

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN SASKATCHEWAN:
ON THE CRITICAL LIST



SASKATCHEWAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES COMMITTEE

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INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN SASKATCHEWAN:
ON THE CRITICAL LIST

SASKATCHEWAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES COMMITTEE



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Carry the Kettle

Cote

English River (Patuanak)

Hatchet Lake (Wollaston)

Kinistin

La Ronge (Stanley Mission)

Muskeg Lake

Onion Lake

Peepeekisis

Standing Buffalo

Waterhen

White Bear

Whitefish (Big River)
 Cumberland House
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Executive Summary

This research report describes a study undertaken by the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee and the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre - Languages Department. The purpose of the study was to investigate the state of health of Indigenous languages in the Saskatchewan region. This collection of data was intended to provide baseline data for comparative studies. It was also intended to provide information about language use and status which might be used for policy, program, and curriculum development.

Based on the data which was collected beginning in the fall of 1988 and extending through the spring of 1989, the survival of Indigenous languages is threatened in each of the communities in the survey. The survey sample included all languages and dialects, and a range of geographic locations in Saskatchewan. In some communities the language is on the verge of extinction. In others, the language appears healthy but there are signs of declining use. The conditions of the various languages and dialects in the respective communities range from good health with a few symptoms of ill-health, to extremely critical condition.

The following is a summary of the status of Indigenous languages in each of the research communities:

Extremely critical condition

- very few or no fluent speakers under age of 50
- no strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community. English used in most cases.
- English main home language in most homes
- infrequent use of language by those under 30.

Cote Reserve

Saulteaux

Carry the Kettle Reserve

Nakota

Muskeg Lake Reserve

Cree-y

Peepeekisis Reserve

Cree-y, Saulteaux, Mechif

Saskatoon

all Indigenous languages

Standing Buffalo Reserve	Dakota
Wahpeton Reserve	Dakota
White Bear Reserve	Cree-y, Saulteaux, Dakota, Nakota
Wood Mountain Reserve	Lakota

Critical condition

- very few or no fluent speakers under 30
- no strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community
- English main home language in more homes than Indigenous language
- infrequent use of language by those under 17

Atahkakohp Reserve	Cree-y
Moose Woods Reserve	Dakota

Serious condition

- few or no fluent speakers under 17 (fewer than half)

Cumberland House	Cree-n
Ile-a-la-Crosse	Cree-y, Mechif
Kinistin Reserve	Saulteaux
Waterhen Reserve	Cree-y

Fair but deteriorating condition

- majority of those under 17 are fluent speakers, but a significant minority who speak only English
- strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community, but shift to English among some children
- Indigenous language main language in most but not all homes

Onion Lake Reserve	Cree-y
Patuanak Reserve	Dene

Good health, but a few symptoms of ill-health

- majority in all age categories are fluent speakers
- strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community

- Indigenous language main home language in all but a very few homes.
- some children reported as infrequent speakers of Indigenous language in several contexts, or some social contexts characterized by more use of English than might be expected.

Stanley Mission Reserve	Cree-th
Whitefish Reserve	Cree-y
Wollaston Lake Reserve	Dene

Following a community-by-community description of the findings in narrative and graph form, recommendations for Indigenous language retention are discussed.

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Introduction

The Sociolinguistic Survey project was initiated by the Languages Department of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, and completed under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee. The research has been conducted over a four year period, with data collection taking place in the fall of 1988 and the winter of 1989. The project has been funded in stages by the Secretary of State Canada, with assistance from the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre and the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee. The research could not have been conducted without the support of the above agencies. Essential to the conduct of the research was the cooperation of the Indian and Metis people involved in the study as interviewers, respondents, and facilitators. Permission to conduct the research in each of the 20 communities was granted by the respective Indian governments (for Reserve communities) and local school boards (for Metis and urban communities).

The driving force behind this study has been the growing concern among Indian and Metis people for the survival of the Indigenous languages in Canada. The purpose of the study was to obtain accurate data regarding the status of Indigenous languages in Saskatchewan. This data was to include numbers, ages, and locations of speakers of the languages of Saskatchewan, as well as information regarding attitudes to language retention. It is believed that accurate and current information on language use is one of the keys to developing sound policy and effective programs.

Method

A questionnaire was devised, piloted, and revised. It was designed to be administered through semi-structured interviews conducted in homes. Those conducting the interviews were Indian or Metis people, preferably from the research site community. A relatively small number of communities were surveyed. We had limited resources to use for data collection and analysis, and we

preferred to collect a lot of information about a sample of communities rather than a little information about a lot or all of the communities. The intent was to try to ascertain the trends and patterns of language use in the home and in the community. The Languages Committee guided decisions on the number and location of the research sites. The sites chosen were thought to be representative of the types of Indian and Metis communities in Saskatchewan.

The final version of the questionnaire was 23 pages long (see Appendix I). A second form (B) of the questionnaire was developed to collect information in homes where more than two Indigenous languages were used. In total more than 400 questionnaires were completed and analyzed. In addition to questions on language use and fluency, we collected information which we thought might help in the interpretation of the data.

The research design was initially developed by Heather Blair, and piloted in 1987 in seven communities by Heather Blair and Donna Paskemin. It followed the model developed for use in a Puerto Rican community in New Jersey by sociolinguist Joshua Fishman, and subsequently adapted for use by Richard Benton (1983) to study the Maori language in New Zealand. The focus is placed on language use in the home and community. Detailed information was collected from one individual in each of the homes in the sample, and summary questions were asked regarding the other individuals resident in the home. The questionnaire was subsequently revised by Shirley Fredeen, using the information from the pilot survey. Consultation regarding the questionnaire and survey procedures was provided by a graduate student in the Psychology Department at the University of Saskatchewan.

Shirley Fredeen coordinated the collection of the data. Community interviewers were chosen based on recommendations from each Band Council/local government/School Board, or designates. Bilingual interviewers were trained in the procedures of the interviews. The training was done on a one-to-one basis by the researcher or a designate. A written summary of the interview procedures was left with each interviewer (see Appendix 3:

Guidelines for Interviewers). The questionnaire-guided interviews were conducted in every fifth home, using a list of homes supplied by the local government. The interviews were conducted in English or the Indigenous language, whichever was judged to be more comfortable for the respondent. The responses were written down in English. A few interviews were audiotaped.

In the case of the urban community, three elementary schools with high enrolments of Indian and Metis students were identified by the two local School Boards. The principal of each school supplied a list of all of the students identified as Indian and Metis. Students living in the same home were counted once for the purpose of selecting one in five homes. The interviewer was accompanied on some occasions by the home-school liaison worker and introduced to those in the homes.

The information from the questionnaires was compiled and analyzed by Shirley Fredeen and Ivan Kelly. Dr. Kelly is a professor at the University of Saskatchewan who specializes in statistics and survey research methodology. Key questions were used to organize and present the data in graph and narrative form. This report describes the findings relating to each of the communities. Conclusions and recommendations appear at the end of the report.

It was not the intention of this study to produce total numbers of speakers of various languages in the province. Rather, the intent was to produce a 'snapshot' image of typical Indigenous communities.

Some of the reserves had relatively low on-reserve populations. Because of the relatively small samples used in these instances, *frequencies* rather than percentages are reported in most of the graphs. For instance, when working with a total number of forty homes, a frequency of five homes is more accurately reported as the frequency (5) than as the percentage (13%).

Communities included in the survey are as follows:

1. Reserves

Atahkakohp	(Cree-y)
Carry the Kettle	(Nakota)
Cote	(Saulteaux)

Kinistin	(Saulteaux)
Moose Woods	(Dakota)
Muskeg Lake	(Cree-y)
Onion Lake	(Cree-y)
Patuanak	(Dene)
Peepeekisis	(multilingual)
Standing Buffalo	(Dakota)
Stanley Mission	(Cree-th)
Wahpeton	(Dakota)
Waterhen	(Cree-y)
White Bear	(multilingual)
Whitefish	(Cree y)
Wollaston Lake	(Dene)
Wood Mountain	(Lakota)

2. Metis Communities

Cumberland House	(Cree-n)
Ile-a-la-Crosse	(Cree-y, Mechif)

3. Urban Community

Saskatoon	(multilingual)
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Analysis

A series of key questions was used to organize and present the data. Because of the way the questionnaires and interviews were set up, some of the information was *reported by individuals about themselves*, and some was *reported about others* in the home.

The most important information from the questionnaires has been reported. Limited time and resources have made it impossible to include all the data that were collected. Some information which does not appear explicitly in this report was used to explain or verify confusing data which *does* appear here. Stated another way, the wealth of information collected made the job of analysis very time-consuming, but it also made it easier to interpret the information correctly.

Some of the information in the questionnaires was analyzed but not reported for methodological or statistical reasons. For example, most people surveyed were in support of various government services being offered in Indigenous languages and English (see question # 134). However, this matter needs further investigation. A more useful way to approach the question would be within the context of an overall community development program. In such a program, community members would move through a consultation process and arrive at a consensus regarding priorities of various initiatives.

Another example of information that is not reported is correlations between demographic data such as type/level of schooling and language fluency/use/attitude data. This is because the numbers were not high enough to allow correlations to be made.

The following are the key questions that were used in the analysis of the data. In each case, the primary questions (from the Questionnaires) that were used are indicated. For example, question #118 in the Questionnaire was the primary source of data used to answer key question #1: what are the main home languages of families in each community? In each case, additional data were used as secondary sources, particularly if incomplete or confusing answers were given to the primary questions.

1. WHAT ARE THE MAIN HOME LANGUAGES OF FAMILIES?

Respondents were asked to report the main language used in their home. The main home language was defined as the one most often used around the supper table (question #118).

2. WHAT ARE THE LANGUAGE PROFICIENCIES OF INDIVIDUALS?

Respondents were asked about the language proficiencies of themselves and all the individuals living in their homes. To be classified as proficient in a language, an individual had to be conversational in the language under consideration. In other words, if someone said that they understood Cree but did not speak it more than a little, they were not counted as a Cree-speaker. In order to pass on a language to the next generation, an individual needs to be able to speak the language fluently. (questions #1 - 82; 97 - 115)

3. WHAT ARE THE LANGUAGE PROFICIENCIES OF VARIOUS AGE GROUPS?

This graph presents the same information as the previous one. The data are organized according to age. Age categories were chosen as follows: 3 - 5 (preschool), 6 - 16 (school-age), 17 - 29 (young adult), 30 - 49 (middle aged adults), and 50 + (older adults).

4. WHAT HAPPENS TO LANGUAGE PROFICIENCIES OVER TIME?: FIRST LANGUAGE COMPARED WITH PRESENT DAY LANGUAGE PROFICIENCIES

Adult respondents were asked to identify the first language they acquired. Then they were asked about languages they were fluent in at the present time. Several patterns were possible.

- a) Indigenous language learned first, added English as a second language.
- b) Indigenous language learned first, switched to English.
- c) English learned first, did not learn enough of an Indigenous language to be fluent.
- d) English learned first, added an Indigenous language as a second language.

e) Grew up speaking both an Indigenous language and English. As an adult, has fluency in one or both.

f) Multilinguals: those who are fluent in more than two languages (various patterns).

(questions #3; 6 - 82)

5. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE INDIVIDUALS LITERATE IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES?

Adult respondents were asked if and how well they were able to read and write their Indigenous language. Those who reported "quite well" or "very well" for both reading and writing were counted as literate. Within the range of definitions currently used for literacy, this is a very narrow definition. If the definition were broadened to include any level of use of the written forms of an Indigenous language, the number of literate people in this survey would be higher. It should be noted that the questions were asked of all adult respondents, including those with little or no knowledge of the Indigenous language. (questions #6 - 82)

6. HOW FREQUENTLY DO INDIVIDUALS USE THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE?

Questions were asked of all adult respondents regarding their own frequency of use, and that of the children in their homes. The information is provided for four age categories: school-age, young adults, middle aged adults, and older adults. The group included those with little or no knowledge of the Indigenous language. Therefore, the information in this section should be compared with the information in question 3 for each of the communities (language proficiencies of various age groups). (questions #83, 84; 110, 103)

7. IN WHICH SOCIAL CONTEXTS DO ADULTS USE THE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES?

Respondents were asked which language or languages they used most frequently in a variety of social contexts. These included the following:

- during ceremonies

- visiting relatives
- visiting brothers and sisters
- visiting older people
- at school
- at the local store
- at work
- at church
- at funerals
- at wakes
- in prayer
- at community meetings
- at the clinic/hospital
- greeting people
- making a joke
- playing cards
- other social settings

The categories on the questionnaire were developed through the piloting process and were approved by the advisory committee: the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee. Not all contexts were relevant for all people; they were asked to respond for only those contexts that applied to them. It should be kept in mind that the respondents were all over the age of 18. (question #94)

8. WHAT ARE THE ATTITUDES TO INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE RETENTION AND LANGUAGE RETENTION ACTIVITIES?

Respondents were asked whether and how strongly they believed Indigenous languages should be retained (question #131). They were also given the opportunity to elaborate on their answer (question #132). They were asked whether they thought Indigenous languages should be in the schools (question #126), and whether they thought that learning an Indigenous language in school would help children in school or in their lives. They were given an opportunity to tell how they thought an Indigenous language would help their children or grandchildren (question #130). Quotations from the interviews appear in the discussion of the findings for

many of the communities. These are intended to give examples of the comments that were made with respect to language retention.

Opinions were sought regarding the value of various language and cultural retention initiatives (question #135). The activities listed in the survey included the following:

- adult language classes
- summer language and culture immersion camps
- recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- newspapers, radio and television in Indigenous languages
- resident elders in schools
- preschool centres where children are immersed in their traditional language and culture
- language and culture clubs.

Permission to use the raw data (questionnaires and audiotapes) may be obtained from the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee.

Findings

The information gathered in this research project is presented here by community. Frequencies or percentages are used in reporting the findings. Frequencies are used when the sample size was so small that a percentage might be misleading. Those who use the information in this report should note the sample sizes in the case of each set of information they use, and interpret the information accordingly. Some of the questions were asked only of the respondents, that is, of the person designated to answer questions in each of the homes (for example, literacy). Some were asked of the respondent and also for the children in the home (for example: how frequently the languages were used). Yet others were asked regarding all of the individuals in the home (for example, degrees of fluency in Indigenous languages).

Several problems arose in the analysis. Not all information was reported in all categories. For instance, the total number of speakers of various languages would be reported, but not all their ages. This means that the total numbers listed often vary slightly

from one graph to the next. Some information provided by respondents was unclear. If it was not possible to interpret something clearly, it was omitted. Unfortunately, the information in questionnaires from two communities (Wahpeton and Moose Woods) was not clear enough to allow the production of graphs. A third (Wood Mountain) had a very low population, and so the sample size was too low to allow for graphing.

Where percentages are reported, they were rounded to the nearest whole number. Consequently, the numbers do not always total exactly 100%.

In order to assess and report on the status of each of the languages in the survey, terms used to describe the condition of ill or injured patients in hospitals have been adapted for use, as follows:

1. Dead

- no fluent speakers left

2. Extremely critical condition

- very few or no fluent speakers under age of 50
- no strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community. English used in most cases.
- English main home language in most homes
- infrequent use of language by those under 30.

3. Critical condition

- very few or no fluent speakers under 30
- no strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community
- English main home language in more homes than Indigenous language
- infrequent use of language by those under 17

4. Serious condition

- few or no fluent speakers under 17 (fewer than half)

5. Fair but deteriorating condition

- majority of those under 17 are fluent speakers, but a significant minority who speak only English
- strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community, but shift to English among some children
- Indigenous language main language in most but not all homes

6. Good health, but a few symptoms of ill-health

- majority of all age categories fluent speakers
- strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community
- Indigenous language main home language in all but a very few homes.
- some children reported as infrequent speakers of Indigenous language in several contexts, or some social contexts characterized by more use of English than might be expected..

In this study, there was no community in which the language had ceased to exist. However, there was no community in which the healthy status of the language was assured. The communities and their languages will now be discussed one by one.

1. Atahkakohp

Atahkakohp is located in north central Saskatchewan, less than 100 km. northwest of the nearest city: Prince Albert. The traditional language is y-dialect Cree.

1.1. Main home language

The majority (28) of the 40 homes included in the survey reported English as the main language of the home. Another seven reported that both Cree and English were used as the main home languages, but only five indicated that Cree was the primary language of communication in the home.

1.2. Individual language proficiencies

Most of the individuals included in the survey (65%) were English-speakers, and did not have enough proficiency in Cree to be

considered fluent. About one-third of the sample (34%) were fluent in both Cree and English. Only 1% was fluent in Cree alone.

1.3 Age and language proficiency

The Cree-speakers are concentrated in the above-30 age group and the non-Cree-speakers in the under-30 group. There were very few Cree-speakers under the age of 30. Almost everyone was reported to be fluent in English.

1.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Cree was the first language of the majority of the 40 adult respondents. Most of these Cree-speakers retained their Cree, and added English. Those who had learned English as their first language tended not to have fluency in Cree as adults.

1.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Seven of the 40 respondents reported that they could read and write Cree quite well or very well. The remaining 33 were able to read and write Cree just a little or not at all.

1.6 Frequency of use

Most people over 30 in the sample were reported to be using Cree often, whereas most in the under-30 group were reported to be speaking Cree occasionally or never. A minority in the 30 - 49 year-old group used Cree occasionally or never, and a minority under 30 years old used Cree often.

1.7 Social contexts

Cree was reportedly used more than English in only two of the 18 contexts: visiting older people, and in ceremonies. However, only half of those surveyed reported that they participated in ceremonies.

1.8 Attitudes to language retention

All those surveyed (40 respondents) agreed that Indigenous languages should be retained (1.8). Almost all strongly agreed.

Almost all thought that Indigenous languages should be in schools (Table 1.9). There was also a high level of support for activities designed to support the retention of language and culture. (Table 1.10). However, there was not unanimous support for any one activity.

1.9 Summary and conclusions

Atahkakohp appears to be at a relatively advanced stage of language loss. Very few of the young adults or children are fluent in Cree. Most of these report English as their first language. Since it is the under-30 group which will be primarily responsible for the next generation, the next generation will have insufficient exposure to Cree to allow them to learn to speak it. They will know a few words, and that will be all. Only if a child is raised by a grandparent or another adult over 30 who is fluent in the language, and who uses Cree as the main home language, will that child have a real opportunity to acquire Cree. And even then, there would be few opportunities to speak Cree outside the home or with peers, given the pattern of language use in the community. As time goes on and the Cree-speakers pass on, there will be fewer and fewer contexts in which to speak Cree. For instance, the context in which Cree was reported used most was in visiting with older people.

Cree is in critical condition at Atahkakohp. Only an immediate and intensive effort on the part of the families, community, local government and school will be able to change the move toward language loss at Atahkakohp. On the positive side, there still exist Cree-speakers in all age categories. This is one of the single most important resources for a community which plans to revitalize its traditional language.

Table 1.1 Atahkakohp: Main home language

(n = 40 homes)

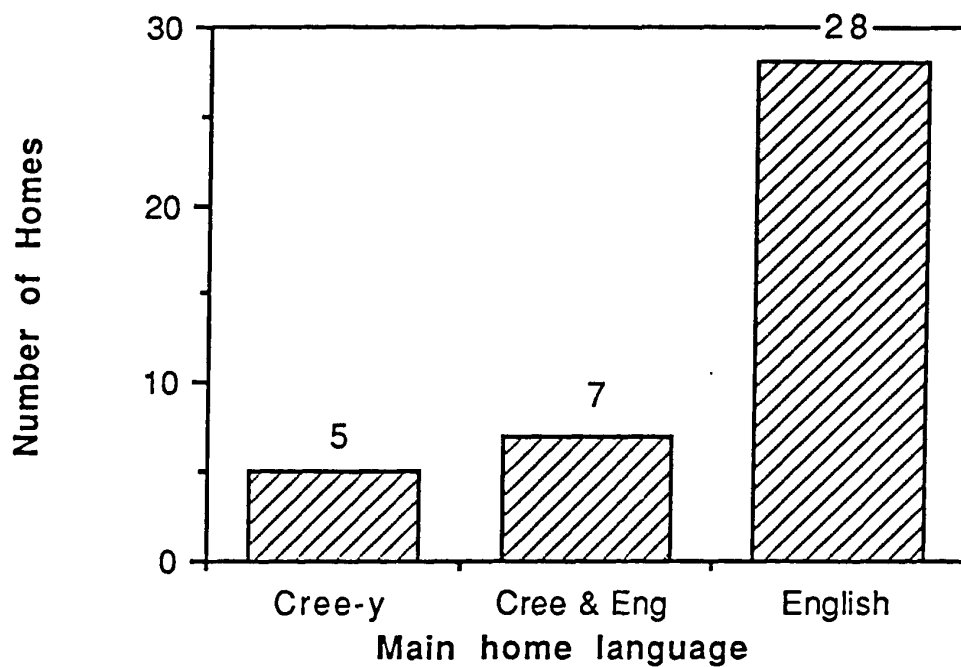


Table 1.2 Atahkakohp: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 193 people)

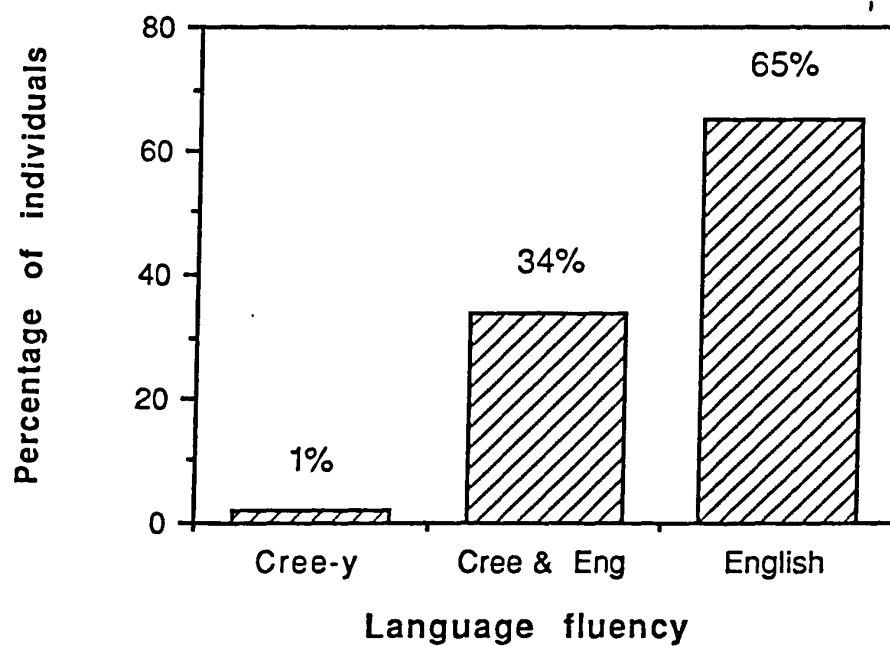
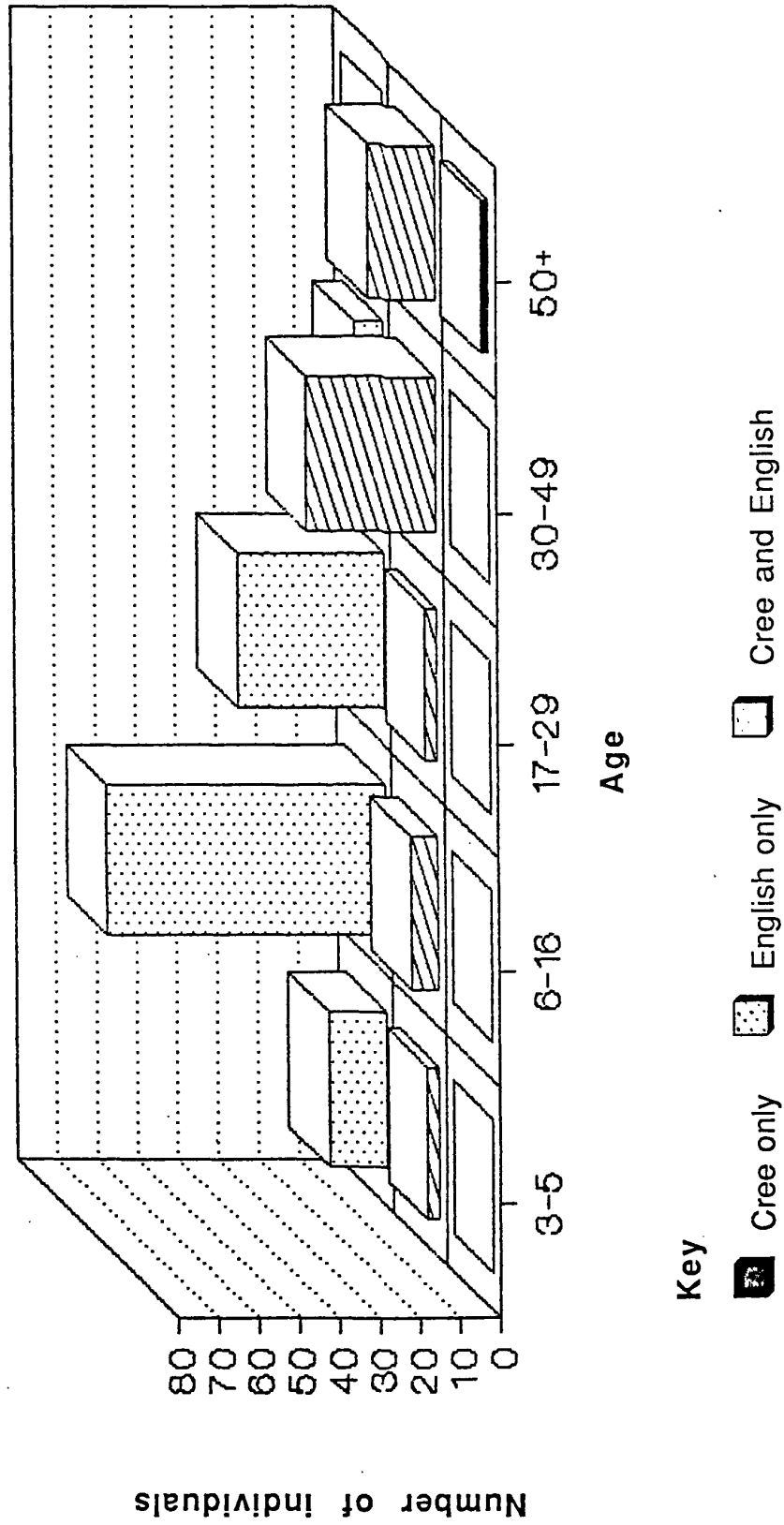


Table 1.3 Atahkakohp: Age and language proficiency
(n = 190 people)



Key



Cree only

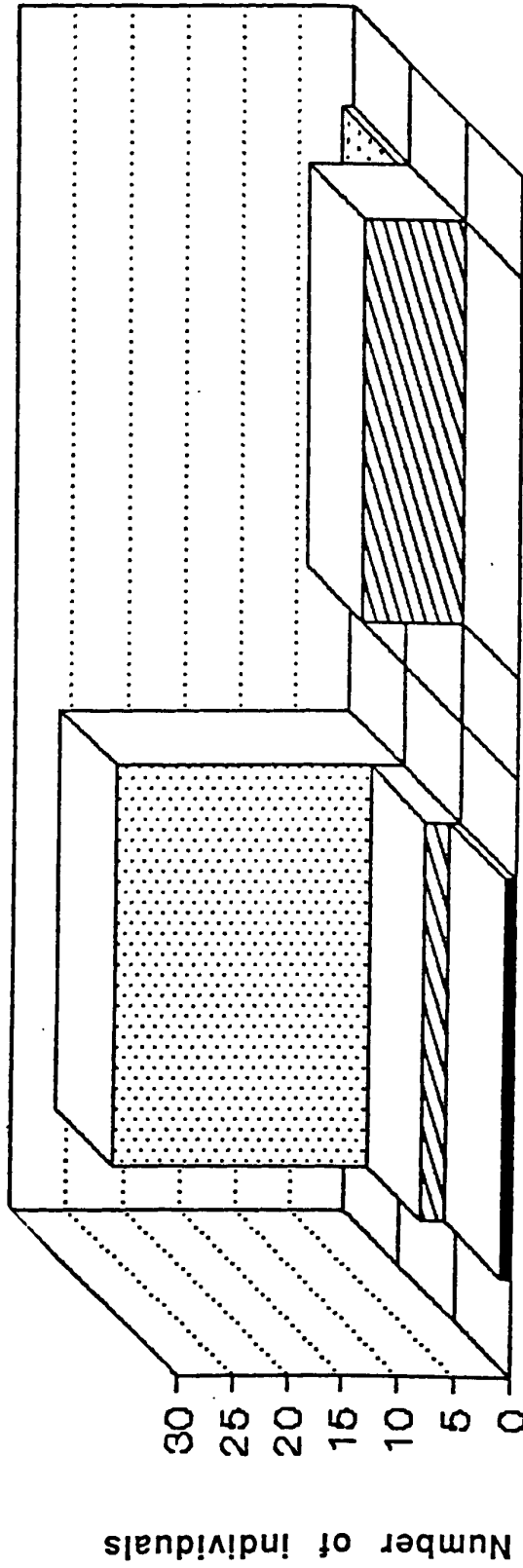


English only



Cree and English

Table 1.4 Atahkakohp: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 40 adults)



Key






- A  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree only as adults
- A  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- A  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults
- B  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults

Table 1.5 Atahkakohp: Literacy in Indigenous language

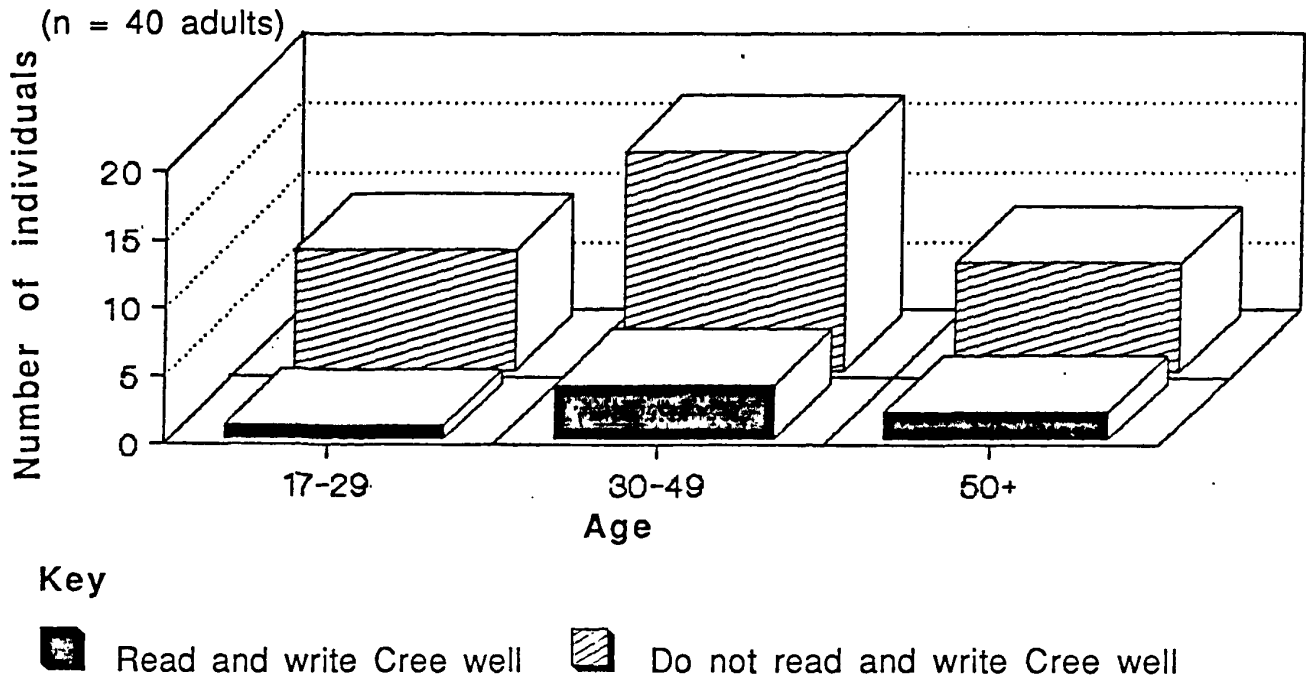


Table 1.6 Atahkakohp: Frequency of use of Indigenous languages

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)

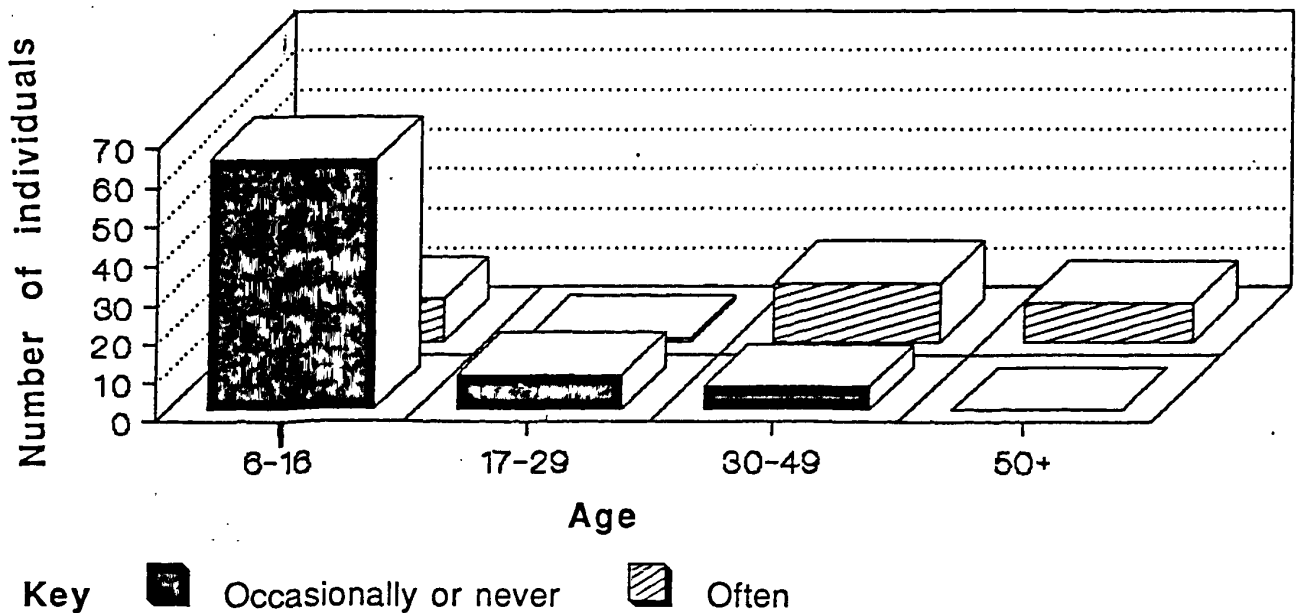
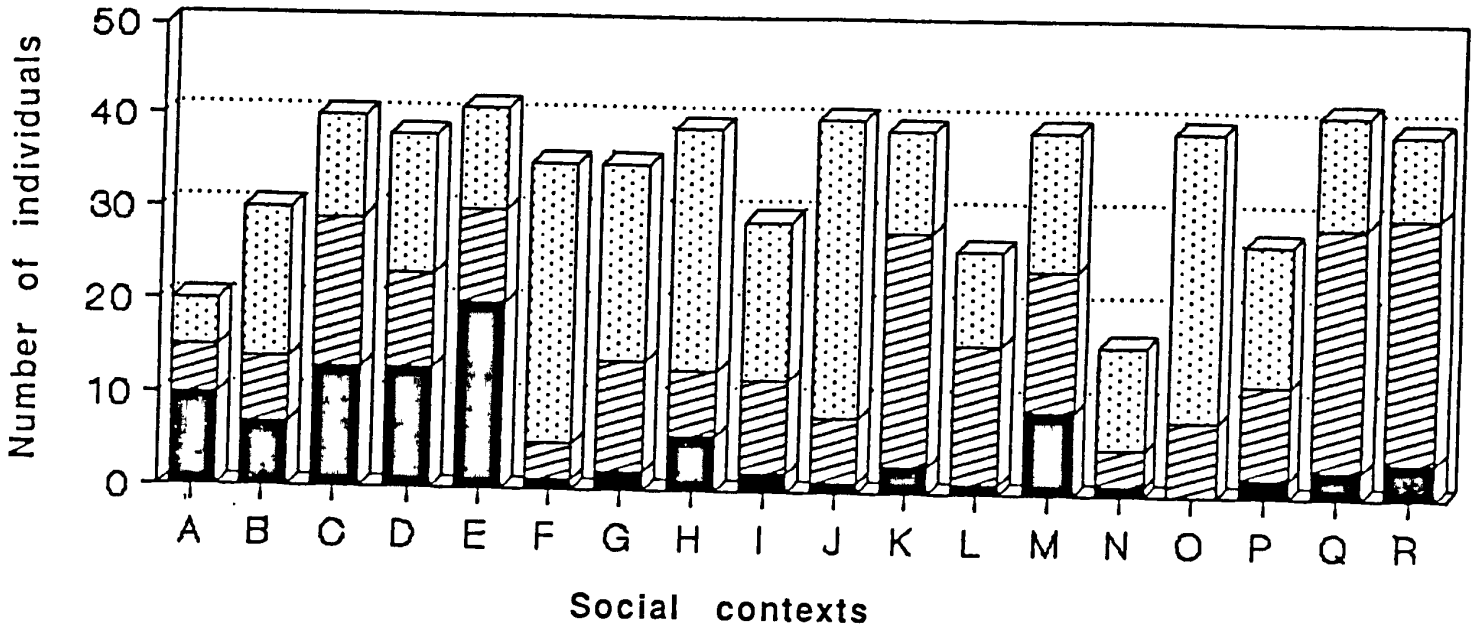


Table 1.7 Atahkakohp: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 40 adults)



Key to languages used most often

- Cree only
- Cree and English
- English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. During ceremonies B. Playing cards C. Visiting relatives D. Visiting brothers and sisters E. Visiting older people F. At school G. At church H. In prayer I. At community meetings | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> J. At the clinic/hospital K. Greeting people L. Telling a joke M. At the local store N. At work O. At funerals P. At wakes Q. Playing bingo R. At the bar |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Table 1.8 Atahkakohp: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 39 adults)

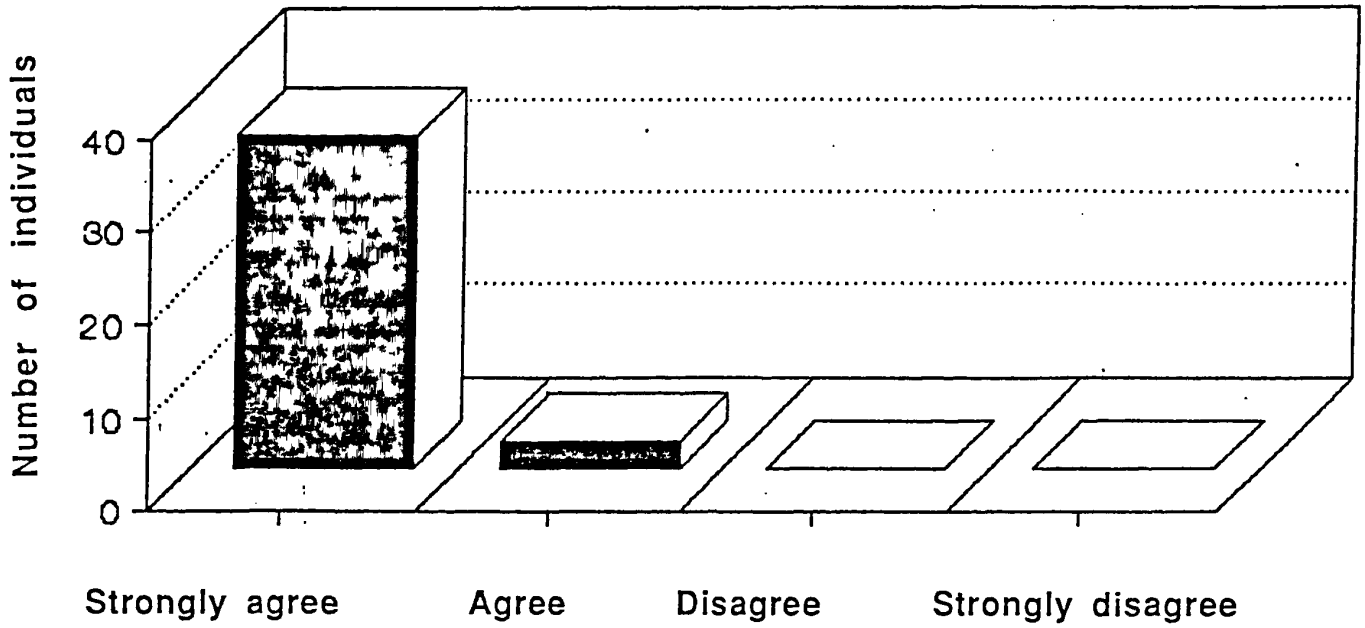


Table 1.9 Atahkakohp: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 39 adults)

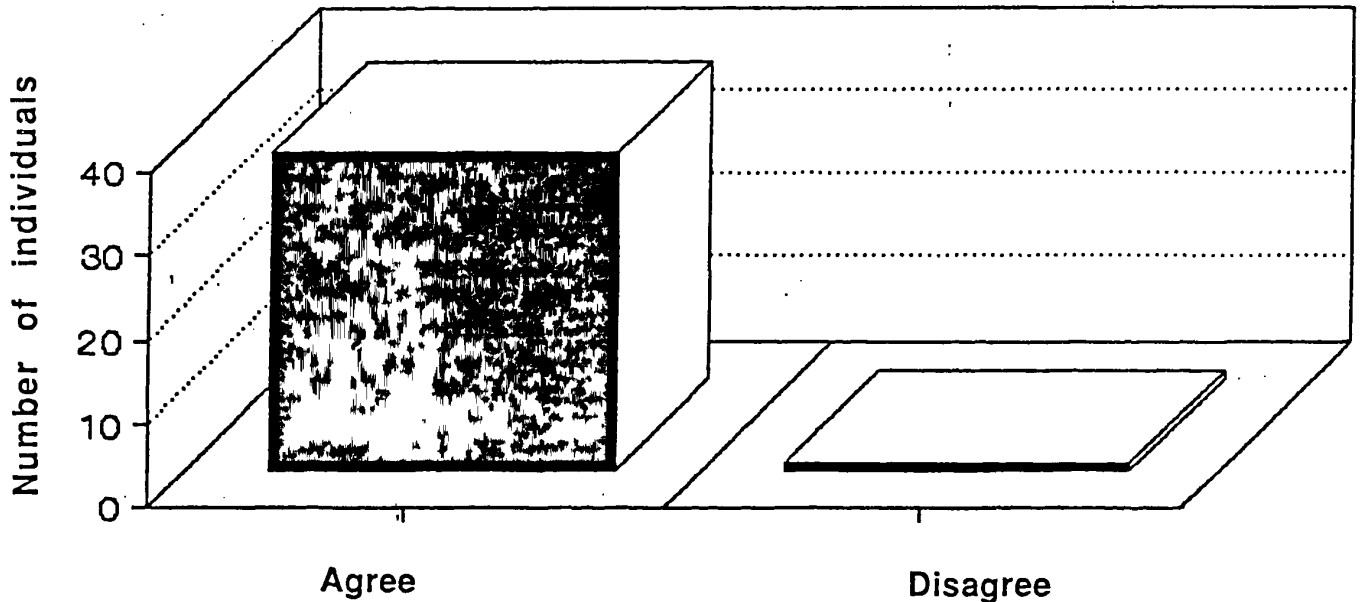
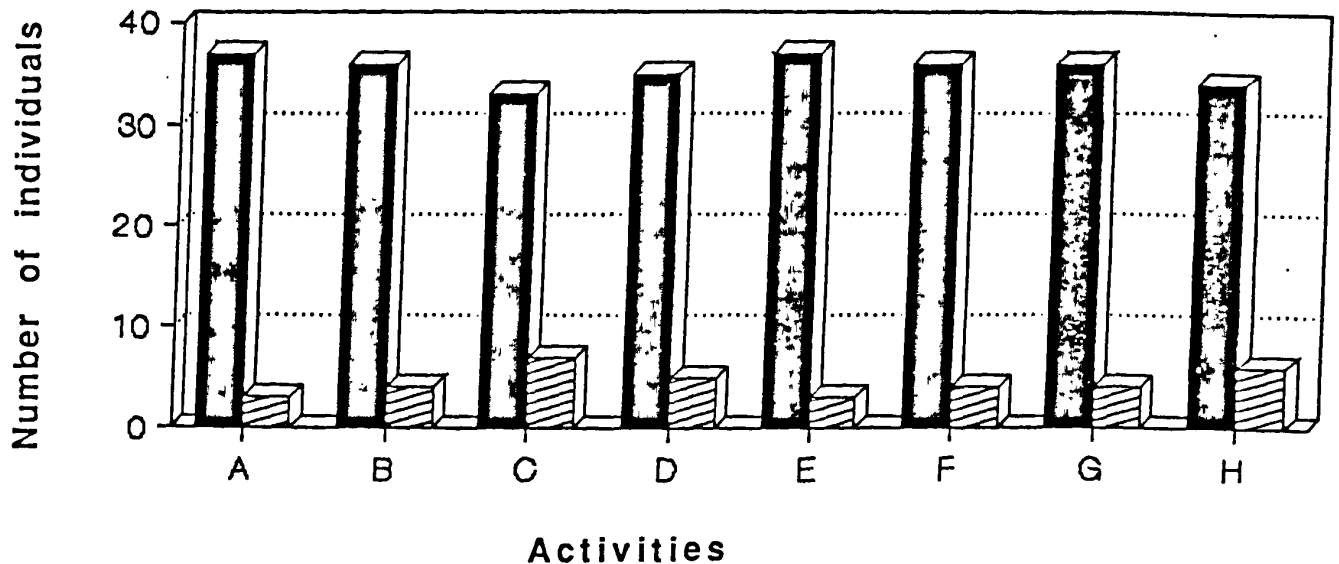


Table 1.10 Atahkakohp: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 40 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

2. Carry the Kettle

Carry the Kettle is a Nakota (Assiniboine) reserve in southeast Saskatchewan. It is located south of Sinton on the Trans Canada highway about 100 km. east of the province's capital city, Regina.

2.1 Main home language

Twenty-one homes were surveyed. Only one used both Nakota and English as the main languages of the home. The remaining 20 used English as the primary language.

2.2 Individual language proficiencies

Nakota language proficiency was reported for 8% of the sample of 112 individuals. Of these, about half were also fluent in Dakota. Cree proficiency was reported for 7%, and the remaining 85% were not fluent in any Indigenous language. All of the 112 were fluent in English.

2.3 Age and language proficiency

When the ages of fluent speakers of Nakota were examined, it was clear that the few fluent speakers of Nakota were all over 50. Three younger people were reported to be able to speak Nakota "quite well". However, in each of their homes, English was given as the main home language. Further investigation would be required to determine what was meant by "quite well" in these cases.

2.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Among the 23 respondents, about half learned Nakota as their first language, and half learned English first. Most of those who gave Nakota as their mother tongue reported that they had maintained fluency in the language. However, others reported that they had lost their fluency in Nakota, and had switched to English. All in the group were fluent in English.

2.5. Literacy in Indigenous languages

Three of the 23 adult respondents indicated that they could read and write Nakota well. These individuals ranged from young adults to older adults.

2.6 Frequency of use

Frequent users of Nakota were rare. Most reported that they used Nakota occasionally or never. There was a slightly greater use among the older adults.

2.7 Social contexts

English was the language used most frequently in all of the contexts listed except for ceremonies. Nakota was used a great deal in ceremonies, and quite a bit in prayer, at wakes, and in joke-telling. It was reported used very infrequently when playing cards, at school, at church, at the clinic/hospital, at the local store, and at work.

2.8 Attitudes to language retention

All respondents expressed the belief that the Nakota language should be maintained (Table 2.8). Not all expressed strong agreement. Comments included the following:

"because we want to keep our own language. It is the tradition of our forefathers."

"It was given to us to use."

"Language is probably the largest factor in one's culture; loss of language would probably mean loss of one's identity."

"to keep in harmony with our culture and our Indian beliefs."

All of those asked thought that Nakota should be in the schools, although not everyone expressed strong agreement (Table 2.9). When asked how they thought Nakota would help their children, the following were some of the comments made:

"(the children) will grow up using our own language."

"to have better communication with our Elders and to help preserve the Nakota Nation."

"If they speak it in school with each other, they won't forget it and it will always carry on."

"understand better, feel more comfortable."

"schools took our language away; it's up to them to give it back."

There was unanimous support for adult language classes, and all but unanimous support for resident elders in schools and preschool immersion (Table 2.10). Less than unanimous support was indicated for summer immersion camps, recreational activities in Nakota, newspapers, radio and TV in Nakota, and language and culture clubs.

2.9 Summary and conclusions

Nakota is in extremely critical condition at Carry the Kettle. There do not appear to be fluent speakers of Nakota under the age of 50. The language is infrequently used by most people, and is mainly used by people over 50. It is used frequently only in ceremonies, although it is used to a certain extent at wakes, in joke-telling, and in prayer. It is used a little in some other contexts as well. Those surveyed expressed their belief in the importance of keeping the Nakota language. Among the possible language and culture retention activities suggested in the survey, there appeared to be quite solid support for having the Nakota language in the schools along with resident elders, for adult language classes, and for preschool immersion programs.

