These caregivers may have to contend with negative emotions or questions from the children in their care if and when they embark on their own language reclamation and regeneration journey. Such reactions to individual experiences of language disruption should be addressed without shame or guilt given the many structural reasons, including historical trauma, why intergenerational language transmission may have been disrupted. In my own case, I didn't have the chance to ask my grandmother why she didn't speak Shiwi'ma to me, and I don't want to speculate on the possible reasons for her choice, but I can't help wishing that my family had used Shiwi'ma with me when I was growing up, so that I would at least be a receptive bilingual today.

6.2.1 The school's partial linguistic responsibility

While Hinton in the quotation above emphasizes the importance of family over school in language regeneration, Krauss (1998:17) goes even further, stating, “ school programs can do more harm than good, insofar as they shift the responsibility for transmitting the language in the home, where it is still possible, to the school, at best such a poor alternative.” Krauss frames the scenario of the shifting of linguistic responsibility from the home to the school domain as a likelihood. And writing a year earlier, Cantoni framed this same scenario as a reality: “Many Native parents expect the schools, which in the past had contributed to the eradication of their tribal languages, to help maintain or restore these languages” (1997: 1). Based on my observations, for many families in Zuni, the linguistic responsibility for language regeneration has shifted to the schools.

Many people worked hard over a long period of time to realize the language education policies that authorized instruction in Native American languages (Zepeda & Hill 1991,

Warhol 2012, Angelo et al. 2022). Because of this important work, bilingual education programs will be sustained. However, such programs are not enough, as Hermes and King argue: “For language revitalization efforts to be successful, they need not just to instruct the language in formal or school domains, but to promote its use and transmission across generations in informal contexts such as the home and family” (2013:127). Language learners need as much comprehensible input as possible in the ancestral language, and schools can be important venues for consistent access to this much-needed input. Ideally, the entire school day would be in the ancestral language, but this ideal setting is difficult to realize for many communities for various reasons (e.g. curriculum and funding limitations, lack of teachers and language resources). Some communities have achieved this ideal setting through immersion schools in the Indigenous language, such as those for the Mohawk and Hawaiian languages. These schools have shown great success in their students’ development of proficiency in their ancestral languages, but this result was not due to the schools alone. Families played a crucial role in these efforts and were often required to use the language in the home in order for their children to attend these schools (McCarty & Nicholas 2007).

School-based language programs should be viewed as one strategic tool (McCarty 2008) to regenerate Indigenous languages, but these programs should be complemented with community-based endeavors aimed at supporting intergenerational language transmission, which in turn need to be aligned with family and community efforts. Shiwi educator Lewis advocates for “creating a stronger tribal definition of what education should be and how such systems may serve to strengthen tribal language, culture, and community development opportunities by using the resources of cultural and ancestral knowledge and teaching practices that are culturally responsive and supportive” (2019:ix). He calls for changing the

educational systems that serve the Zuni tribal community by “making proactive and life-enhancing choices, and reclaiming the power to heal ourselves and our community in proactive, appropriate, and sustainable ways” (Lewis 2019:viii). I believe this is what educators in the Zuni community, both A:shiwí and non-Native, are striving for based on their published narratives (Krebs & Torrez 2019) and educational efforts, including the development of a Shiwí’ma immersion Pre-K school. An example of one culturally responsive and supportive teaching practice within the home is provided by Nicki in the next section. The approach she describes can also be implemented in community-based endeavors for language learning and language regeneration.

6.3 Nicki’s recommendations

Of all the participants, Nicki was most oriented to finding solutions to the problem of language disruption, possibly because of her positionality both as a parent and as director of the Zuni Youth Enrichment Project. In addition to Nicki’s recommendations that were detailed in the previous chapter (i.e. mutual understanding, the creation of supportive spaces and opportunities, intentional agency), during our interview she also proposed a strategy that families can try.