Table 2.1 Carry the Kettle: Main home language
(n = 21 homes)

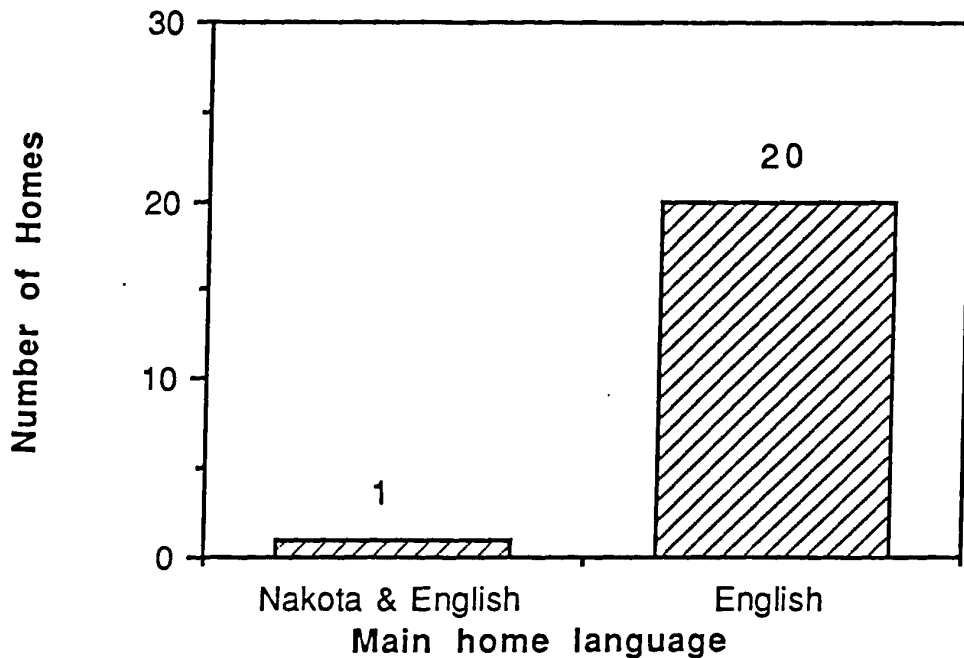


Table 2.2 Carry the Kettle: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 112 people)

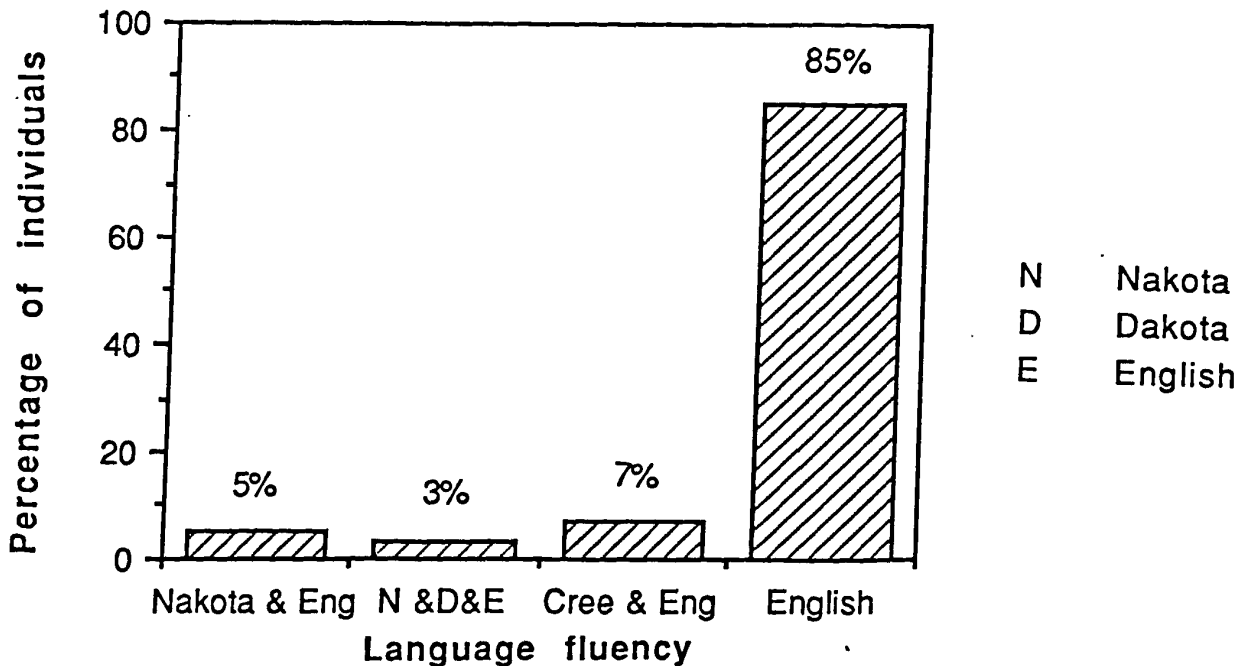


Table 2.3 Carry the Kettle: Age and language proficiency
(n = 105 people)

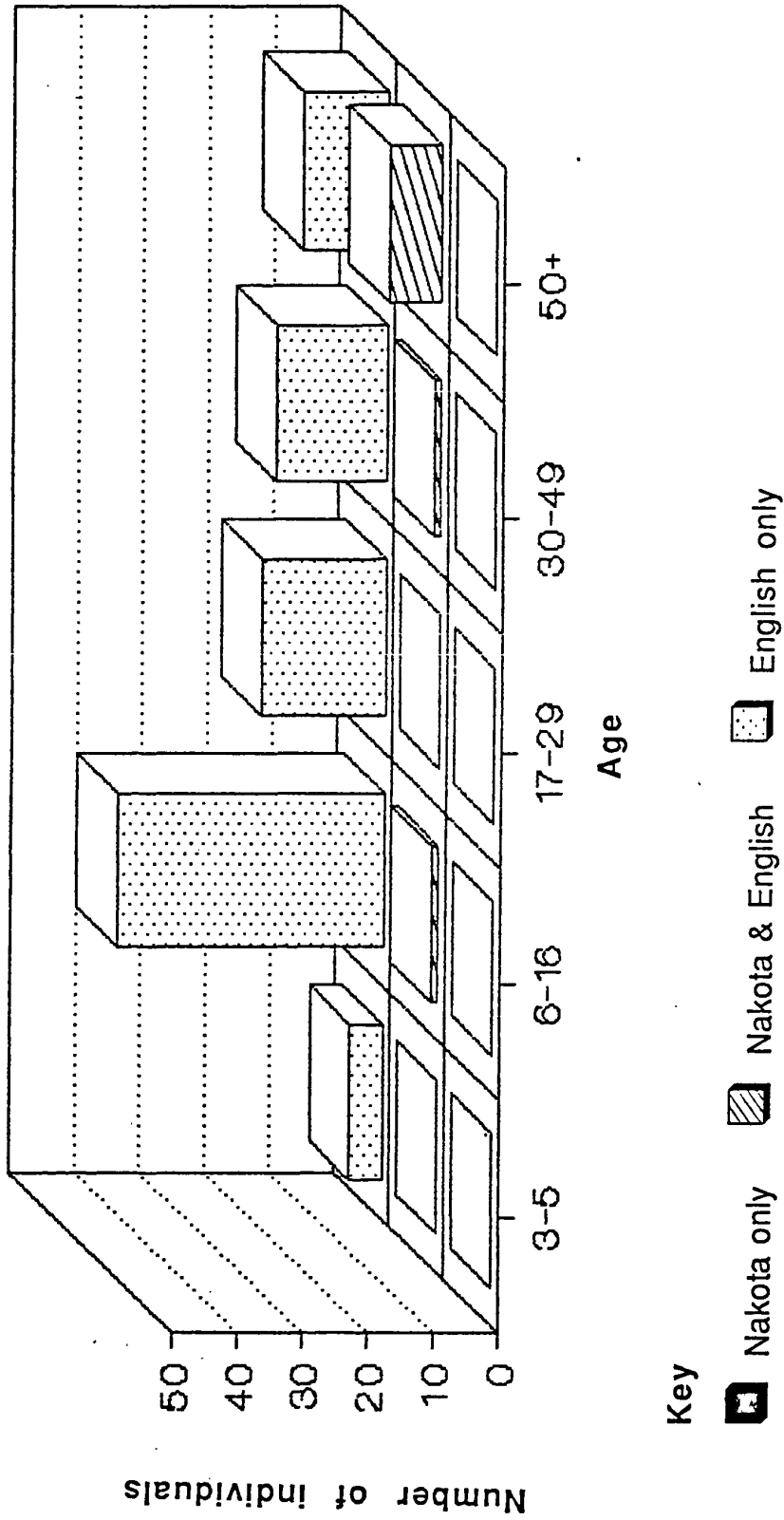
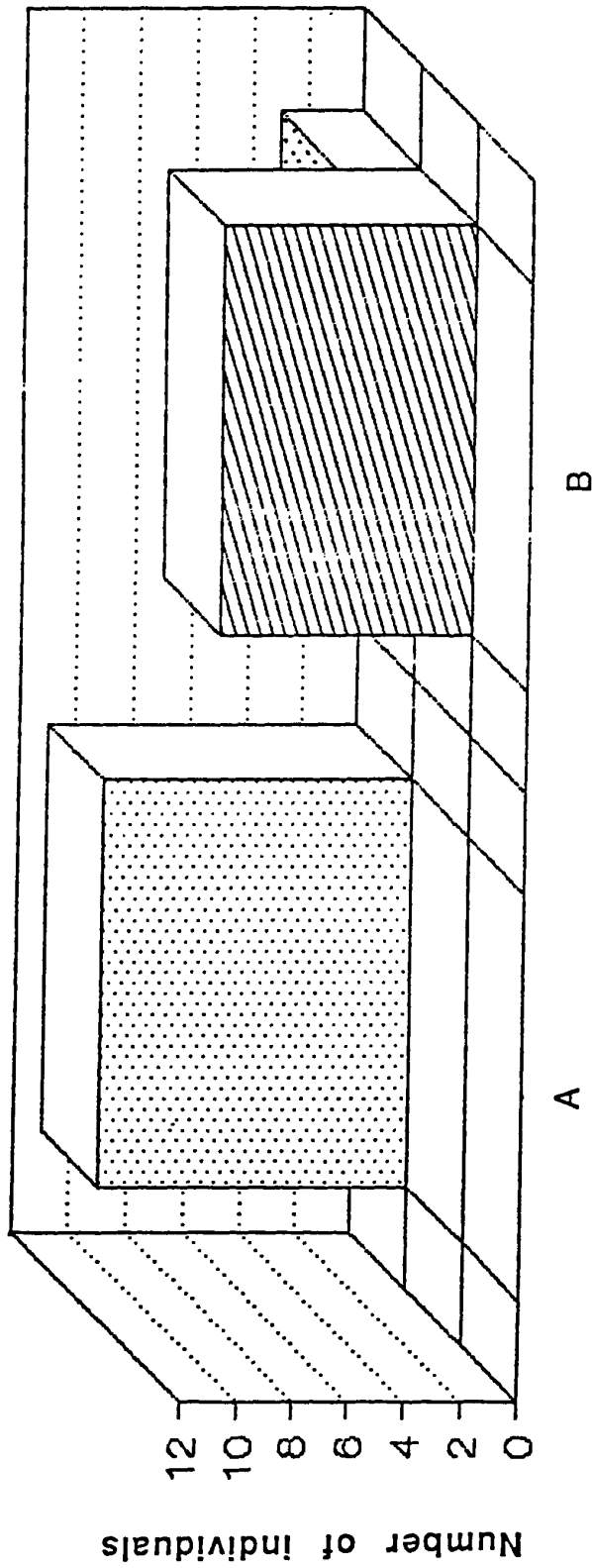


Table 2.4 Carry the Kettle: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 23 adults)



Key




- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B  Learned Nakota as a first language and are fluent in Nakota and English as adults
- B  Learned Nakota as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults

Table 2.5 Carry the Kettle: Literacy in Indigenous language

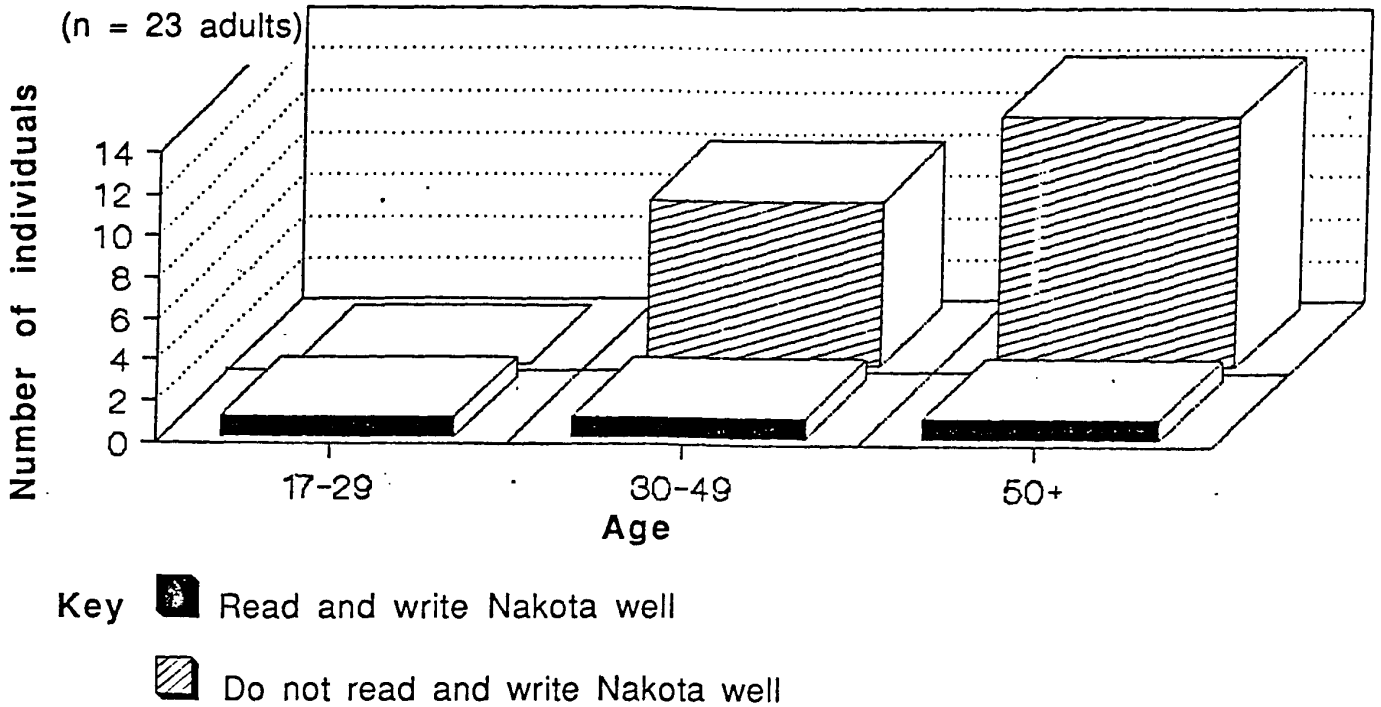


Table 2.6 Carry the Kettle: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)

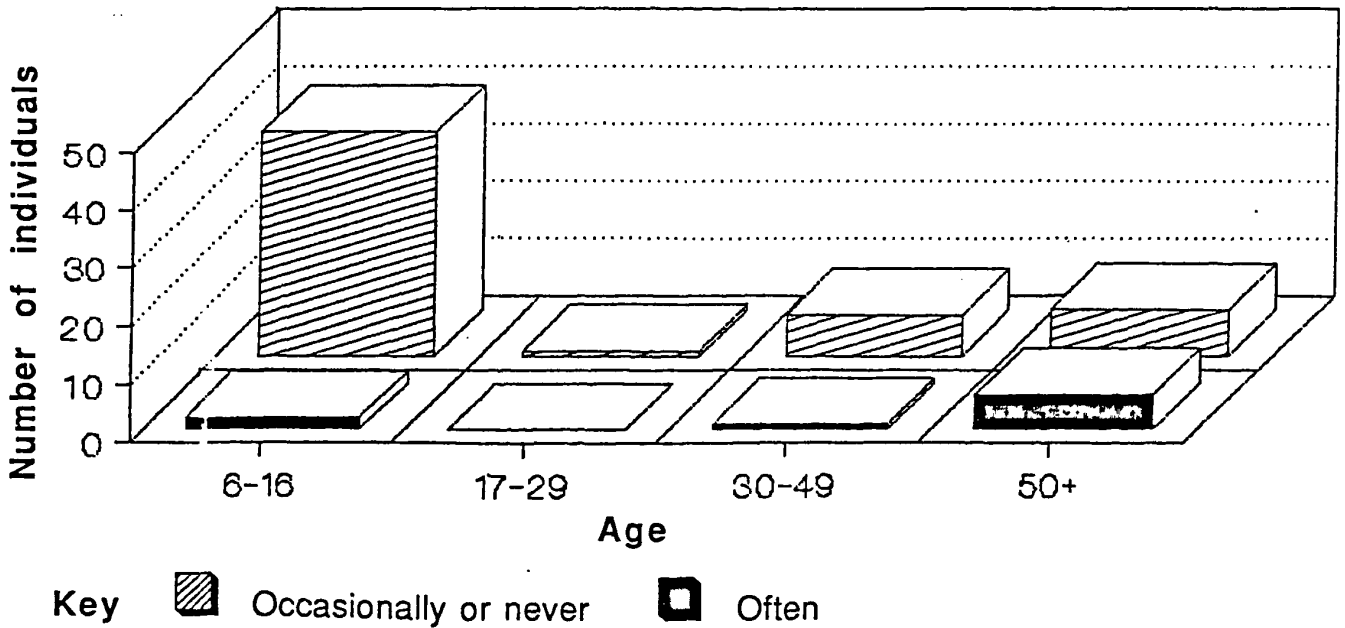
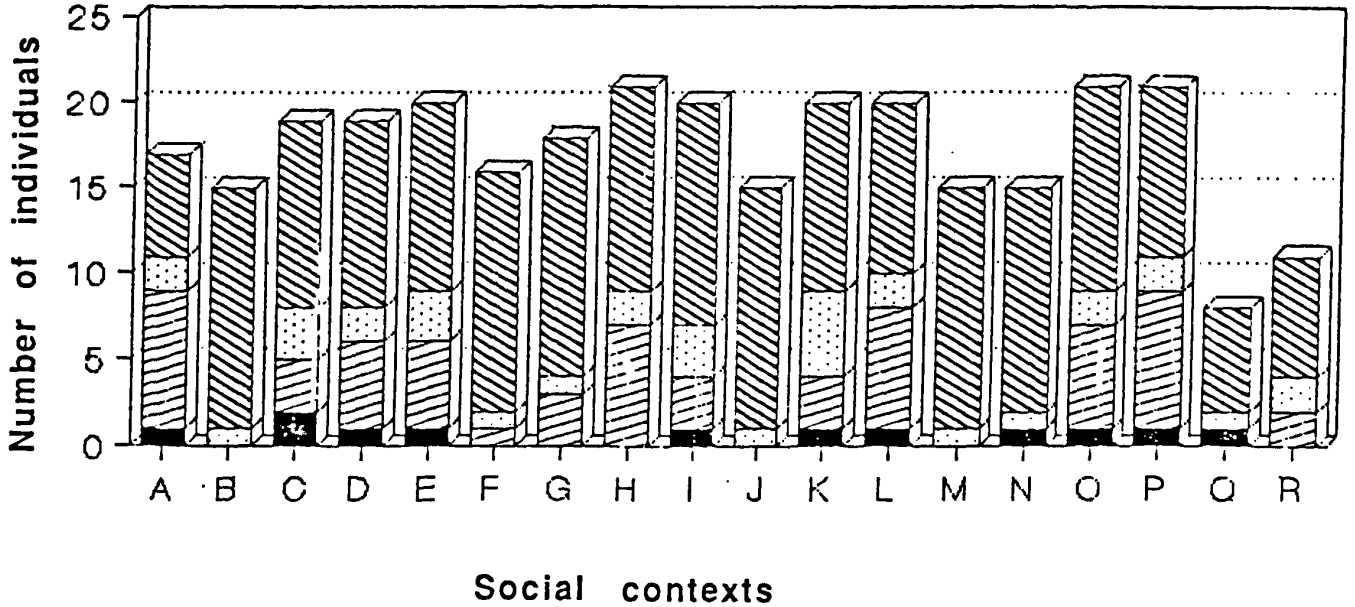






Table 2.7 Carry the Kettle: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 20 adults)



Key to languages used most often

-  Cree only
-  Nakota only
-  Nakota & English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- A. During ceremonies
- B. Playing cards
- C. Visiting relatives
- D. Visiting brothers and sisters
- E. Visiting older people
- F. At school
- G. At church
- H. In prayer
- I. At community meetings
- J. At the clinic/hospital
- K. Greeting people
- L. Telling a joke
- M. At the local store
- N. At work
- O. At funerals
- P. At wakes
- Q. Playing bingo
- R. At the bar

Table 2.8 Carry the Kettle: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 23 adults)

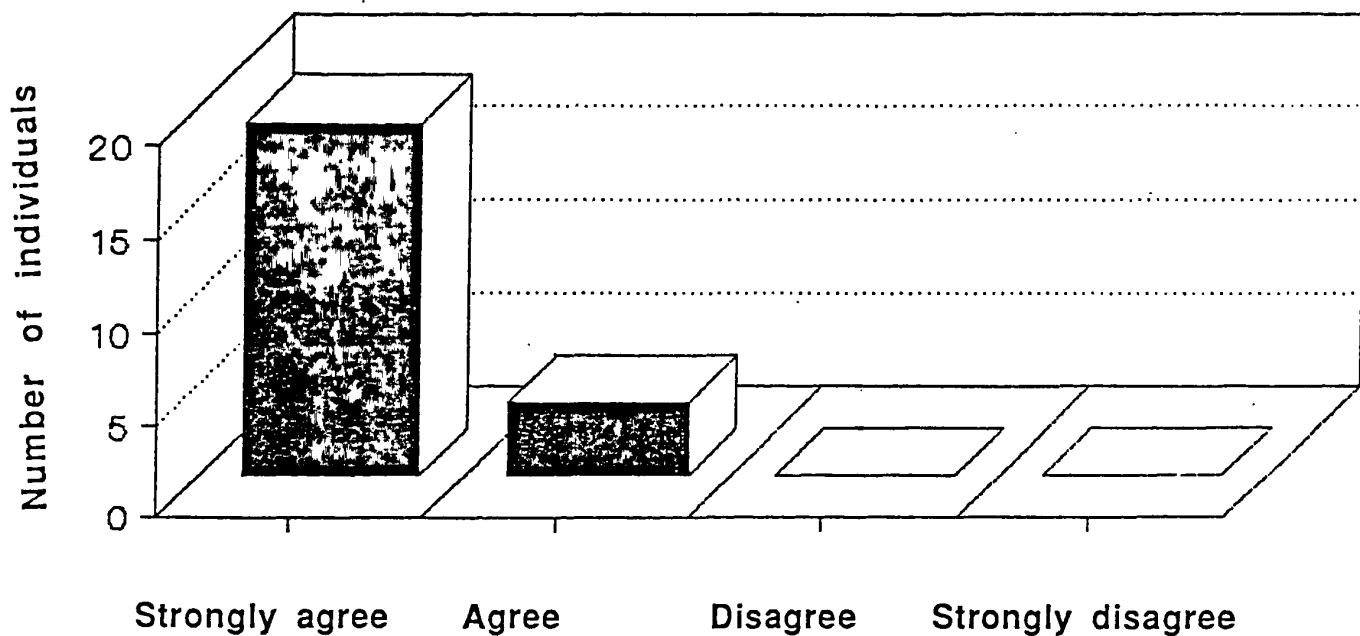


Table 2.9 Carry the Kettle: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 23 adults)

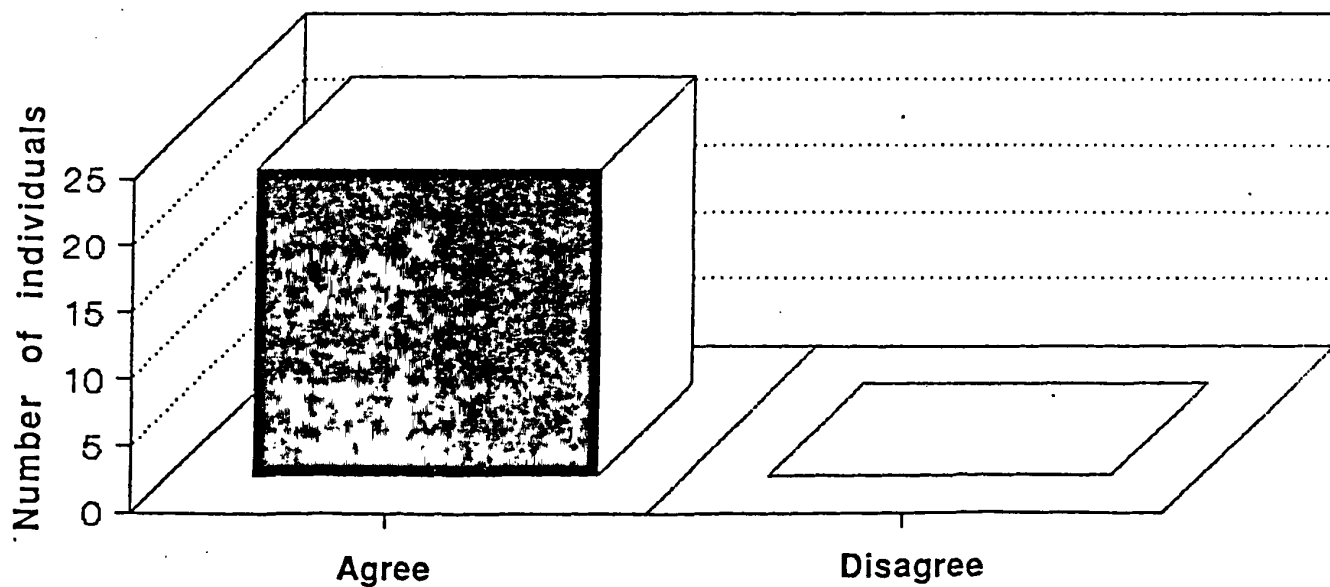
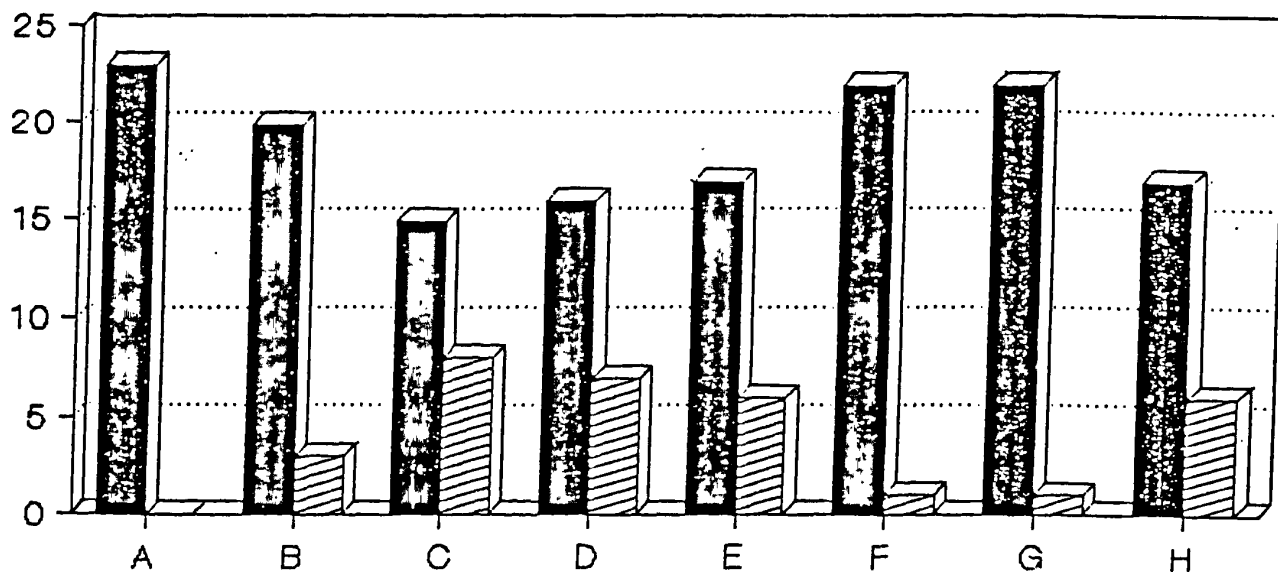


Table 2.10 Carry the Kettle: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 23 adults)



Activities

Key to attitudes

 Support
  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

3. Cote

Cote is a Saulteaux reserve in the Yorkton District in southeast Saskatchewan. It is close to a small town, but distant from cities. It is adjacent to another Saulteaux reserve.

3.1 Main home language

Of the 23 homes in the sample, 17 used English as the main home language. Five used both Saulteaux and English, and one gave Saulteaux as the language of the home.

3.2 Individual language proficiencies

All of the 109 individuals in the survey were reported to be fluent in English, but only 26% of them were fluent in Saulteaux. One of the Saulteaux speakers also spoke Cree.

3.3 Age and language proficiency

All but a very few Saulteaux speakers were over the age of 30. Among the older adults, all spoke Saulteaux, but not all of those in the 30 - 49 age group spoke Saulteaux.

3.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

The largest group among the adults surveyed was those who learned Saulteaux as a first language and added English as a second language. The next largest group learned English as a first language and attained fluency in no other language. Finally, there were two who learned Saulteaux first, but replaced it with English; one who learned English as a first language and added Saulteaux as a second language; and one who learned both languages from childhood.

3.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Only one of the adults surveyed reported that he or she was able to read and write Saulteaux well or quite well.

3.6 Frequency of use

Only those over 50 were reported to be using Saukteaux often. Some of those in the 30-49 age group also used the language often, and a very few in the school-age group used the language frequently. Almost all in the latter group were reported to use Saukteaux occasionally or never.

3.7 Social contexts

Most of the 23 adult respondents reported that they used Saukteaux in ceremonies and when visiting older people. There was a relatively high incidence of use of the language at wakes, in prayer, when visiting with relatives, and in joke-telling. There was a particular lack of use by most people in these contexts: at school, at community meetings, at the clinic/hospital, at the local store, at work, and at bingo.

3.8 Attitudes to language retention

All of the 23 respondents agreed that the language should be retained, but not all expressed strong agreement (Table 3.8). Almost all thought the language should be in the schools (Table 3.9). There was either unanimous or almost unanimous support for these language and cultural retention activities: adult language classes, summer immersion camps, resident elders in schools, and preschool immersion (Table 3.10).

3.9 Summary and conclusions

About two-thirds of the total sample spoke English only, or just knew a little of their language; and only one-third were fluent in both Saukteaux and English. Below the age of 50, English was the dominant language among the individuals in this sample. There were no monolingual Saukteaux elders. There was an affirmative response to language retention and activities designed to support it.

The present and next generation of caregivers are not equipped with the level of fluency in Saukteaux which is needed to pass the language on to their own children. Cote is fortunate in that there are still a number of people who are fluent in the language, and

others who know some of the language. However unless a steps are taken to reverse the current trend, functional use of the Saulteaux language will disappear within the next few years. **The Saulteaux language is in extremely critical condition at Cote.**

Table 3.1 Cote: Main home language

(n = 23 homes)

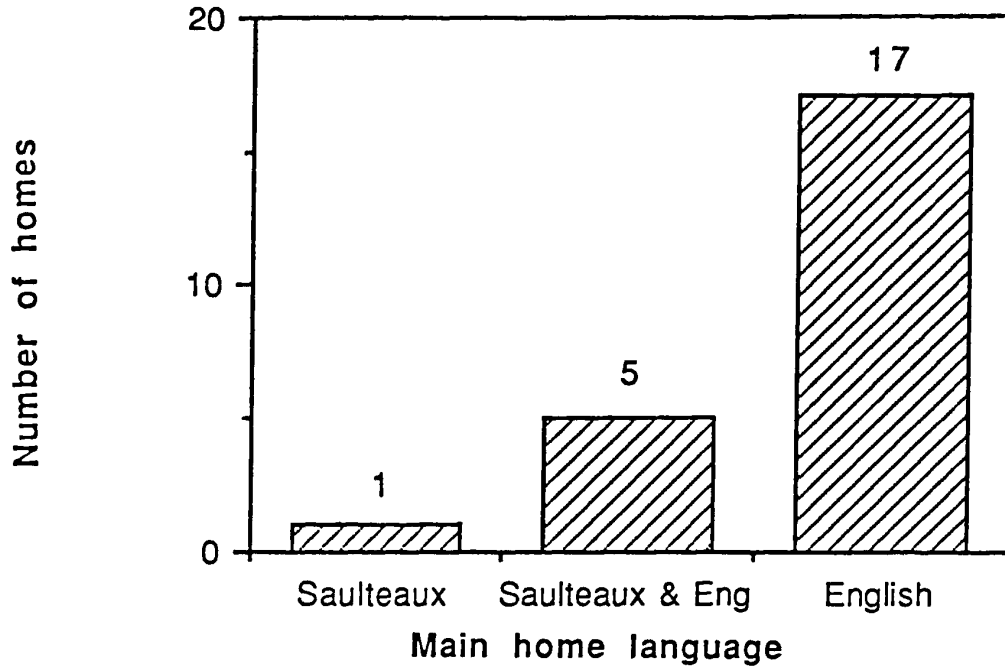


Table 3.2 Cote: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 109 people)

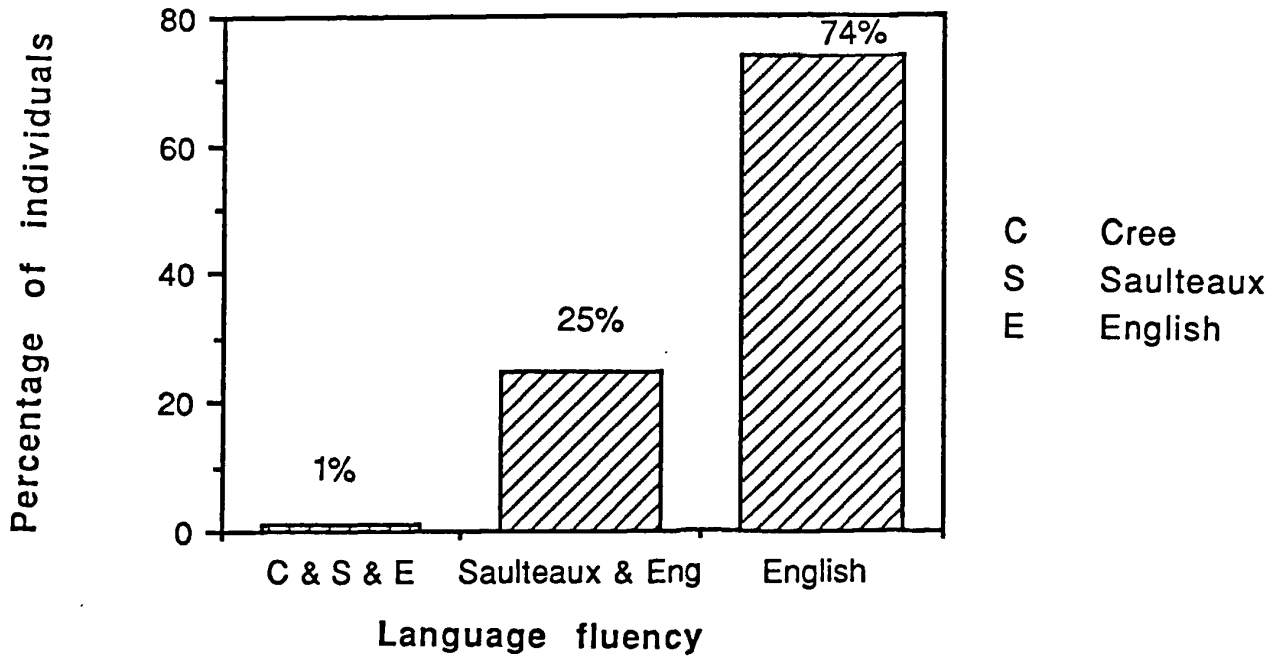
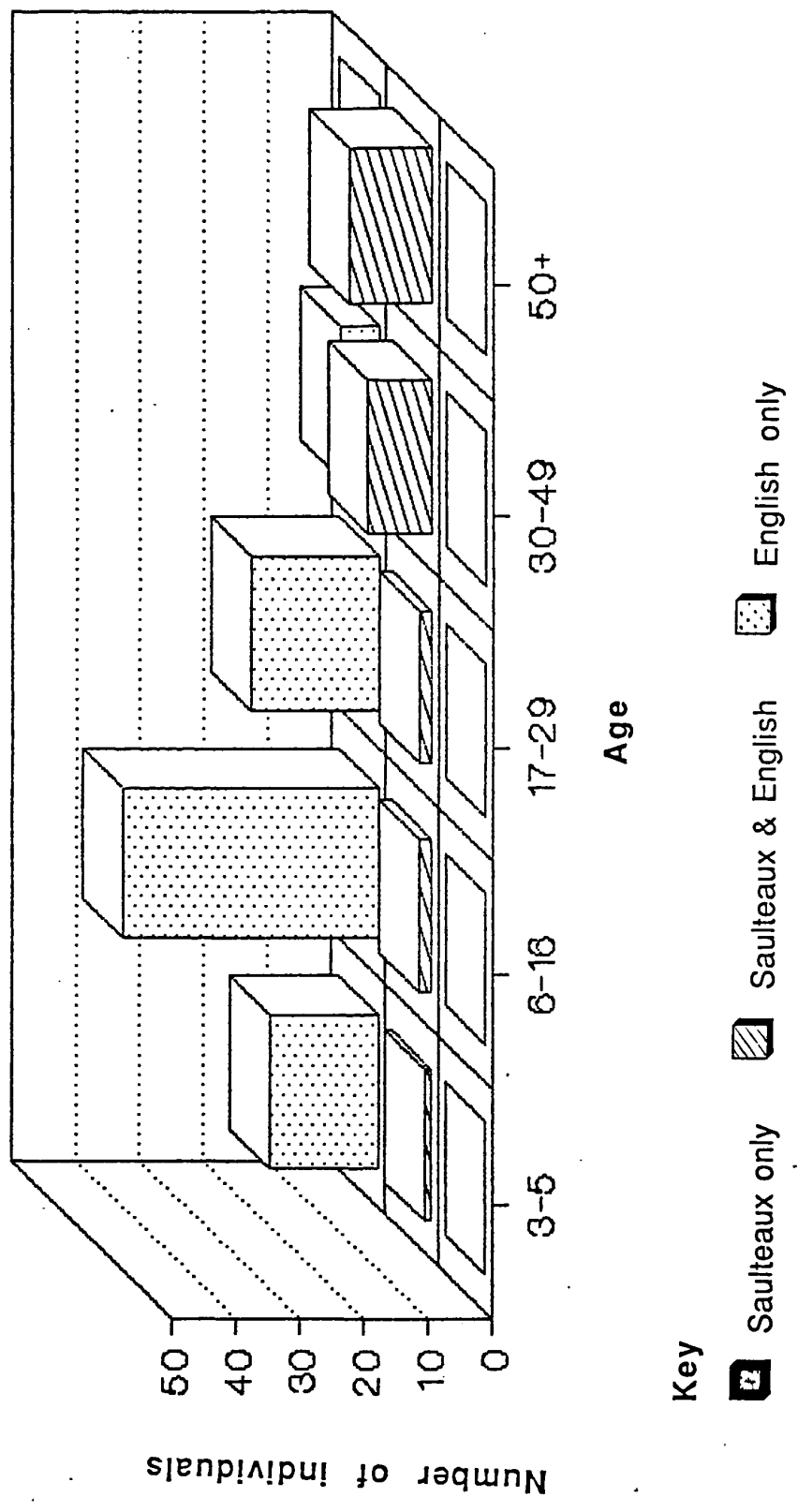


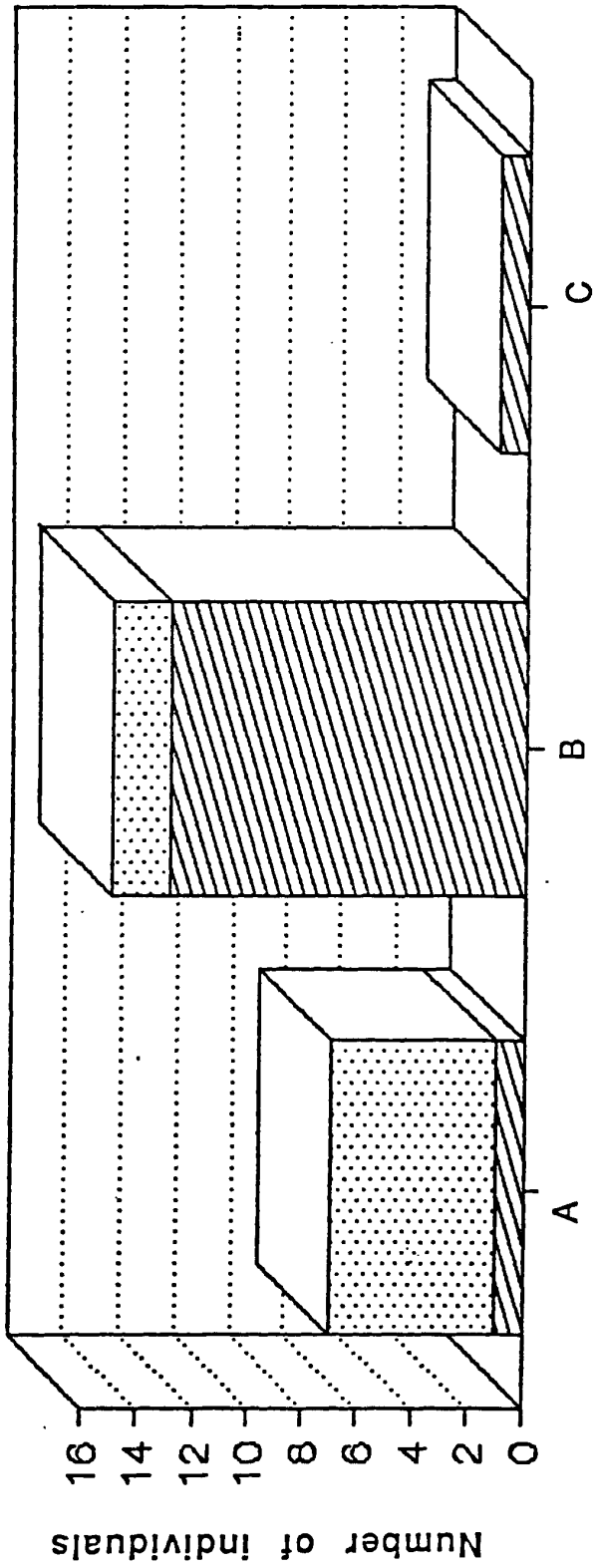
Table 3.3 Cote: Age and language proficiency
(n = 111 people)



Key

- Saulteaux only
- Saulteaux & English
- English only

Table 3.4 Cote: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 23 adults)



Key






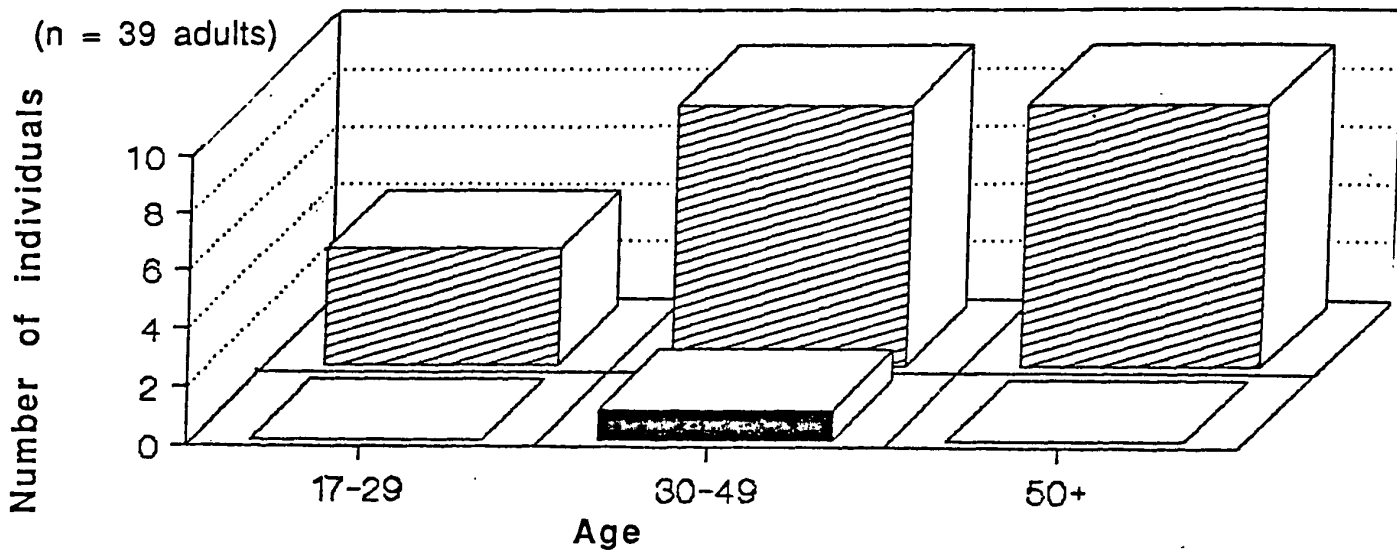
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English & Saulteaux as adults
- B  Learned Saulteaux as a first language and are fluent in Saulteaux & English as adults
- B  Learned Saulteaux as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- C  Learned Saulteaux & English as first languages and are fluent in Saulteaux & English as adults

Table 3.5 Cote: Literacy in Indigenous language

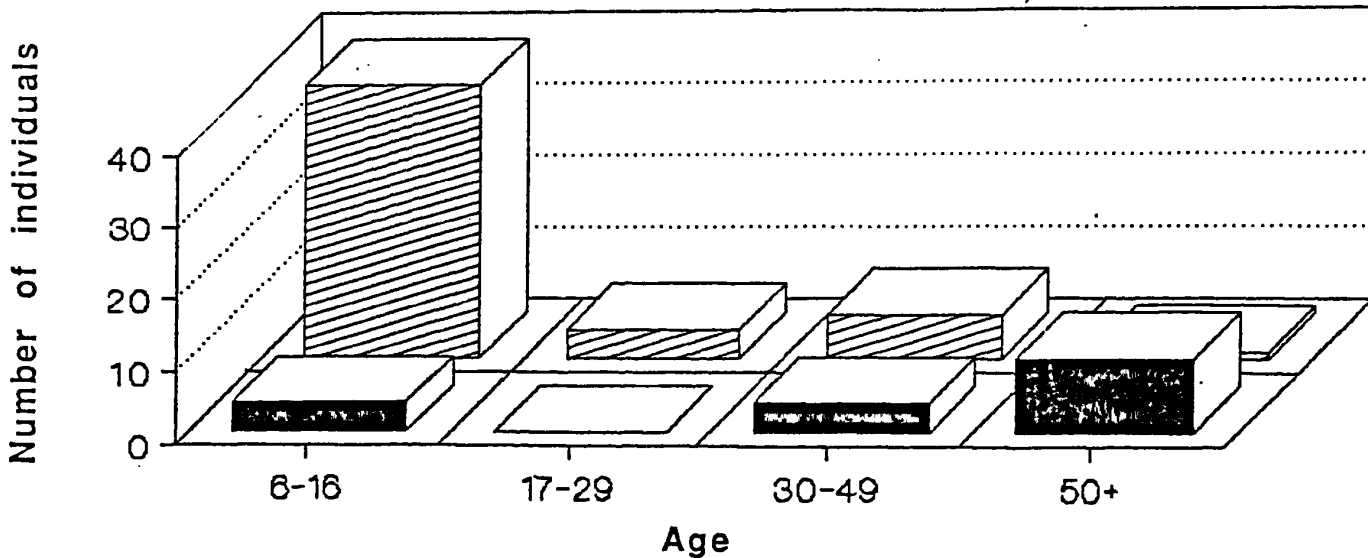
(n = 39 adults)



Key Read and write Saulteaux well
 Do not read and write Saulteaux well

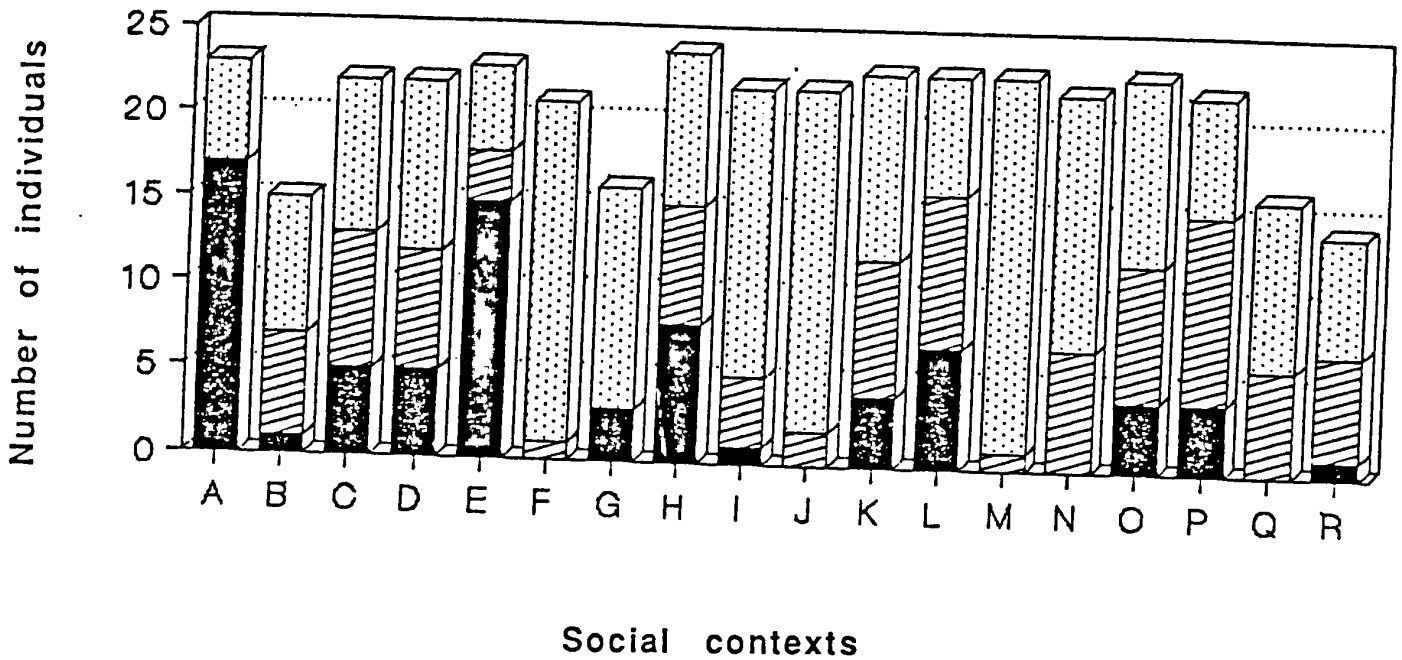
Table 3.6 Cote: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)



Key Occasionally or never Often

Table 3.7 Cote: Social contexts of Indigenous language use
(n = 23 adults)



Key to languages used most often

- Saulteaux only
- Saulteaux & English
- English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. During ceremonies B. Playing cards C. Visiting relatives D. Visiting brothers and sisters E. Visiting older people F. At school G. At church H. In prayer I. At community meetings | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> J. At the clinic/hospital K. Greeting people L. Telling a joke M. At the local store N. At work O. At funerals P. At wakes Q. Playing bingo R. At the bar |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Table 3.8 Cote: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 23 adults)

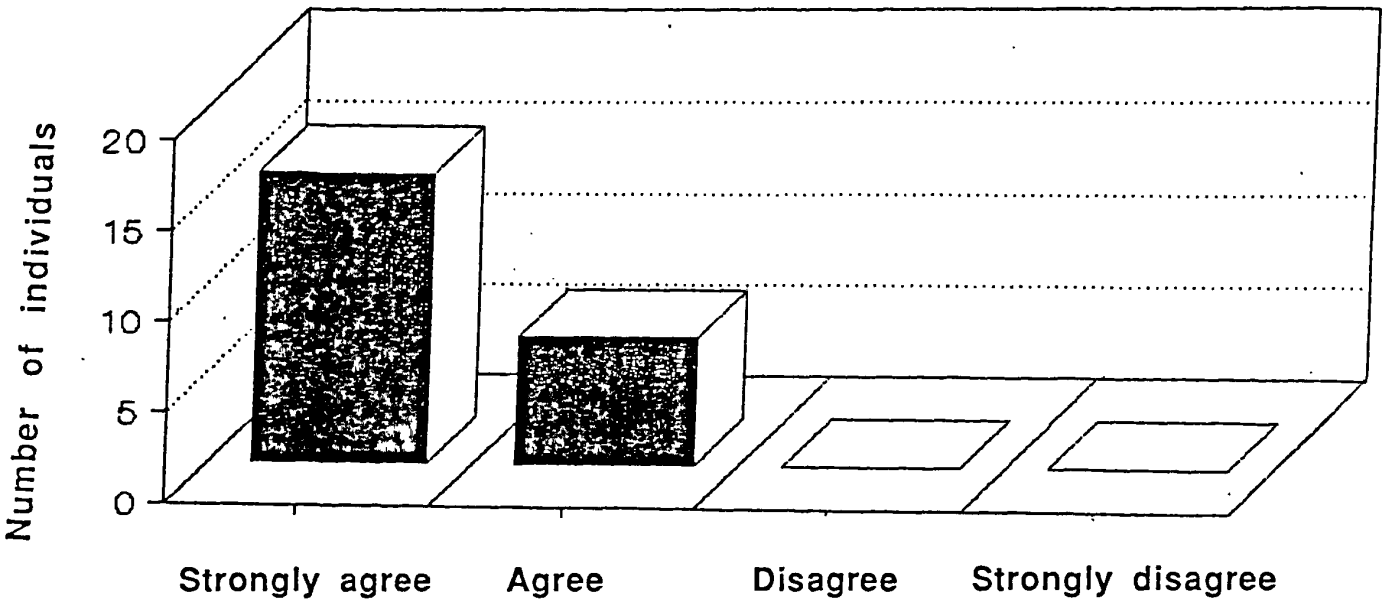


Table 3.9 Cote: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 23 adults)

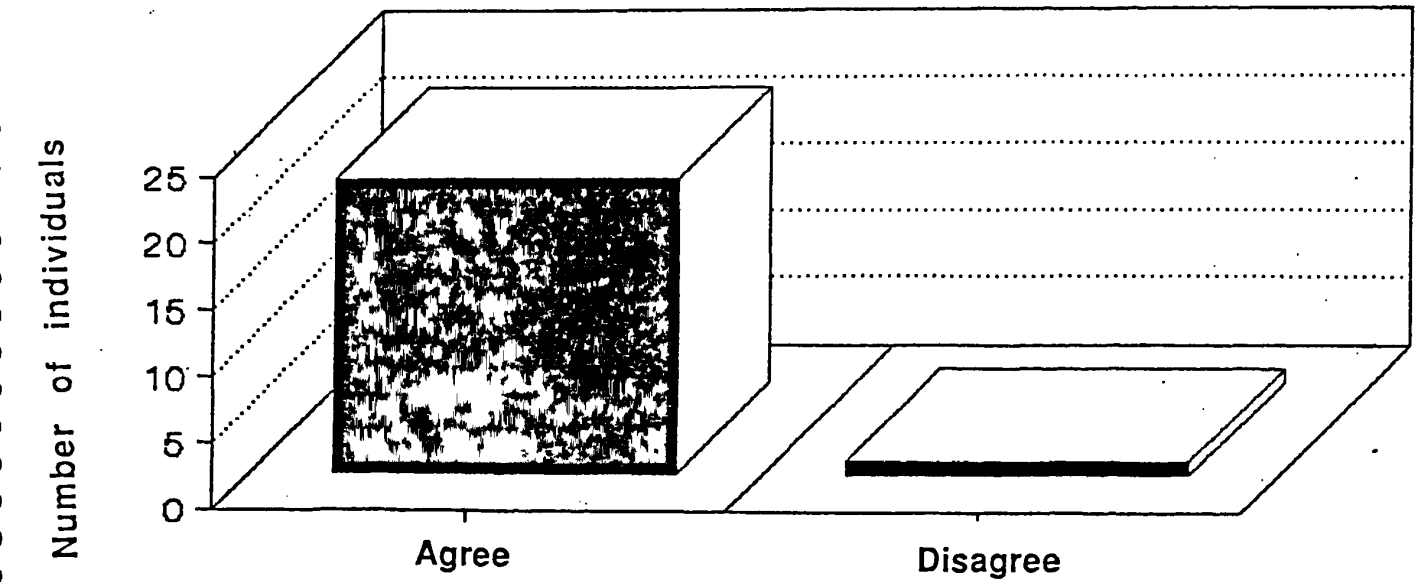
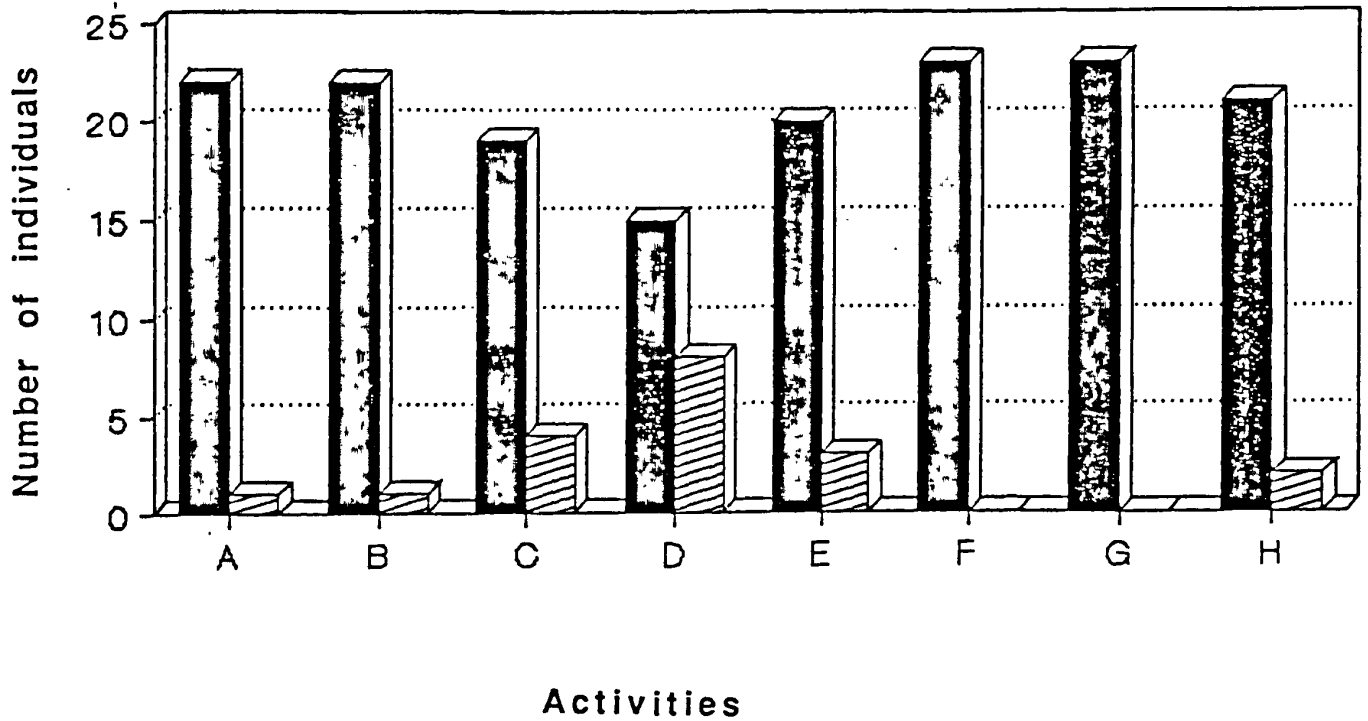


Table 3.10 Cote: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities (n = 23 adults)



Key to attitudes

-  Support
-  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

4. Cumberland House

Cumberland House is an isolated Metis community in northeastern Saskatchewan. It is adjacent to Cumberland House Reserve. The traditional language is Cree-n dialect.

4.1 Main home language

Twenty of the forty homes reported Cree as the primary home language, 15 reported both Cree-n and English as the primary home languages, and a few (5) reported English as the main home language.

4.2 Individual language proficiencies

Of the 125 individuals aged three or older for whom information was collected, the greatest proportion (62%) spoke both Cree-n and English. Another 2% spoke various dialects of Cree (n, th, y, and/or Mechif) in addition to English. Twenty percent spoke English only. Many of these knew varying amounts of Cree, but not enough to be considered fluent. Another 15% were fluent speakers of Cree alone. Among this latter group were many who knew some English, but who were not considered fluent.

4.3 Age and language proficiency

Among the three to five year-old group English predominated, with some Cree-English bilinguals. Among school-age children, the English speakers were in the majority, but Cree-English bilinguals were in reasonably close second place.

The majority of young adults (17-29) were Cree-English bilinguals, with some English only. The majority of adults aged 30-49 were also Cree-English bilinguals, but there was a minority who spoke Cree only. Among those 50 years of age and older, the Cree-English and Cree only groups were about the same size.

4.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Of the 40 adult respondents, almost all reported Cree-n as their mother tongue. Of these, most reported themselves to be Cree-English bilinguals, while others referred to themselves as still primarily fluent only in Cree. Some adults with Cree-n as their first

language acquired proficiency in other dialects of Cree (th, y, Mechif) as they grew up.

4.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

The majority of adults in the survey reported having little or no literacy in Cree. Those few who did were over the age of 30, and were still a minority in this age group.

4.6 Frequency of use

There appeared to be sharp differences among age groups. Among all individuals for whom data were reported (100), the majority of school-age children used Cree "occasionally" or "never", while Cree was reported as being used "often" or "always" by the majority of young adults and by all of those 30 years and older.

4.7 Social contexts

Cree was the language most often used in seven social contexts: playing cards, visiting older people, visiting brothers and sisters, and visiting relatives, making a joke, funerals and wakes. However, in each of these contexts, varying numbers of individuals reported themselves as speaking both Cree and English.

In eight contexts, most people reported that they used both Cree and English: church, prayer, community meetings, greeting people, local store, work, playing bingo, and at the bar. In several contexts there were minorities of individuals who spoke only Cree: church, prayer, community meetings, greeting people, work, local store, bingo and the bar. Some included minorities of individuals who spoke either English only or Cree only: prayer, community meetings, and making a joke.

English predominated in only two contexts: school and clinic/hospital. There was considerable use of both Cree and English by a minority of individuals in each context.

4.8 Attitudes to language retention

All respondents strongly agreed that the Indigenous languages should be retained (Table 4.8). Reasons given included the following:

"Our Indian language is important to me. It's a part of our culture."

"not to forget the future generations"

"so we don't forget our Indian way of communicating"

"because I was born an Indian"

"the gift of language and not to lose it"

"it is important for my own personal use"

"children impress me when they talk in their (Indian) language"

"because I want to understand what other (Indian) people are talking about"

All respondents strongly agreed that languages should be in the school system (Table 4.9). There was agreement with the statement that learning Cree in school would help children in school or in their lives. Respondents' reasons included the following:

"...help them have a better understanding of their culture"

"help them by not forgetting where they come from..." or "who they are as Indian people"

"so that Indian language(s) should not be forgotten"

"because in today's society children tend to forget, though it's not their fault...our Indian languages shouldn't be forgotten"

"it would help them to learn"

"The younger generation would benefit by interpreting for older people that don't understand English."

The view was expressed that language learning should begin at home, and that if parents did not speak the language, they could also learn in the schools.

There was unanimous support for all the language and culture retention activities listed in the survey (Table 4.10). These included the following: adult Cree classes, summer Cree language and culture immersion camps, recreational activities conducted in Cree, newspapers, radio and television in Cree, resident elders in schools, preschool centres for children where children are immersed in their traditional language and culture, and Cree language and culture clubs. When respondents were asked for additional ideas for language retention activities, the following were mentioned: "more Indian languages taught in schools", "more cultural activities" for children and adults, "hospitals, clinics, etc.", and

"seminars/workshops in Indian languages for the community and within the school systems". In addition, there was strong support indicated for the idea of providing community and government services in the Cree language.

4.9 Summary and conclusions

These data indicate a trend toward loss of language among the younger generation. The relatively large proportion of preschool and school-age children who are not fluent in Cree will be of concern to those who are working for language retention.

While there is still a strong and healthy amount of n-dialect Cree spoken among the adults in the community (in particular among those over the age of 30), there is a definite trend towards the use of English among children (and in particular, among the preschoolers). Concurrently, fluency in Cree among those under 18 appears to be declining. The loss of the language is in contrast with a strong consensus that Cree and other Indigenous languages must be retained. There was also very strong support for Cree school programs and a variety of other Cree language and cultural activities.

The Cree language is in serious condition in Cumberland House. If this community values its Cree language and culture to the extent indicated in the survey, action must be taken immediately to prevent Cree language loss among preschool and school-age children, as well as among young parents. Cumberland House is fortunate to be in the position of being able to recognize and reverse the trend towards the loss of its ancestral language. There are still enough fluent speakers of Cree to maintain a dynamic bilingual community if effective measures are taken.

Table 4.1 Cumberland House: Main home language
(n = 40 homes)

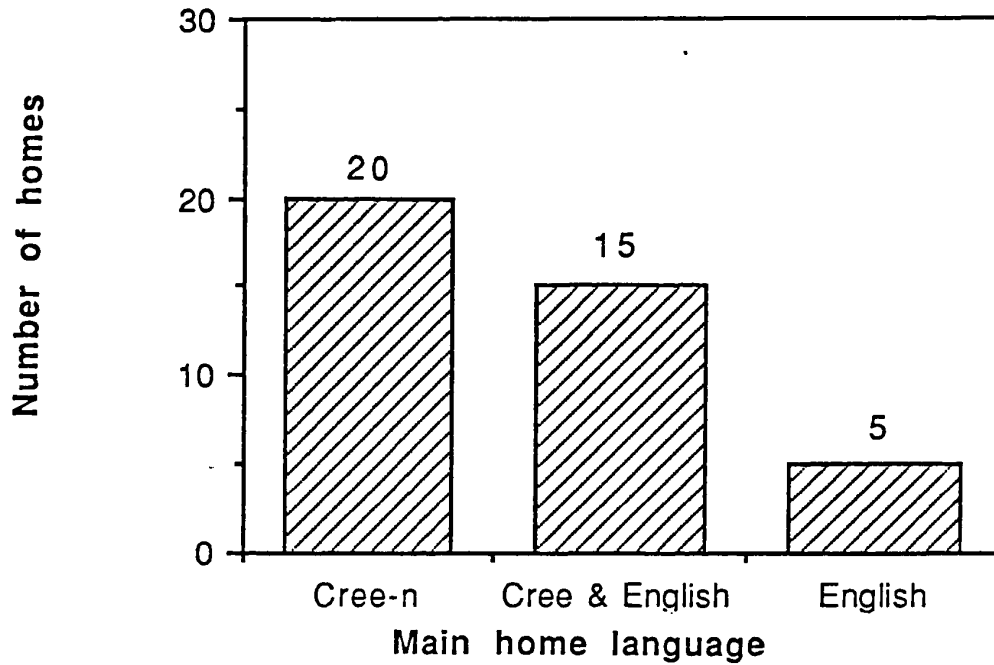


Table 4.2 Cumberland House: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 125 people)

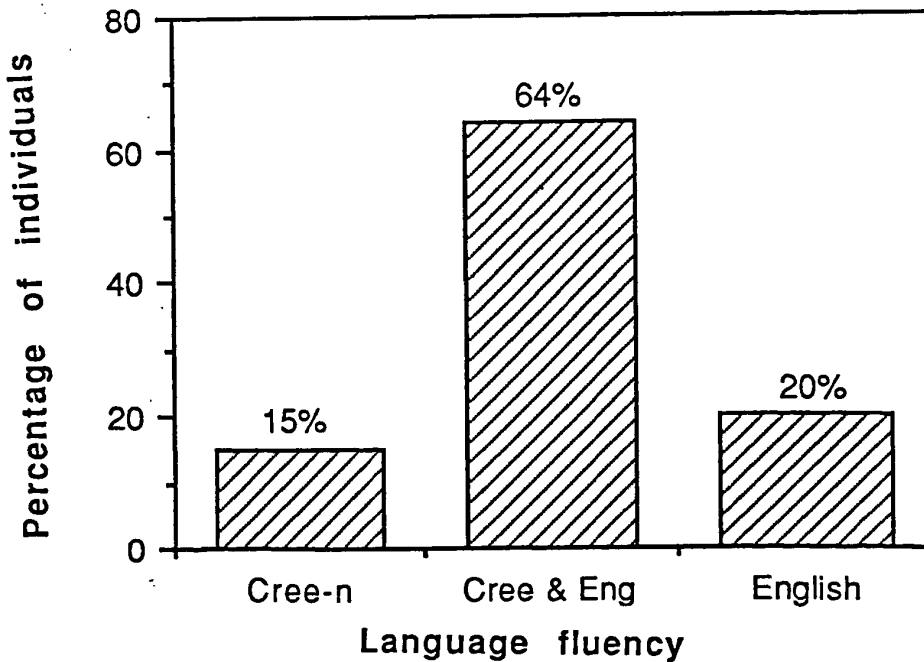
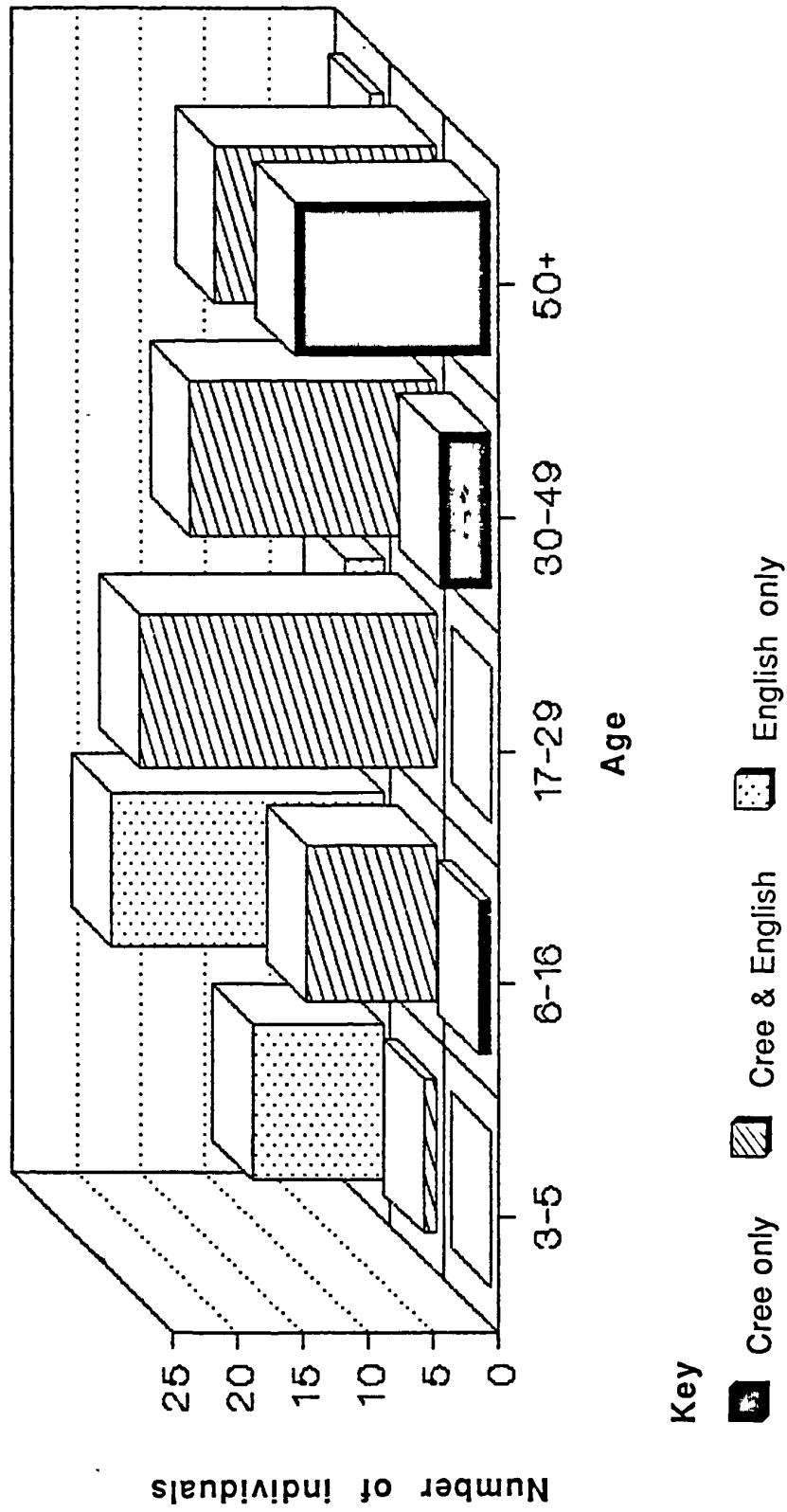


Table 4.3 Cumberland House: Age and language proficiency
(n = 125 people)



Key



Cree only



Cree & English



English only

Table 4.4 Cumberland House: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 40 adults)

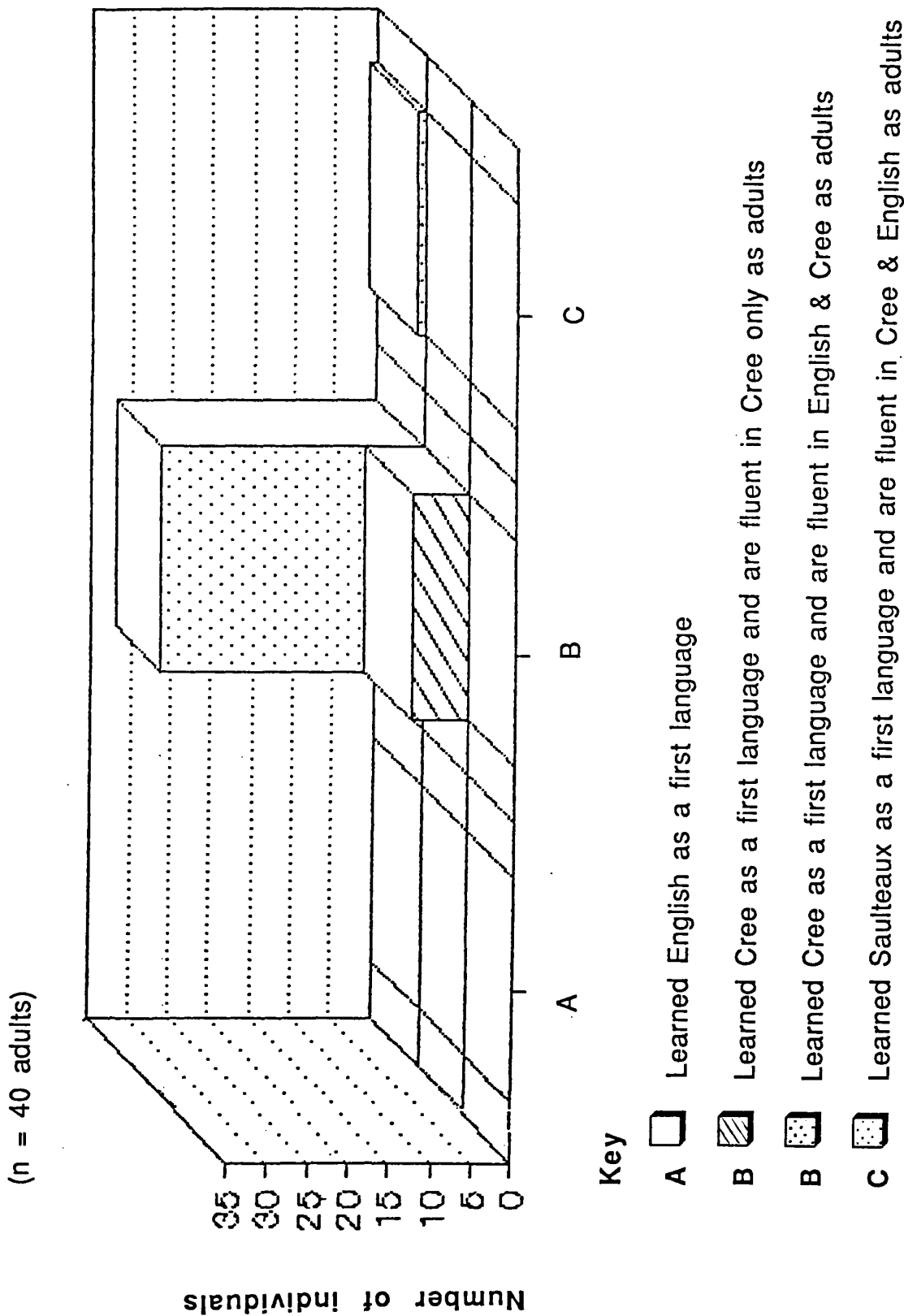
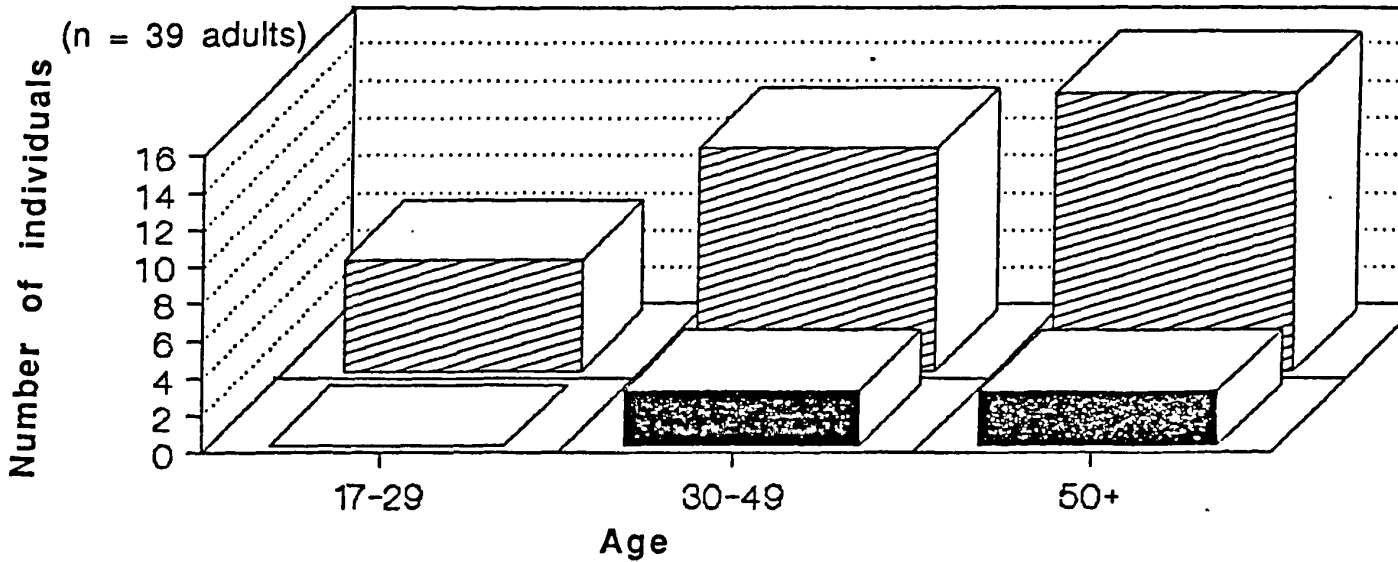


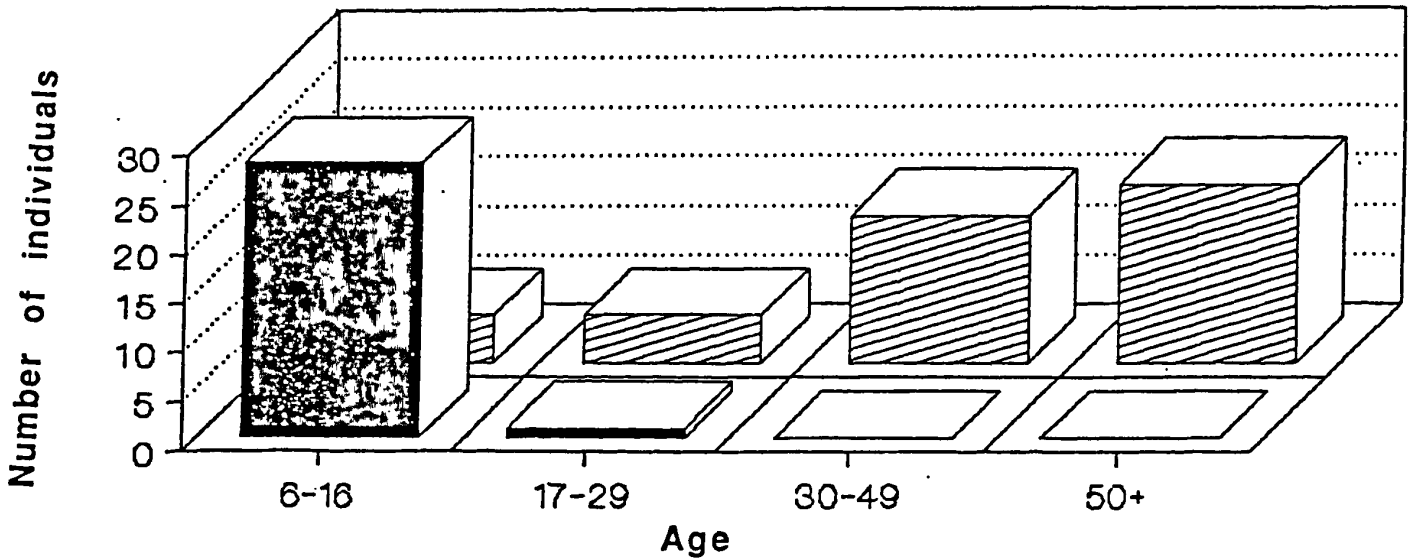
Table 4.5 Cumberland House: Literacy in Indigenous language



Key Read and write Cree well
 Do not read and write Cree well

Table 4.6 Cumberland House: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

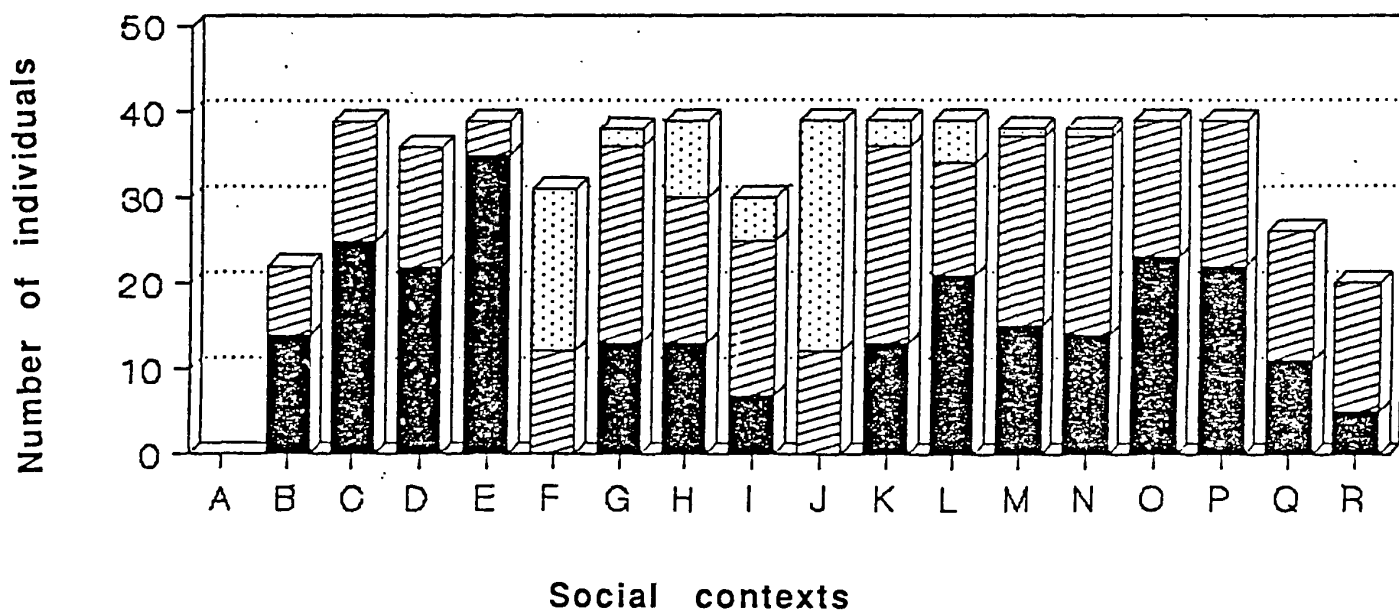
(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)






Key Often Occasionally or never

Table 4.7 Cumberland House: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 40 adults)



Key to languages used most often

 Cree only
  Cree & English
  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 4.8 Cumberland House: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 40 adults)

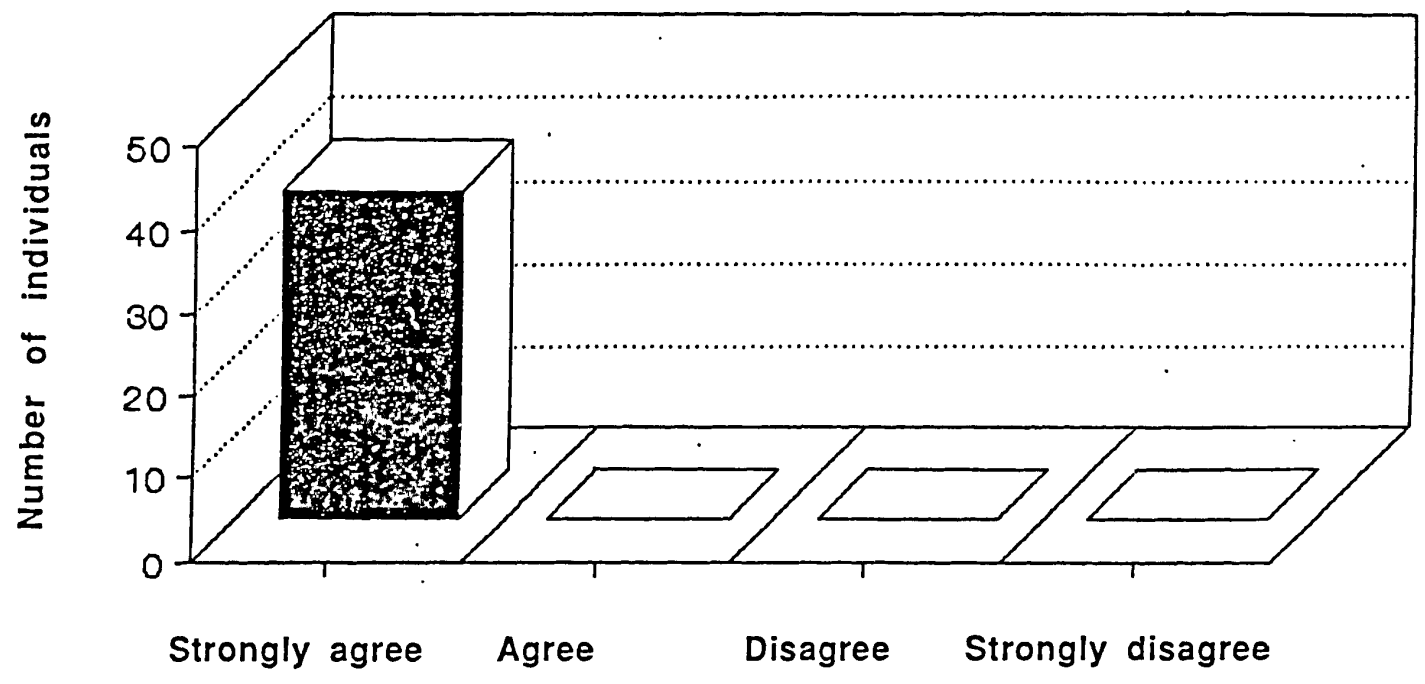


Table 4.9 Cumberland House: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 33 adults)

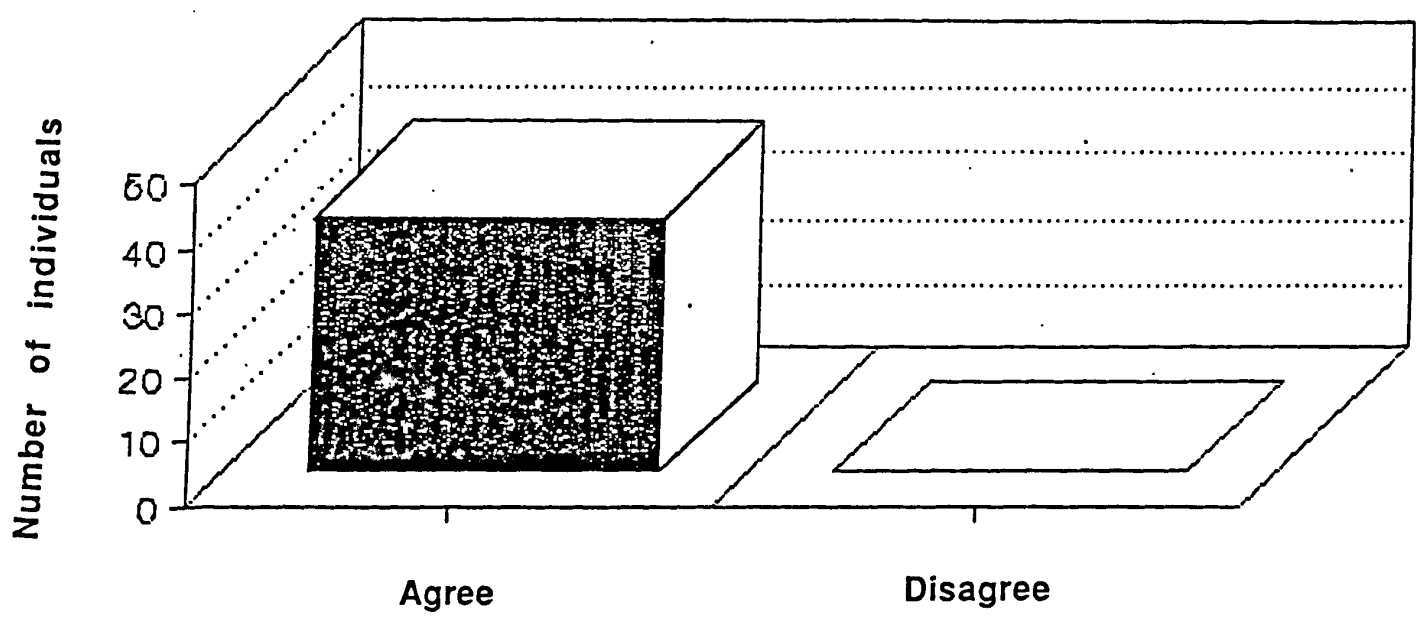
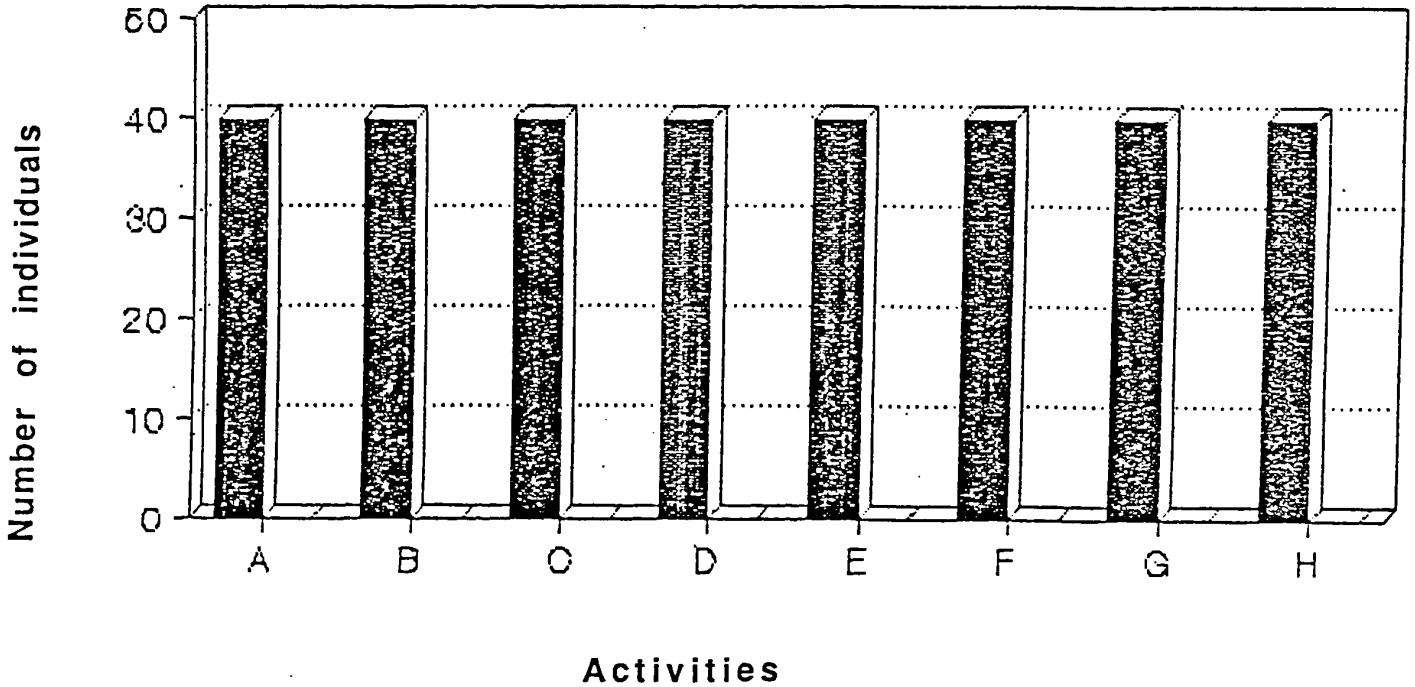


Table 4.10 Cumberland House: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 40 adults)



Key to attitudes

Support
 Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

5. Ile-a-la-Crosse

This is a largely Metis community on the northwest side of the province. It is relatively isolated, but acts as a centre for many services and businesses serving the surrounding area. Mechif and Cree are considered its traditional languages. Mechif is considered by many as a dialect of Cree.

5.1 Main home language

Half of the 32 homes reported English as the main language of the home. Slightly less than half reported either Mechif (7) or Cree (4), and the remaining five reported both English and either Cree or Mechif.

5.2 Individual language proficiencies

Almost half (48%) of the 123 individuals for whom information was provided were not fluent in any language other than English. Mechif was spoken by 28%, of whom a few could not speak English fluently, and several of whom also spoke Cree. Cree was spoken by 30%. Among the Cree-speakers were the several who also spoke Mechif and one who spoke Cree and Dene. All of the Cree-speakers but one (the Dene- and Cree-speaker) also spoke English fluently.

5.3 Age and language proficiency

In each of the adult age categories, the Mechif/Cree speakers were in the majority. However, among the school-age and preschool population, very few Cree or Mechif speakers were reported. Most spoke only English fluently. The few monolingual Mechif-speakers were over 50 years old.

5.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Most of the 35 adults surveyed reported Mechif or Cree as their mother tongue. About one-third reported English as their first language. Most of the native speakers of Mechif or Cree had added English. A few had replaced their Indigenous language with English, while others had switched from Cree to Mechif. One individual

reported Dene and English as the languages acquired from birth. A few English speakers reported that they had added Mechif or Cree.

5.5. Literacy in Indigenous languages

Five of the 27 adults reported being literate in their Indigenous language.

5.6. Frequency of use

Indigenous languages were used frequently by those over 30, and infrequently by most of the school-age children. Frequent use of Mechif and/or Cree was reported among about half of the young adults (17-29) in the sample.

5.7. Social contexts

English predominated in these contexts: ceremonies, school, church, prayer, community meetings, and clinic/hospital. When visiting with older people, Cree and Mechif were used more frequently than English. Wakes and funerals seemed to be associated with use of Cree and Mechif as well, although English was used in these contexts too. In all other contexts, there was not a clear pattern of use of one language or another when the sample as a whole was examined.

5.8. Attitudes to language retention

All of the respondents agreed that Indigenous languages should be retained, but not all expressed strong agreement (Table 5.8). No one disagreed that the languages should be in the schools (Table 5.9). There was support for these language and culture retention activities: adult language classes, summer immersion camps, recreational activities in the languages, TV and radio, and preschool immersion (Table 5.10). However, there was not unanimous support for any one activity.

5.9. Summary and conclusions

About half of the sample spoke one or more Indigenous language: usually either Cree or Mechif, but sometimes both. The

other half was fluent only in English. Those fluent in Cree and/or Mechif, and those who used the languages frequently, were concentrated in the adult age-groups. There was a clear lack of fluency in Cree and/or Mechif among the preschool and school-age populations. In the 17 - 29 age group, there appeared to be an increasing shift to English. **Cree and Mechif in Ile-a-la-Crosse are in serious condition.**

Table 5.1 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Main home language
(n = 32 homes)

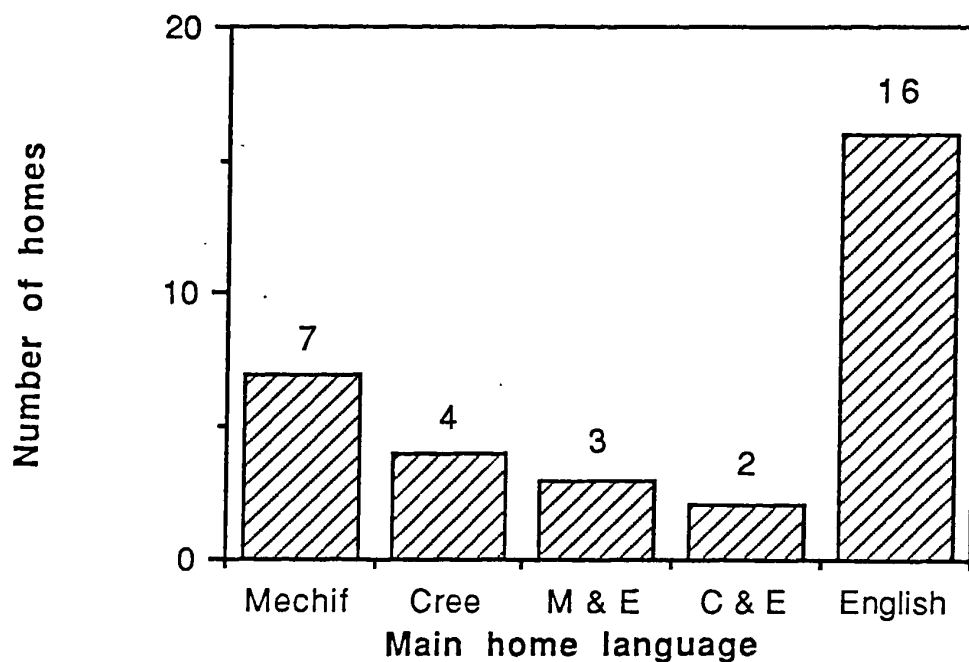


Table 5.2 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 123 people)

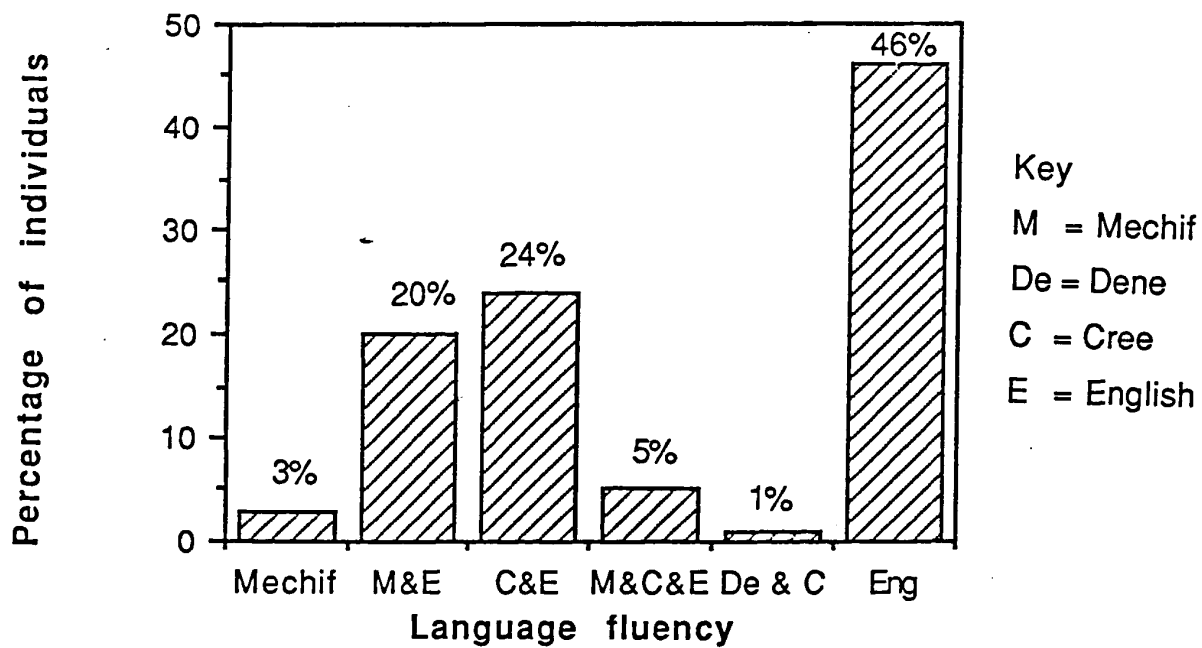


Table 5.3 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Age and language proficiency
(n = 116 people)

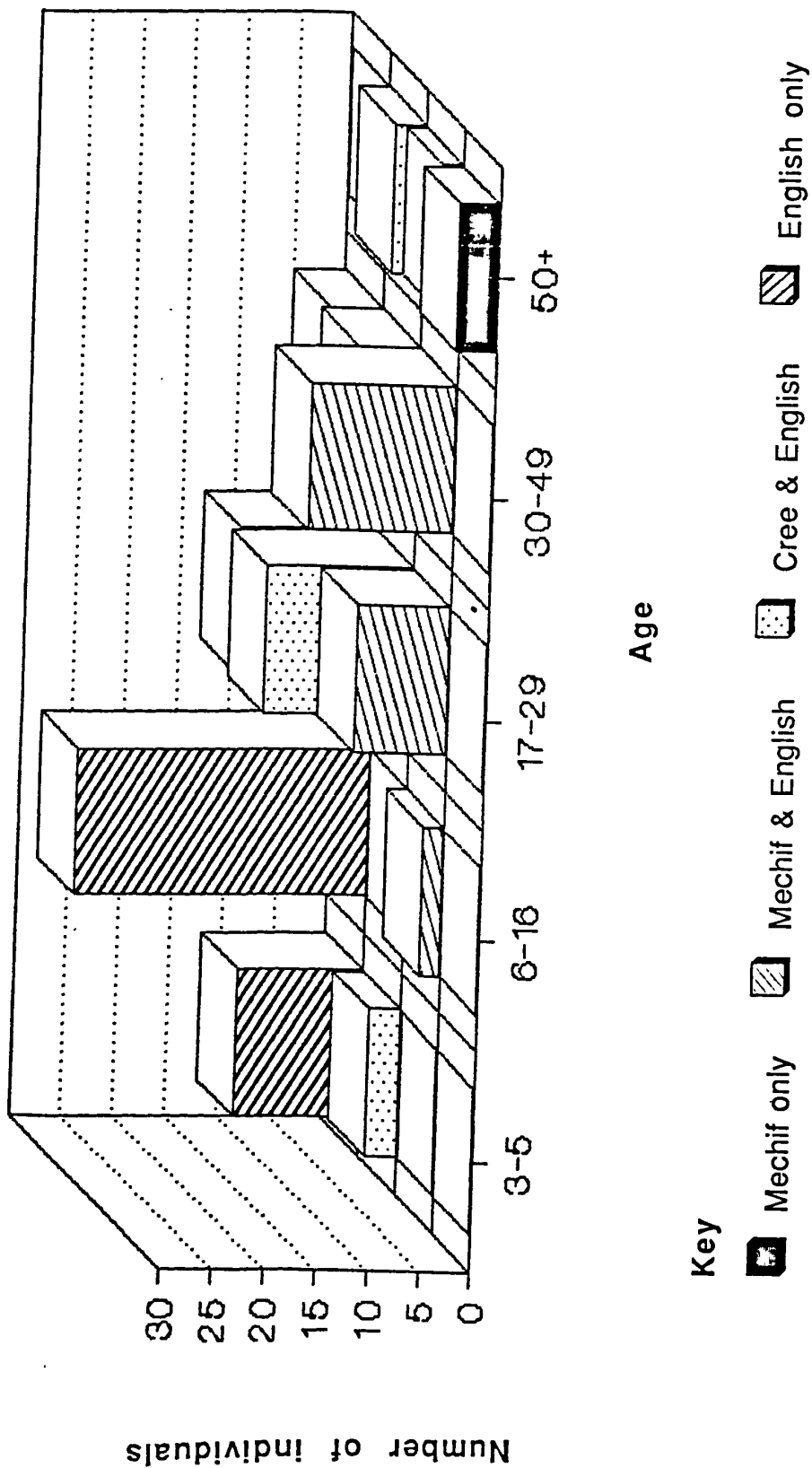
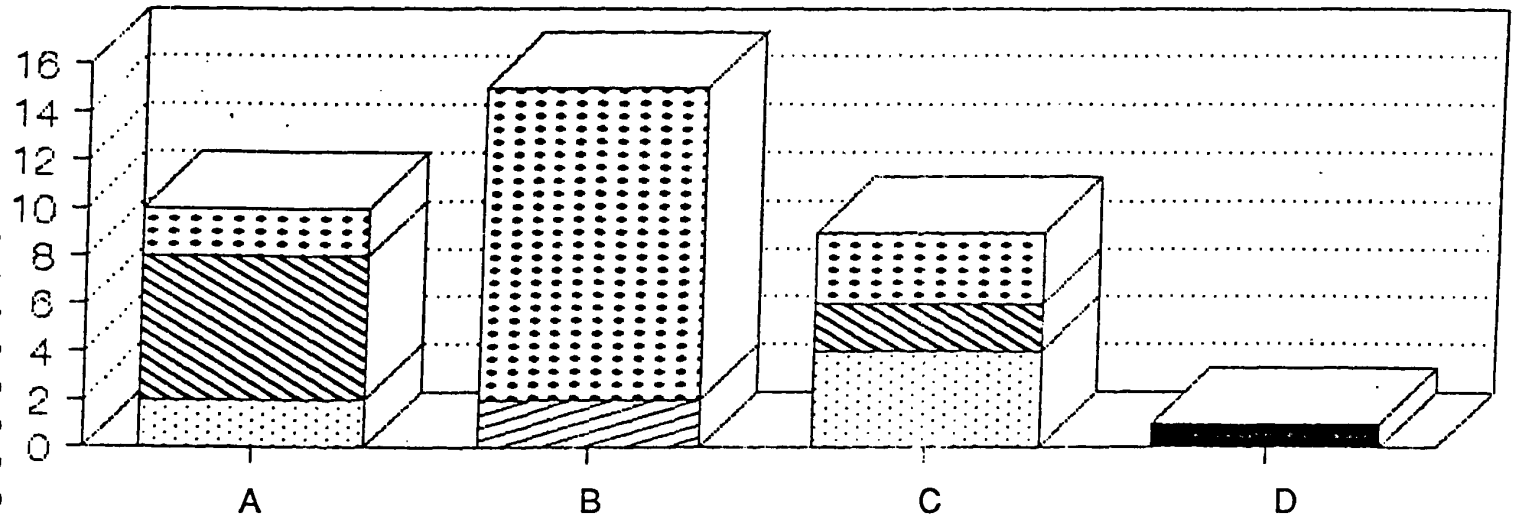










Table 5.4 Ile-a-la-Crosse: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 35 adults)



Key

- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English & Cree as adults
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English & Mechif as adults

- B  Learned Mechif as a first language and are fluent in Mechif only as adults
- B  Learned Mechif as a first language and are fluent in Mechif & English as adults

- C  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree & English as adults
- C  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- C  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Mechif and Cree as adults


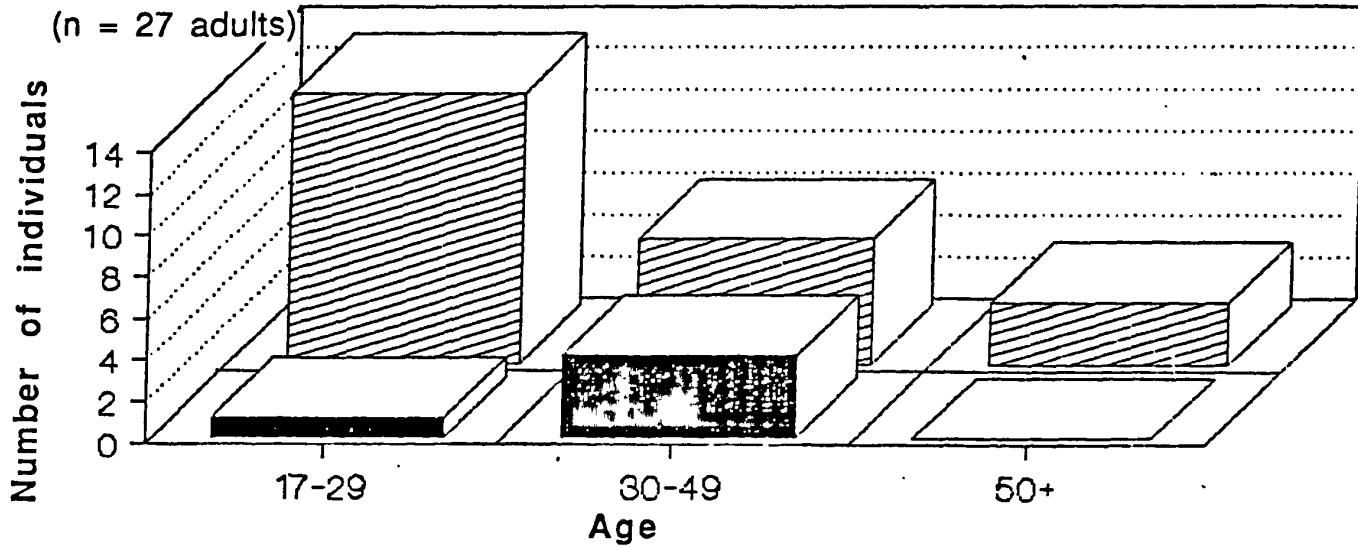
- D  Learned Dene as a first language and are fluent in Dene and English as adults