Excerpt 6.1 (4:21-5:41)

- 1 Linda: do’ ts’ema kop’ leya <clears throat>
What do you think, how
- 2 kop’ leya dap hon A:shiwí yam kyakwin yam kyakwe’kowa
how will we A:shiwí speak Zuni in our homes?
- 3 kop leyap hai kop’ leyap hon Shiwí’ma dech a:beyenna
how will we speak just Zuni in our homes?
- 4 Nicki: I think probably
- 5 the encouragement <clears throat>
- 6 it goes both way
- 7 I’m trying to understand

8 like there's a part of growing up
9 where you have to be teased in a way
10 to be able to get that grit
11 and it's just I mean it's our culture too you know
12 we tease each other because we care about each other
13 and sometimes our kids don't understand that
14 and I- I'm like one of them
15 and it hurts you know
16 when we're teased when we try to speak
17 and it's like aww I'm so embarrassed
18 because it's a shame you know
19 but then there's the other side
20 that I wish our elders and our fluent speakers understood like
21 we can tease but it should be with a lot of support
22 Linda: yeah
23 Nicki: and encouragement um so I think in the home
24 if if people just took like you know
25 okay ten minutes dom hom Shiwi'ma beyenna
 okay ten minutes *you speak Zuni to me*
26 ten minutes and then it's like all positive
27 boom boom boom do it for a week
28 fifteen minutes dom hom Shiwi'ma beyenna you know
 fifteen minutes *you speak Zuni to me* you know
29 and then increase increase and then it just becomes yeah

Nicki suggests that families can try to speak Shiwi'ma to each other in small amounts of time, like ten minutes (line 25), and continue this practice for a week (line 27). She specifies that the time increments should increase (line 29) and that these interactions should be positive (line 26) and encouraging (line 23). This recommendation aligns with strategies for building a daily habit in order to realize a personal goal.

The beginning of Nicki's response emphasizes the role of teasing in Shiwi culture (line 11), an issue which warrants more discussion. Teasing and joking with others is a Native American cultural phenomenon, it's just what we do (see Lindquist 2016). As Nicki points out, teasing is a part of our language socialization (lines 9-10); however, it is not endemic to Native American culture. Teasing is a "cross-cultural behavior" (Schieffelin and Ochs

1986:9) that is common in many societies; the extensive research on the role of teasing in overt socialization highlights the significance of this practice. For example, Bourdieu described joking and teasing as

the art of making fun without raising anger, by means of ritual mockery or insults what are neutralized by their very excess and which, presupposing a great familiarity, both in the knowledge they use and the freedom in which they use it, are in fact tokens of attention, of affection, ways of building up while seeming to run down, of accepting while seeming to condemn—although they may also be used to test out those who show signs of stand-offishness. (1984: 183)

Many Native scholars have commented on teasing as a cultural practice. Nicholas writes that teasing in Hopi culture is “premised in and involves a highly sophisticated understanding of one’s social and ritual standing in the clan, kin, and ceremonial associations and connections established by birth, marriage, and initiations” (2008:311). Similarly, Deloria states:

For centuries before the white invasion, teasing was a method of control of social situations by Indian people. Rather than embarrass members of the tribe publicly, people used to tease individuals they considered out of step with the consensus of tribal opinion. In this way egos were preserved and disputes within the tribe of a personal nature were held to a minimum. Gradually people learned to anticipate teasing and began to tease themselves as a means of showing humility and at the same time advocating a course of action they deeply believed in. (1969:39)

Teasing is thus a way of gently socializing young children into the ancestral language and culture (see also Seifert 2013), helping them to acquire cultural knowledge and norms.

In the excerpt above, Nicki acknowledges that teasing is an inherent part of our culture and states that it is done “because we care about each other” (line 12), which emphasizes our relationality. However, she implies that children are no longer being socialized to know how to handle being teased when she says, “sometimes our kids don’t understand that” (line 13). By stating that she’s “one of them” she does not mean that she does not understand the intent of the teasing, but instead she is referring to the negative emotions (e.g. embarrassment and shame; lines 17-18) that she experiences when she is teased for trying to speak Shiwi’ma. She knows that teasing is going to occur and views it as a valuable form of language socialization, but she also emphasizes that “it should be with a lot of support” (line 21). Nicki’s nuanced recommendation acknowledges both the inevitability of discomfort in overcoming language disruption and the importance of community support in this process.