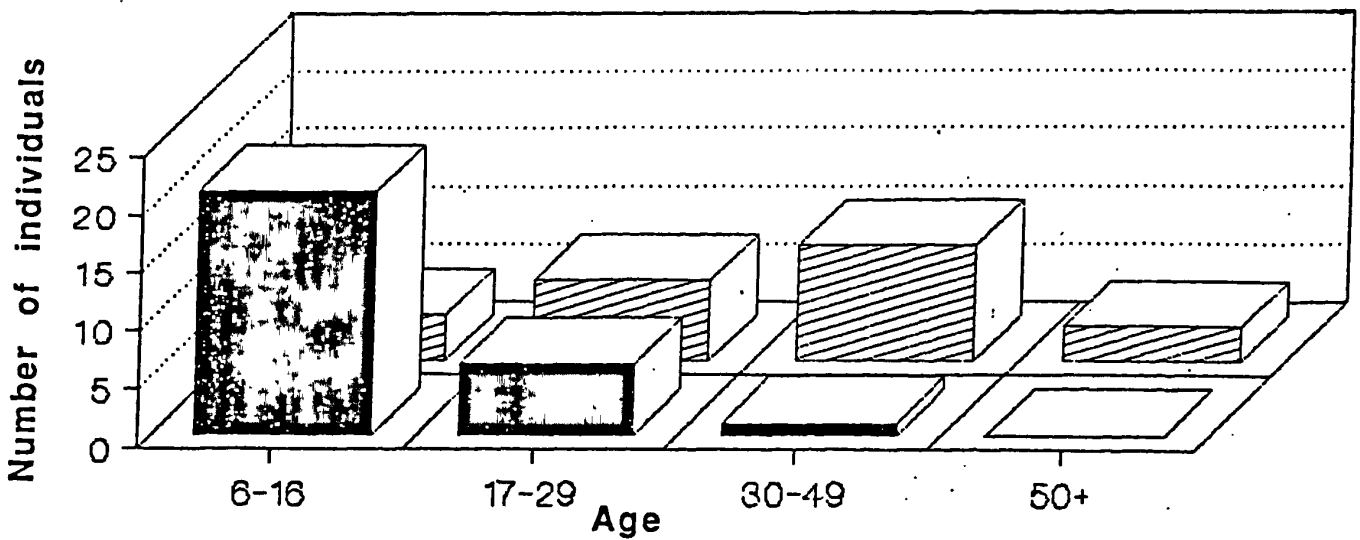
Table 5.5 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Literacy in Indigenous language



Key Read and write Cree or Mechif well
 Do not read and write Cree or Mechif well

Table 5.6 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

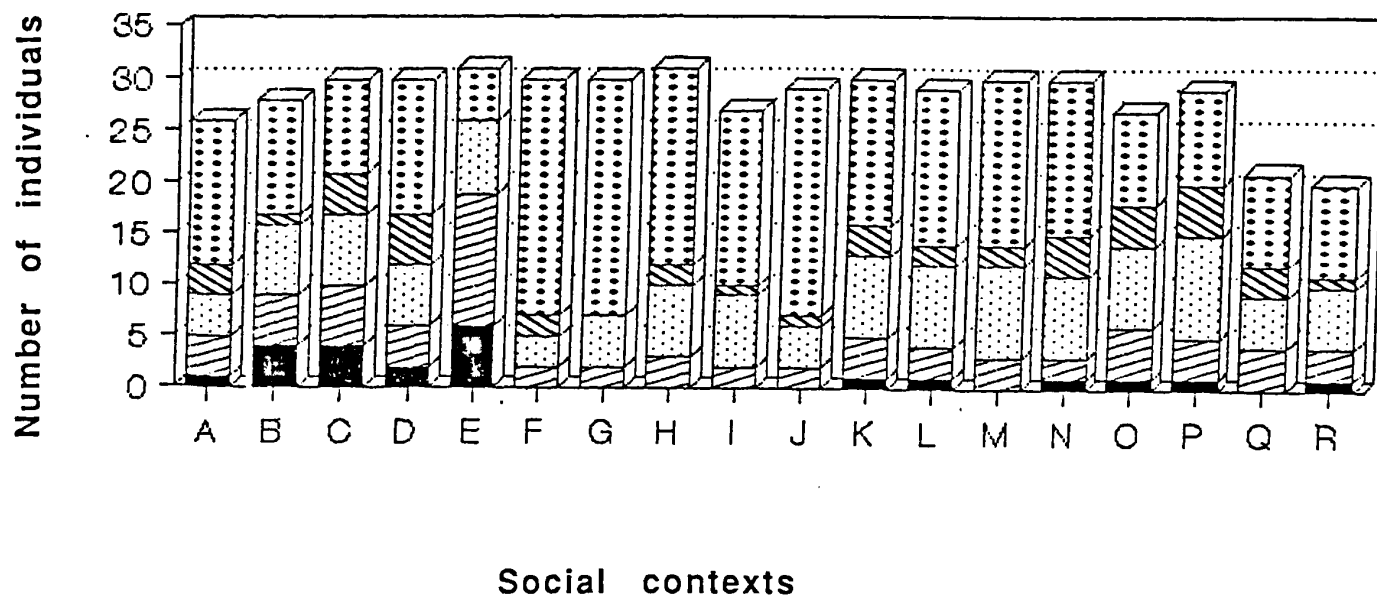
(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)








Key Occasionally or never Often

Table 5.7 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 31 adults)



Key to languages used most often

-  Mechif only
  Cree only
  Mechif & English
 Cree & English
  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 5.8 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 32 adults)

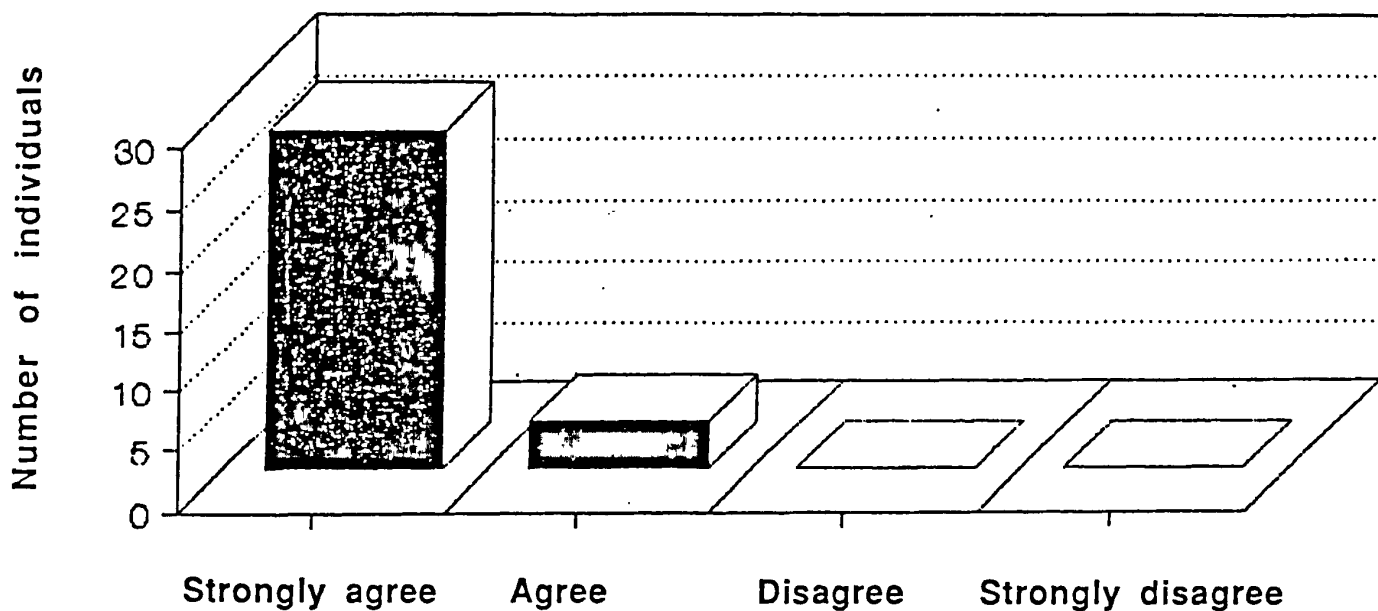


Table 5.9 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 33 adults)

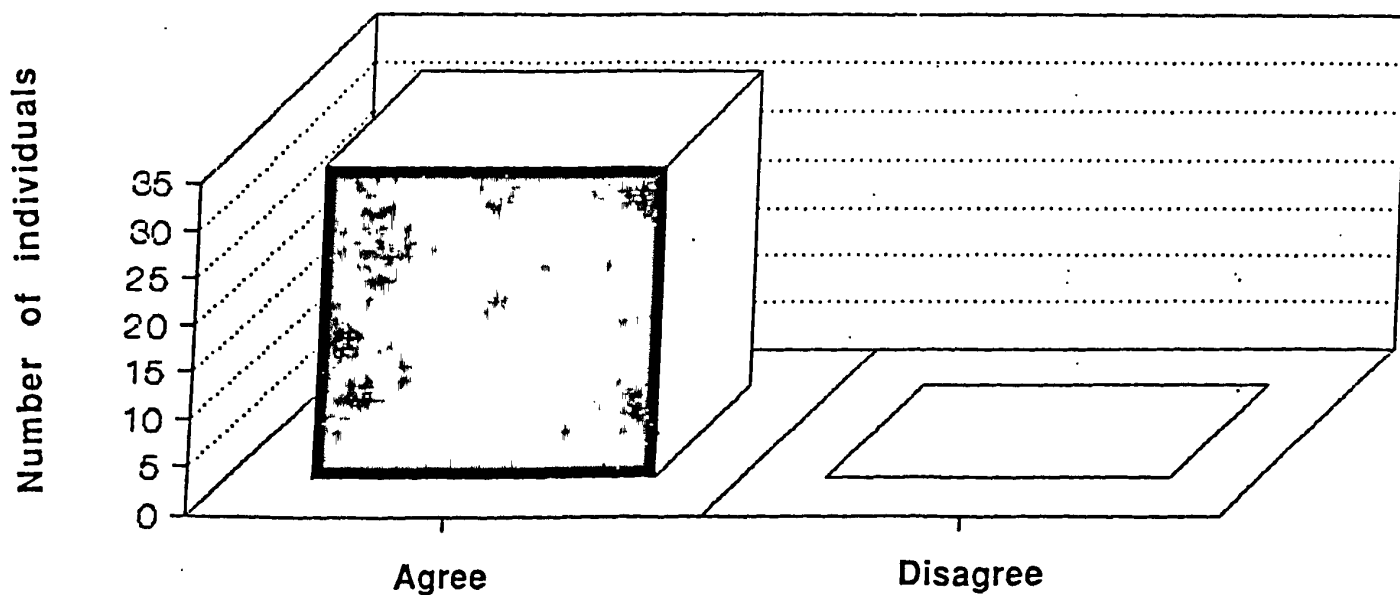
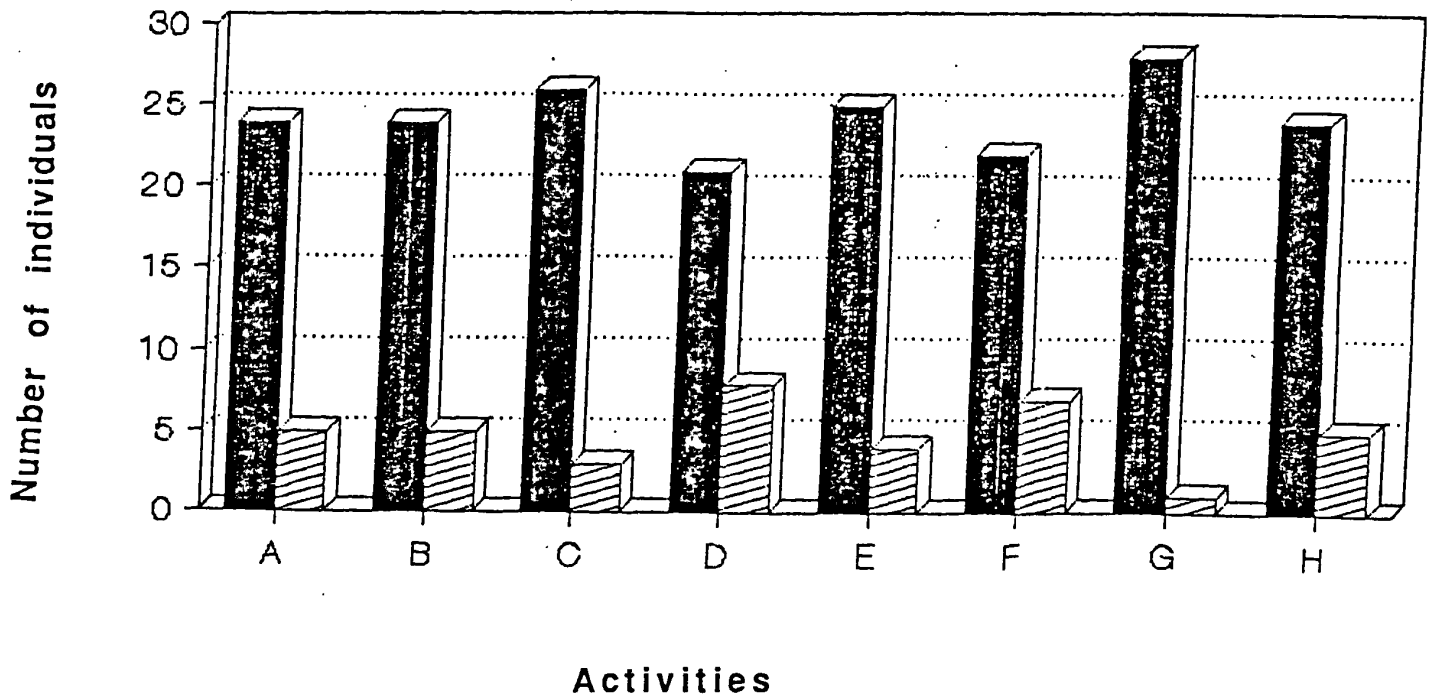


Table 5.10 Ile-a-la-Crosse: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 29 adults)



Key to attitudes

■ Support ▨ Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

6. Kinistin

Kinistin is a Saulteaux reserve in southeast Saskatchewan. It is close to a small town, but over 300 km. from the nearest city: Saskatoon. Compared to other reserve populations in Saskatchewan, it is relatively small.

6.1 Main home language

English was reported used as the main home language in more homes (8) than was Saulteaux (4). One reported both languages as the main home language.

6.2 Individual language proficiencies

When respondents were asked about the languages spoken well or quite well by themselves and those in their homes, it was reported that 58% did not speak the Saulteaux language. A very few of these were Cree-speakers. Saulteaux-speakers were in the minority at 42%. All but 3% of the 61 individuals in the sample spoke English.

6.3 Age and language proficiency

The Saulteaux-speakers were concentrated in the adult age-groups: 17 years and older. Very few children were described as being fluent in Saulteaux. Among the young adults, the Saulteaux-speakers and non- Saulteaux-speakers were about evenly divided. There were a couple of monolingual speakers of Saulteaux above 30.

6.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

All but one of the 13 adult respondents learned Saulteaux as their first language, and most had added English as a second language. One of them reported English as a first language.

6.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Five of the 13 adults asked reported that they were able to read and write their language well or quite well.

6.6 Frequency of use

The use of Saulteaux was concentrated among adults. Almost no children were reported to speak Saulteaux often.

6.7 Social contexts

There were a number of contexts in which Saulteaux was reported used more than English. These included: ceremonies, visiting older people, prayer, funerals, and wakes. There was moderate use of the language in these contexts: visiting relatives, and joke-telling. English, on the other hand, predominated at school, at the clinic/hospital, at the local store, at work, and at the bar.

6.8 Attitudes to language retention

There was a very strong response to the questions regarding attitudes to the retention of language and culture. Everyone agreed that the Saulteaux language should be retained (Table 6.8), and that the language should be in schools (Table 6.9). There was unanimous support for these language and culture retention activities: adult language classes, summer immersion camps, preschool immersion, resident elders in schools, recreational activities conducted in Saulteaux, TV and radio in Saulteaux, and language and culture clubs (Table 6.10).

6.9 Summary and conclusions

According to the information in this survey, **the Saulteaux language is in serious condition at Kinistin.** Although the sample size was small, it appeared that there had been a shift from Saulteaux to English in the young adult age category. Few below the age of 17 used the language. Working in favour of language retention is the strong support for language retention efforts, and the patterns of language use. The latter indicate that there are several situations in which Saulteaux is used much more than English. The community can intensify its support of the language in these situations.

Table 6.1 Kinistin: Main home language
(n = 13 homes)

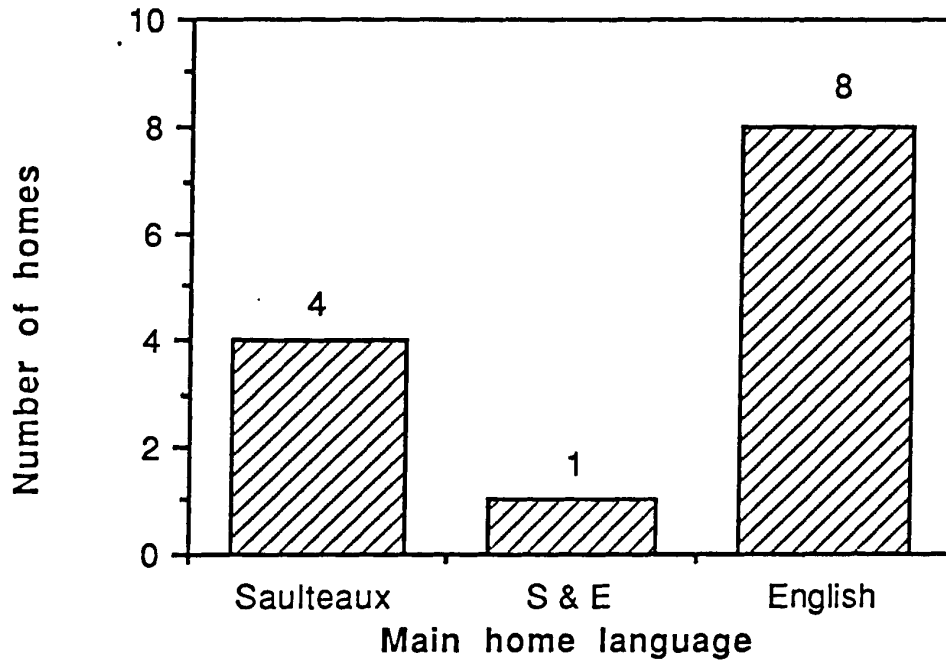


Table 6.2 Kinistin: Language proficiency of individuals
(n = 61 people)

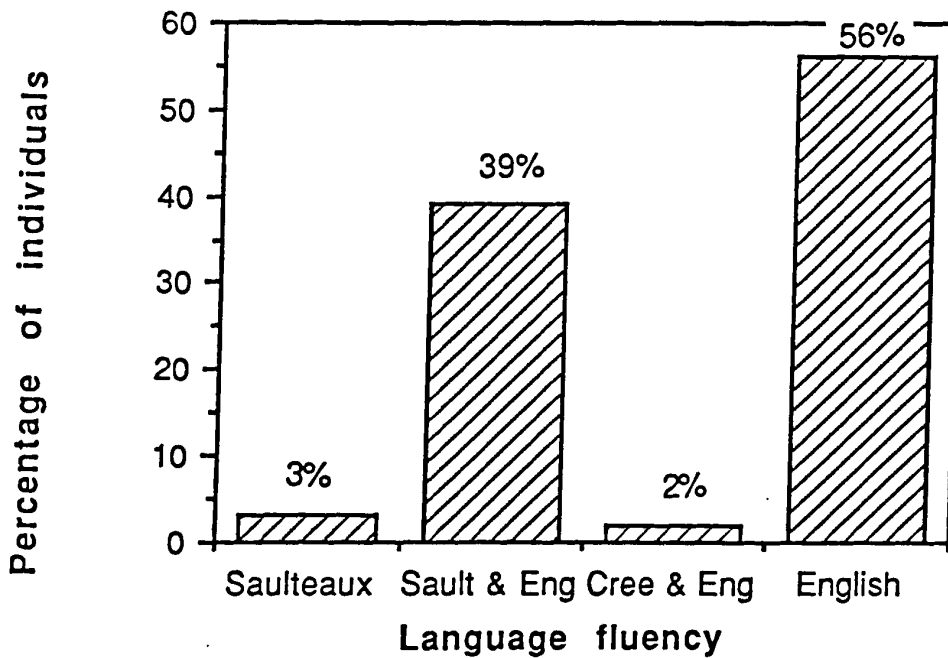
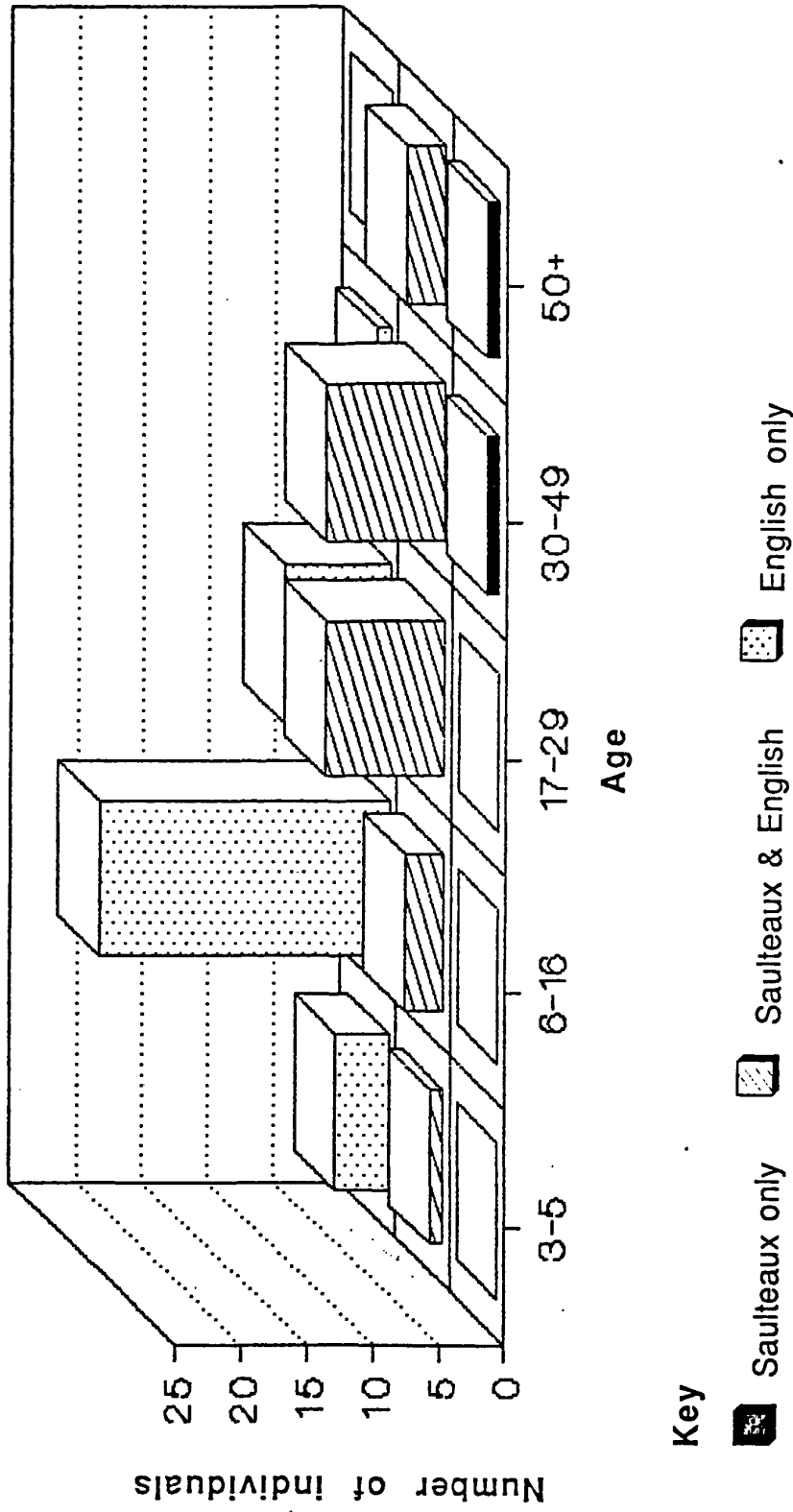


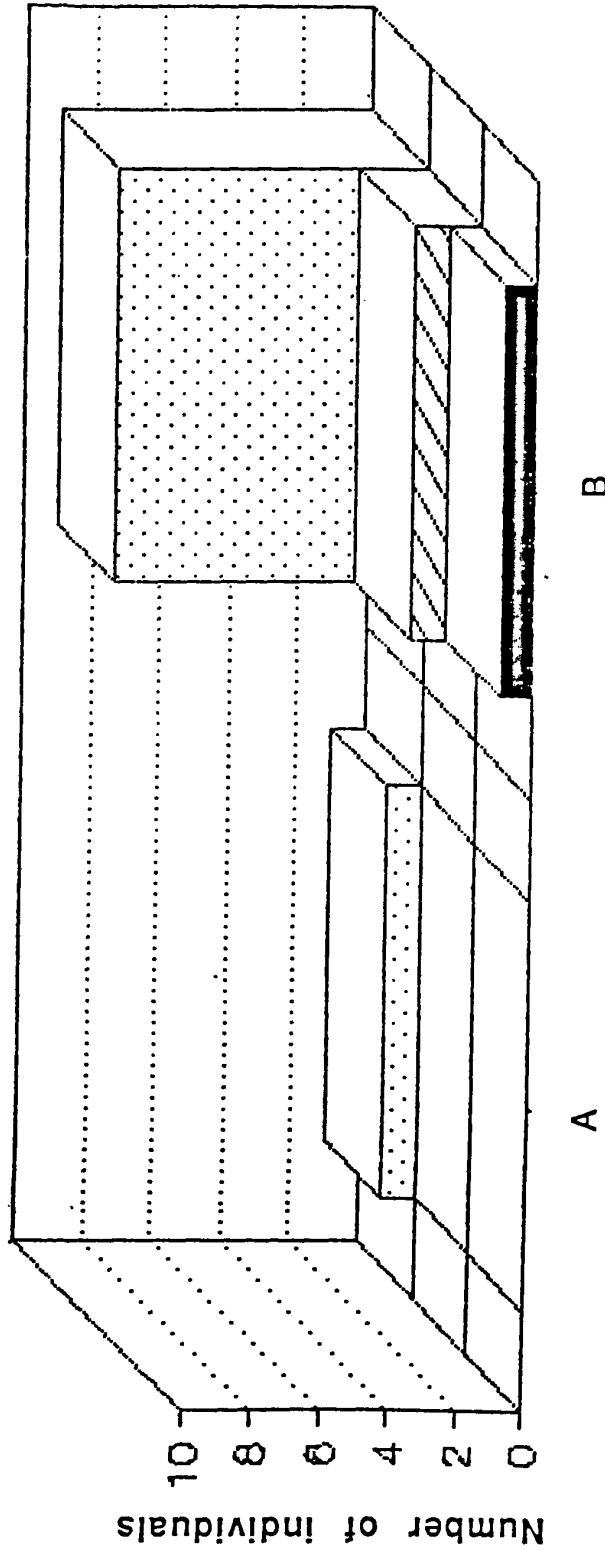
Table 6.3 Kinistin: Age and language proficiency
(n = 62 people)



Key

-  Saulteaux only
-  Saulteaux & English
-  English only

Table 6.4 Kinistin: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 13 adults)



Key





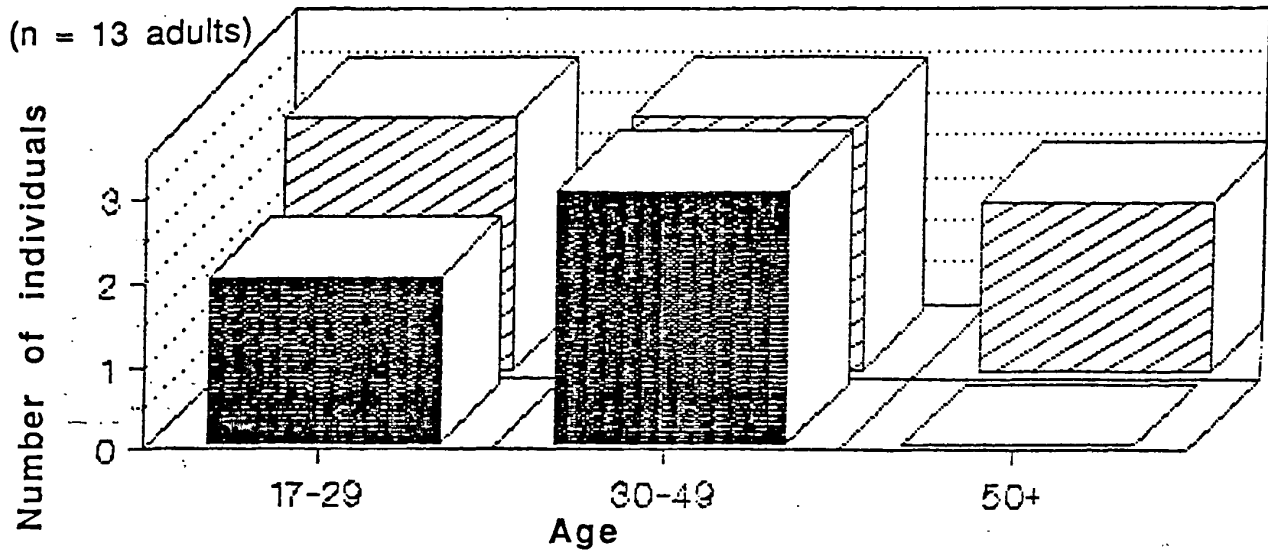
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in Saulteaux and English as adults
- B  Learned Saulteaux as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B  Learned Saulteaux as a first language and are fluent in Saulteaux only as adults
- B  Learned Saulteaux as a first language and are fluent in Saulteaux and English as adults

Table 6.5 Kinistin: Literacy in Indigenous language

(n = 13 adults)





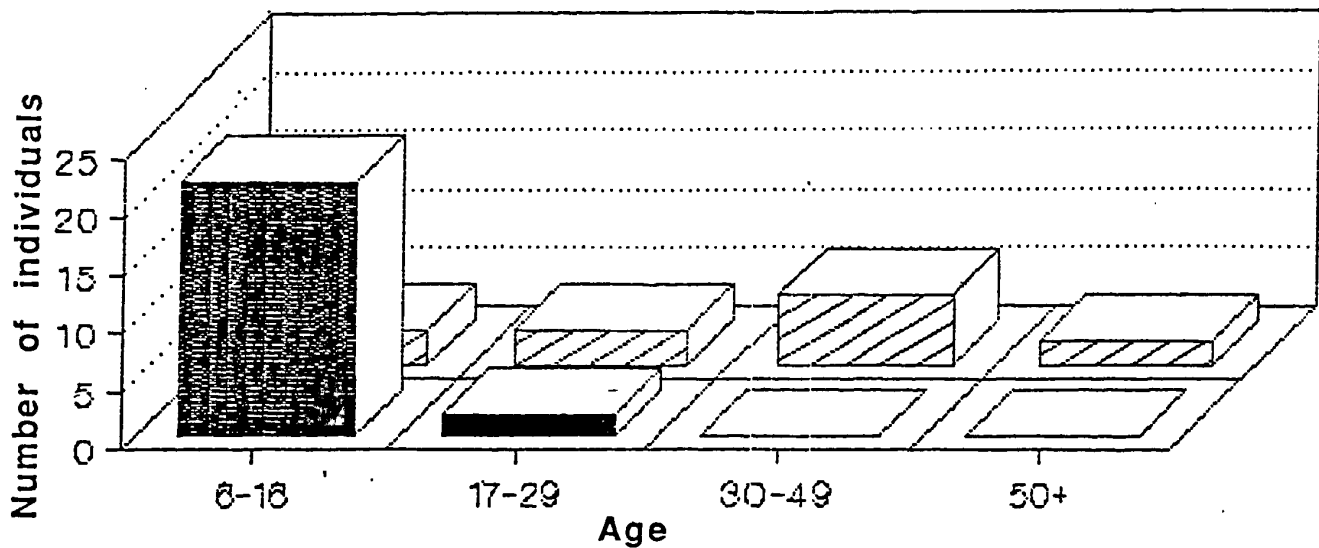
Key  Read and write Sauteaux well
 Do not read and write Sauteaux well

Table 6.6 Kinistin: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)





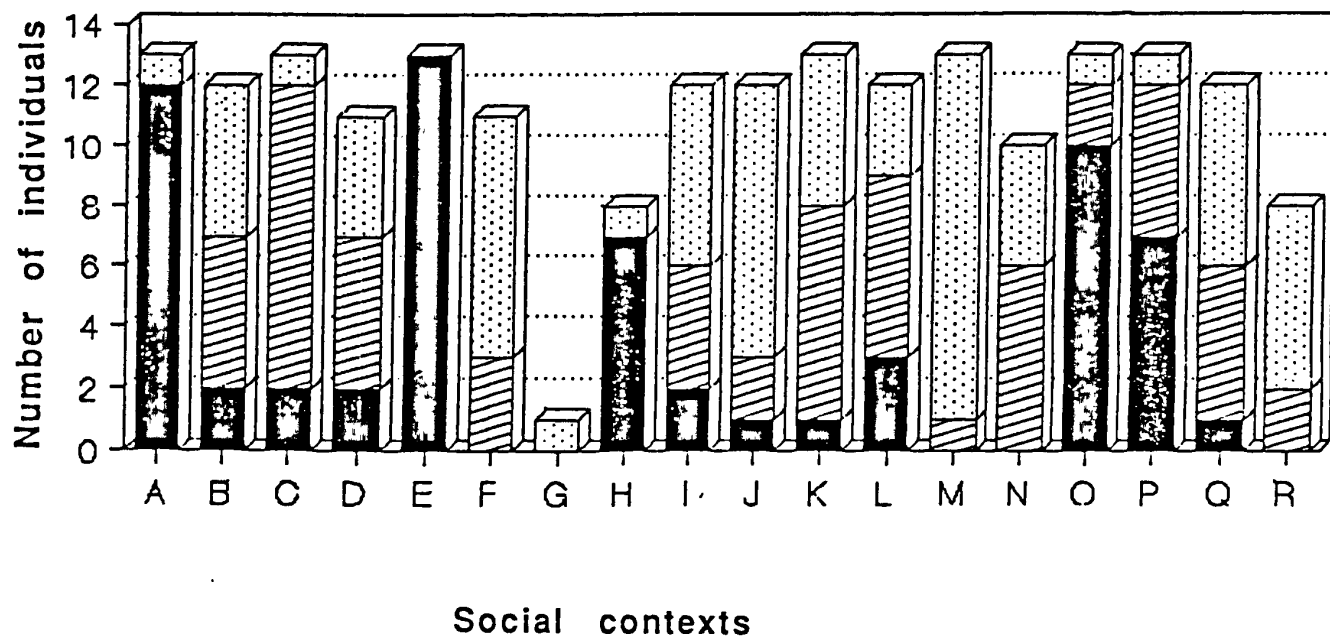
Key  Occasionally or never  Often

Table 6.7 Kinistin: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 13 adults)



Key to languages used most often



Saulteaux only



Saulteaux & English



English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 6.8 Kinistin: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 13 adults)

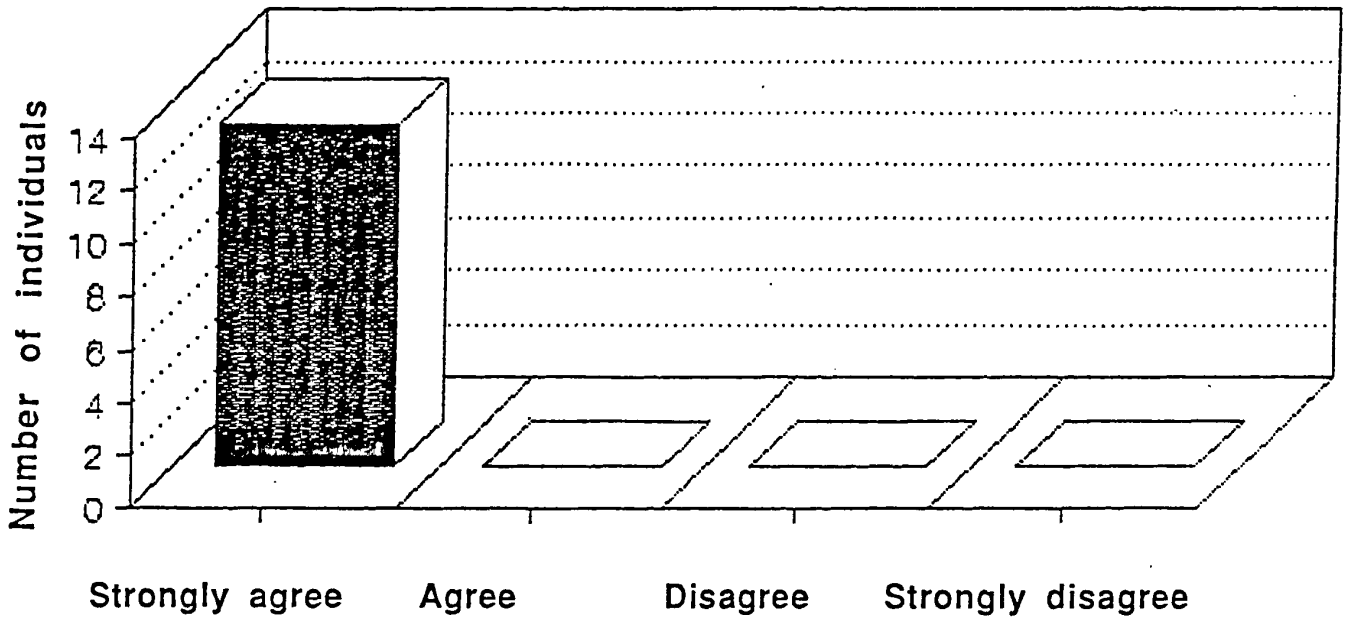


Table 6.9 Kinistin: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 13 adults)

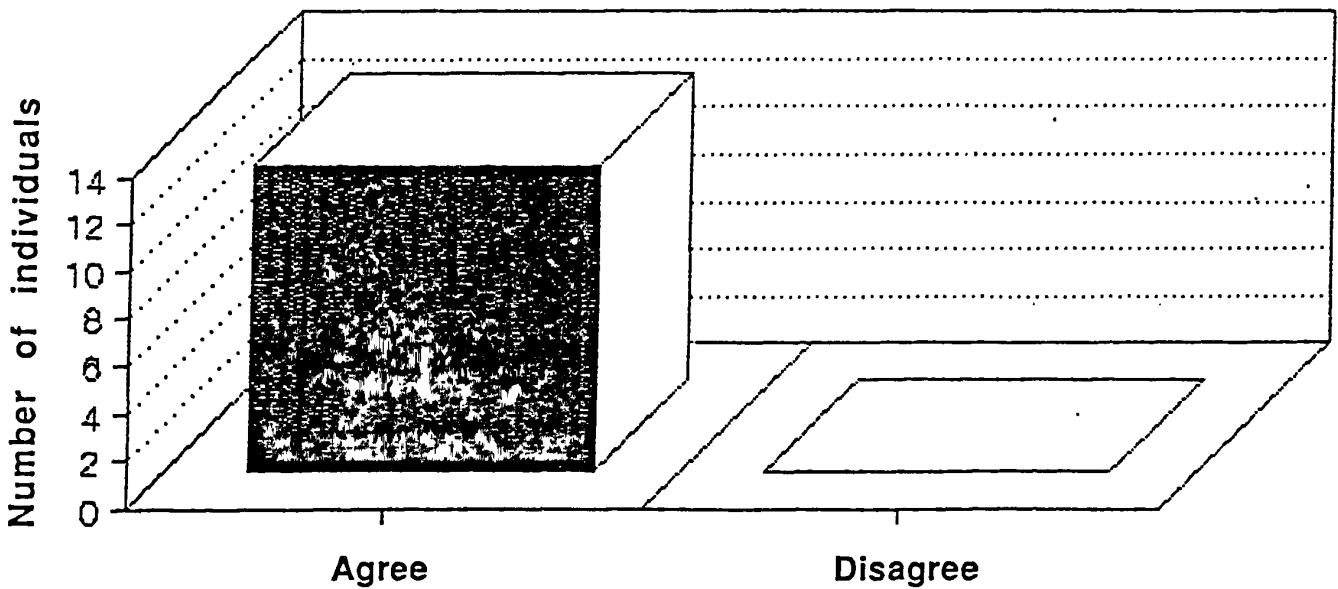
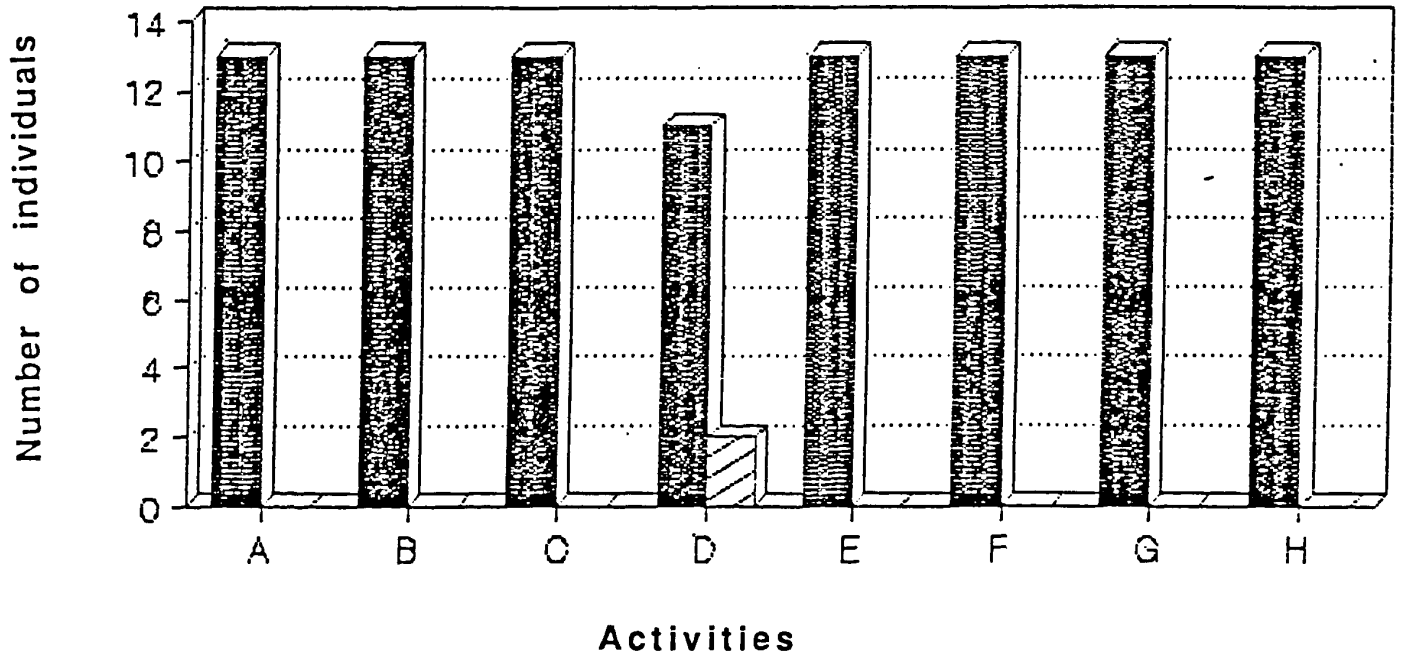


Table 6.10 Kinistin: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 13 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

7. Moose Woods

Moose Woods is a Dakota reserve in south central Saskatchewan. It is about 50 km. south of the city of Saskatoon. The ancestral language of Moose Woods is Dakota.

Inconsistencies in the data collected did not allow for the production of accurate graphs and statistics. However, some statements may be made on the basis of the information in the questionnaires.

English was reported as the main home language used in most of the homes in the survey. However, a minority reported both Dakota and English as the main languages of the home.

English proficiency was widespread. With respect to Dakota language proficiency, no one in the sample under the age of 20 was fluent in Dakota. Some individuals in their 20's and 30's were fluent in Dakota, but others were not. There were six people in the sample who were 40 years of age or older, and all of these were reported to be fluent in Dakota. However, because of problems related to the sampling procedure in this particular case, these proportions cannot be considered representative of the language proficiencies in the community without further investigation.

When asked why they thought the Dakota language should be retained, one said "to pass it on to our children and grandchildren". When asked how they thought knowledge of Dakota would help their children, statements such as these were made:

"(the children) would have a better understanding of the culture - better communication."

"it would help them learn our correct past...help keep our culture strong and intact. It would also help our community as a whole."

"by learning their culture and values...placed in their language."

It is difficult to assess the status of the Dakota language in this community. However, it is safe to say on the basis of the above information that **the Dakota language is in critical condition at Moose Woods**. There were few Dakota-speakers under the age of 30. Thus, increasing numbers of children have parents who are not able to pass on the Dakota language.

8. Muskeg Lake

Muskeg Lake is a Cree reserve in south central Saskatchewan, about 100 km. north of Saskatoon. Cree-y dialect is its traditional language. It has a large off-reserve population, but only about 100 adults on its voting list (only residents can vote). Although the sample size was small, the results of this survey were judged representative by a member of the research team who is a member of the Muskeg community.

8.1 Main home language

Eight of the 11 homes reported English as the language of the home. Three reported both Cree and English.

8.2 Individual language proficiencies

Of the 48 individuals included in the survey, about two-thirds were not fluent in Cree. Just over 30% were fluent in Cree, and one individual was fluent in Mechif. All were fluent in English.

8.3 Age and language proficiency

It was quite clear from this survey that the Cree-speakers are over 30 years old. There were no Cree-speakers among the preschool, school-age and young adult population in this sample. Even in the 30 to 49 age group, about half were non-Cree-speakers.

8.4. First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Among the 11 adults who were asked, most had learned Cree as their first language and spoke both Cree and English as adults. A few others had learned Cree first, but had switched to English as adults. A third category was comprised of those who had learned English as their first language. A few of these reported that they had learned Cree since that time, and could speak it in addition to English.

8.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

One 50-year old among the 11 adults asked reported being able to read and write Cree well.

8.6 Frequency of use

No one under the age of 30 was reported to speak Cree often. Some of those over 30 spoke Cree often. It appears that those who are fluent in the language use it relatively often. The problem is that few are fluent.

8.7 Social contexts

Although there was some Cree spoken in almost all contexts, English appeared to dominate these situations: playing cards, visiting relatives, school, church, prayer, community meetings, clinic/hospital, greetings, making a joke, local store, work, funerals, bingo and the bar. Cree and English were used in ceremonies and wakes. When visiting older people, the adults in this survey reported that Cree was used more than English. However, the questions with respect to contexts of language use were not asked about the children in the survey. Because none of the children were fluent in Cree, none of them would be able to use more than a few words (if any) of Cree in any of the contexts discussed.

8.8 Attitudes to language retention

There was unanimous agreement that Indigenous languages should be retained (Table 8.8). However only about half of those asked expressed strong agreement. Everyone in the survey agreed that Cree should be taught in schools (Table 8.9). Support seemed strong for these language and culture retention activities: adult language classes, summer immersion camps, TV and radio in Cree, and language and culture clubs. There was not full agreement about the value of recreational activities in Cree, Cree newspapers, resident elders in schools, or preschool immersion (Table 8.10).

Some of the additional views expressed included the following: "We're forgetting our culture and we need the language to stop this."

"(including Cree in the schools would provide) background to cultural history before the time of English - how they expressed ideas."
"(the elders) could help to reawaken us to the Indian way of living."

8.9 Summary and conclusions

The Cree language is in extremely critical condition at Muskeg Lake. There is a great deal of English spoken, even in contexts where it might be expected that Cree would be used (e.g. ceremonies). The patterns of use of the Indigenous language seemed similar to those evident in the urban setting of Saskatoon. Among those surveyed, no one under 30 is fluent in the language, and only about half of those between 30 and 49 can speak Cree well. In order to change the situation, current language retention initiatives should be strengthened, and new activities undertaken. Given the community's proximity to Saskatoon, extra efforts are required to reverse current trends in language use.

Table 8.1 Muskeg Lake: Main home language
(n = 11 homes)

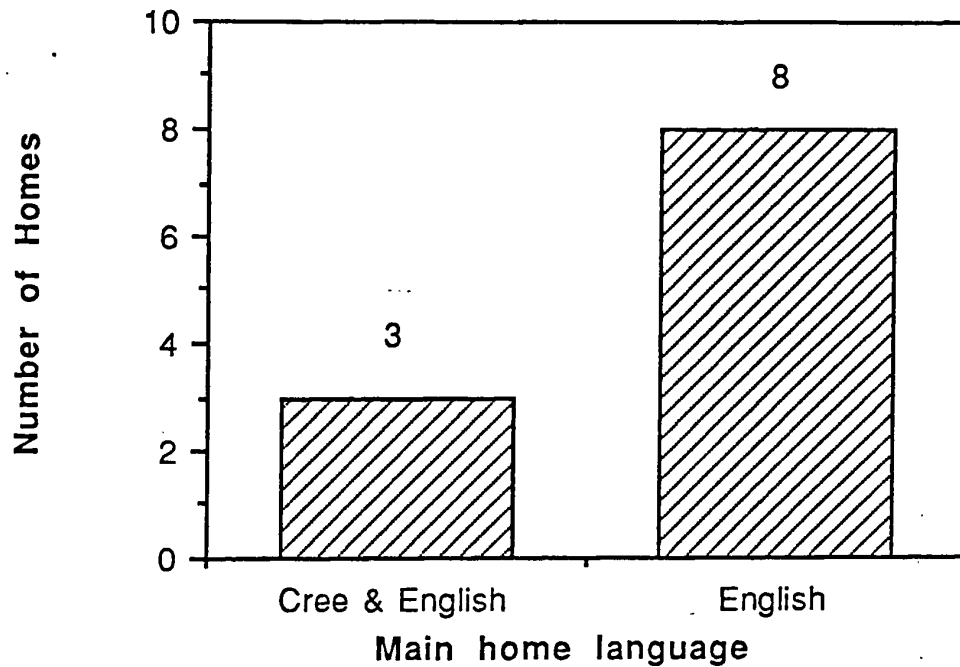


Table 8.2 Muskeg Lake: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 48 people)

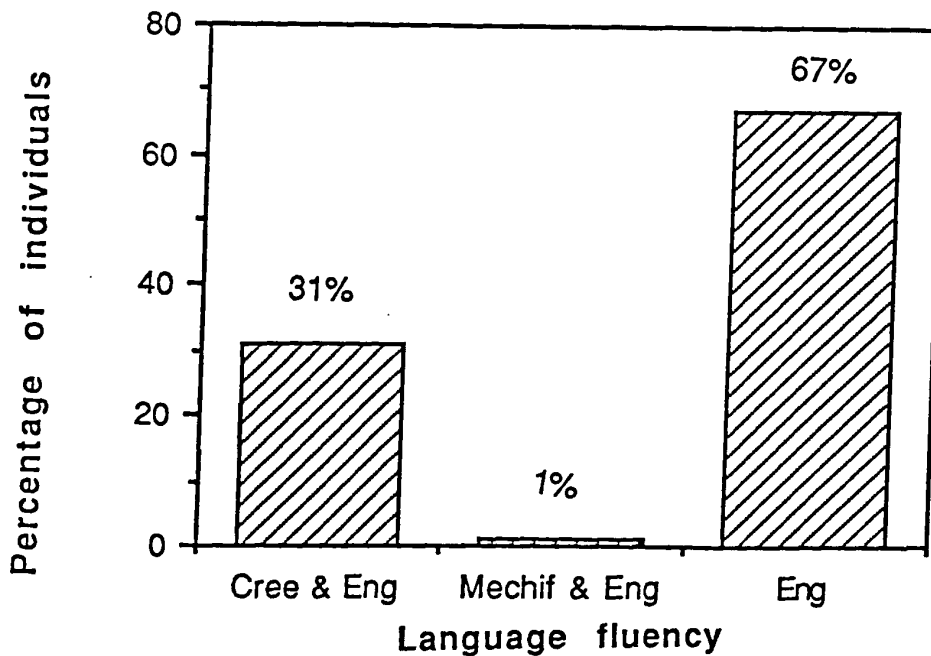
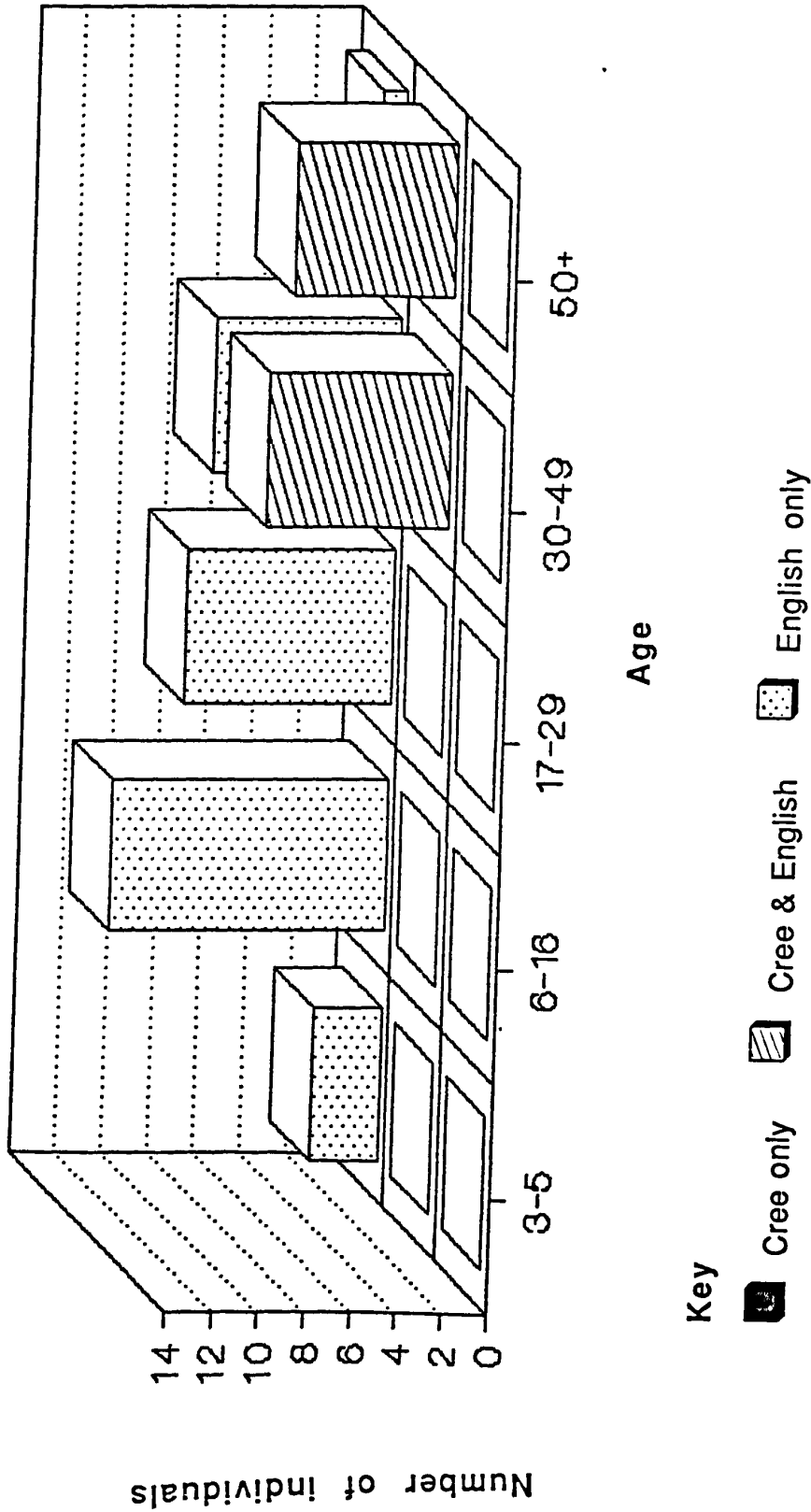


Table 8.3 Muskeg Lake: Age and language proficiency
(n = 48 people)

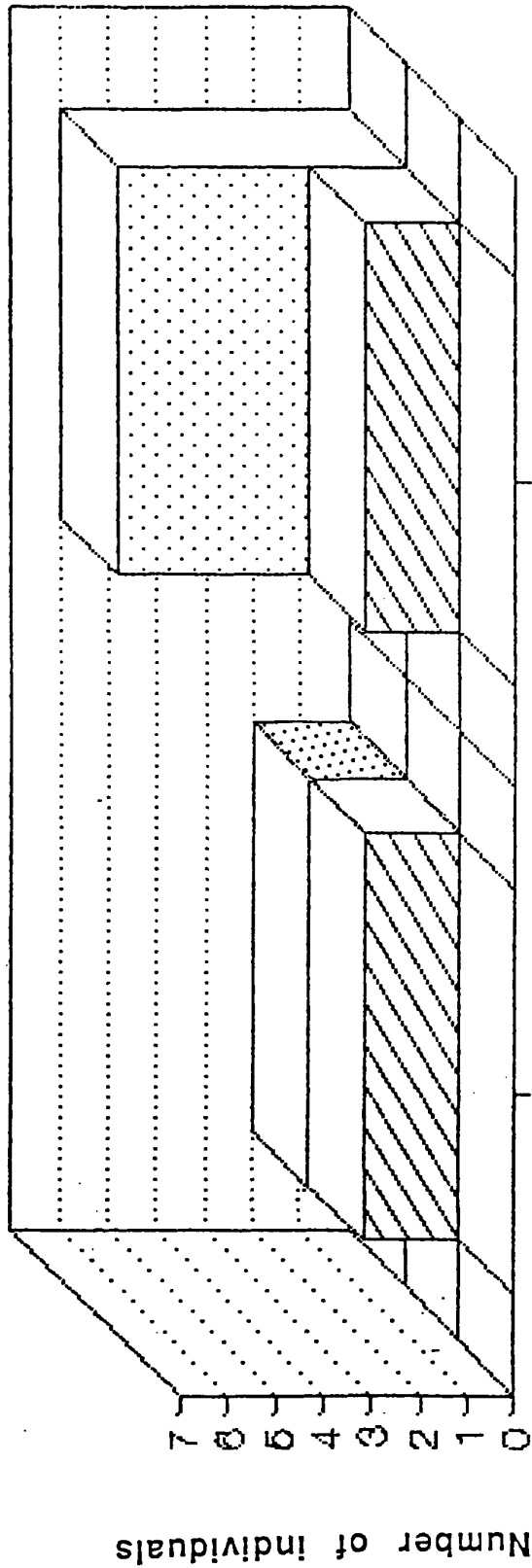


Key

- Cree only
- Cree & English
- Cree & English
- English only

Table 8.4 Muskeg Lake: First language compared with adult language proficiencies

(n = 11 adults)



Key

- A Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- A Learned English as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults
- B Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults

Table 8.5 Muskeg Lake: Literacy in Indigenous language

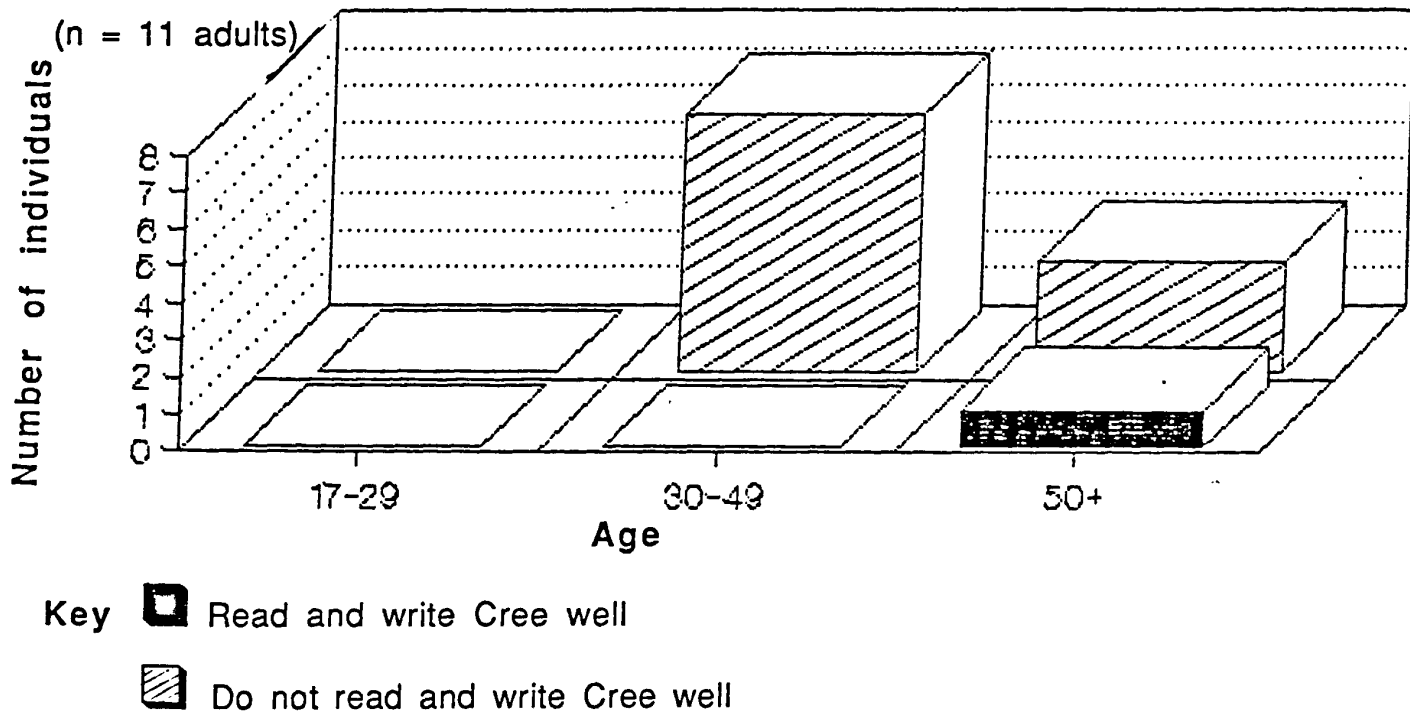


Table 8.6 Muskeg Lake: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)

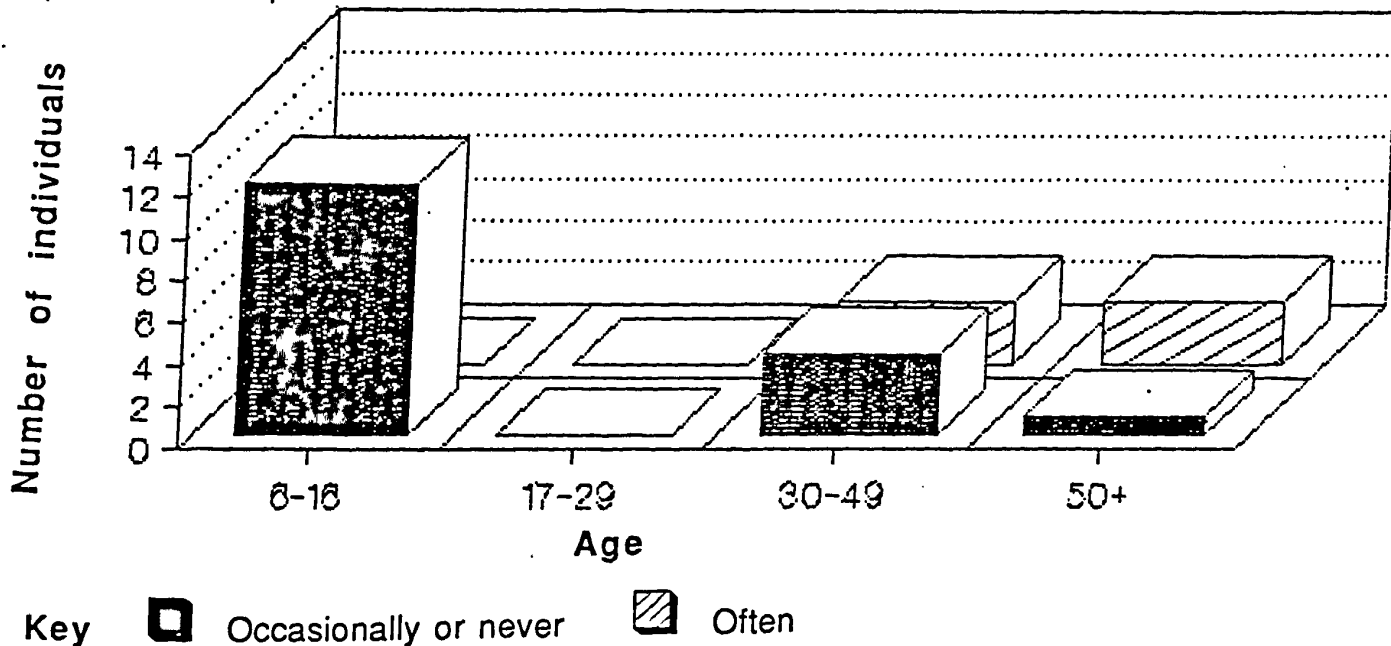
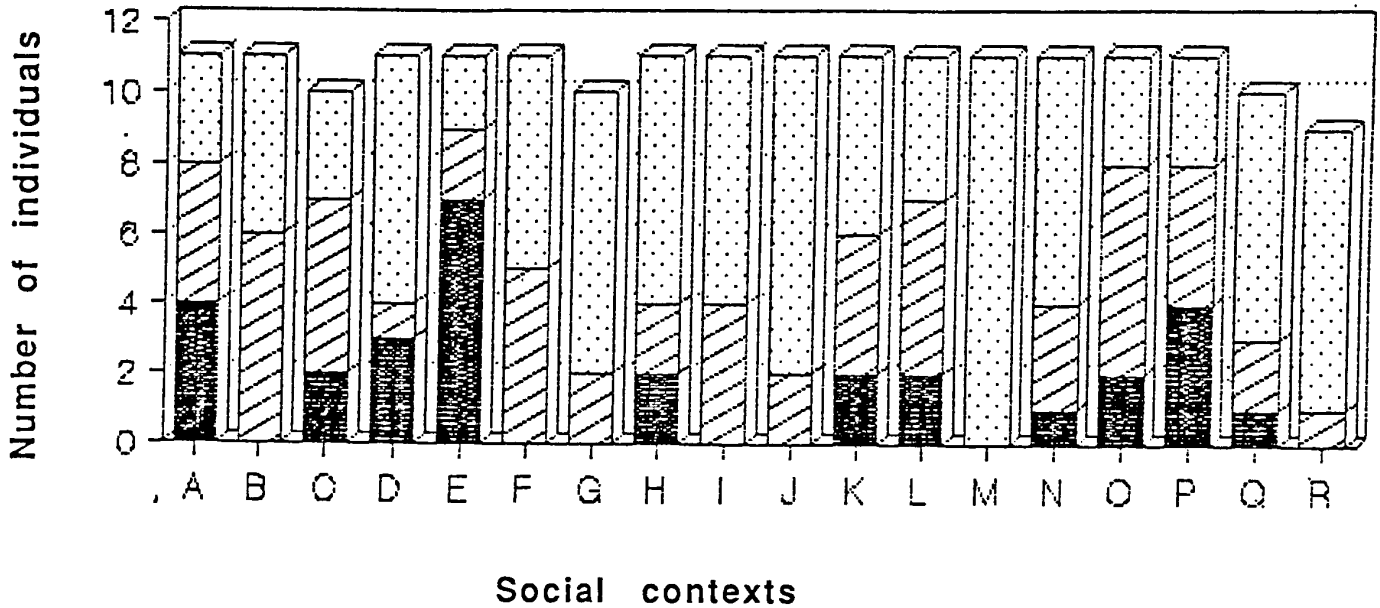


Table 8.7 Muskeg Lake: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 11 adults)



Key to languages used most often



Cree only



Cree & English



English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 8.8 Muskeg Lake: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 11 adults)

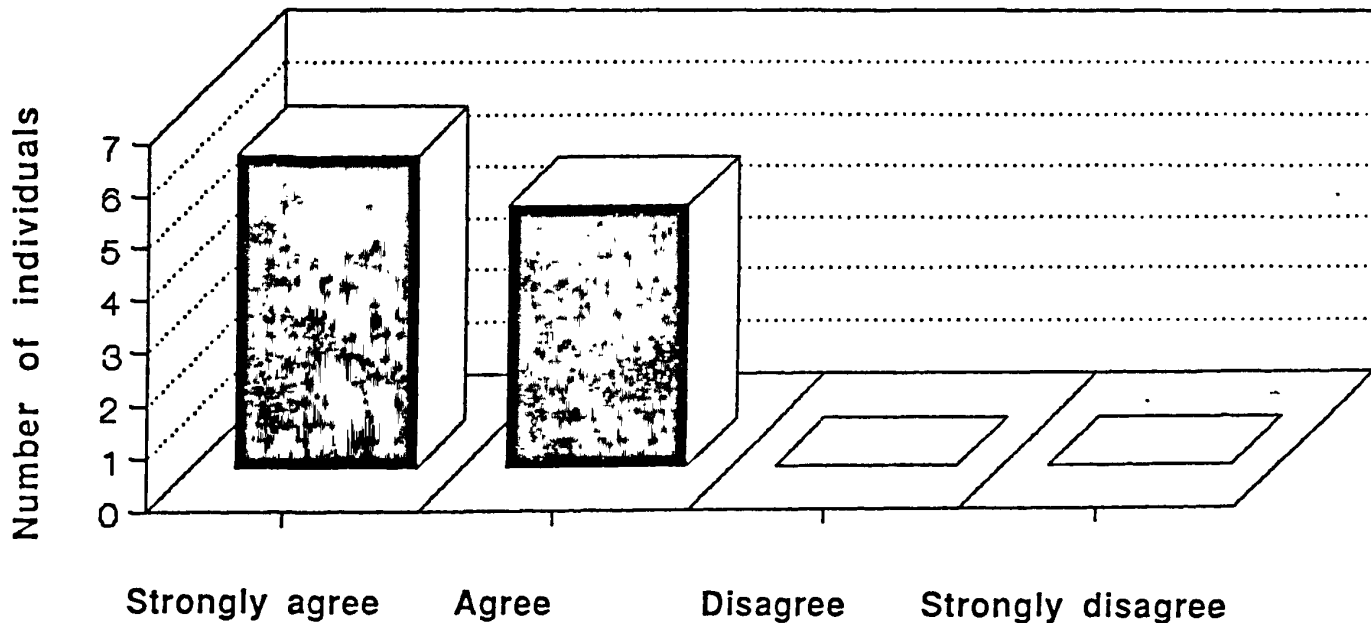


Table 8.9 Muskeg Lake: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 11 adults)

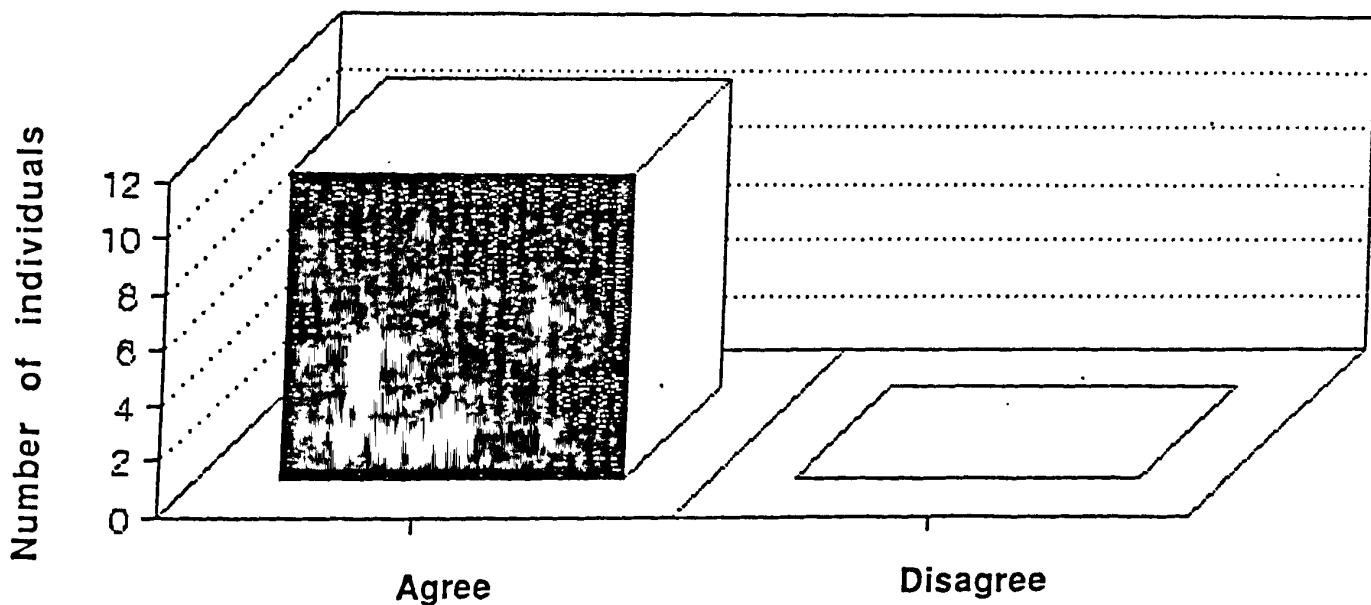
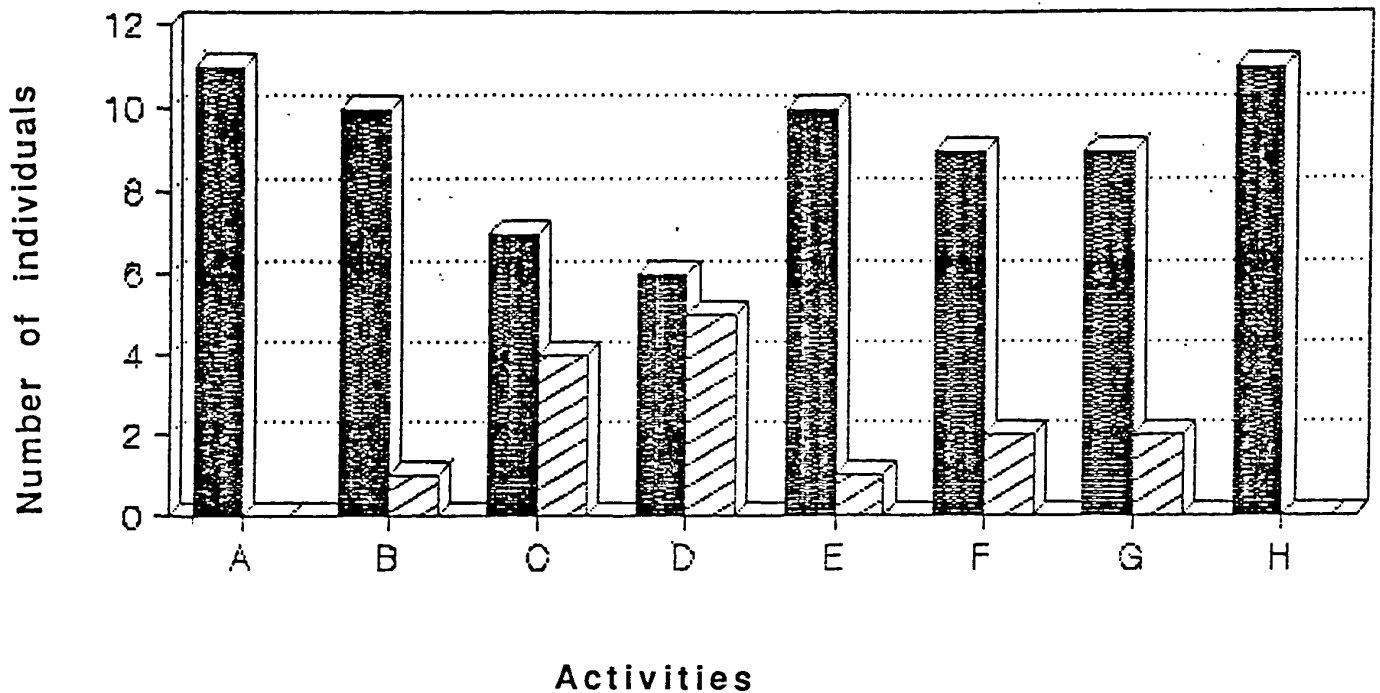


Table 8.10 Muskeg Lake: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 11 adults)



Key to attitudes

■ Support ▨ Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

9. Onion Lake

Onion Lake is a relatively isolated Cree reserve in northwest Saskatchewan adjacent to the Alberta border. It is situated about 50 km. north of the town of Lloydminster. It has a very large on-reserve population compared with other reserves in the province. There are three locally-controlled schools on the reserve. The traditional language is y-dialect Cree.

9.1. Main home language

Of the 55 homes in the sample, the majority (35) reported Cree as the main language spoken in the home. The next largest category was English at 16 homes. A few (4) reported both Cree and English.

9.2 Individual language proficiencies

About three-quarters of the 306 individuals in the survey were Cree-English bilinguals. Just under a quarter were not fluent in Cree; English was reported as their dominant language. There were also a few monolingual Cree-speakers reported.

9.3 Age and language proficiency

Those who were bilingual in Cree and English were concentrated in the over 17 age group. Virtually all of the adults in the community were reported as bilinguals. However, most of the non-Cree-speakers were found among the children in the survey. While almost all of the children were reported as being fluent in English, a great numbers were not considered to have fluency in Cree. In fact, in the preschool portion of the sample, the Cree - speakers and English-speakers were roughly half and half. In the school -age portion, there was roughly a 60 - 40 split between Cree-English bilinguals and monolingual English-speakers. There were a very few monolingual Cree-speakers reported in each of the preschool, middle-aged adult, and older adult groups.

9.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Almost all of the adult respondents spoke Cree as a first language and both Cree and English as an adult.

9.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Few of the respondents (adults) reported that they could read and write Cree well or quite well.

9.6 Frequency of use

There was a sharp distinction between adults and children. Almost all adults used Cree often. However, only a little more than half of the school-age children in the sample were reported as frequent users of Cree, while just under half used Cree infrequently or never.

9.7 Social contexts

The adults in the sample reported that they used Cree extensively. Cree was used almost exclusively during ceremonies, visiting friends and relatives, playing cards, playing bingo, at work and at the bar. Cree was reported used frequently in prayer, at community meetings, for greetings, when telling jokes, at the local store, and at work. In relation to other patterns of language use on the reserve, there was a surprisingly high level of English use at wakes and funerals.

9.8 Attitudes to language retention

There was unanimous support for Cree language retention, although a few did not indicate strong support (Table 9.8). Samples of the comments include:

"it is more natural to have your own language...positive self-image, ownership, more private to speak Cree in public places"

"It is our language and we should teach our children not to lose the Indian ways and language."

"so we can pass it on, and on, and on, to keep it alive"

"because it's ours by birth and we shouldn't lose our Cree language"

"because Indian language is our life; if we lose (it) then it would be dead"

"because it's our nationality"

"it's the language we should leave this world with"

"it's our language; we have to keep our language growing"

Although most people supported Cree being in the schools, a few did not (Table 9.9). When asked how they thought that Cree would help the children, these were some of the comments:

"(they will) know how to communicate with elders"

"maintain their first language, identity, and cultural values"

"so they would have respect for their teachers and parents. They would be adapted to both cultures or languages."

"to identify themselves as Indians"

"they'll be confused later if they don't learn Cree now."

There was generally a high level of support for language and cultural retention activities, but it was not unanimous for any of the activities mentioned (Table 9.10). In particular, there was not strong support for Cree newspapers. This could be investigated further. Degree of support for language retention did not appear to be related to the respondents' type or level or schooling. One person commented that retention activities were especially important for those who did not have the Cree language at home.

9.9 Summary and conclusions

Onion Lake appears to be a community with widespread use of its ancestral language, at least among the adult population. Fluency and frequent use of Cree are characteristic of the adults in the community, as is fluency in English. However, preschool and school-age children generally have much lower levels of fluency in Cree and tend to use Cree much less frequently than their parents and grandparents. Unless effective changes are made very quickly, the Cree language will weaken rapidly.

For a community with such high levels of Cree fluency and long-standing school programs, it might be considered surprising that there is not more ability to read and write Cree among the adults surveyed. This merits further study.

In conclusion, Cree is in fair condition at Onion Lake, but is rapidly moving to serious condition because of the loss of language among those under 17 years of age. Given its large size, its human and material resources, and a firm resolve to change the situation, it should be reversible. Adult literacy classes could be instituted, and the strong emphasis on Cree language development in the school should be continued and enhanced. The community could also look for ways to increase the participation (in Cree) of children and young people in those community activities where Cree is used.

Table 9.1 Onion Lake: Main home language

(n = 55 homes)

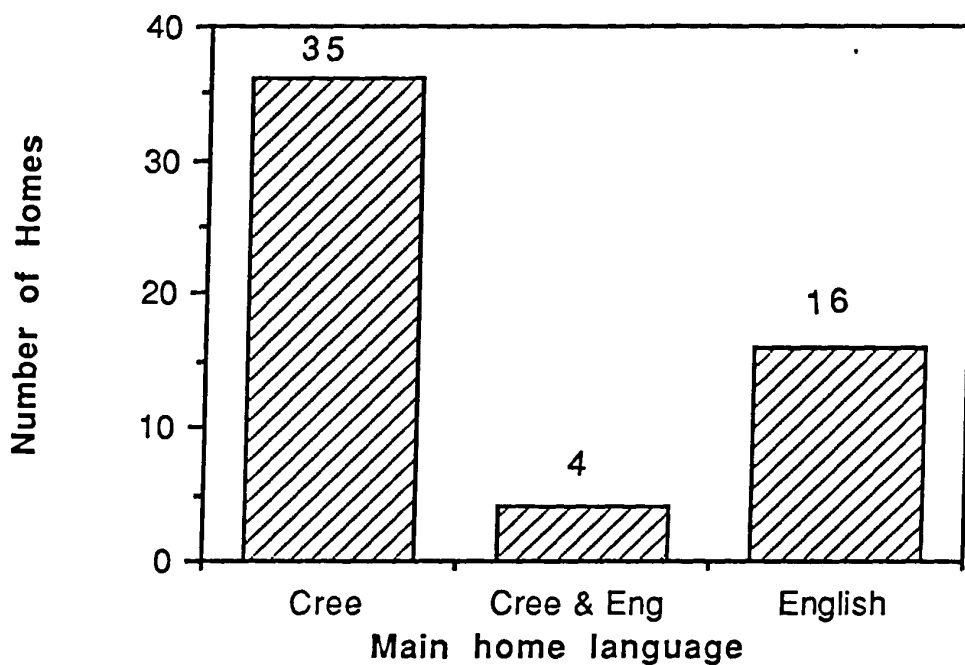


Table 9.2 Onion Lake: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 313 people)

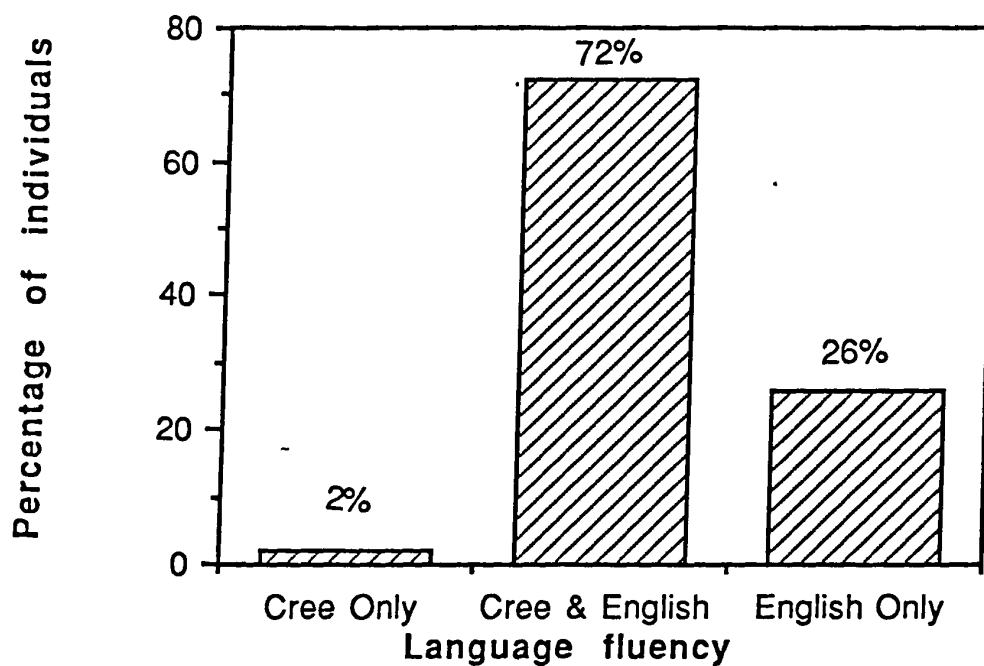
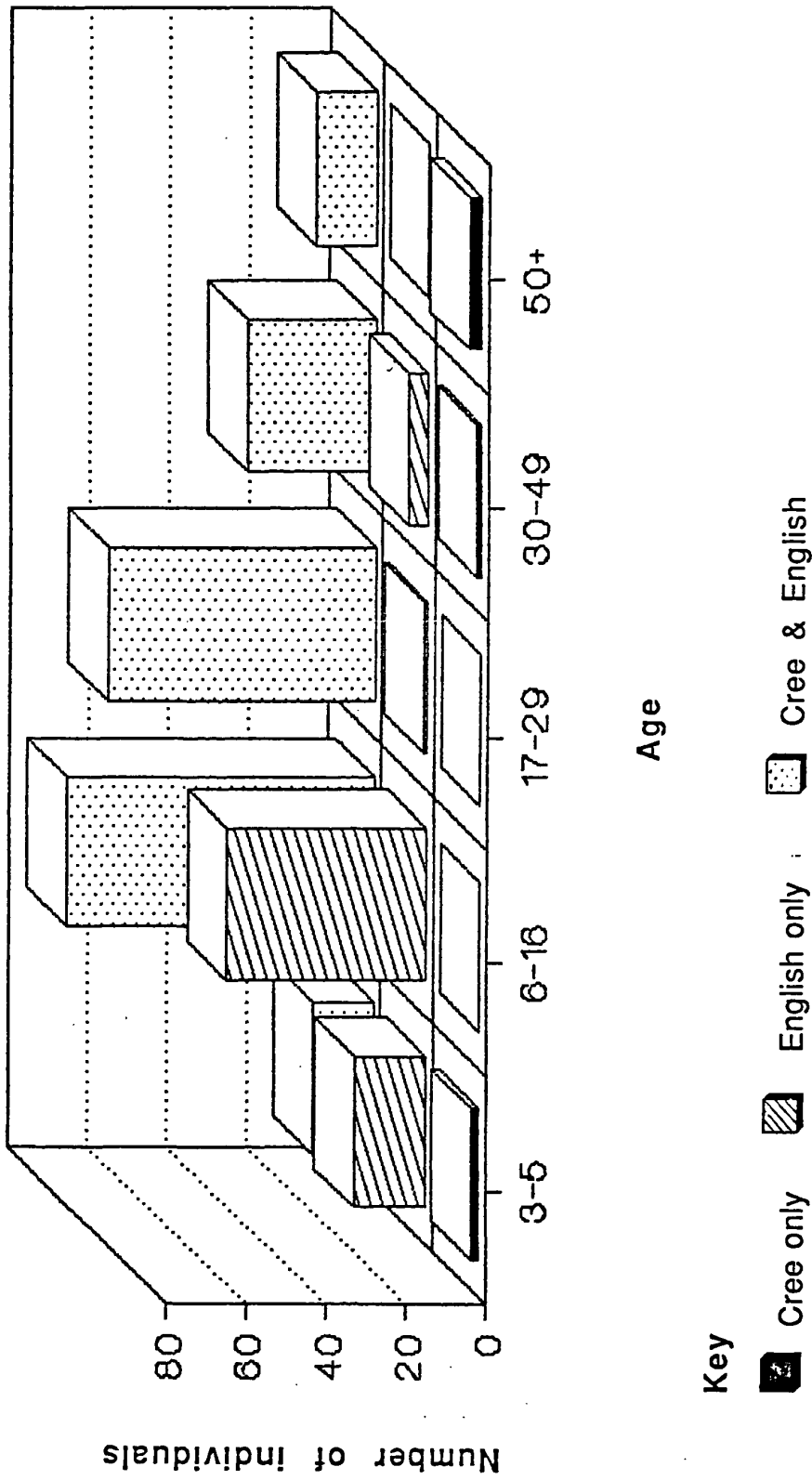


Table 9.3 Onion Lake: Age and language proficiency
(n = 286 people)



Key





-  Cree only
-  English only
-  Cree & English
-  Cree & English

Table 9.4 Onion Lake: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 55 adults)

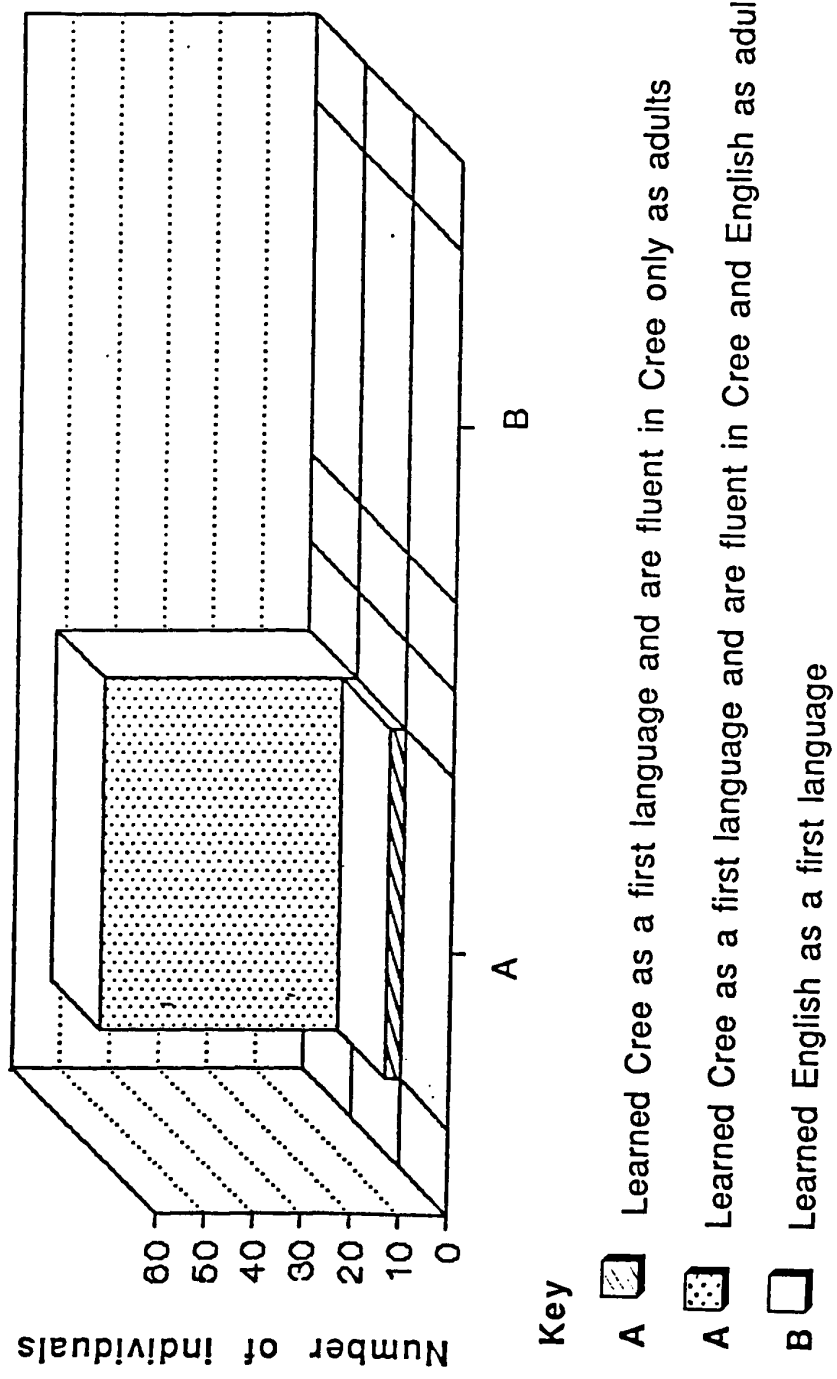
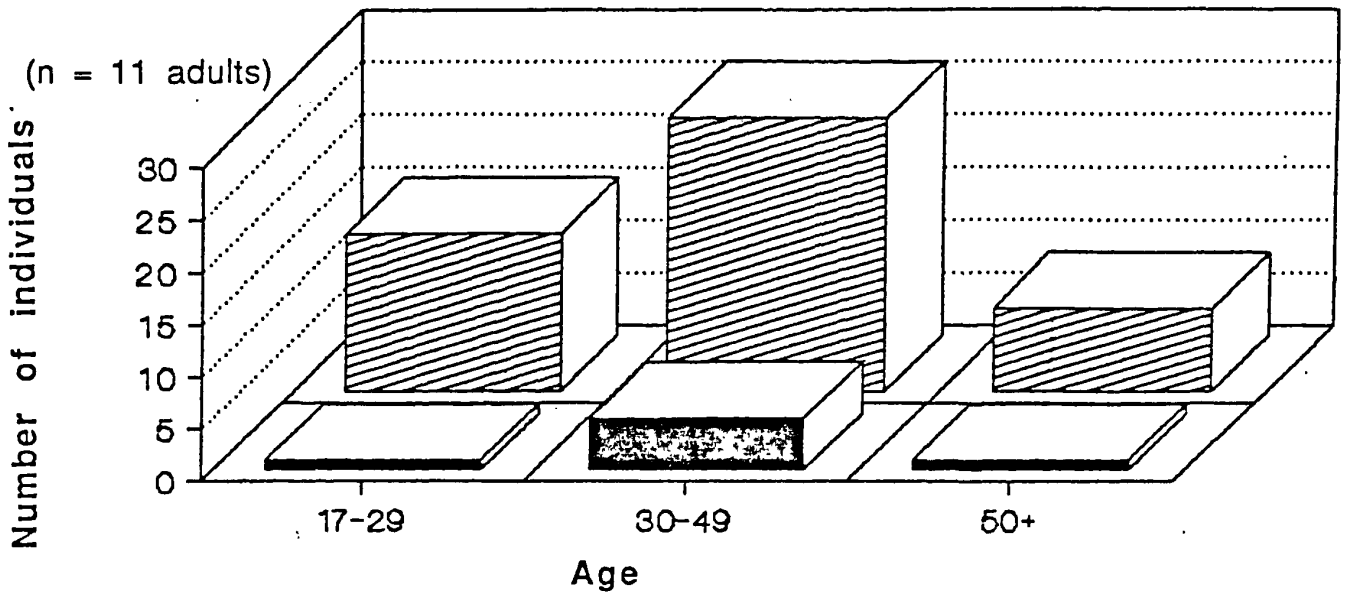


Table 9.5 Onion Lake: Literacy in Indigenous language





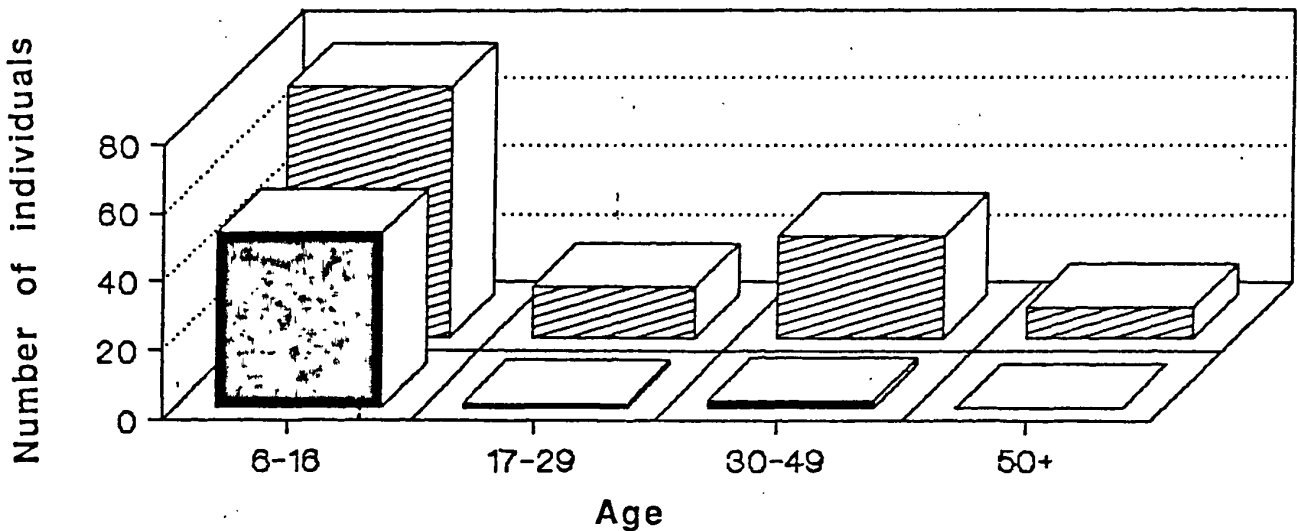
Key  Read and write Cree well
 Do not read and write Cree well

Table 9.6 Onion Lake: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)





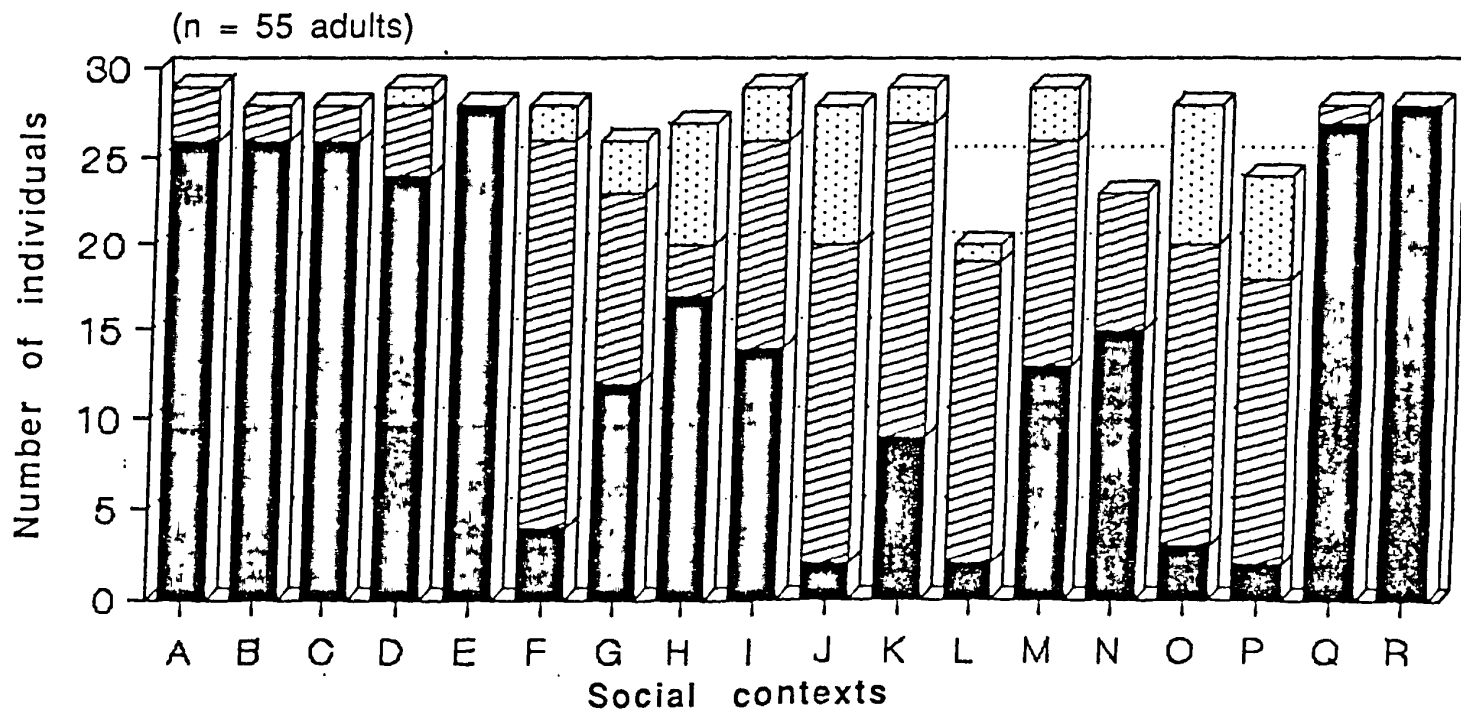



Key  Occasionally or never  Often

Table 9.7 Onion Lake: Social contexts of Indigenous language use



Key to languages used most often

 Cree only
  Cree & English
  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 9.8 Onion Lake: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 55 adults)

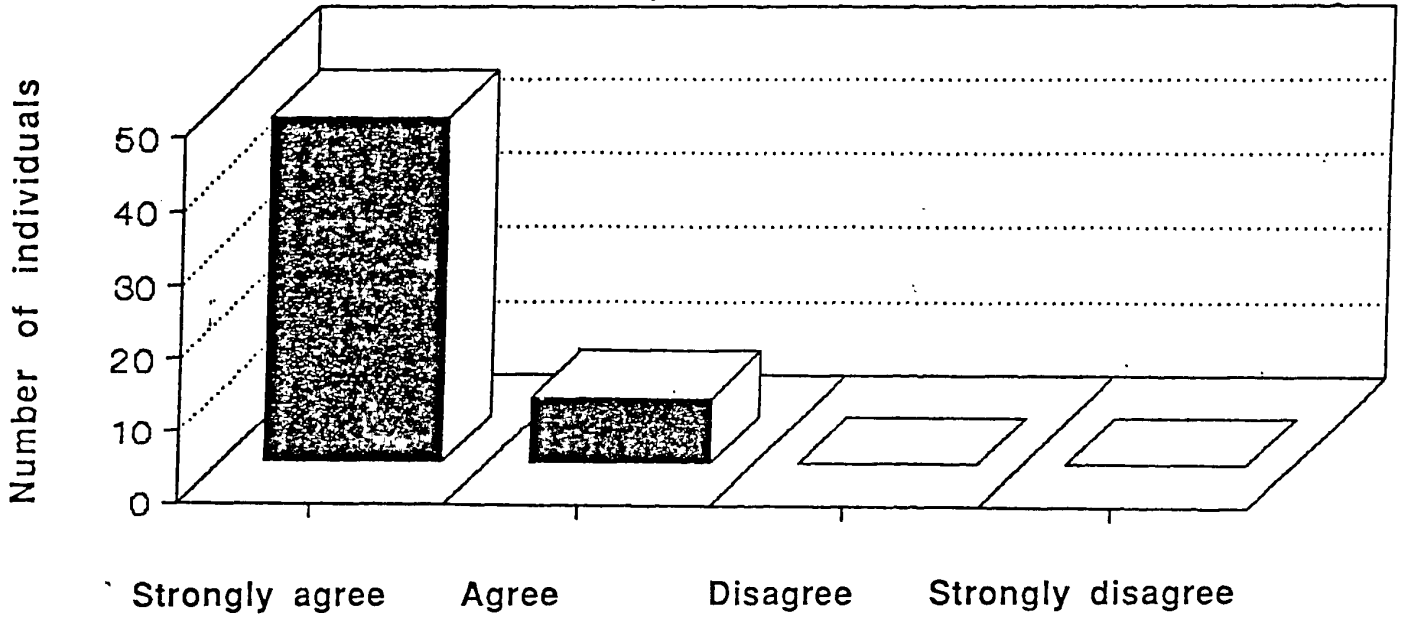


Table 9.9 Onion Lake: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 55 adults)

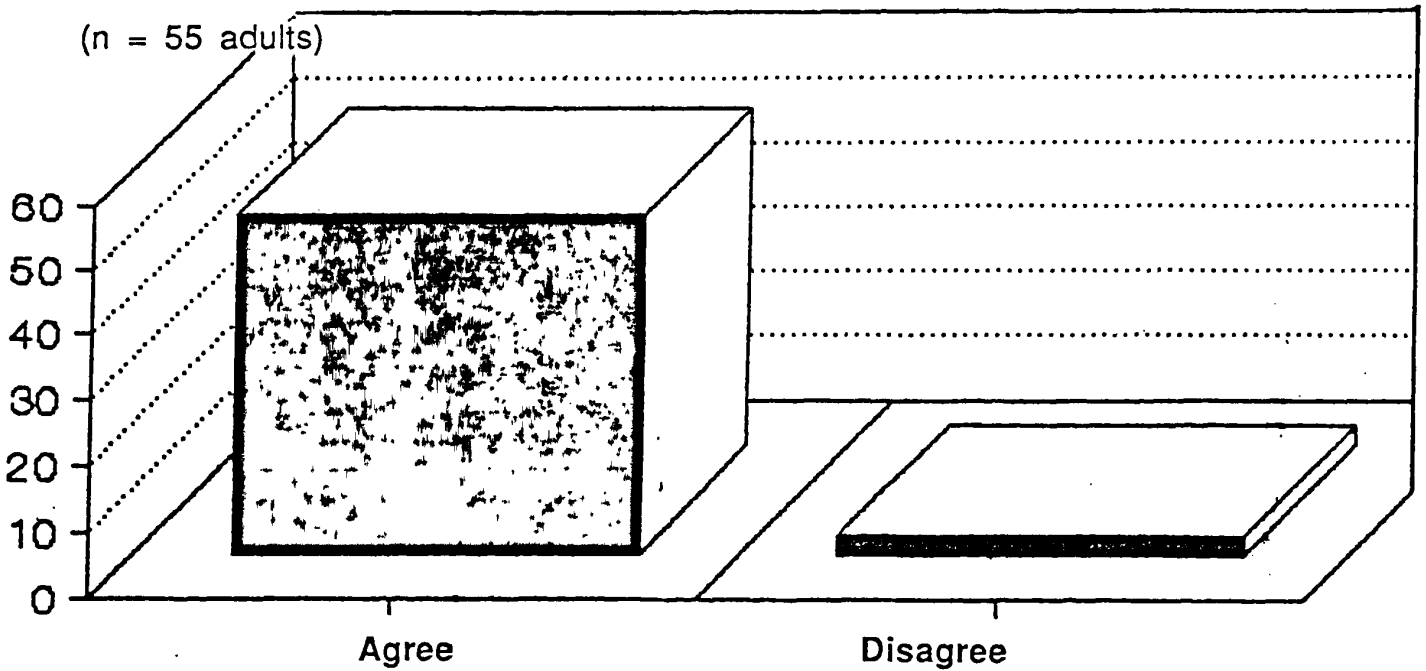
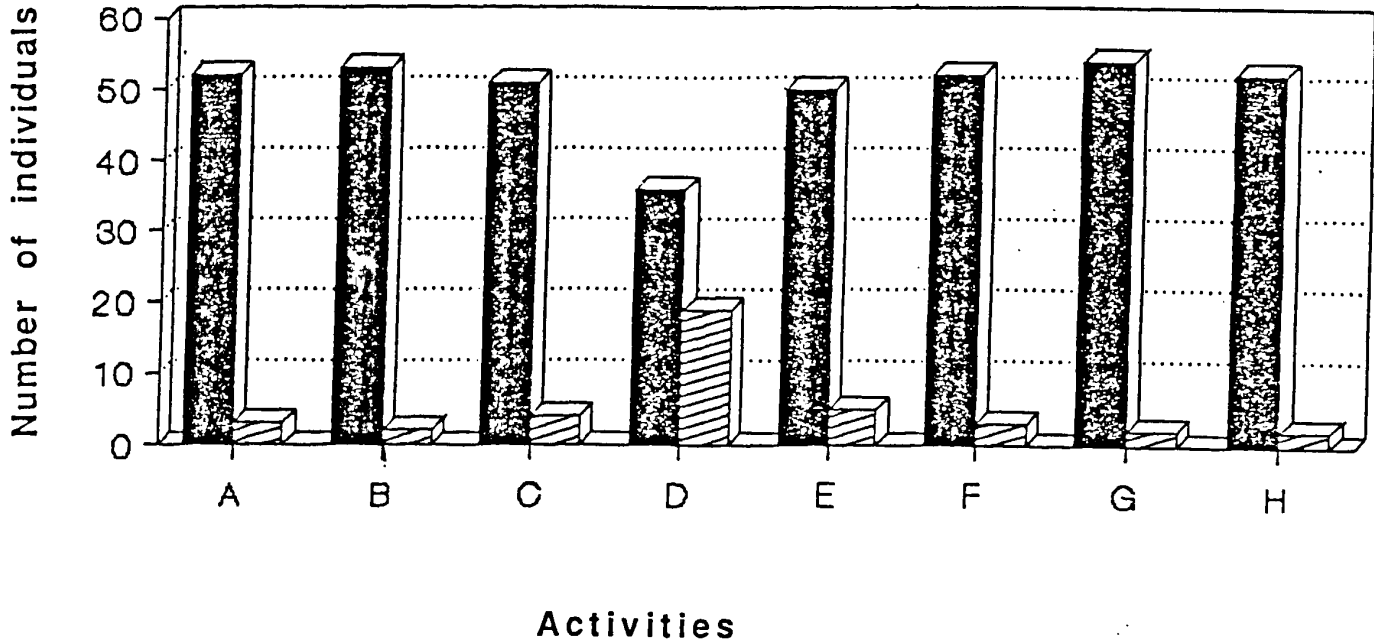


Table 9.10 Onion Lake: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 55 adults)



Key to attitudes

Support
 Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

10. Patuanak

Patuanak is a Dene community in north central Saskatchewan. It is relatively isolated. The name of the Band is the English River Band.