6.4 My recommendations

Based on my research, I have a number of recommendations of my own for Shiwi’ma regeneration. My general recommendation is for the Shiwi community to actively address the language disruption situation that we are currently facing. This will be most effective if the tribal government publicly acknowledges the disruption that led to a shift from Shiwi’ma to English, advocates the importance of and use of Shiwi’ma in essential domains, and commits to developing a comprehensive and community-wide language plan that engages as many stakeholders as possible. I argue that a stakeholder is any individual who meets the following criteria:

1. is devoted to the values and traditions that are rooted in the language and culture

2. uses Shiwi'ma at any level and also wants future generations to be able to do so in various domains, or wishes to be able to use Shiwi'ma and to share it with future generations
3. is willing to share both information and knowledge about and through the use of Shiwi'ma
4. is dedicated to reclaiming their inherited duty and responsibility in order to restore and regenerate the intergenerational transmission of Shiwi'ma
5. acknowledges that the regeneration of Shiwi'ma will necessarily involve new linguistic forms and practices
6. has belief in themselves and in their individual, familial, and community-wide language goals, including the belief that the realization of these goals will offset any negativity they may face

The fifth criterion both acknowledges the important role of new users in shaping the language and also recognizes that regeneration is not replication of the past: “nothing regrows in exactly the same shape that it had previously, or in exactly the same...[T]he regrowth may be very contained and constrained initially and confined to limited settings, then gathering strength to push out in different directions and into different contexts” (Hohepa 2006:294-295).

In addition to my general recommendation regarding the community-wide involvement of stakeholders in regenerating Shiwi'ma, four more specific issues that arose in my research and need to be addressed are teasing, child-adult interactional strategies, formal language learning opportunities for parents and caregivers, and the acknowledgement and valorization of bilingual language repertoires. In the following sections, I make

recommendations regarding each of these issues as well as recommendations for involving stakeholders in language regeneration efforts.

6.4.1 Teasing

As noted above, knowing how to both engage in and respond to teasing is a valuable linguistic skill that is necessary for communicative competence. For this reason, the intent and purposes of teasing should be explicitly discussed with all interested stakeholders. In the context of language regeneration, teasing acknowledges a knowledge gap in which the ideology of the necessity of correction plays an important role. The teaser points out the knowledge gap and helps to fill this gap as part of relational agency; otherwise, the target of the teasing may experience the teasing as ill-intentioned. The cultural purpose and affectionate basis of teasing should also be communicated to children and youth as part of the socialization process in various domains: home and familial contexts, school settings, and youth programming. An essential part of this discussion is how to positively respond when one is being teased. Jared, the participant in Nicholas's study whose words are quoted above, reports how he responds to people who question him on why he doesn't know the Hopi language: "Teach me [to say] something then" (2008:166). When teased for not using the ancestral language correctly or for sounding funny, an individual can overtly acknowledge their courage for attempting to speak ("at least I'm trying"), which can be followed up asking for positive feedback ("what did I say and how should it be said?"). Through young people's socialization into teasing practices and their importance in transmitting the ancestral language, the objective is that their belief in themselves and their

commitment to the greater good of their language goals will prevail over the temporary embarrassment and shame they may feel from being teased.

6.4.2 Child-adult interactional strategies

Language socialization emphasizes “the dynamics of the [language] acquisition process as well as its relationship to the cultural production of knowledge more generally...and knowledge making (including grammatical knowledge) emerges in and through interaction” (Meek 2019:97; see also Schieffelin & Ochs 1986, Ochs & Schieffelin 2008). Therefore, there is a need to be cognizant of child-adult interactions in language disruption environments (see also Chee & Henke 2023). Gafaranga (2010), in accordance with Fishman (1991), advocates for examining interactional practices and analyzing how these may contribute to language shift, or talking “language shift into being” (2010:241). As discussed in Chapter 1, Lanza (1997; 2007) detailed five parental discourse strategies towards child language mixing and assigned them on a continuum in which the parent works towards creating a monolingual environment (i.e. the minimal grasp strategy) or a bilingual environment (i.e. adult code-switching) with the child. In language disruption environments, the first three of Lanza’s strategies—minimal grasp, expressed guess, and adult repetition—can serve as “insisting strategies” (Döpke 1992) to reinforce the use of the ancestral language and mitigate against the ideologies of acquiescence and osmosis. These three strategies, repeated from Chapter 1, are detailed below (Lanza 2007:56; Gafaranga 2010:257):

1. Minimal grasp strategy

- Adult indicates no comprehension of the child’s language choice

- Located on the far left of the continuum; used to create a monolingual environment
2. Expressed guess strategy
 - Adult asks a yes-no question using the other language
 3. Adult repetition
 - The parents/caregivers repeats the content of the child's utterance using the other language
 - Located in the middle of the continuum