10.1 Main home language

Half of the 20 homes surveyed reported Dene as the main home language. Almost all of the other half reported that both Dene and English were used as the main languages in the home. One other home reported that English was its main language.

10.2 Individual language proficiencies

Of the 139 individuals included, it was reported that 68% spoke Dene. Those who spoke only English or not enough Dene to be considered fluent numbered 31%. Of the Dene-speakers, most but not all spoke both Dene and English. Of the total in the survey, 12% were not fluent in English. A few were fluent only in Dene, and other were fluent only in Dene and Cree.

10.3 Age and language proficiency

The majority in each age category except the over-50's were Dene-English bilinguals. Those who spoke Dene only were almost all over 30 years old, while those who spoke only English, or not enough Dene to be considered fluent, were in the under 30 age group.

10.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

All of the adults surveyed spoke Dene as a first language, and had maintained their fluency in the language. Roughly half of them considered themselves fluent in English.

10.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

A few of those over 50 reported that they could read and write Dene well. Most, however, said they were not literate in Dene.

10.6 Frequency of use

Virtually all of the adults used Dene frequently, whereas only about half of the school-age children were described as frequent users of Dene.

10.7 Social contexts

The adult respondents said that they used Dene only or Dene and English in most of the contexts included on the questionnaire. There tended to be mostly Dene reported used in visiting, playing cards, and in prayer. Relatively more English was used at school, at the local store and at the clinic/hospital.

10.8 Attitudes to language retention

Everyone agreed that the maintenance of Indigenous languages was important (Table 10.8), and all but one agreed that Indigenous languages should be in the schools (Table 10.9). However not everyone agreed on the value of the language and culture retention activities suggested (Table 10.10).

10.9 Summary and conclusions

The fact that those who were not fluent in Dene were concentrated in the under-30 age group would suggest that **the Dene language is in fair condition at Patuanak, but is declining at a rather rapid rate.** Given the apparent lack of a strong consensus regarding the value of the language and culture retention activities listed in the survey, there should be some community development work done in Patuanak to explore the issues and possible courses of action. If the trend toward language loss is not taken seriously, the Dene language could be in serious condition within a few years.

Table 10.1 Patuanak: Main home language
(n = 20 homes)

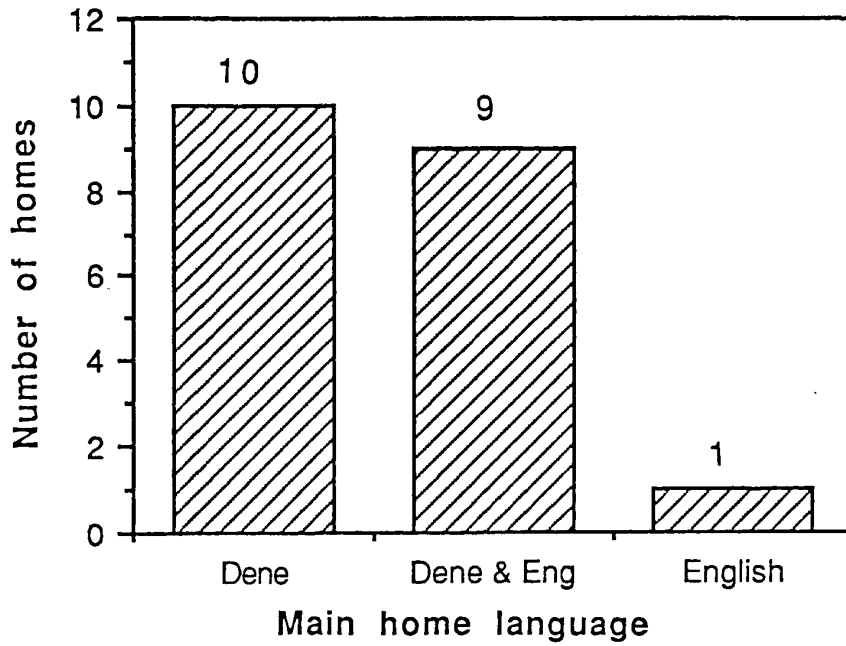


Table 10.2 Patuanak: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 139 people)

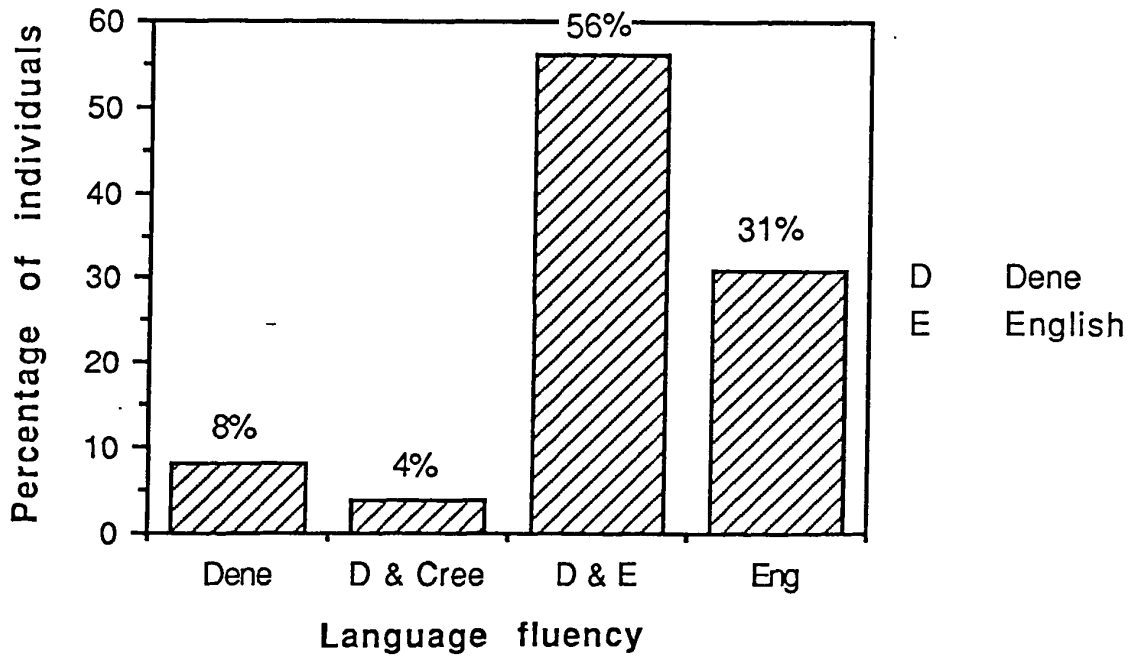
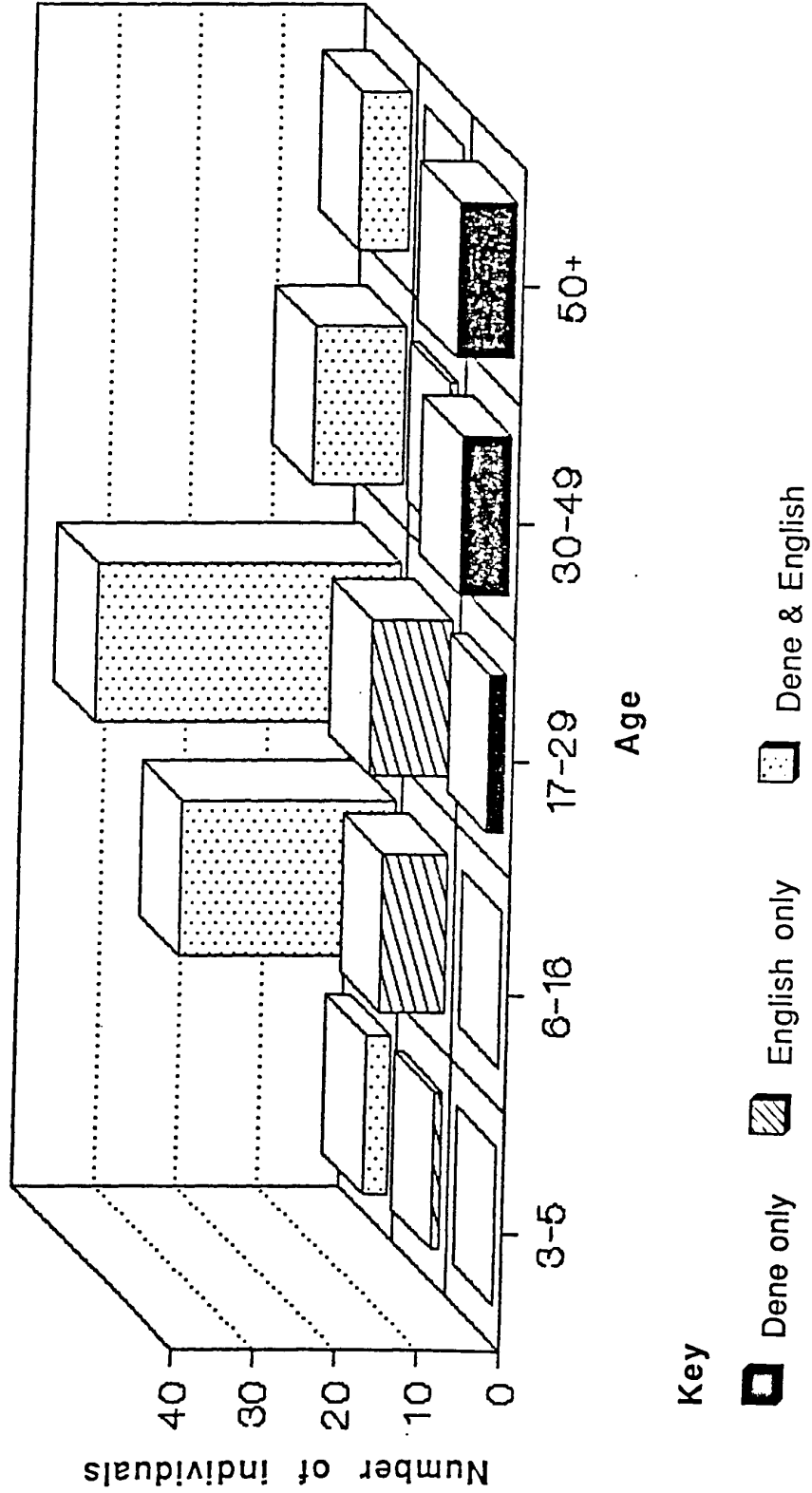


Table 10.3 Patuanak: Age and language proficiency (n = 118 people)



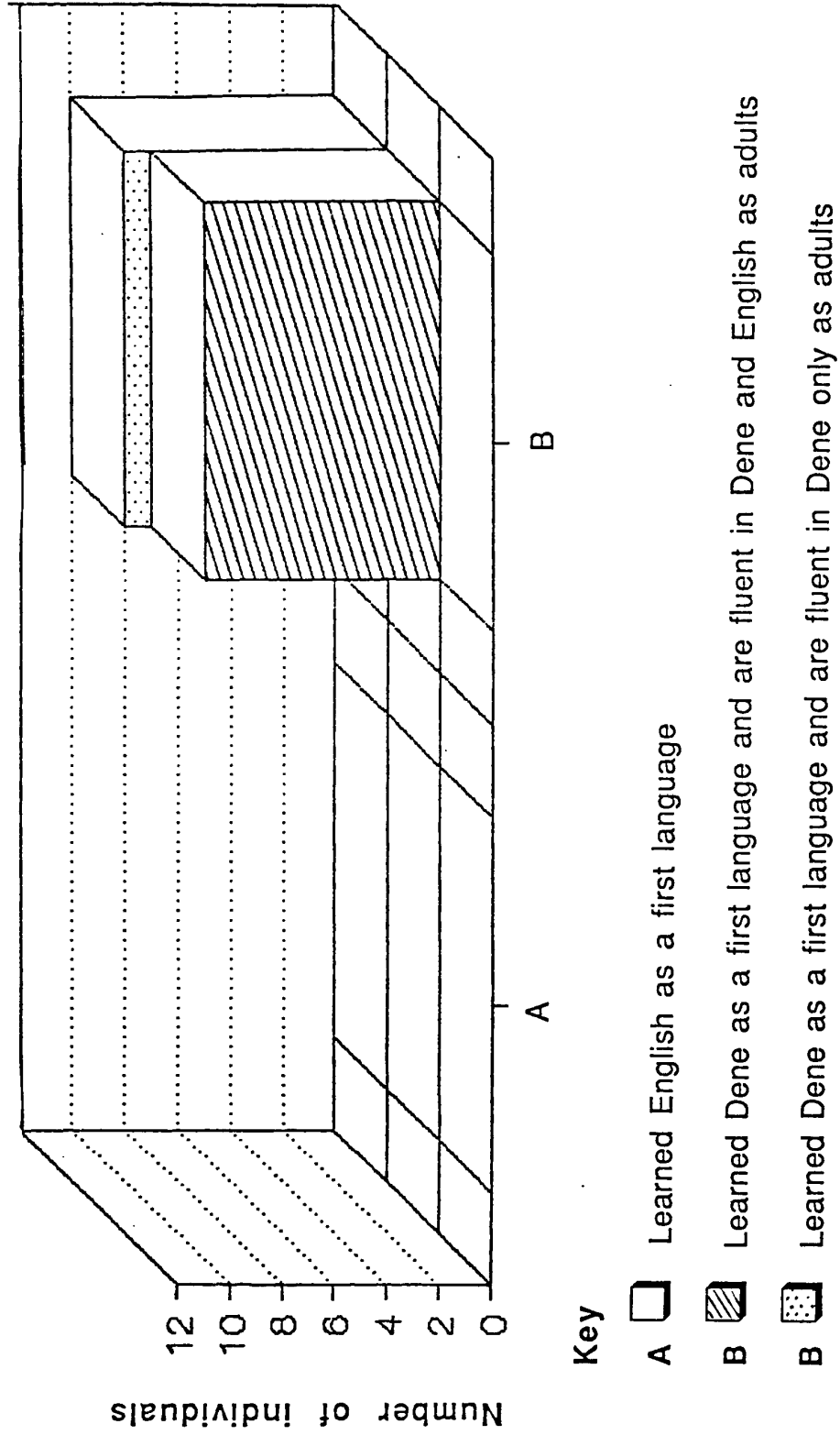
Key

Dene only

English only

Dene & English

Table 10.4 Patuanak: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 20 adults)



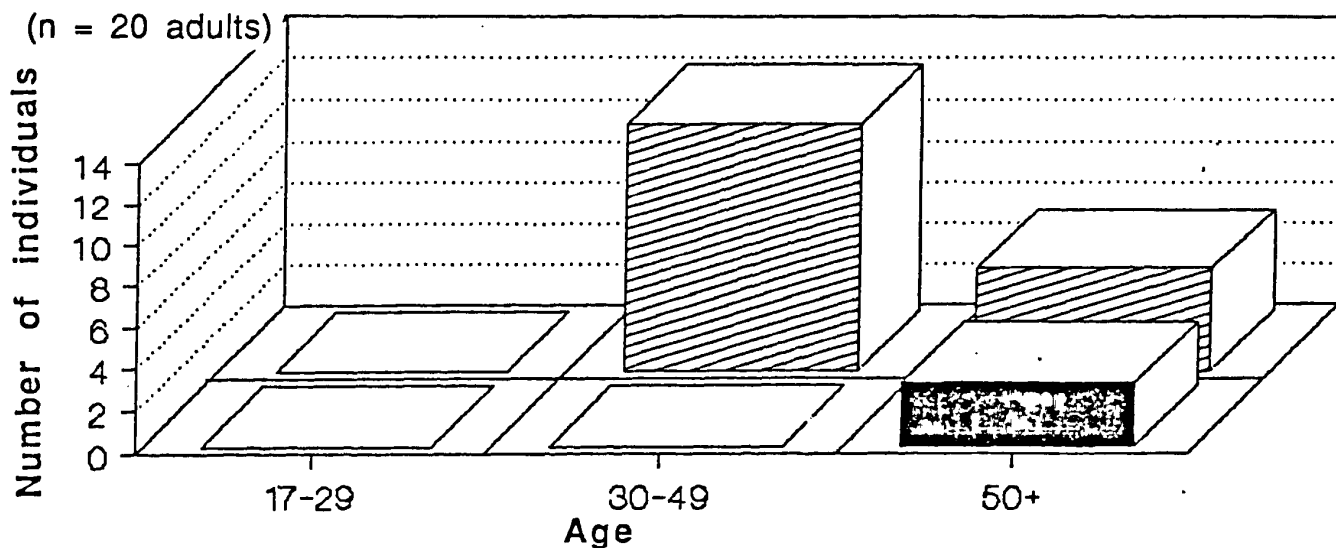
Key

A Learned English as a first language

B Learned Dene as a first language and are fluent in Dene and English as adults

B Learned Dene as a first language and are fluent in Dene only as adults

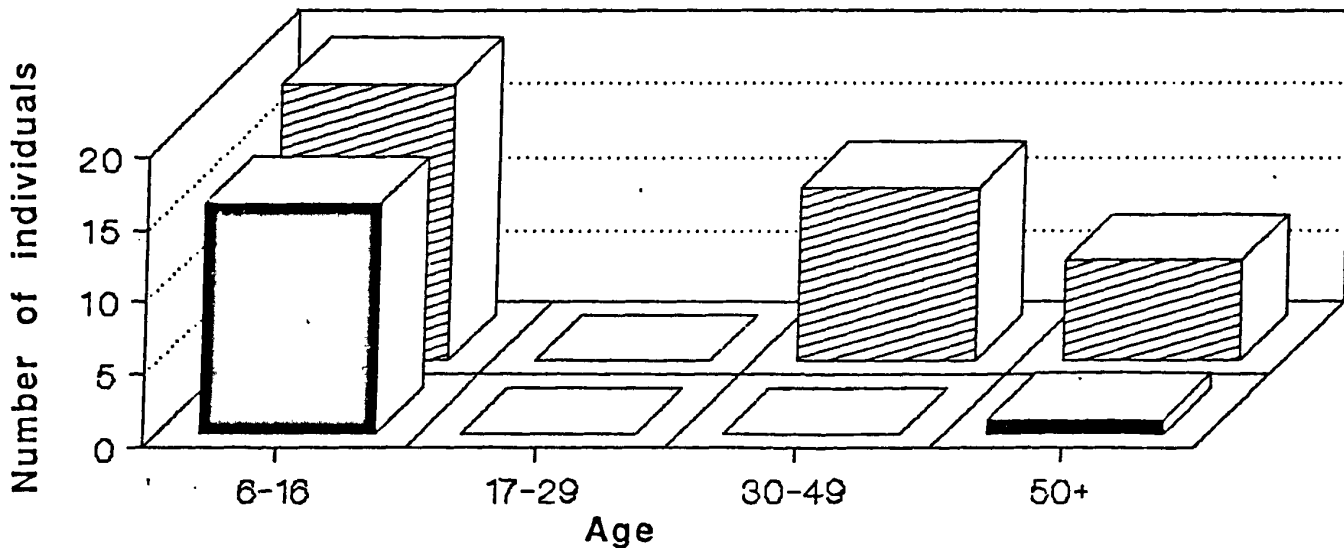
Table 10.5 Patuanak: Literacy in Indigenous language



Key Read and write Dene well
 Do not read and write Dene well

Table 10.6 Patuanak: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

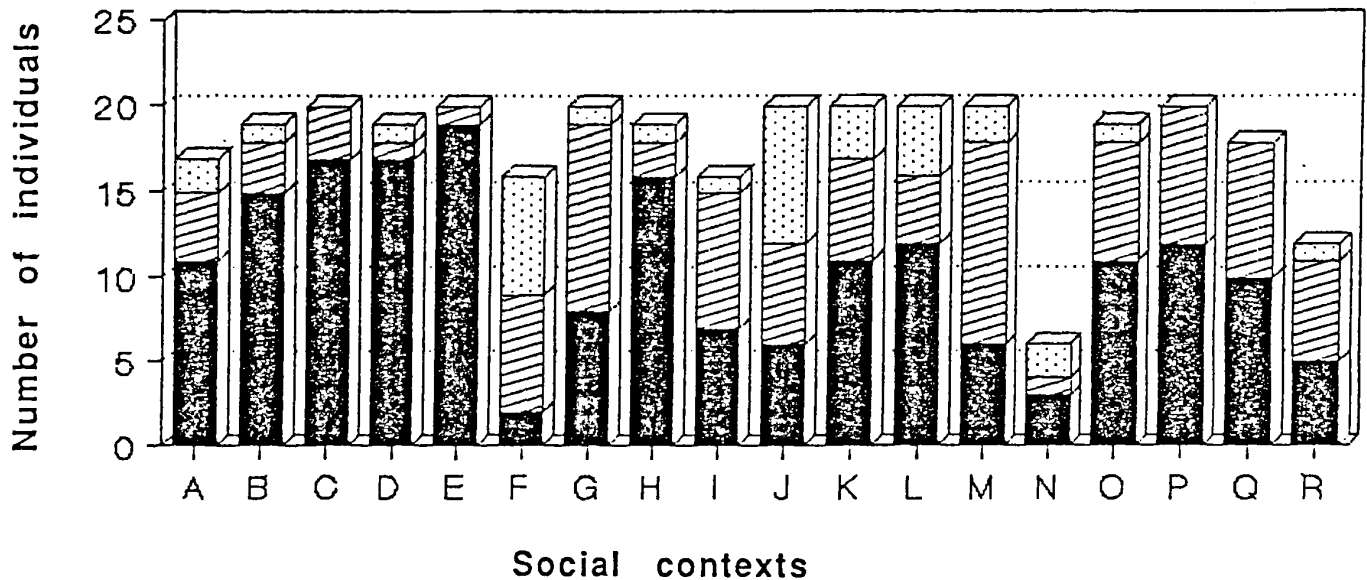
(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)



Key Occasionally or never Often

Table 10.7 Patuanak: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 20 adults)



Key to languages used most often



Dene only



Dene & English



English only

Key to social contexts

A. During ceremonies

B. Playing cards

C. Visiting relatives

D. Visiting brothers and sisters

E. Visiting older people

F. At school

G. At church

H. In prayer

I. At community meetings

J. At the clinic/hospital

K. Greeting people

L. Telling a joke

M. At the local store

N. At work

O. At funerals

P. At wakes

Q. Playing bingo

R. At the bar

Table 10.8 Patuanak: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 20 adults)

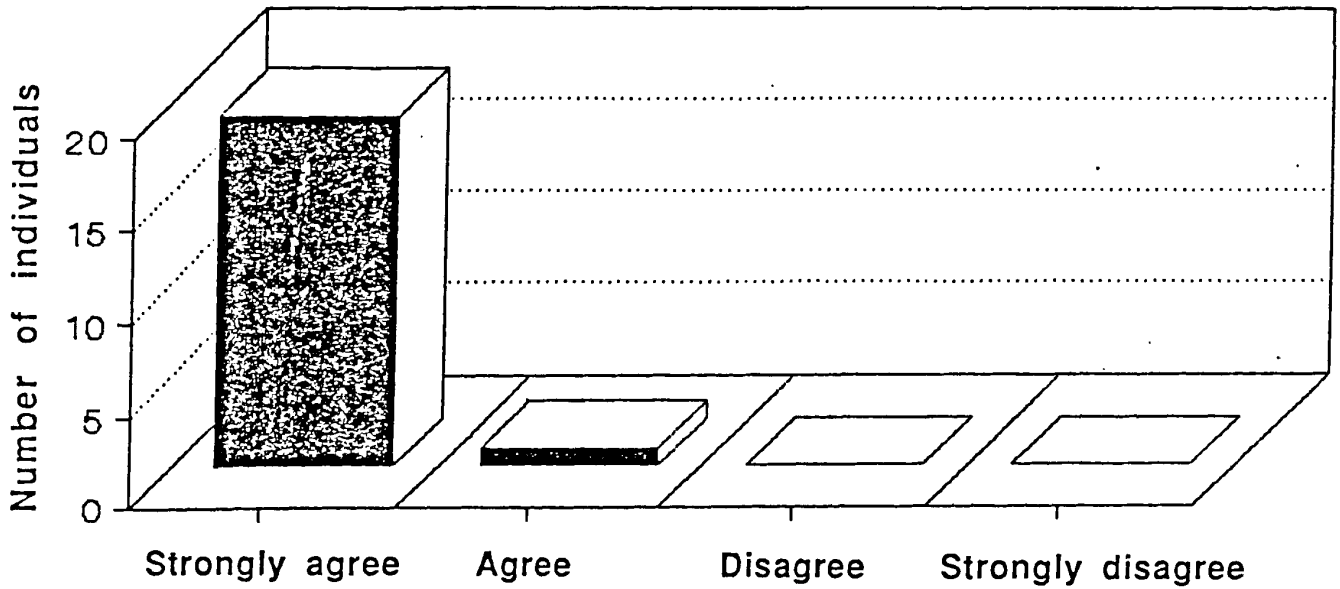


Table 10.9 Patuanak: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 20 adults)

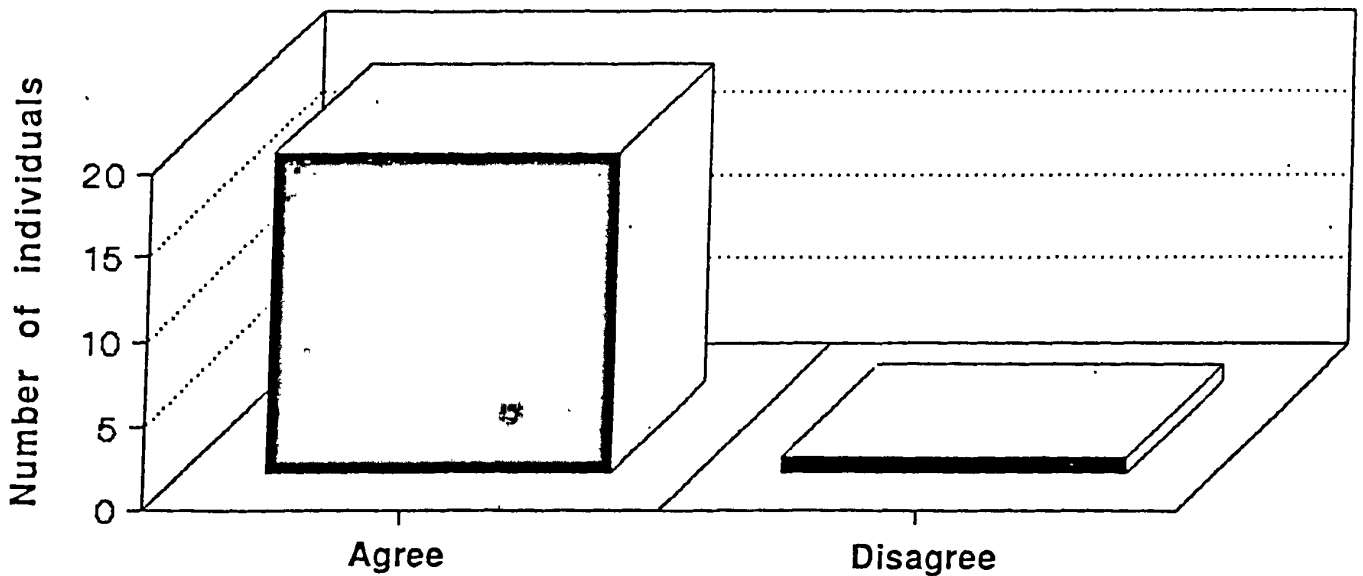
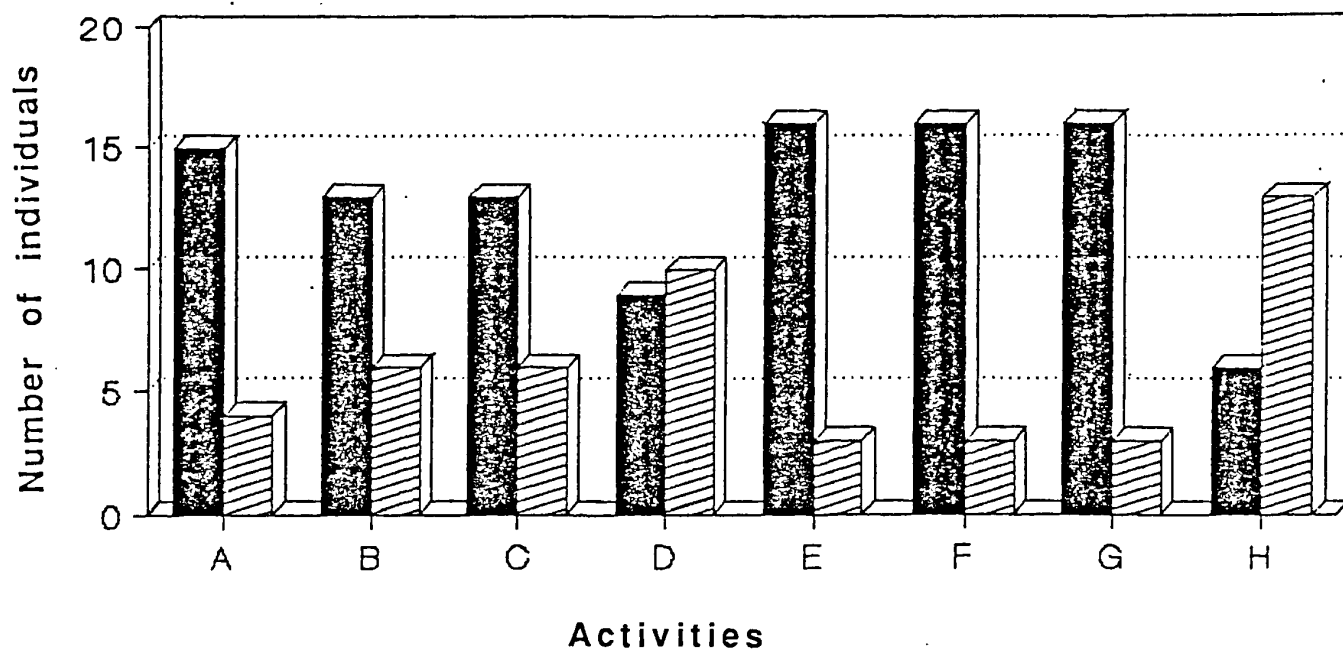


Table 10.10 Patuanak: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 20 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support
  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

11. Peepeekisis

Peepeekisis Reserve is located near the town of Balcarres, in the File Hills area of southern Saskatchewan. It has a complex history with respect to its linguistic roots. It was created by agencies responsible for Indian education, through the resettlement of individuals from a variety of Indigenous cultural and language backgrounds. The intent was to create a new community which due to linguistic and cultural differences, would readily assimilate and adopt the English language and European culture (personal communication, Cathy Littlejohn, 1991).

The number of interviews completed was 22. The number of individuals for whom language information was reported was 83.

11.1. Main home language

English was the main language of the home in all but three of the 21 homes surveyed. These three reported both Cree and English.

11.2. Individual language proficiencies

Everyone in the sample was fluent in English. The majority (75%) of the 83 individuals in the 21 homes were not fluent in any Indigenous language. A minority (25%) spoke Cree, and about half of these Cree-speakers were also fluent in either Saulteaux or Mechif.

11.3. Age and language proficiency

Speakers of Indigenous languages were mostly over the age of 40. There were three exceptions. Only one of these said that she spoke the language (Cree) often. This woman, in her early 20's, came from a different community, one where the Cree language was strong. Another Cree-speaker in her 20's used Cree very seldom. A third Cree speaker, this one in her late 30's, also seldom used Cree

Two Cree-speakers in their 40's also spoke Saulteaux or Mechif. Most of the Cree-speakers over 50 were fluent in Saulteaux or Mechif in addition to Cree.

11.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Among the 21 adults surveyed, 12 reported Cree, or Cree and English as their mother tongues. One spoke Mechif as a first language, and the remaining eight reported English as their first language.

Those who reported Cree as their mother tongue had almost all retained their fluency in Cree, and had added English as a second language. One had also learned Mechif, and another had also learned Saulteaux. The person who reported Mechif as a first language had since added Cree and English to the Mechif.

The two individuals who reported both Cree and English as their first languages had lost the use of Cree. Two of the English mother tongue speakers reported that they had subsequently learned Cree, and one had learned both Saulteaux and Cree.

11.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Six of the 20 adults for whom the information was provided reported being able to read and write Cree well. One of these people was literate in both Saulteaux and Cree, and another in both Mechif and Cree.

11.6 Frequency of use

Indigenous languages were used seldom or never by all but one person in the under-30 part of the sample. Most adults over 50 reported using Cree often. One of these also used both Cree and Mechif often, and two used both Cree and Saulteaux frequently.

11.7 Social contexts

Cree was used frequently by about half of the adult respondents during ceremonies and when visiting older people. Some individuals also used Cree in other situations, including visiting relatives, at school, in prayer, for greetings, in joke-telling, and at funerals and wakes. Two of those who spoke both Saulteaux and Cree used both languages when visiting with relatives, visiting older

people, playing cards, making a joke, greeting people, and at funerals.

Cree, and to a much lesser extent Saulteaux and Mechif, were spoken by some individuals in virtually all of the social contexts included in the study. However, English appears to be replacing Indigenous languages as the primary language of interaction in most situations in this community.

11.8 Attitudes to language retention

While all of the 21 respondents thought that Indigenous languages were important and should be retained, not all expressed strong agreement (Table 11.8). When asked why her language was important to her, one Cree-speaker in her 40's stated: " I like the expression...the way you express yourself. I don't think an Indian can really express themselves in English. You can't totally be Indian if you cannot express yourself in (your Indian language)." Other reasons given for language retention were:

"we are not complete without our Indian language"

"it's an important part of our culture. We were given our language by our Creator."

"a sense of belonging, strong cultural roots"

"without your language, your culture dies; your whole way of life"

"We are a nation and a nation has its language. As a nation, we are Cree and we should speak it!"

All but one of the respondents agreed that the languages had a place in the schools (Table 11.9). How would it benefit the children in the community?

"(it would enable them) to communicate with Elders"

"it would give them confidence...strong identity"

"it's good to be bilingual"

"an Indian language is more expressive in its meaning than English. An Indian language is not (cruel); it's more humorous than insulting."

There was a strong pattern of support for language and culture retention activities such as adult language classes, resident Elders in schools, preschool immersion programs, and summer immersion camps (Table 11.10). Additional comments were made to the effect

that an Indigenous language helps maintain etiquette, that is, to know how to act towards each other "without being abusive". Another person commented that people "have to be willing to learn Cree if Elders are going to do their job".

11.9 Summary and conclusions

Cree, Saulteaux, and Mechif are in extremely critical condition at Peepeekisis. There are very few fluent speakers under the age of 50. Indigenous languages appear to be losing ground to English with respect to language use in various social contexts in the community. English was reported as the main home language for the majority of homes in the survey. There was infrequent use of Indigenous languages reported for the majority of people under 50.

The strengths of this community are that support for language retention activities is high, and that compared to other communities in this survey, the number of adults literate in their languages is high.

Table 11.1 Peepeekisis: Main home language
(n = 21 homes)

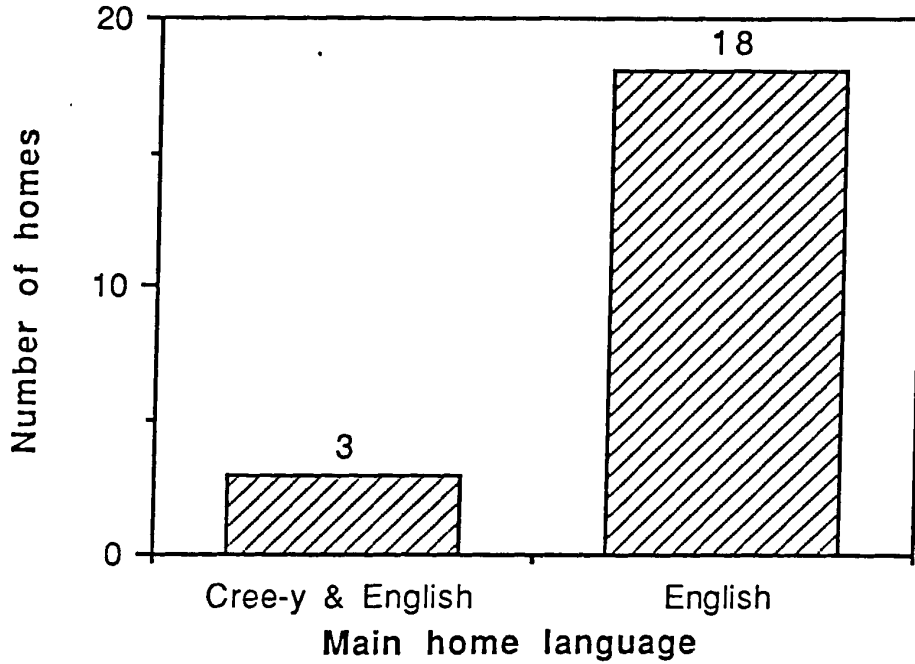
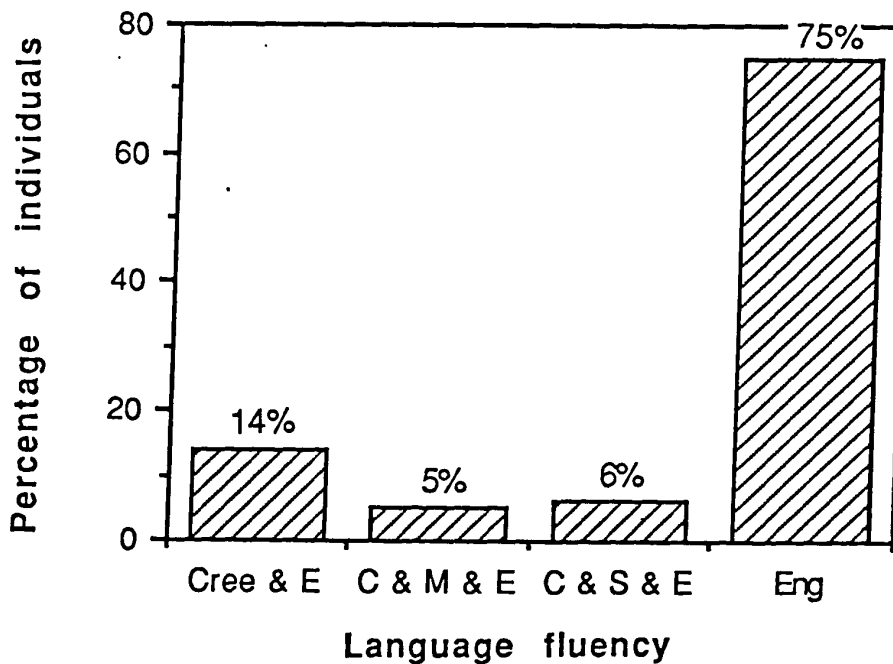


Table 11.2 Peepeekisis: Language proficiency of individuals

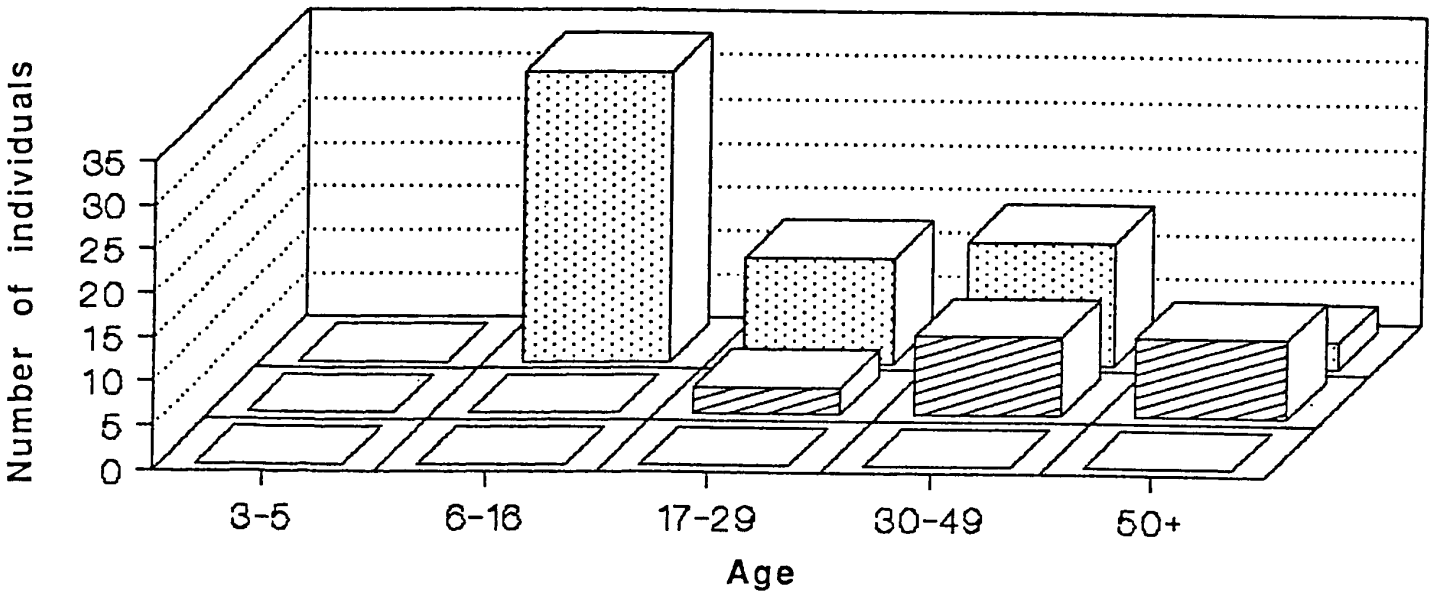
(n = 83 people)






Key
 C = Cree
 M = Mechif
 E = English
 S = Saulteaux

Table 11.3 Peepeekisis: Age and language proficiency

(n = 83 people)



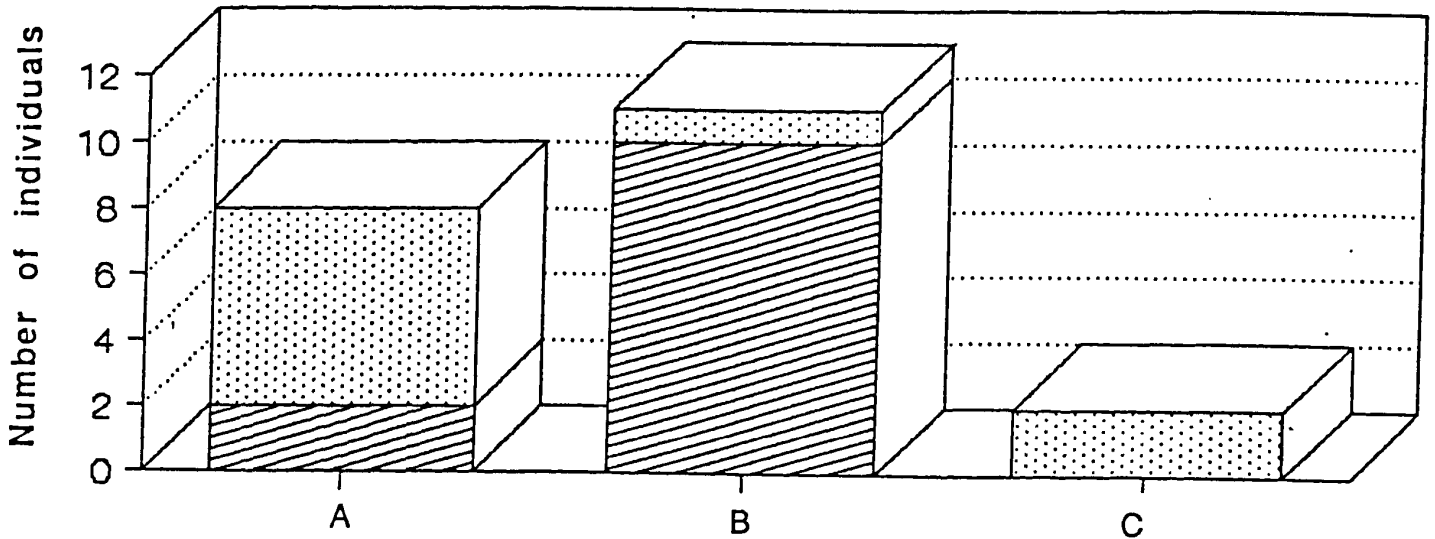
Key

-  Indigenous language only
-  English only
-  Indigenous language* and English






*	17-29	Cree & English
	30-49	Most: Cree & English
		1 Cree & Saulteaux & English
		1 Cree & Mechif & English
	50+	3 Cree & English
		5 Cree & Saulteaux & English
		3 Cree & Mechif & English

Table 11.4 Peepeekisis: First language compared with adult language proficiencies

(n = 21 adults)



Key

- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English & Cree, or English & Cree & Saulteaux as adults
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B  Learned Indigenous language as a first language and are fluent in English & one or more Indigenous language as adults*
- B  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- C  Learned Cree & English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults

* Most learned Cree as a first language and spoke both Cree & English as adults.

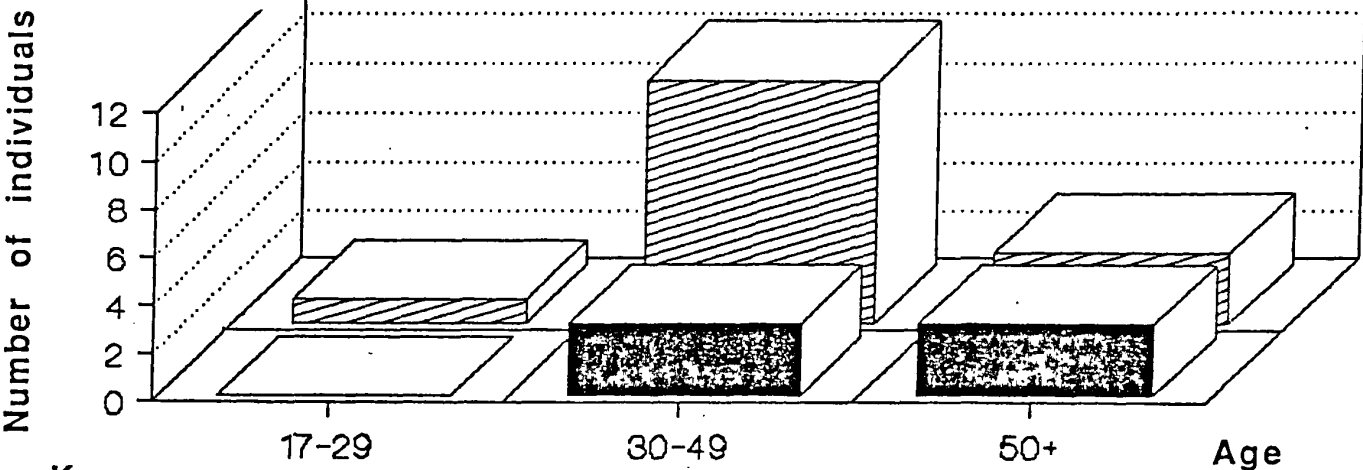
One learned Michif first, and spoke Michif, Cree & English as an adult.

One learned Cree first, and spoke Cree, Michif & English as an adult.

One learned Cree first, and spoke Cree, Saulteaux & English as an adult.