The minimal grasp strategy can be used to make the parent's or adult's language preference very explicit. Linda told me of a time when she used this insisting strategy with her granddaughter, Jana, who was visiting. As additional context, Jana's parents are highly proficient Shiwi'ma speakers and speak to Jana in the language; thus she is receptively bilingual. However, her dominant language is English, which Linda attributes to peer influence, as Jana spends a lot of time with her cousins who mainly speak English. In addition, she started attending school two years ago, which also reinforces Jana's use of English. On this occasion, Linda told me, when Jana spoke to Linda in English, in response Linda acted like she didn't hear her. Speaking in Shiwi'ma, she told Jana that she's not a white person, she's Shiwi and speaks Shiwi'ma. Linda used this minimal grasp strategy to get her granddaughter to use Shiwi'ma. While her response may have resulted in frustration for Jana, Linda's interactional choice aligns with her strong feelings about the importance of our language and her commitment to using it as her preferred language. This example also shows that she strongly desires her granddaughter to actively speak Shiwi'ma. Over time, this strategy may be effective: Döpke's 1992 study shows that use of "so-called high-

constraint insisting strategies” (Lanza 2007:57) resulted in bilingual children actively using the minority language.

In Linda’s case, I believe she needs to combine Lanza’s first three strategies for effectiveness. By using Shiwi’ma, repeating as much as possible what her granddaughter says, and asking yes or no questions, Linda can create a positive learning environment that also models Shiwi’ma language use. In addition, Linda needs to overtly express her language ideologies about Shiwi’ma to Jana, just like Sammy’s late grandmother did with Sammy. I believe that this combination of strategies will eventually result in Jana becoming a more active Shiwi’ma speaker, and other families can use similar interactional strategies with children.

6.4.3 Language learning

Although the home must be the center of language acquisition, the unprecedented language disruption away from the predominant use of Shiwi’ma in Zuni daily life and in many cultural practices requires that Shiwi’ma will have to intentionally be taught in a variety of contexts and to language learners of all ages.

One recommendation I have in this regard is that the Zuni Bilingual Education program should create environments where students’ Shiwi’ma development progresses with grade levels. Another recommendation is to create programming that enables parents to learn the language concepts their children are studying, so that they can help them with homework assignments and reinforce the language at home. These efforts should be careful to not implement an assembly-line instructional approach (Rogoff 2014) that results in transmitting “isolated bits of knowledge separate from their contexts of their use” (Henne-Ochoa et al.

2020: 484; see also King & Hermes 2014). Finally, those who create and implement bilingual education programming should also consider requiring a commitment from family members to be actively involved in language learning and teaching if they want their children to participate in such programs.

If these school-based recommendations cannot be implemented due to curriculum or funding constraints, then community-based initiatives should be developed and implemented. An approach that should be considered for implementation of community-based language regeneration efforts is Learning by Observing and Pitching In (LOPI), which “affords opportunities to engage with and use language in situ and under guidance” (Henne-Ochoa et al. 2020:490). This approach utilizes a relational epistemology and “places central importance on the interdependence of people across generations in both a collective endeavor and in the long-term collective good” (Henne-Ochoa et al. 2020:490). LOPI also aligns with Grenoble and Whaley’s Vitality Network Model as it “encourages conceptualising language as a feature of social interaction that can be embedded partly or wholly into different social domains” and emphasizes that language regeneration is “a matter of introducing (or reinforcing) language use, improving language attitudes, and bolstering self-confidence” (Grenoble & Whaley 2021:922).

LOPI offers an approach that is based on Indigenous pedagogies and language ideologies: It is a language socialization strategy that supports language learners in developing communicative competence in their ancestral language through participation in family and community endeavors, thus requiring the commitment and participation of multi-generational relatives. Traditional Zuni culture is centered on the family and our respective kinship obligations in which we come together in large groups to fulfill our obligations, such

as cooking and baking bread for clan relatives (see also Hartwig 2019 for a discussion on incorporating the intergenerational teaching/learning model in science classes at Zuni High School). As such, this approach reflects my own personal language journey of trying to learn Shiwi'ma, as my motivation is to “contribute and belong to family and community life” (Henne-Ochoa et al. 2020:488) as an older learner. This approach is also conducive to the ideology of the necessity of correction since it is meant to provide supportive opportunities under guidance. This view of correction aligns with that of Brown and Larson-Hall, who emphasize that “there is a place for effective correction, but it has to be quite conscious and deliberate and sustained over a period of time” (2012:107).