Table 11.5 Peepeekisis: Literacy in Indigenous language

(n = 20 adults)



Key



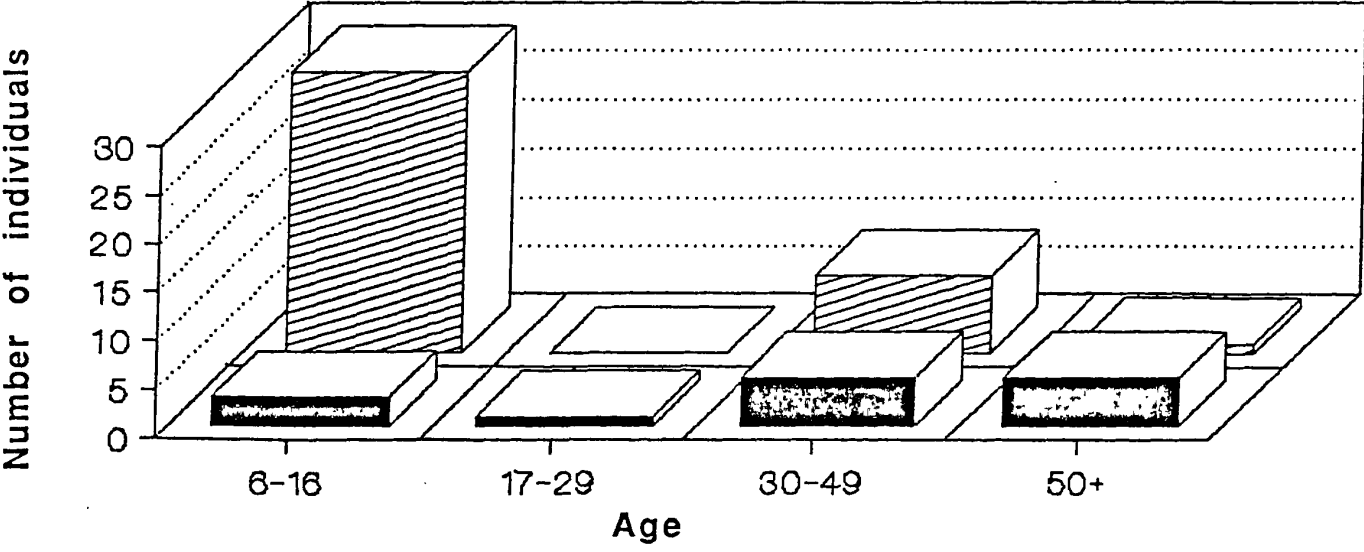
-  Read and write Indigenous language well
-  Do not read and write Indigenous language well

Table 11.6 Peepeekisis: Frequency of use of Indigenous languages

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)



Key



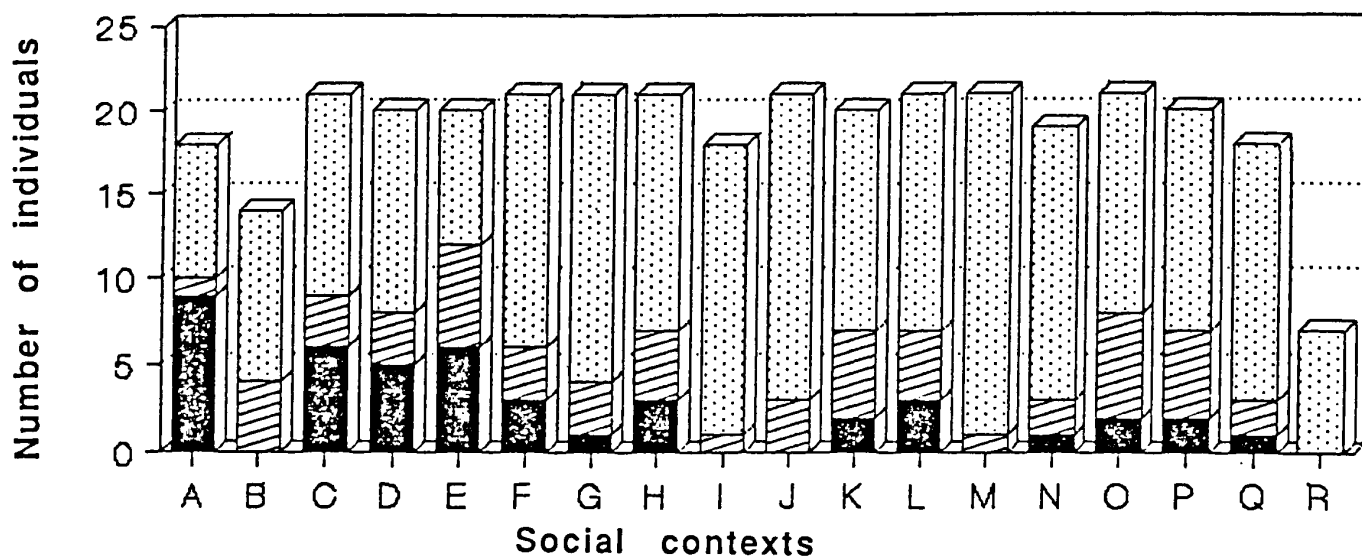
-  Occasionally or never
-  Often




Table 11.7

PeepEEKISIS: Social contexts of
Indigenous language use

(n = 21 adults)



Key to languages used most often

-  Indigenous language only
-  Indigenous language and English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 11.8. Peepeekisis: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 21 adults)

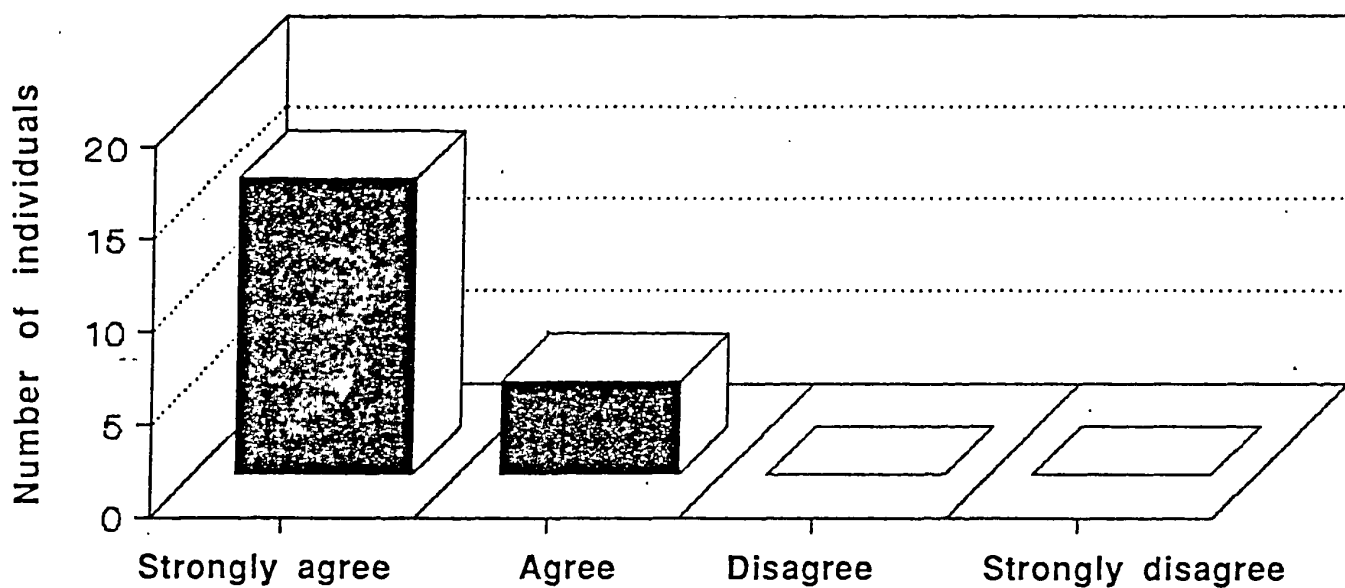


Table 11.9. Peepeekisis: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 21 adults)

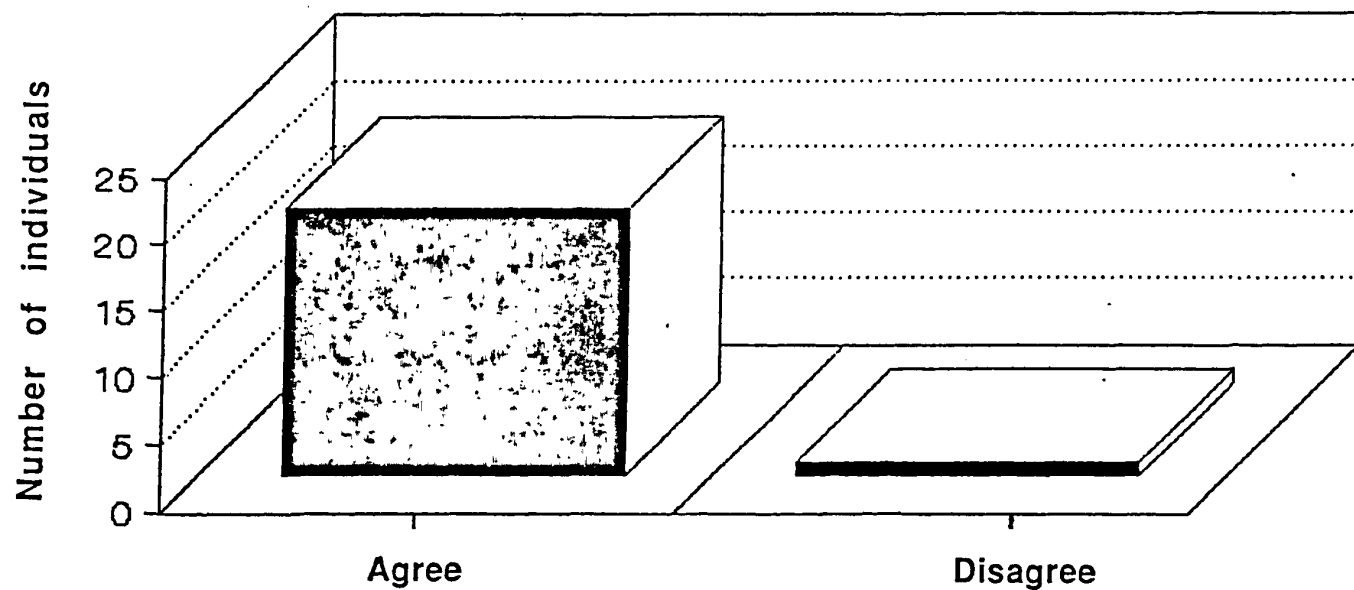
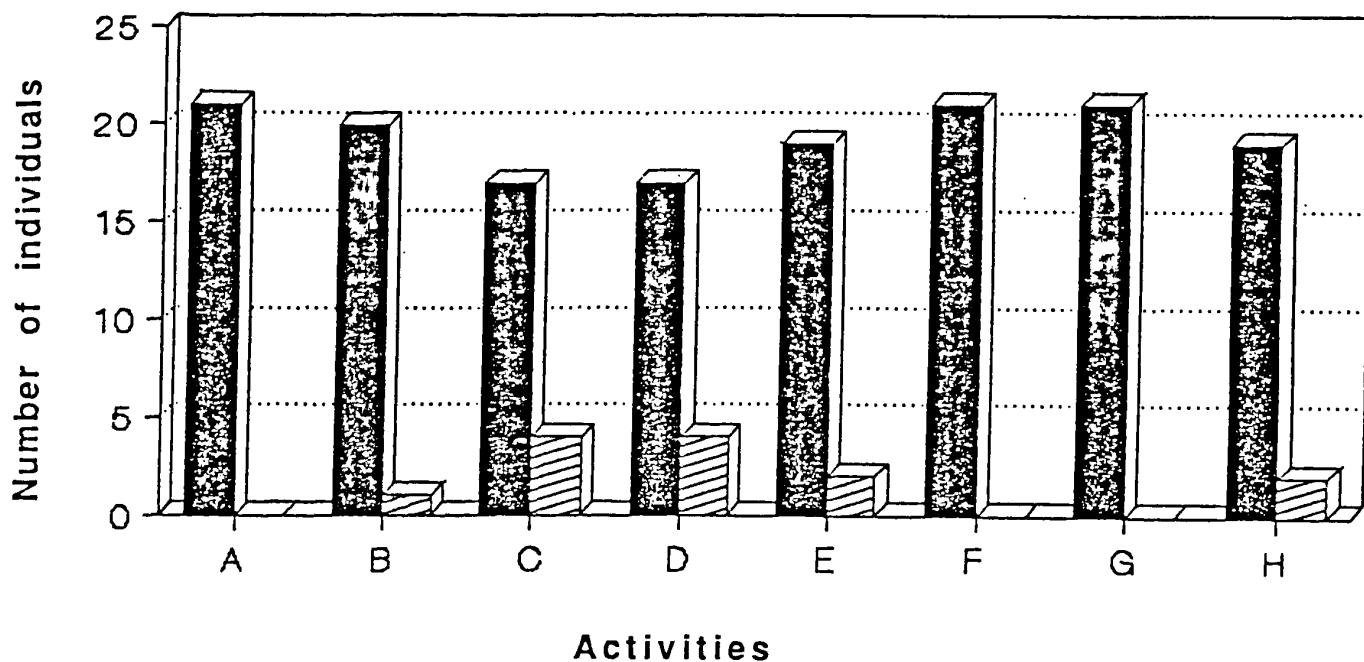


Table 11.10 Peepeekisis: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 21 adults)



Key to attitudes

■ Support ▨ Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

12. Saskatoon

The urban community chosen for inclusion in this survey was Saskatoon. There are various ways that a sample of Indian and Metis people in Saskatoon could have been identified. The way we chose to do this was to work with schools. Both the public and separate school boards in Saskatoon were asked for permission to conduct the research in schools within their jurisdiction. Permission was granted by the Boards, and three schools with high enrollments of Indian and Metis students were chosen. The principal of each school also gave permission, and provided a list of those students who had identified their ancestry as Indian or Metis. The parents of these students were informed about the nature and intent of the research. The list was revised to include each home only once, and every fifth home was selected from the revised list. The interviewer visited each home. The information from the three school communities was pooled for the purposes of this report.

There were two factors which may have influenced the makeup of the sample. Because students' ancestry is self-identified on a voluntary basis, there may have been some Indian and Metis families in these school communities which were not included in the schools' lists. And because the sample came from a list of elementary school students, only those homes in the community with school-aged children living in them were included in the sample. For instance, an older couple living alone would not have been included.

12.1 Main home language

Of the 37 homes in the sample, 33 reported English as the main home language. Three reported Cree, and one reported both Cree and English.

12.2 Individual language proficiencies

There were 171 individuals in the sample. More than three-quarters (77%) were not fluent in any Indigenous language. As might be expected, a variety of languages were represented among the 23% who were fluent in one or more Indigenous language. Of the group of 171, 18% were Cree-speakers. Two of these also spoke Mechif. One

Cree-speaker was not fluent in English. Speakers of other languages in the sample included Saulteaux-English bilinguals (2%), Dakota-English (1%), and Dene-English (1%).

12.3 Age and language proficiency

Those who were fluent in an Indigenous language were mostly over 30 years of age. However, there were some Cree-English bilinguals in the preschool and school-age population, and some who spoke English and one of Cree, Saulteaux, Dakota or Dene in the 17-29 year-old group.

12.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

About half of the 35 respondents reported an Indigenous language as their first language and the other half reported English. All of the mother-tongue speakers of Indigenous languages had added English as a second language, but a few had lost fluency in their Indigenous language along the way. A few of the English mother-tongue speakers reported having added fluency in an Indigenous language.

12.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

None of the 36 adults for whom information was reported indicated that they were literate in an Indigenous language.

12.6 Frequency of use

Indigenous languages were reported used infrequently by the majority in the school-age, young adult, and middle-age adult groups in this sample.

12.7 Social contexts

An Indigenous language was reported used more often than English when visiting with older people, and during ceremonies. A significant degree of use was also reported during wakes and funerals, when visiting with relatives and friends, in prayer, and in joke-telling.

12.8 Attitudes to language retention

There was a high level of agreement with the position that Indigenous languages were important and should be retained (Table 12.8), and also with the view that they should be in schools (Table 12.9). There was all but unanimous support expressed for all of the language and culture retention activities suggested (Table 12.10). These included adult language classes, summer immersion camps, TV and radio in Indigenous languages, resident elders in schools, pre-school immersion, language and culture clubs, recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages, and newspapers in Indigenous languages.

12.9 Summary and conclusions

Predictably, the Indigenous languages did not appear to be strong in the urban centre of Saskatoon. What might be considered surprising was that the level of Indigenous language use was as high as it was.

For those concerned with language retention in Saskatchewan, cities pose a number of problems. First, those adults and children who temporarily move from an Indigenous language-speaking community to a city for university, work, or other reasons, may switch to English during and after their stay in the city. Second, because of the variety of Indigenous languages and cultures represented in the cities, English tends to be used as the "lingua franca", that is, the common language of communication. Third, the cities are English milieus. Speaking a language other than English may be met with at best, curiosity, and at worst, racism. The social pressures to speak English are very strong, and may be most keenly felt by the younger generation.

On the other hand, for those who work for enhanced academic achievement and levels of English literacy among Indigenous people, the prevailing view among many Canadian educators that Indigenous languages have been completely replaced by English is an impediment to progress. This may result in less than optimal attention given to English as a second language components in school

programs for Indian and Metis students (Toohey, 1982; 1985). Even if students appear to be fluent in English, they may not have the type of proficiency in English that is associated with academic success (see Cummins, 1984).

The inaccurate impression that Indigenous languages are no longer part of the picture for students of Indigenous ancestry in the cities may also be associated with the belief that Indigenous languages are unimportant to Indigenous parents living in the cities. This belief is not supported by the results of the survey. In fact, there was a high level of support for Indigenous languages in schools expressed by those surveyed in these three communities in Saskatoon.

In conclusion, the status of the Indigenous languages in Saskatoon is not good. In terms of this study, they are in **extremely critical condition**. However, their presence is unmistakable. It is likely that individuals' and families' strong ties to Indigenous communities outside of the city play a critical part in maintaining current levels of language use. For instance, there was a relatively high level of Indigenous language use associated with ceremonies and wakes, both of which typically take place in Indian or Metis communities rather than in Saskatoon.

Table 12.1 Saskatoon: Main home language

(n = 37 homes)

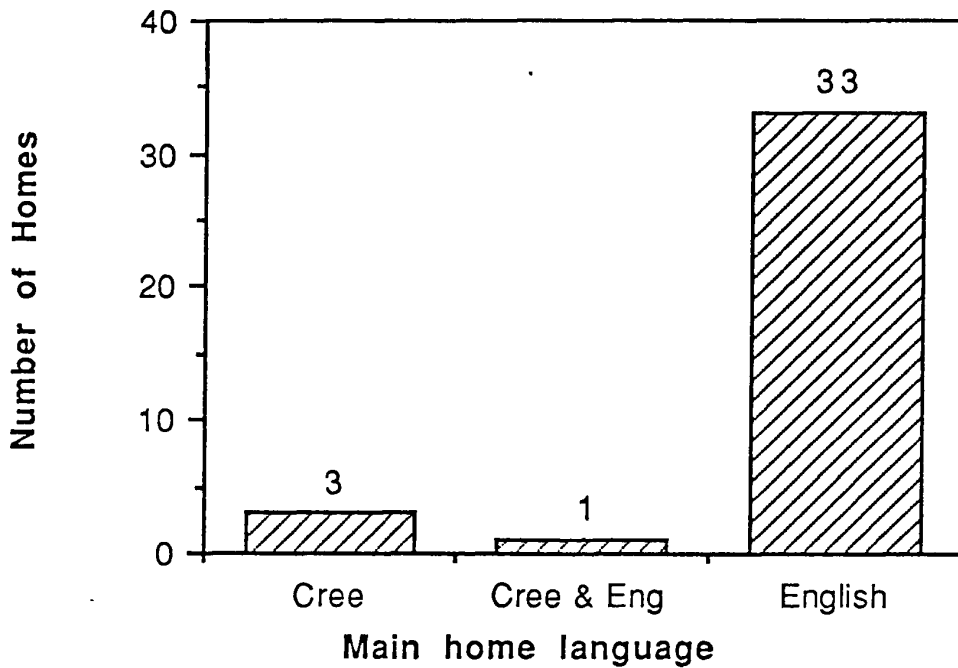


Table 12.2 Saskatoon: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 171 people)

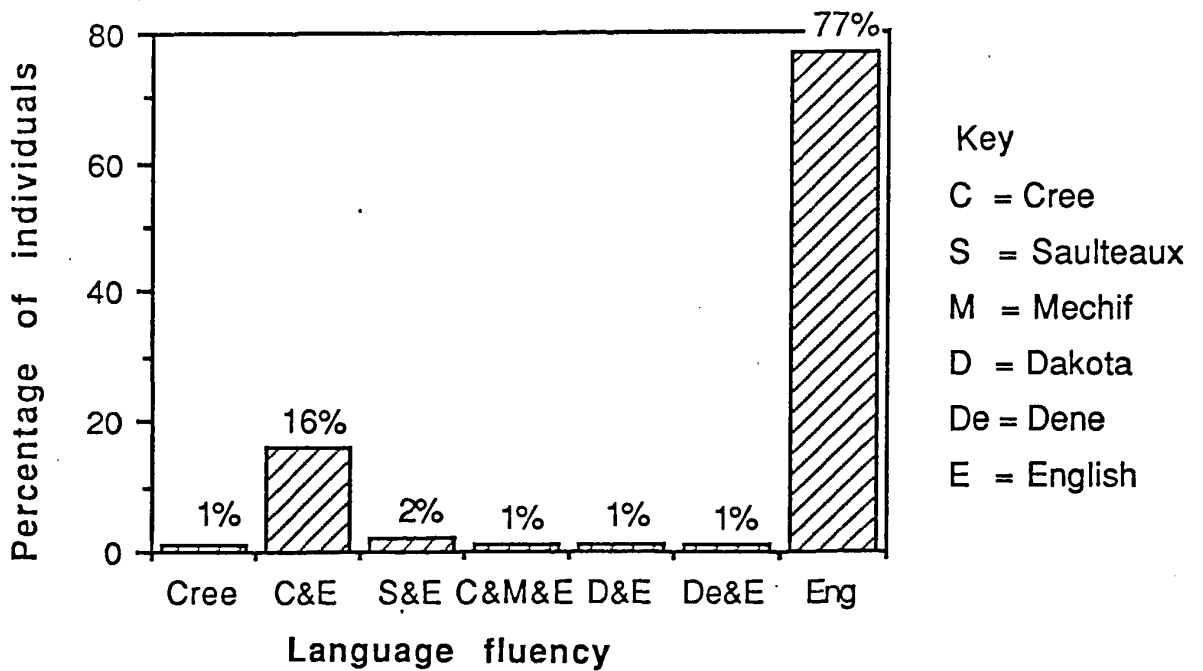
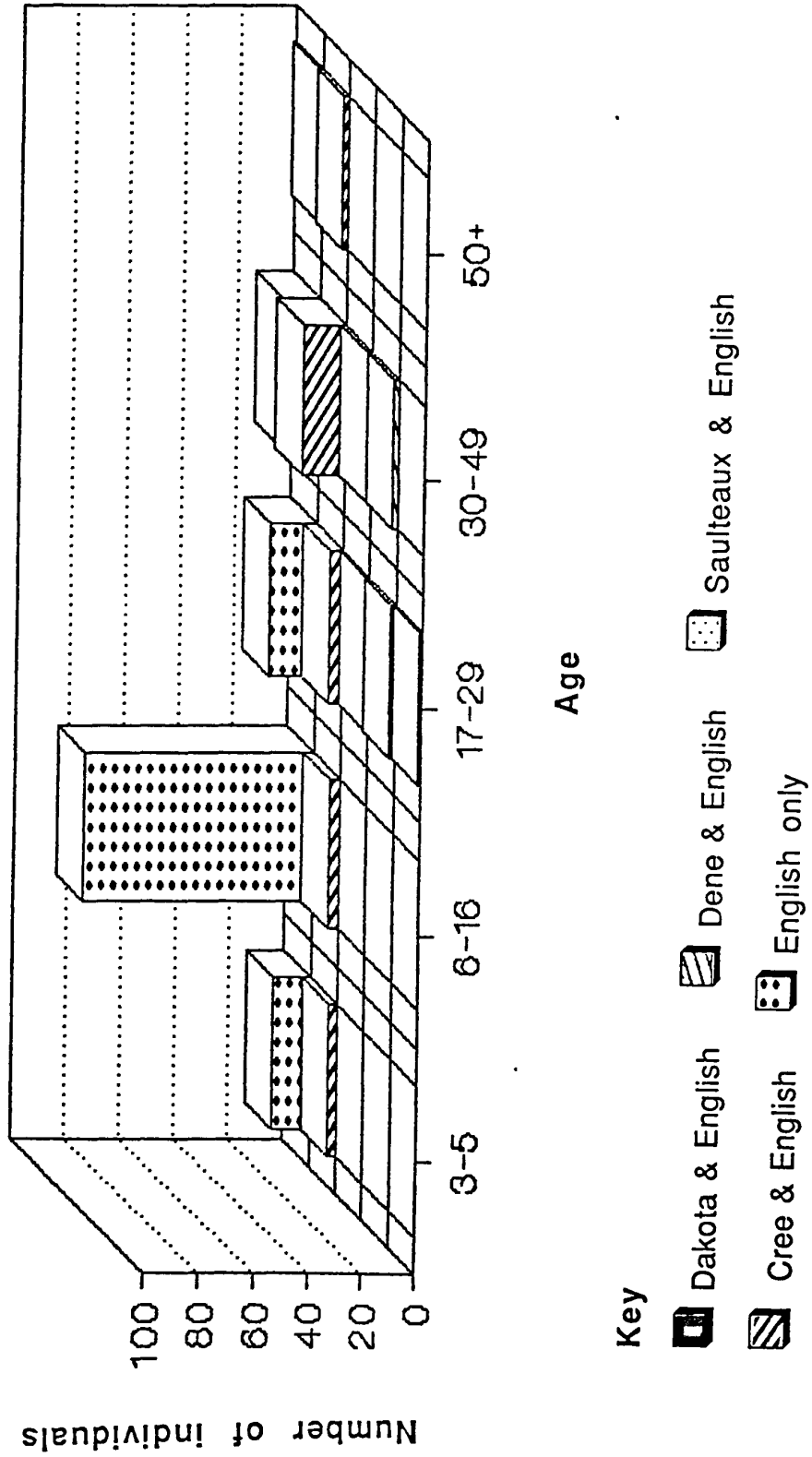


Table 12.3 Saskatoon: Age and language proficiency
(n = 84 people)



Key






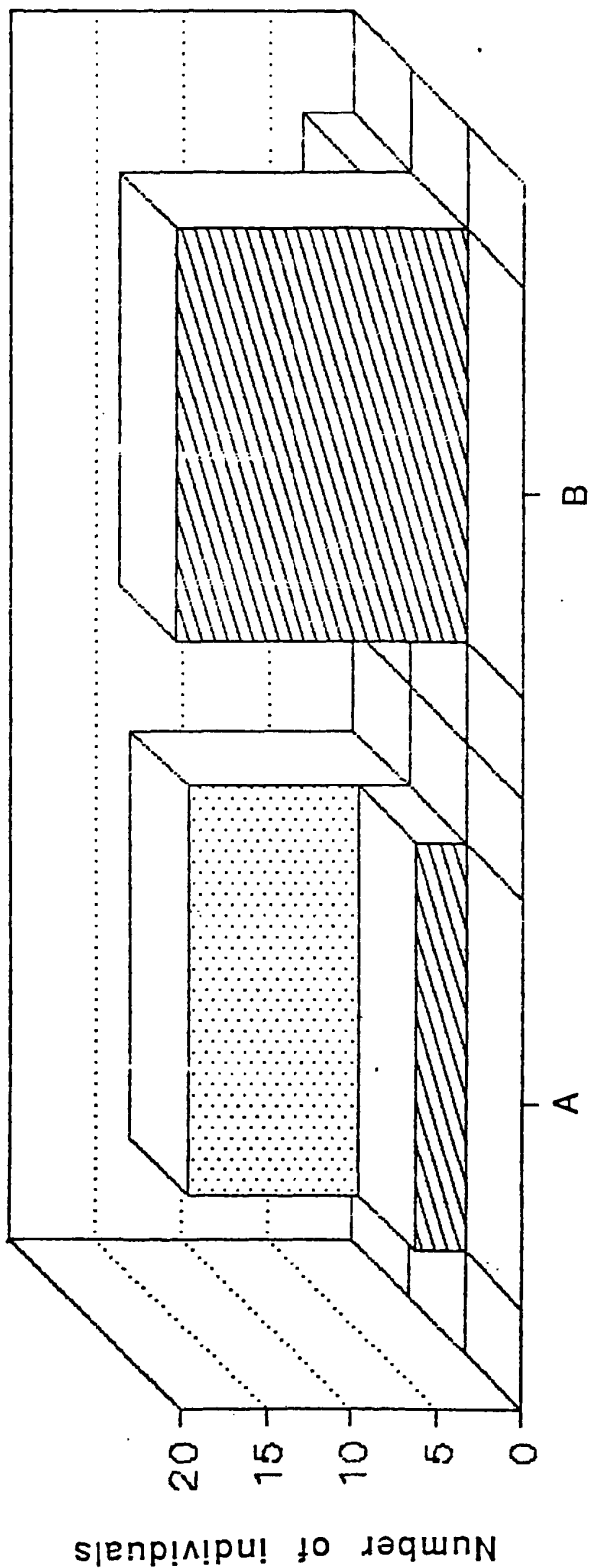
-  Dakota & English
-  Cree & English
-  Dene & English
-  English only
-  Saulteaux & English

Table 12.4

Saskatoon: First language compared with adult language proficiencies

(n = 35 adults)



Key





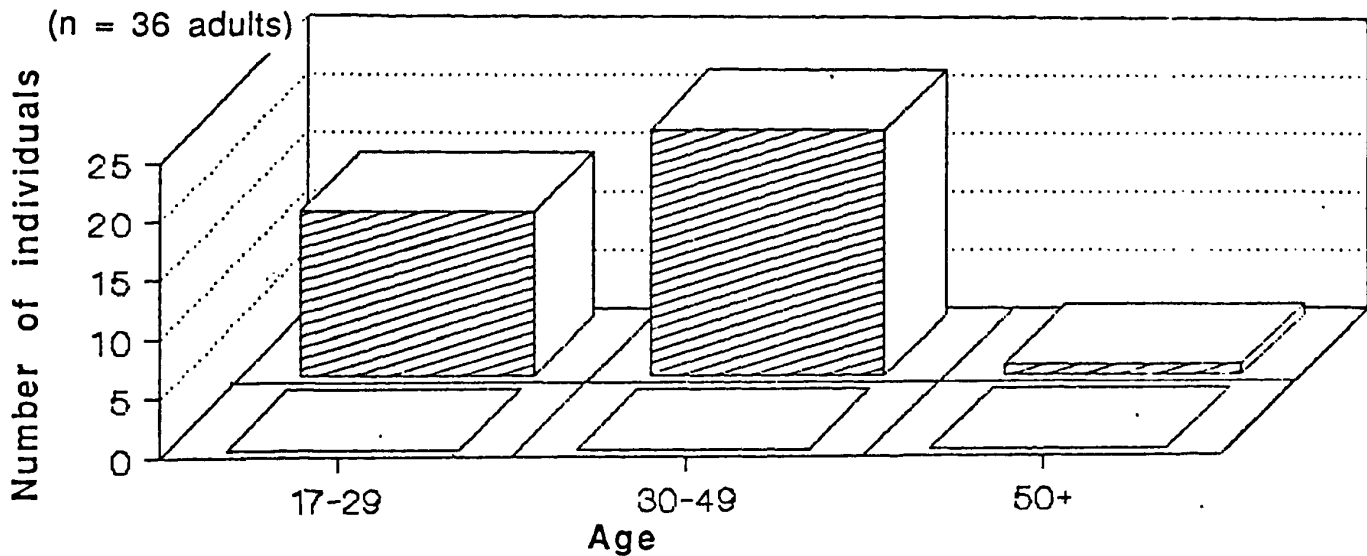
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in Indigenous language and English as adults
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B  Learned Indigenous language as a first language and are fluent in Indigenous language and English as adults
- B  Learned Indigenous language as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults

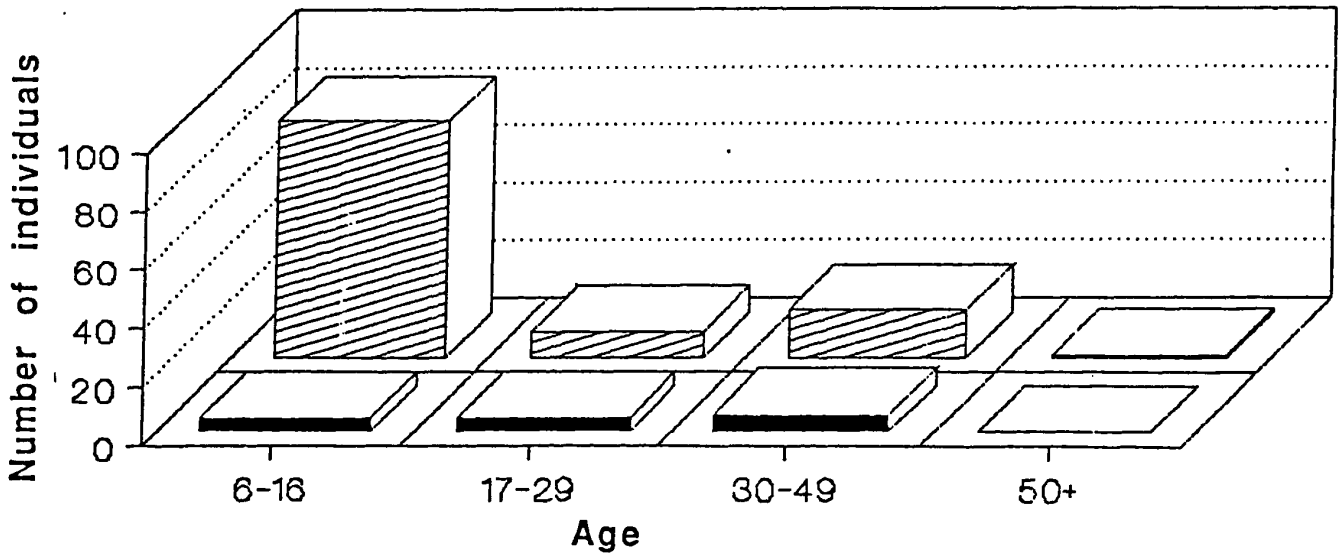
Table 12.5 Saskatoon: Literacy in Indigenous languages



Key Read and write an Indigenous language well
 Do not read and write an Indigenous language well

Table 12.6 Saskatoon: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

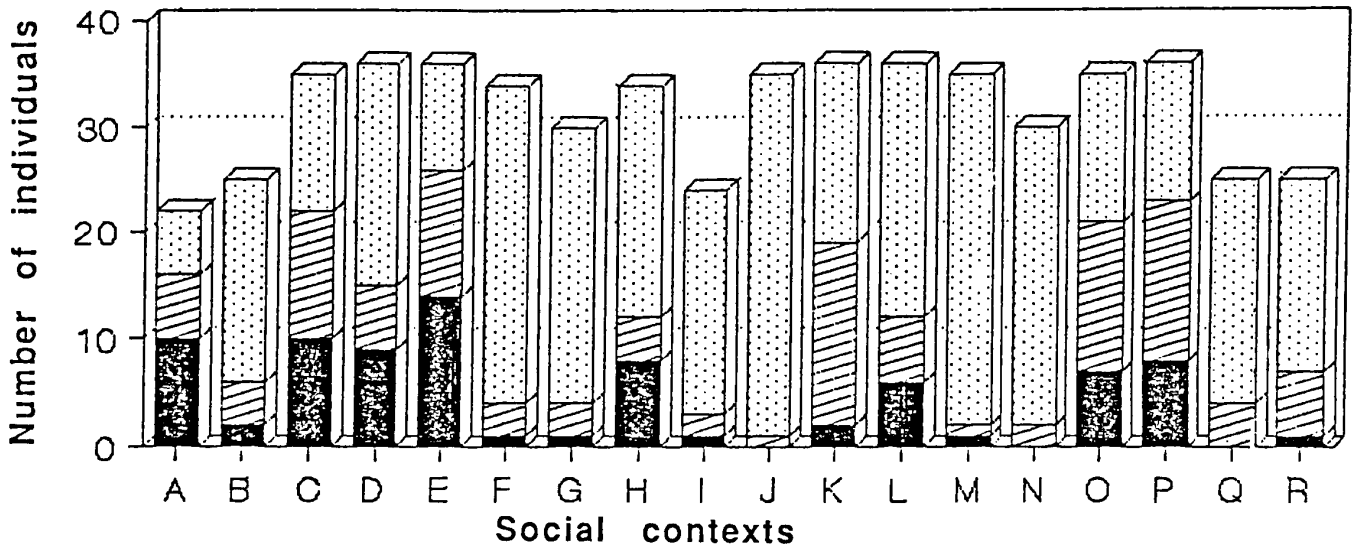
(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)






Key Occasionally or never Often

Table 12.7 Saskatoon: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 36 adults)



Key to languages used most often

-  An Indigenous language only
-  An Indigenous language & English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 12.8 Saskatoon: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 36 adults)

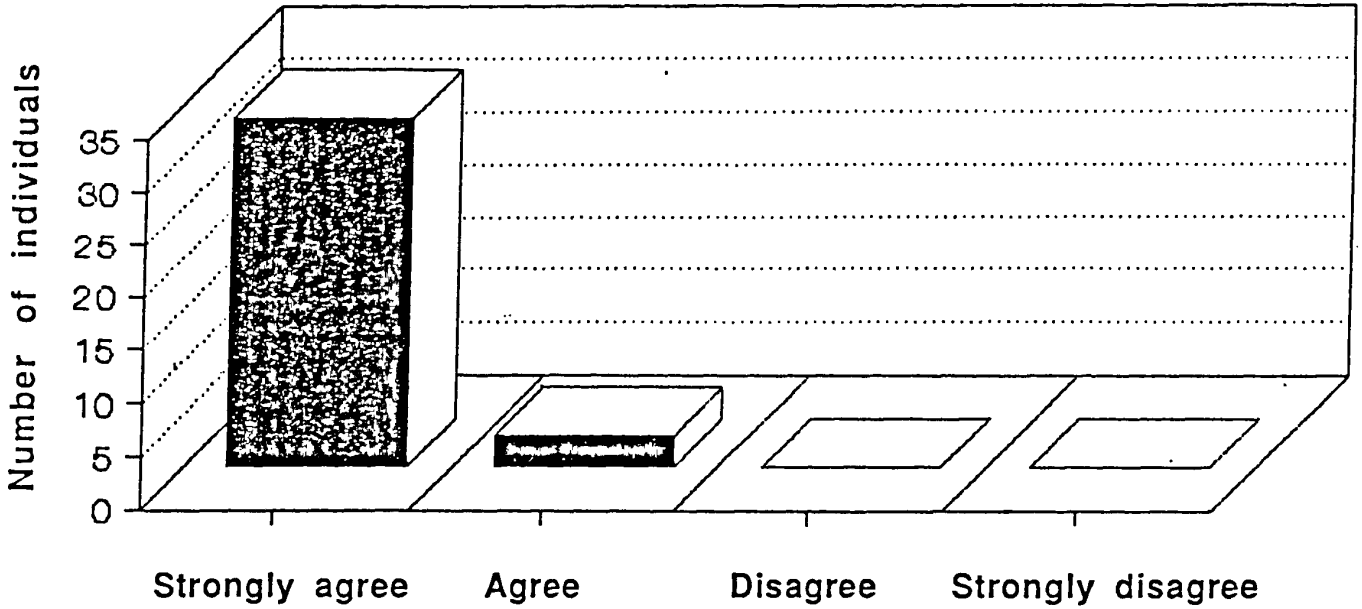


Table 12.9 Saskatoon: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 36 adults)

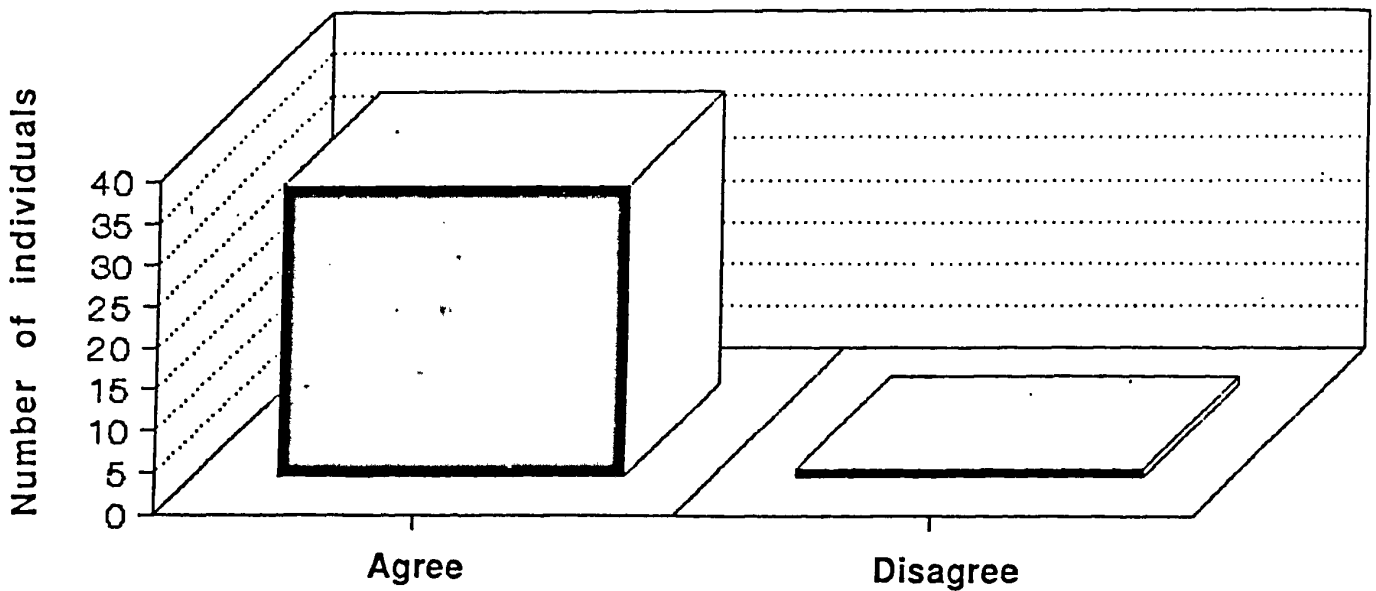
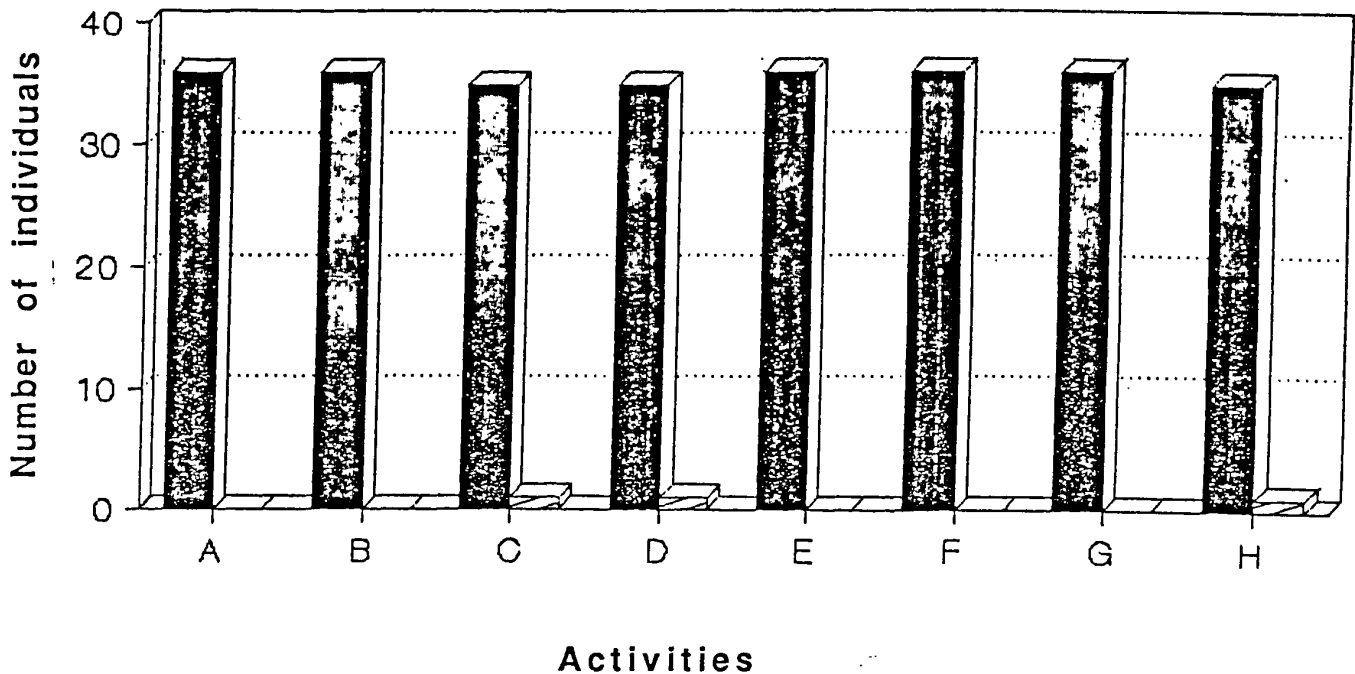


Table 12.10 Saskatoon: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 36 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

13. Standing Buffalo

Standing Buffalo is a Dakota reserve in southern Saskatchewan. It is located near the town of Fort Qu'Appelle within an hour's drive of Regina. The traditional language is Dakota-Isantee dialect.

13.1 Main home language

Thirteen homes were included in the sample. English was reported as the main home language used in all homes; Dakota in none.

13.2 Individual language proficiencies

Of the 58 people for whom information was collected, very few were fluent in the Dakota language. The great majority (90%) were English-speakers. The remaining 10% were fluent in both Dakota and English. One among these also reported fluency in Lakota. The predominant dialect of Dakota was Isantee. Some also knew Dakota-Ihanktowan.

13.3 Age and language proficiency

There were no Dakota-speakers under the age of 30. The few existing Dakota-speakers were all adults over the age of 30. No monolingual speakers of Dakota were reported.

13.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

English was the language most commonly reported as the mother tongue of the adults surveyed (8/13). One of these reported having learned Dakota as a second language. Five out of 13 reported Dakota as their mother tongue. All had then learned English, and one had lost the use of Dakota. One Elder learned Lakota as a first language and later added Dakota and English.

13.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

No one in the sample reported that they were literate in Dakota.

13.6 Frequency of use

Few people used Dakota often. Those who reported that they did were over the age of 30. It was reported that a few school-age children spoke the language often. This may have been in the context of a school language program, since none of the children in the community were described as Dakota-speakers.

13.7 Social contexts

Dakota did not appear to be a dominant language in any one situation, although a few individuals reported using only Dakota in some situations. There was very little reporting of people using both Dakota and English in the same setting. Most used either English or Dakota.

13.8 Attitudes to language retention

There was agreement with the position that Indigenous languages should be retained (Table 13.8), and that they should be in the schools (13.9). There was relatively strong support for only three language and culture retention activities: adult language classes, summer immersion camps, and resident elders in schools (Table 13.10).

When asked why Dakota should be retained, the following comments were offered:

"because without the language we are not a real tribe"

"so we won't be lost in the future"

"because (by learning our language) we get to know ourselves better"

"it's important in any line of....work".

When asked how learning the Dakota language would help their children or grandchildren, they said:

"to have a better understanding of their background"

"university requirement to take another language"

"it will help them gather themselves"

"keeping our language is important for ceremonial purposes"

"it coincides with our cultural background and our Indian identity; today a lot of our young cannot identify with their ethnic roots".

13.9. Summary and conclusions

The Dakota language is in extremely critical condition at Standing Buffalo. There were no fluent speakers under the age of 30, and not all of those over 30 were fluent in Dakota. All homes in the survey reported English rather than Dakota as the main language of the home (that is, the main language used around the supper table). There was not a strong pattern of Dakota language use in the community, and it was very infrequently used by all those younger than 30.

Table 13.1 Standing Buffalo: Main home language

(n = 13 homes)

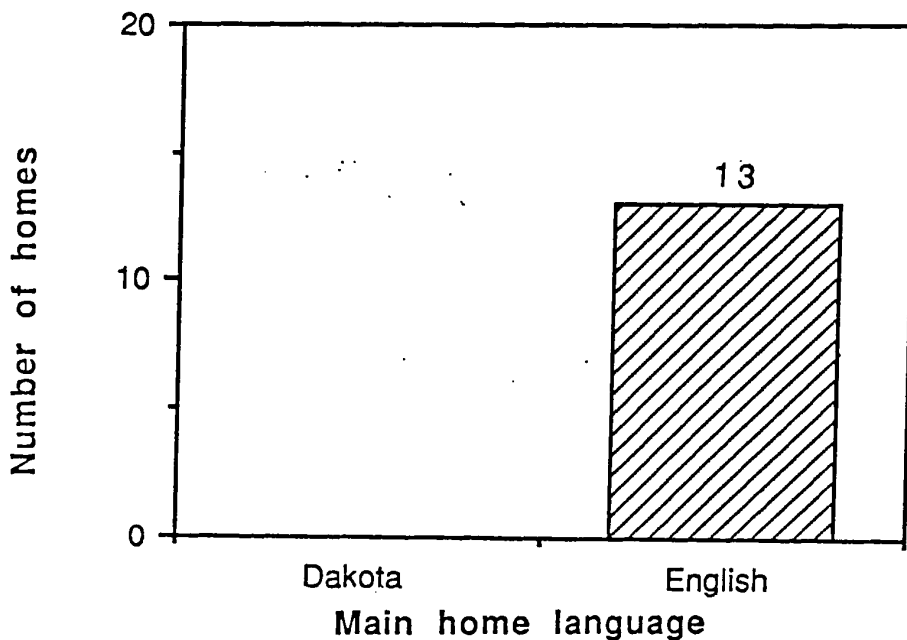


Table 13.2 Standing Buffalo: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 58 people)

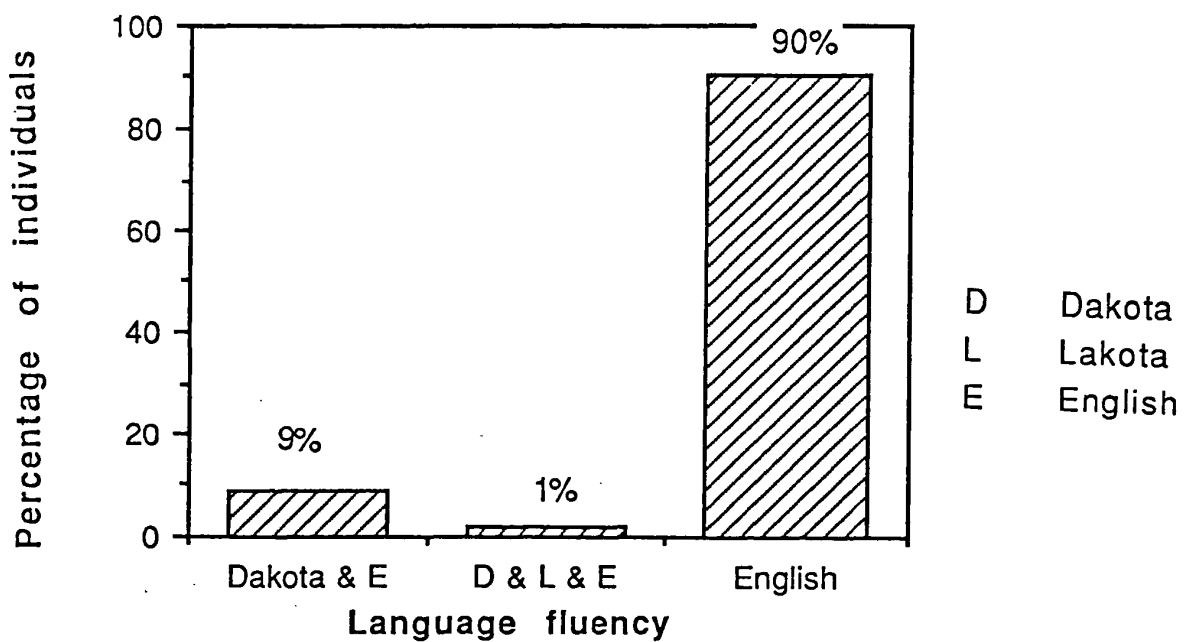
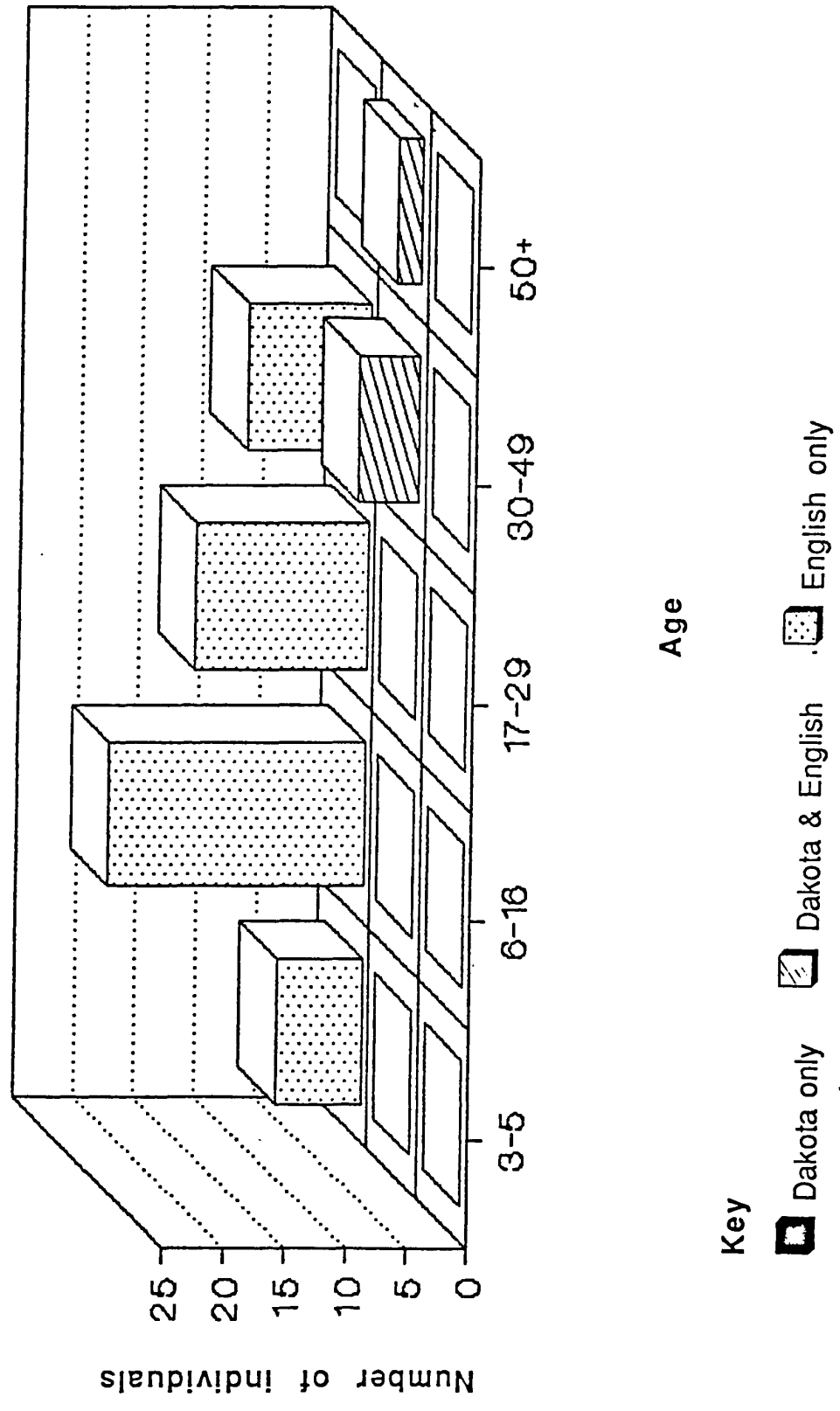


Table 13.3 Standing Buffalo: Age and language proficiency
(n = 62 people)



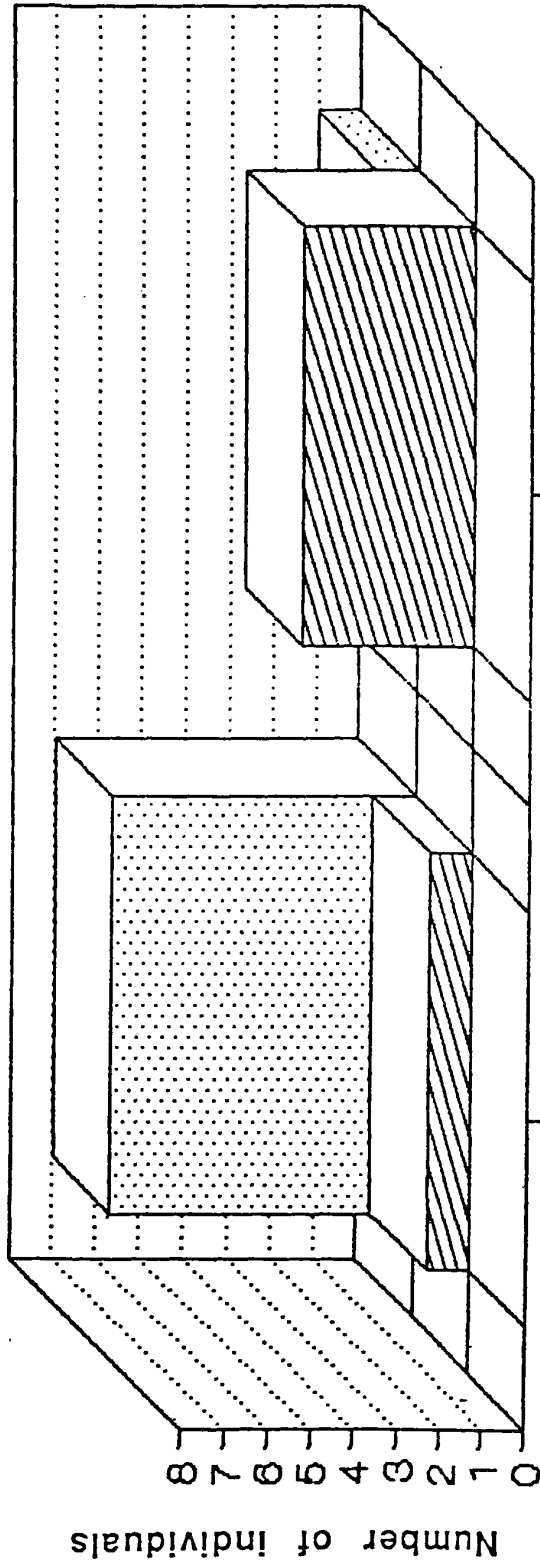
Key

- Dakota only
- Dakota & English
- Dakota & English
- English only

Table 13.4

Standing Buffalo: First language compared with adult language proficiencies

(n = 13 adults)