LOPI is an important element of language regeneration, but it may not be sufficient on its own as a model. For example, the authors who advocate for LOPI specify that in language learning, it is necessary that “participants provide or ask for information that is needed in the activity” (Henne-Ochoa et al.2020:489), but they do not state how participants acquire the linguistic knowledge to ask for or provide the information that the activity requires. What can supplement the LOPI approach in this regard is the knowledge of effective language pedagogical strategies, such as Total Physical Response (TPR). Mini immersion lessons that incorporate TPR can be developed that reflect the content of the activity. TPR involves at least two people: one with linguistic knowledge who provides the linguistic input, and the language learner. The person who is the source of input utilizes their whole body with visual and/or physical stimuli or objects in order to make their input comprehensible to the learner. Repetition of the input, which also entails “correcting” the learner’s language use, is an essential component of such immersion lessons. Mini immersion lessons can be given prior to the implementation of more extensive family and

community language regeneration endeavors such as language nests or mentor-apprentice programming and can help support these endeavors. This helps alleviate anxiety and also involves people at all levels and of all ages. TPR can also be used to challenge the ideology of osmosis by reinforcing language interactions, thus supporting language learners in developing communicative competence.

This recommendation is grounded in my participation and involvement with the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI), which is based at the University of Arizona. AILDI's annual summer professional development and training institute is known for its hallmark "immersion lesson" (formerly called "microteaching") which takes place at the conclusion of the program (Ozbolt 2013). Everyone who attends AILDI is required to teach a 15- to 20-minute oral language immersion lesson in which only the oral Indigenous language is used; English, Spanish, and written language are forbidden. The immersion lesson is my favorite part of AILDI, and I have seen some amazing lessons where participants learn grammatical and cultural concepts of an unfamiliar language.

The lesson that sticks with me the most is from the summer of 2012 when the Wounann language team from eastern Panama attended (Runk 2014). This particular immersion lesson was co-taught by two members of the team and focused on directions. Since their homeland is close to a river, directions in Wounann are given relative to this geographical feature. The team used a blue towel to represent the river and taught us not only how to say the direction words but also how to give simple directions. I have used this lesson to push back on some of my linguistic training that emphasized elicitation as the sole means to inquire about grammatical structures. Language immersion lessons can elucidate these structures to linguists while also benefiting language learners. This example also illustrates the

importance of land-based language learning for Indigenous communities. Hermes et al. (2023) discuss relationality and land by describing a language documentation project that emphasizes interaction; as they argue, this approach is a “transformative learning process, meaning that as community members interact on land, they are also making relationships and community, not simply transmitting knowledge or skills” (2023:2; see also Engman & Hermes 2021, Ferguson & Weaselboy 2020).

6.4.4 Acknowledgement and valorization of bilingual language repertoires

Communication among participants in a LOPI approach is said to “emerge in ways that are consonant with the rhythms of everyday practices and consistent with Indigenous ways of being” (Henne-Ochoa et al. 2020:489). In many contemporary Zuni households, the rhythms of everyday language practices are bilingual, such as translanguaging and language accommodation. These bilingual practices are also present at larger family and community gatherings. Language practices have been described as “fluid” in the sense that “an individual’s language practices can change throughout the course of a day and often do change over a lifetime” (Grenoble & Whaley 2021:915). For language planning purposes, it is important for stakeholders to be cognizant of language practices as well as language repertoires.

The term *language repertoire* “is used to refer to the range of languages and dialects [varieties] that a person speaks, their proficiencies in each language and their relationship to each of these languages at a particular point in time...including those that they yearn to speak but have not yet begun to learn” (Angelo et al. 2022:57). An individual’s language repertoire is a set of valuable skills that can contribute to language revitalization,

reclamation and regeneration efforts. It is therefore important that stakeholders seek to understand how these practices and repertoires work within the Shiwi'ma language ecology (cf. Grenoble & Whaley 2021).

6.4.5 Recommendations for involving stakeholders

My final set of recommendations focuses on how to involve stakeholders in the regeneration of Shiwi'ma. A key group of stakeholders are parents whose children are active users of the language. These parents should be consulted about their language ideologies, family language policies, linguistic practices, and the interactional strategies they used with their children. For example, my cousin's two teenage sons are active users of Shiwi'ma, primarily due to their father. They both live in Zuni but do not attend local schools; instead, they choose to commute to Gallup, NM for school. The older boy participates in our religious traditions, and the younger is expected too as well, which is why their father predominantly speaks to them in Shiwi'ma. Linda told me that their father uses the minimal grasp strategy when the boys speak to him in English. A personal contact of mine from Zuni is also raising his elementary-aged sons to be active users of Shiwi'ma, an especially rare feat as they live in Albuquerque. These parents' insights can be helpful to others who wish to raise their children to be active users of Shiwi'ma.

To involve other community stakeholders in language regeneration discussions, community language forums can be organized to gather input on concerns about the current and future state of Shiwi'ma and can address the question of who is responsible for ensuring the language vitality of Shiwi'ma. These forums can solicit suggestions for long-term language planning and can also be used as venues to share information and knowledge about

relevant topics such as global language revitalization efforts and parent-child interactional strategies.

6.5 Implications for Linguistics

In addition to the implications of this study for A:shiwí community members, as discussed above, this dissertation also contributes to knowledge in Linguistics, particularly research on family language policy and on “endangered” languages. In addition, it offers an example of how to incorporate Indigenous methods into linguistic research.

6.5.1 Implications for family language policy

This dissertation has focused extensively on family language policies as discursively constructed through interviews; a next step for this research is to examine family language policy in observed practice with A:shiwí families. My research adds to the conceptualization of family language policy by highlighting both that it is multivalent and multivoiced and that it is driven by different social, cultural, and economic circumstances that vary by context and across communities. As I have shown, unlike institutional policies, family language policies are not static; instead they are fluid and flexible. In addition, I have demonstrated that families do not necessarily have formal agreed-upon family language policies, but rather they often have explicit or implicit intentions which organically emerge in family interaction. Family language policy could be a useful tool for talking about Indigenous language use in family contexts; it makes this issue explicit, and the notion of “policy” may invite dialogue among family members by introducing the idea of a formal/official agreement about language use in the family. Additionally, because language learning is a

lifelong process and receptive bilinguals may be future emerging speakers, family language policy research should focus on language socialization and language development throughout people's lives. This would be a valuable direction for ethical collaborative research with community members that emphasizes relational accountability.

Family language policy is therefore a potentially useful framework for language revitalization, reclamation, and regeneration efforts, but as I have argued, it needs to allow space for an Indigenous-centered perspective. Family language policy researchers, as well as researchers in related fields such as second language acquisition, need to interact more with Indigenous language revitalization, reclamation, and regeneration scholars, given the distinctive situation of Native language learning. Most family language policy research focuses on the home as a contained unit, but as I have shown in this dissertation, A:shiwí families, like many Native families, are not necessarily structured in the same way as white middle-class suburban families. For examples of how the sociocultural context of Native families can be addressed in research on or relevant to family language policy, see, e.g., Leonard (2007), Meek (2012), and Hinton (2013).

6.5.2 Implications for research on “endangered” languages

This dissertation also problematizes the tendency of the discipline of Linguistics to focus on Indigenous languages as “endangered” rather than as closely connected to relational agency within Native communities (see also Leonard 2023 for a critique of narratives of “endangered” languages as erasing colonial agency and oppression). This framing has also led to linguists' division of Indigenous communities into “speakers” and “non-speakers,” an approach that completely excludes from consideration children and their “multilinguistic

vitalities” (Meek 2019:108; see also McDermott et al. forthcoming) as well as language learners, or emerging speakers. In response to these problematic perspectives, researchers have called for Linguistics to move “away from dire predictions about endangerment to action-oriented attitudes about vitality and sustainability” (Grenoble 2016:293). As Davis (2017) and other Native scholars have argued, survivance is a key Indigenous concept for challenging problematic discourses that emphasize danger, trauma, and loss rather than Indigenous resilience, regeneration, reclamation, and self-determination.

6.5.3 Implications for research methods in Linguistics

Finally, this dissertation demonstrates the importance of incorporating Indigenous research methods into Linguistics. While funding agencies such as the National Science Foundation currently emphasize interdisciplinary methods and call for convergence across research traditions, they fail to recognize the necessity of Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies in research on Indigenous communities and our languages. Not only does this dissertation incorporate existing linguistic fields and methods such as family language policy, bilingualism, and qualitative methods, but it does so in a way that centers Indigenous ways of knowing. For example, I have used autoethnographic methods throughout the dissertation in order to emphasize the importance of lived experience as a source of knowledge and expertise and to challenge the foundational ideology that linguistics is an “objective science” in which personal experience is irrelevant (Leonard 2023). Autoethnography is a valuable method that should be more common and accepted in linguistic research.

6.6 Closing thoughts

This dissertation was undertaken as the first step in my larger research program to examine the current role of the family in intergenerational language transmission of Shiwi'ma, as well as to explore how individual A:shiwí people's language experiences and attitudes affect their language use and language choice. The objective of this research, the first of its kind, was to uncover how language practices and ideologies surrounding Shiwi'ma and English influence language disruption or regeneration, along with the associated social and cultural implications of these processes. Ultimately, I aspire for this work to be purposeful research that can assist with raising community awareness about the current language situation, the importance of sustaining intergenerational transmission of Shiwi'ma, and the concept of language regeneration, which acknowledges that “nothing regrows in exactly the same shape that it had previously, or in exactly the same direction” (Hohepa 2006:294-295). Language regeneration requires the creation of supportive spaces where this family and community work can be realized. Finally, the work of language regeneration requires us as A:shiwí to acknowledge our relational agency (Venegas & Leonard 2023) to contribute towards strengthening our language. To quote Nicki, “I hope that we can get to a place where we all understand that we have a part in this.”

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Appendix A: Recruitment flyer

SEEKING PARTICIPANTS

**ARE YOU ABLE TO UNDERSTAND SPOKEN ZUNI
AND/OR ARE YOU ABLE TO SPEAK ZUNI?
ARE YOU A PARENT, GRANDPARENT AND/OR
CAREGIVER?
ARE YOU 18 YEARS OF AGE OR OLDER?**

IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO THESE QUESTIONS, YOU
ARE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH ON
ZUNI/ENGLISH FAMILY LANGUAGE PRACTICES: AN
EXAMINATION OF LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND
LANGUAGE SHIFT

The primary goals of this research are to gather and analyze perspectives on intergenerational language transmission, language choice and usage in the household, and the future of our Zuni language.

Why research on Zuni/English family language practices?

Our language is relatively 'healthy' when compared to other Native American languages. Evaluating the current language situation has the potential to assist language planners with maintaining our language as a spoken one.

*
FOR MORE
INFORMATION, PLEASE
CONTACT ADRIENNE
TSIKEWA @ 505-595-1285
OR
ATSIKEWA@UCSB.EDU

*
PARTICIPANTS WILL
RECEIVE MONETARY
COMPENSATION FOR
THEIR TIME

**MORE DETAILS ABOUT PARTICIPANT INVOLVEMENT CAN
BE VIEWED VIA [HTTPS://TINYURL.COM/ATSIKEWA-
DISSPROPOSAL-072022](https://tinyurl.com/atSIKEWA-DISSPROPOSAL-072022)
UCSB HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTOCOL #11-21-0624**

Appendix B: Interview Guide

1. How old are you?
2. What languages were spoken in your home growing up?
3. What languages do you now use at home?
 1. What language do you use the most?
4. Do you have children?
 1. If yes, what language do you speak to them in?
 1. If English, why is this?
 1. *How come you don't speak Zuni to them?*
 2. How do you use Zuni to communicate with your child/ren?
 2. Do they speak Zuni?
5. Do you have grandchildren?
 1. If yes, what language do you speak to them in?
 1. If English, why is this?
 1. *How come you don't speak Zuni to them?*
 2. How do you use Zuni to communicate with your child/ren?
 2. Do they speak Zuni?
6. How important is speaking Zuni to children in your home?
 1. Why do you think this?
7. What can families do to speak more Zuni in the home?
 1. What are the challenges of speaking Zuni in the home?

8. Do you know anyone that might feel like this? (Show using meme #1 that contains the text: “Fluent enough to understand, not fluent enough to respond.”)
9. Have you ever heard of Zunglish before?
 1. What are your thoughts on Zunglish?
 2. Can you give an example of Zunglish?
10. In your opinion, which language is being spoken more in the village?
 1. If English, why do you think this is?
11. What do you think the Zuni language will be like in 10, 50, 100 years from now?
12. Imagine that hon a:wan A:shiwi are listening to these interviews 10, 50, 100 years from now. Is there anything you want them to know or anything you want to say to them?
13. What else should I have asked you?