Key





- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in Dakota & English as adults
- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B  Learned Dakota as a first language and are fluent in Dakota & English as adults.
- B  Learned Dakota as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults

Table 13.5 Standing Buffalo: Literacy in Indigenous languages

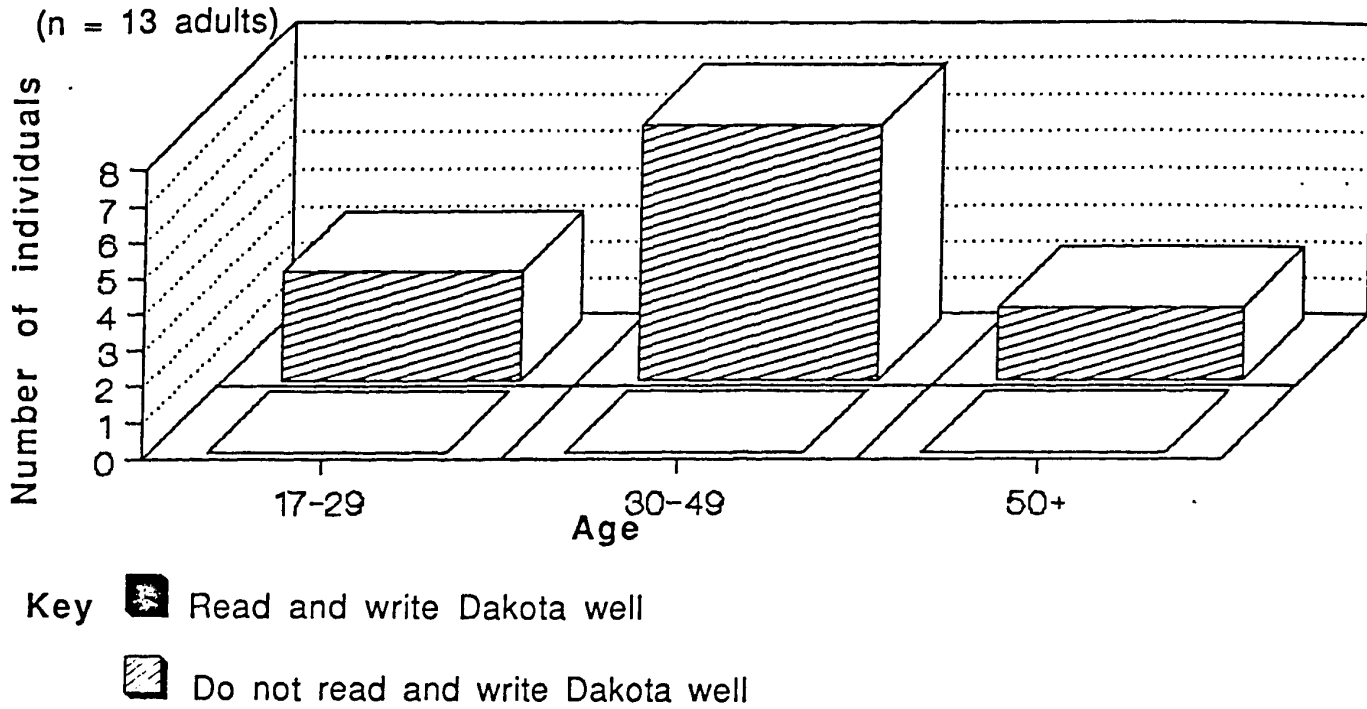


Table 13.6 Standing Buffalo: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)

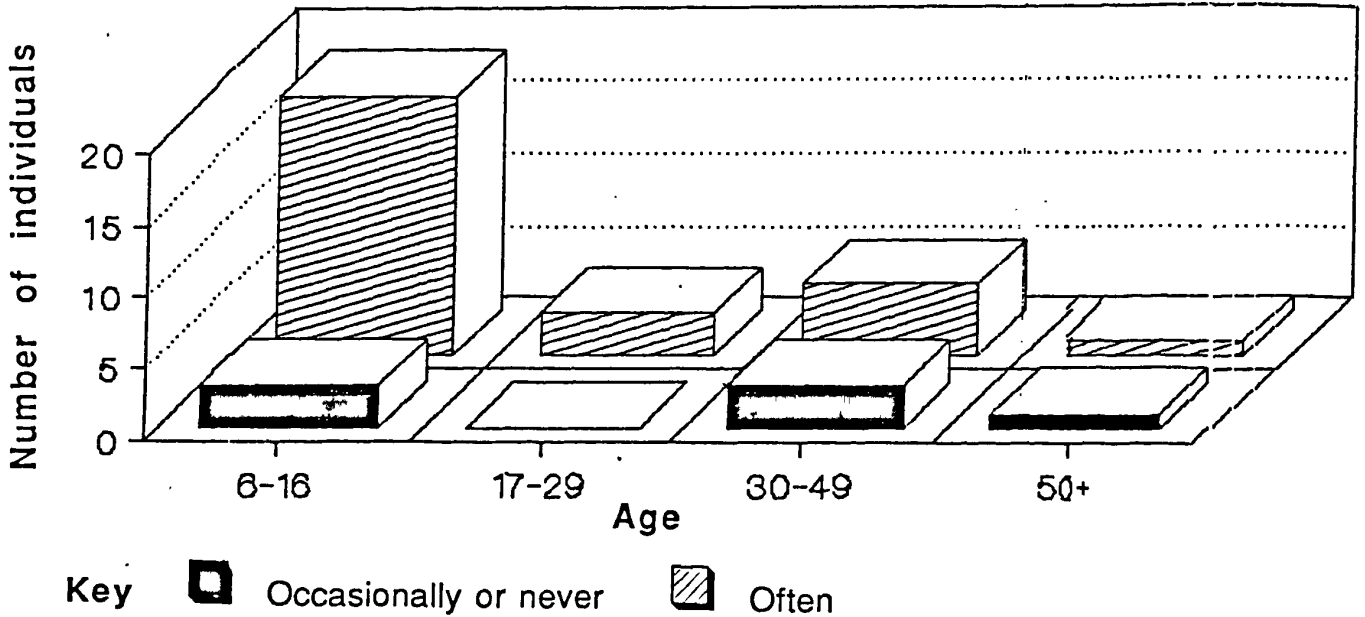
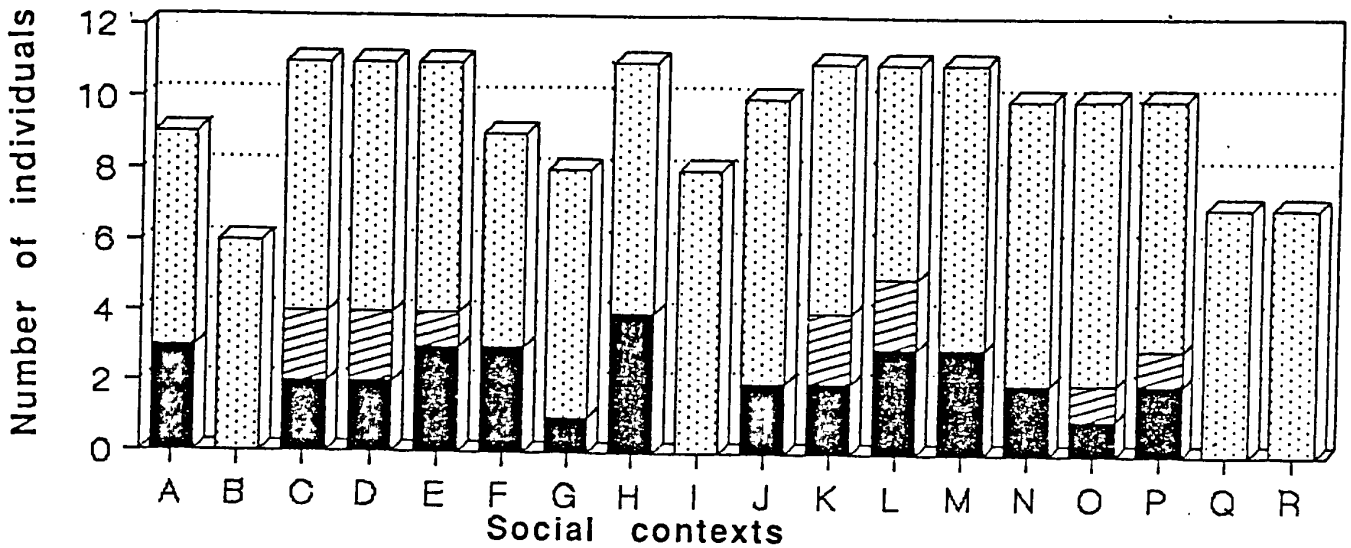





Table 13.7 Standing Buffalo: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 13 adults)



Key to languages used most often

-  Dakota only
-  Dakota & English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 13.8 Standing Buffalo: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 13 adults)

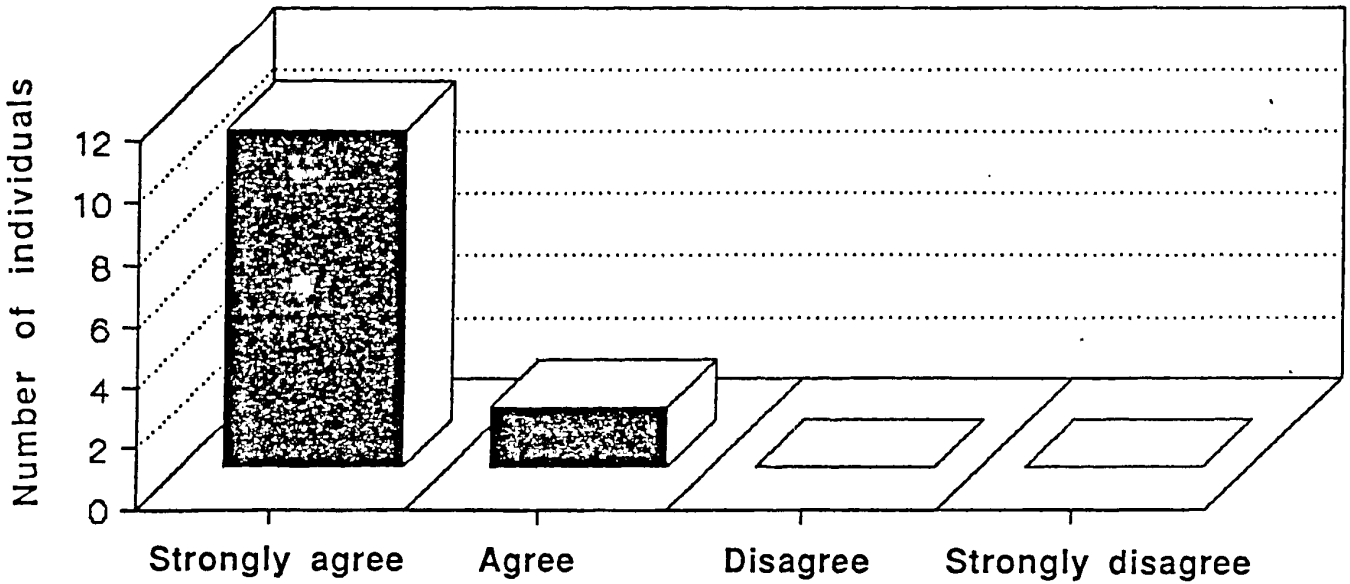


Table 13.9 Standing Buffalo: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 13 adults)

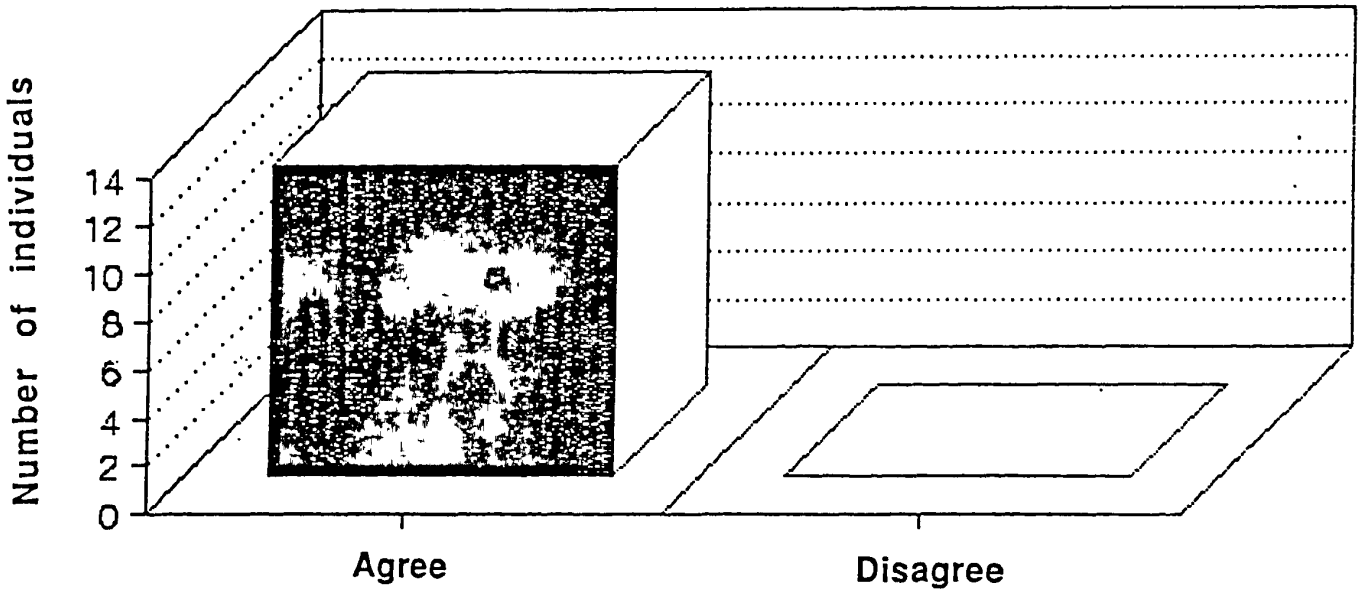
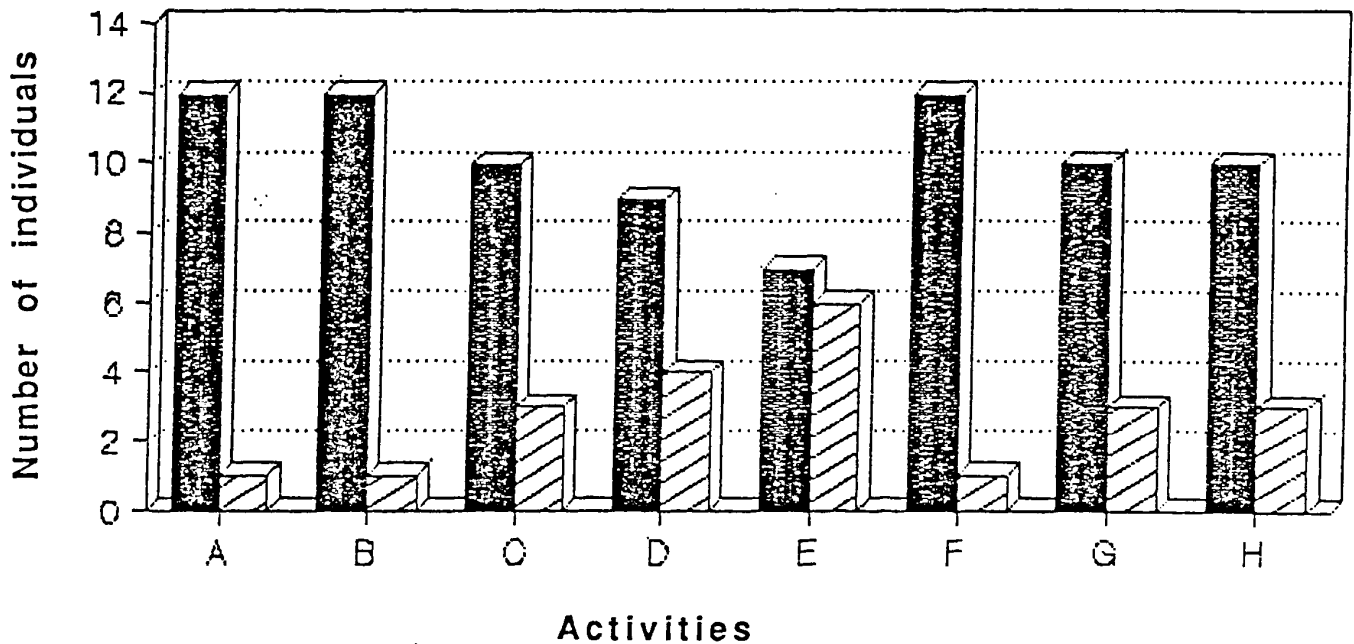


Table 13.10 Standing Buffalo: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 13 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support
  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

14. Stanley Mission

Stanley Mission is a Cree community north of La Ronge. It is about 450 km. north of Saskatoon. Most of its population are members of the Lac la Ronge Band. The dialect of the language spoken here is Cree-th which is also referred to as Woods Cree. The local school has been band-controlled for many years. A bilingual and bicultural program has existed in the school since the 1970's.

14.1 Main home language

Almost all homes reported Cree-th as the main home language. Information was provided for 28 homes, and only in one instance was it reported that both Cree-th and English were used for this purpose.

14.2 Individual language proficiencies

There were 133 individuals in the sample. Of these, 95% were Cree-speakers. A few among them were not fluent in English. Those who were not fluent in Cree numbered 5% of the total group of 133. Many Cree-speakers reported knowing more than one dialect of Cree.

14.3 Age and language proficiency

There did not appear to be much variation among age-groups. The large majority in each age-group spoke both Cree and English. There were a few monolingual Cree-speakers reported in the pre-school, young adult, middle-age adult, and older adult categories.

14.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

All of the 29 respondents reported Cree as their mother tongue. Most had subsequently learned English as a second language, and all had retained their fluency in Cree.

14.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Cree literacy appeared to be well-established among the adults who were surveyed. The majority of the respondents reported that they could read and write Cree well. Others indicated that they had a limited ability to read and write Cree. Orthographies used

included syllabics, CMRO, and the Standard Roman orthography. Literacy was reported in the contexts of letters, legends, community newspaper, Bible, hymns, and teaching.

14.6 Frequency of use

Cree was used often by those in all age categories. Everyone 17 years of age or older indicated that they used Cree frequently. Most, but not all, in the school-age category were recorded as frequent users of Cree. A number of children were reported to use English more than Cree with friends.

14.7 Social contexts

Cree was used extensively in most settings: visiting with friends and relatives, church, prayer, funerals, wakes, greetings, joke-telling, and at the local store. There was also a high level of Cree use at school, in community meetings, at work, and for those who partook, at bingo and in the bar. Relatively less Cree was used at the clinic/hospital.

14.8 Attitudes to language retention

Almost unanimous support was expressed for Indigenous language retention (Table 14.8) and for the Cree language being in the schools (Table 14.9). One person disagreed in both cases. A high degree of support was recorded for all language and culture retention activities, including adult language classes, language and culture clubs, resident elders in schools, TV and radio in Indigenous languages, recreational activities in Indigenous languages, newspapers in Indigenous languages, and preschool immersion (Table 14.10).

Some of the views expressed included the following:

"language is our life - it gives us integrity."

"it is part of being an Indian"

"we can keep the old teachings and be able to pass (them)on to others."

"(the Cree language)is one of the strongest foundations of our culture"

"it saddens me to know that the children may lose their language"
 "(learning Cree helps children) understand both worlds...(gives them) a better understanding of the world", "a chance to understand what our grandfathers and grandmothers taught us and explain it to our children and future generations."

"most employers are seeking bilingual speakers, especially in the north"

"I am glad I didn't lose my Indian language because it has helped me in a lot of ways. I do community reports on the CBC."

"A lot of people over 30 still speak Cree and they have wonderful stories to tell.

"When I become an Elder, I would like to speak to my children in my language and have them understand."

"(children should) learn their mother tongue for stronger identity in the future. Concepts are transferable into the other language."

"(knowledge of Cree will enable children) to understand handed-down information from older people and be able to read and write Cree."

"spiritual values and morals (should be discussed) in Cree in school"

"TV and radio programs are available in Cree".

14.9. Summary and conclusions

The Cree language appears to be healthy at Stanley Mission. The majority in all age categories were fluent speakers, and it was the main language used in virtually all of the homes surveyed. There was a strong pattern of Indigenous language use in the community. *However, careful planning will be required to maintain the Cree language at its current strength.* Of concern is the number of children reported to speak English more often than Cree to their friends and others. Support should be provided to those children and families who temporarily leave the community to live in a non-Cree-speaking environment. When they return to their home community, special policies or programs might help them re-establish the use of Cree.

Table 14.1 Stanley Mission: Main home language

(n = 28 homes)

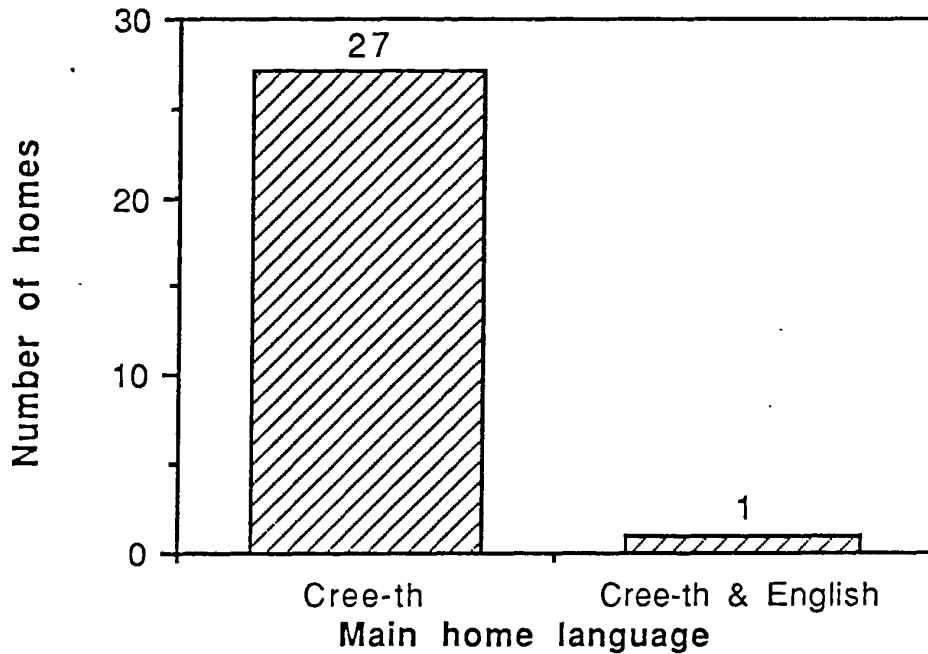


Table 14.2 Stanley Mission: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 133 people)

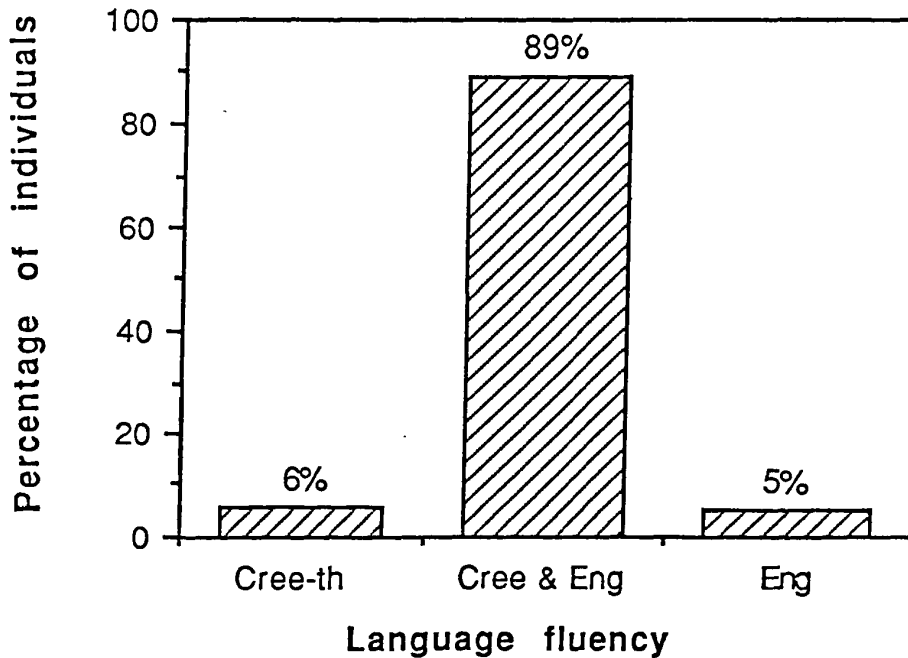
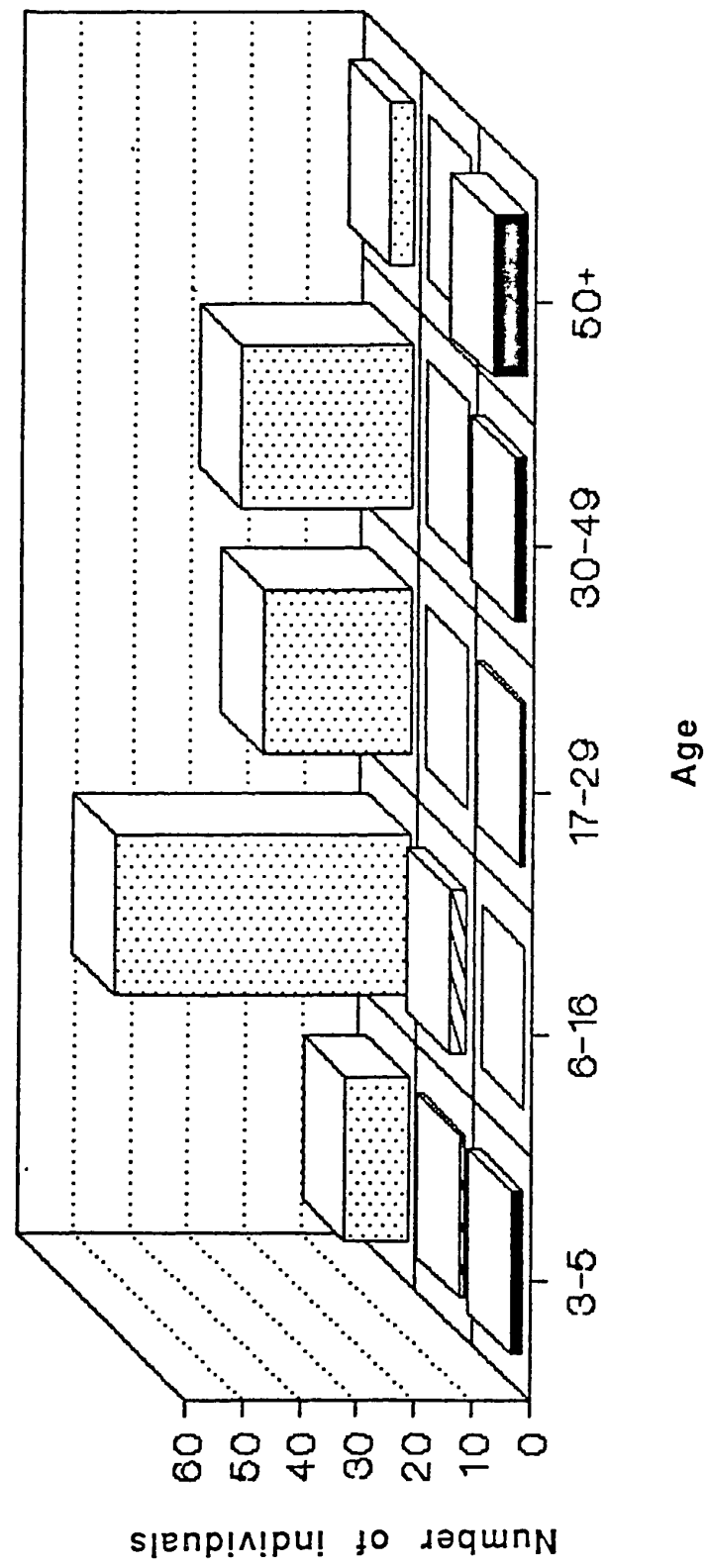


Table14.3 Stanley Mission: Age and language proficiency
(n = 138 people)



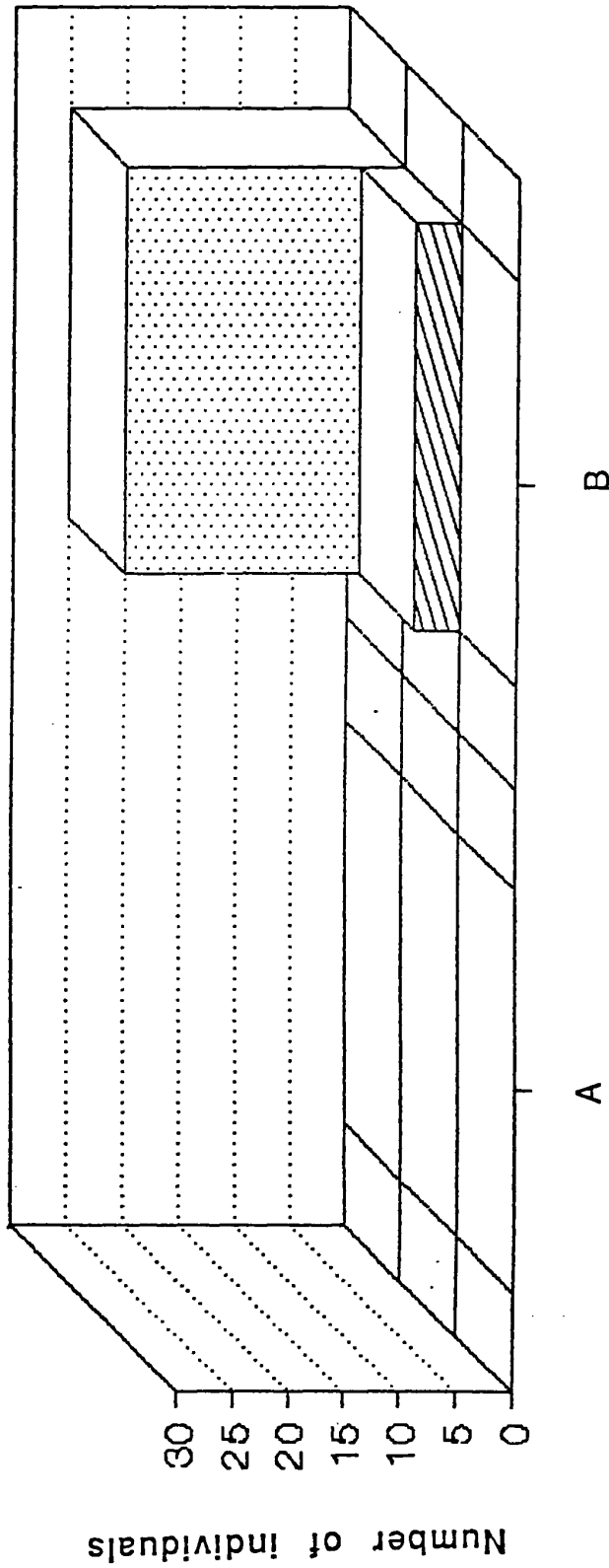
Key

- Cree only
- Cree & English
- English only

Table 14.4

Stanley Mission: First language compared with adult language proficiencies

(n = 29 adults)



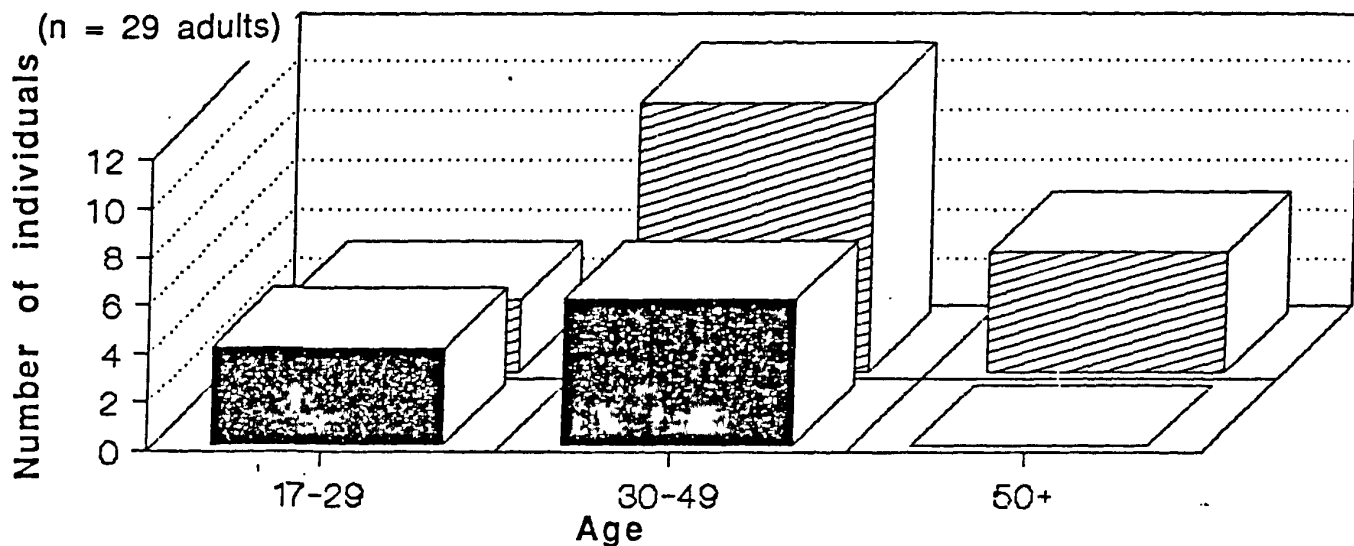
Key

A Learned English as a first language

B Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree only as adults

B Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults

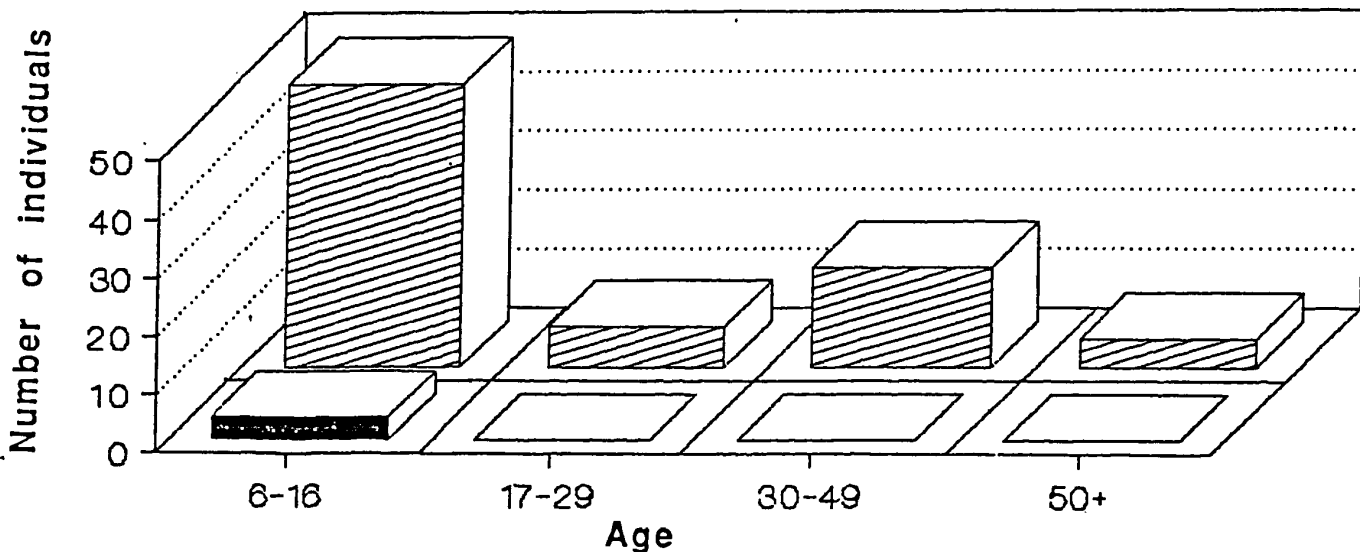
Table 14.5 Stanley Mission: Literacy in Indigenous languages



Key Read and write Cree well
 Do not read and write Cree well

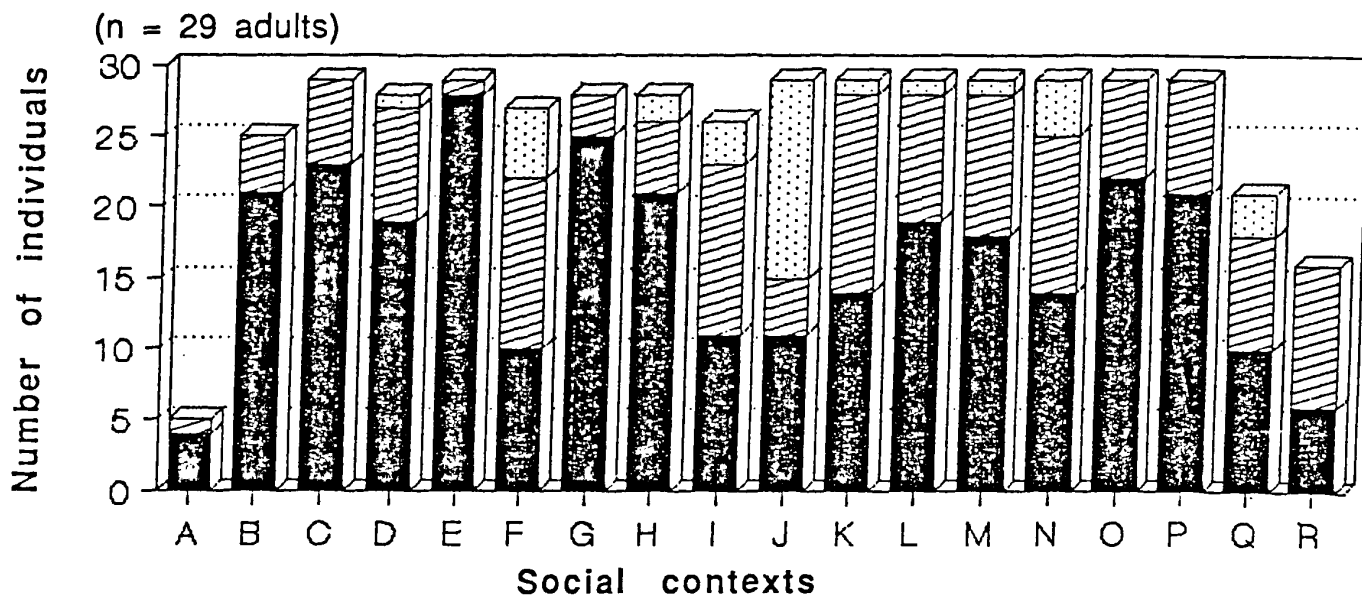
Table 14.6 Stanley Mission: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)






Key Occasionally or never Often

Table 14.7 Stanley Mission: Social contexts of Indigenous language use



Key to languages used most often

-  Cree only
-  Cree & English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 14.8 Stanley Mission: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 29 adults)

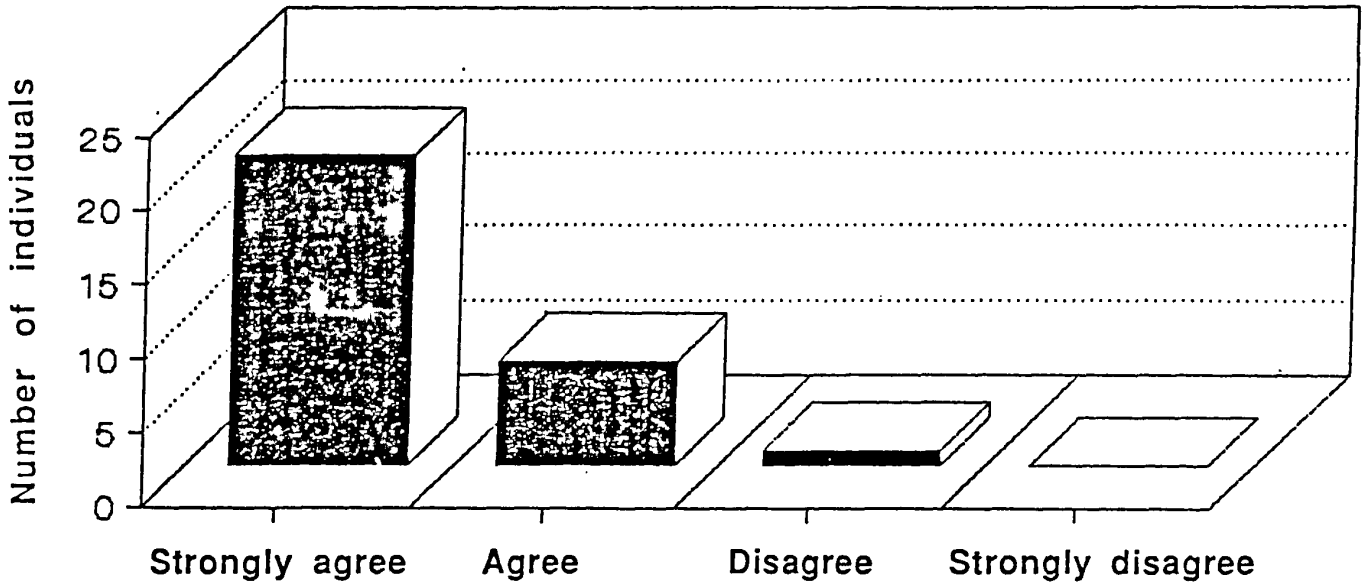


Table 14.9 Stanley Mission: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 29 adults)

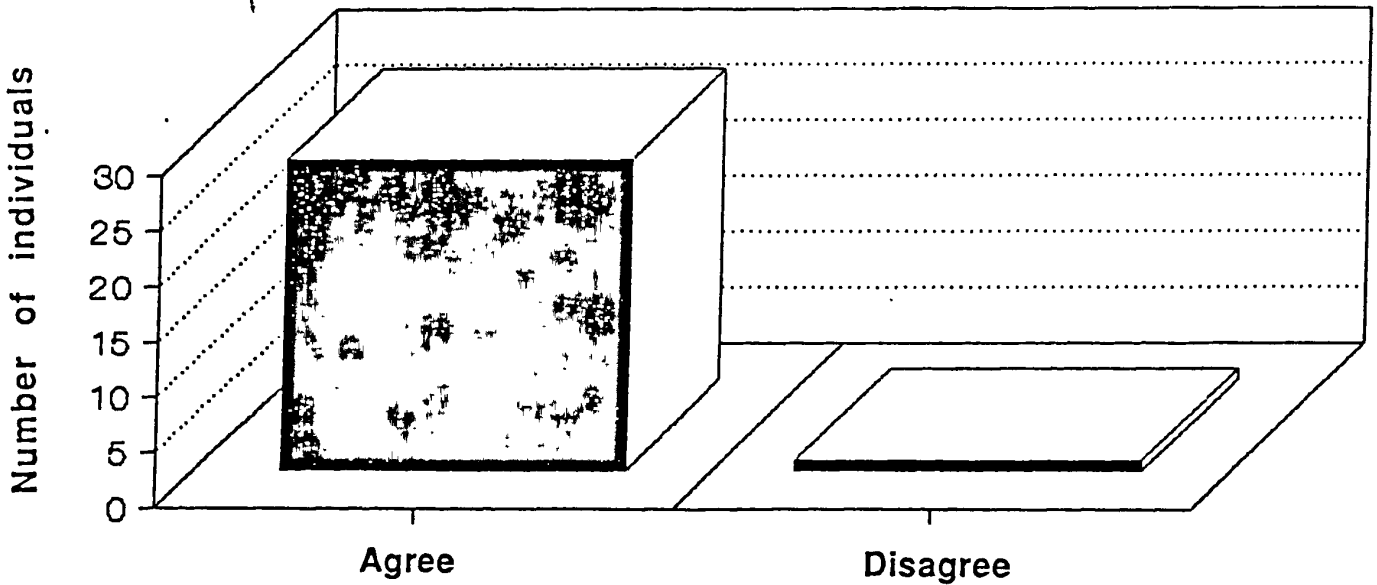
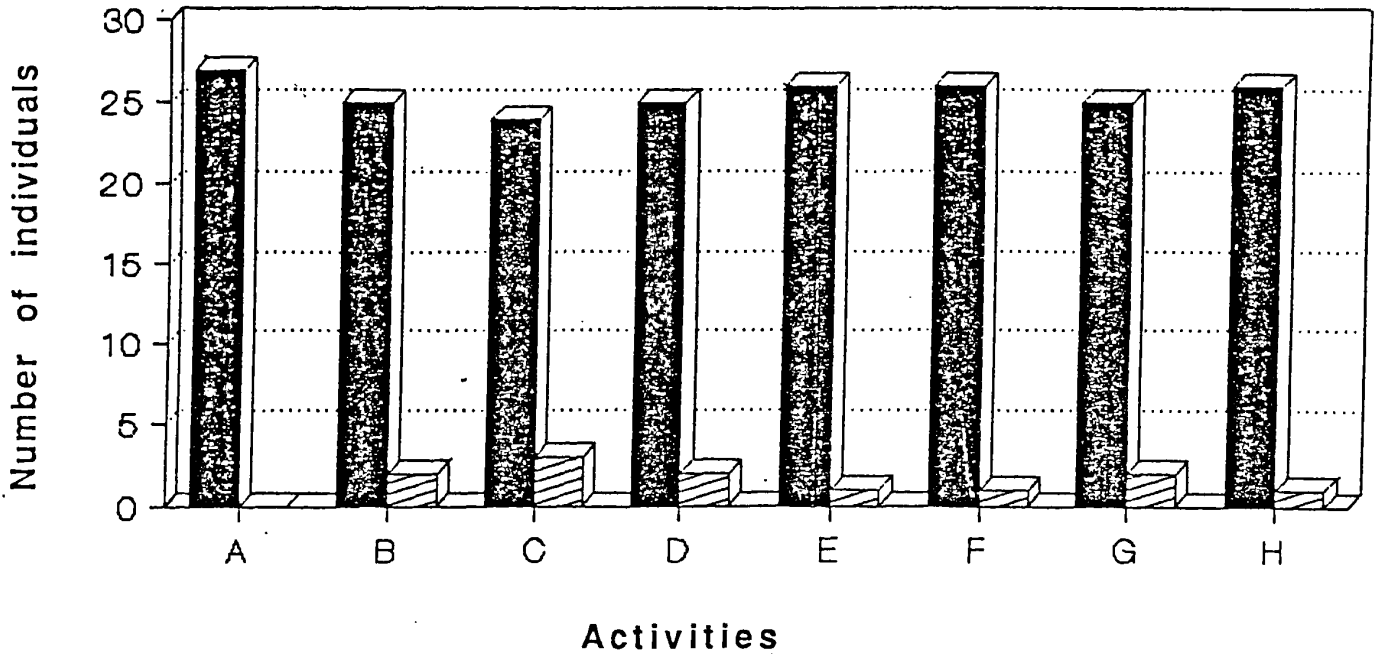


Table 14.10 Stanley Mission: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 29 adults)



Key to attitudes

Support
 Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

15. Wahpeton

Wahpeton is a Dakota reserve in central Saskatchewan, just north of the city of Prince Albert. The traditional language is Dakota.

As in the case of Moose Woods, it was not possible to produce exact statistics or graphs because of inconsistencies in the data collected. However, it appeared that no one under the age of 50 knew the Dakota language well enough to pass it on to the next generation. Of the ten homes included in the sample, English was reported as the main home language used in all of them; Dakota in none. In addition to English and Dakota, there was some Cree spoken at Wahpeton.

When asked how they thought knowledge of Dakota would help the children in the community, one person stated: "it gives them an alternate means of communicating and solving programs". Another said: "it would keep our language from disappearing". And another comment: "for jobs in the future because there are more jobs where more languages than English are needed".

According to community member Darlene Speidel, at the time this report was written (1991) there were only four fluent Dakota-speakers left, all over the age of 65. Among those in their 50's, there were three individuals who knew Dakota, but these had only partial fluency. This and other information reported in the questionnaires indicated that English was the dominant language at Wahpeton. **It is clear that the Dakota language is in extremely critical condition at Wahpeton.**

16. Waterhen

This Cree reserve is on the northwestern side of the province, about 50 km. north of Meadow Lake. Its traditional language is Cree-y dialect.

16.1 Main home language

Half of the 24 homes for which information was provided reported English as their main home language. About one-quarter reported Cree and another quarter reported Cree and English.

16.2 Individual language proficiencies

There were 109 individuals whose language proficiencies were reported. Cree-speakers were in the majority at 59%, and all but a very few were also fluent in English. However, a large minority (42%) were reported as English-speakers, with little or no fluency in Cree.

16.3 Age and language proficiency

Virtually all of those over the age of 30 were Cree-speakers, and most also spoke English. A few Cree-speakers over the age of 50 were not fluent in English. However, only about two-thirds to the 17 - 29 year olds in the survey were reported as fluent Cree-speakers, along with a minority of those in the school-age and preschool sections of the sample. Most of the children were reported as being fluent speakers of English, and not Cree.

16.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Among the 26 adult respondents, all but one had learned Cree as a first language. All but two of the Cree-speakers had subsequently learned English as a second language.

16.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Most of the 26 respondents considered themselves literate in Cree.

16.6 Frequency of use

Most of the adults (17 - 29, 30 - 49, and 50+) used Cree frequently. On the other hand, most of the school-age children (about 60%) did not. Only about 40% were considered to use Cree often.

16.7 Social contexts

Cree alone was the usual language reported used by the respondents when visiting with older people, and during ceremonies. In most other contexts, both Cree and English was the dominant pattern: playing cards, visiting with relatives, community meetings, greetings, joke-telling, school, church, local store, work, funerals, wakes, bingo, and the bar. English alone was used more at the clinic/hospital than in any other context listed.

16.8 Attitudes to language retention

Everyone surveyed expressed agreement that Indigenous languages should be retained, but a minority did not express strong agreement (Table 16.8). All agreed that the languages should be in the schools (Table 16.9). There was also strong support for all the language and culture retention activities included on the questionnaire: language and culture clubs, preschool immersion, resident elders in schools, newspapers, TV and radio in Indigenous languages, recreational activities in Indigenous languages, summer immersion camps, and adult language classes (Table 16.10).

When asked to elaborate, the following comments were recorded regarding the importance of maintaining Cree:

"We cannot abandon our culture and language - our Creator gave it to us."

"our ancestors communicated in Cree; there was a reason they spoke that way"

"we will be seen as Native people who cannot speak their language, and English will be their first and only language."

"not to (enter) a melting pot of dominant society"

Regarding how knowledge of Cree would help the next generation:

"it would help children to speak to the Elders so they can learn from them"

"strong emphasis on cultural identity, self-awareness, enhance self-esteem"

Two additional suggestions were made: "foster children should be raised by Cree-speaking people" and "group homes for children and senior citizens (should be established)".

16.9 Summary and conclusions

Cree is in serious condition at Waterhen. The situation appears to have changed quite rapidly. Those over 17 tend to be Cree-speakers, and those under 17 tend not to be fluent. Overall, 42% were not fluent in Cree. Only half of the homes were reported to use English as their main language. This community's resources include a large number of fluent speakers, including a number of school-age children. There was also a relatively high rate of Cree literacy reported. Combined with a firm resolve to turn the situation around, and an effective language retention plan which is implemented very soon, these resources could be adequate to bring the Cree language back to health at Waterhen.

Table 16.1 Waterhen: Main home language

(n = 24 homes)

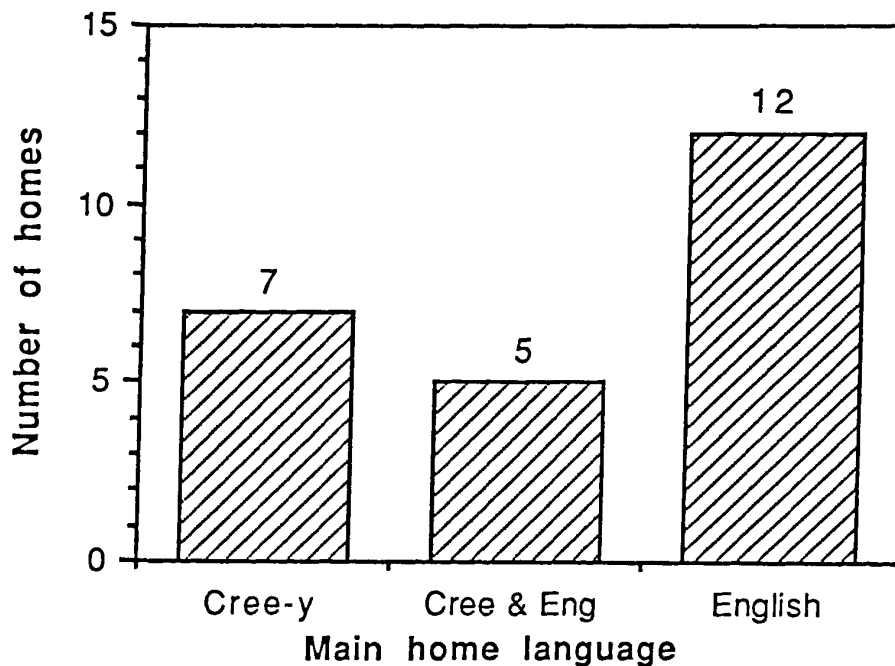


Table 16.2 Waterhen: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 109 people)

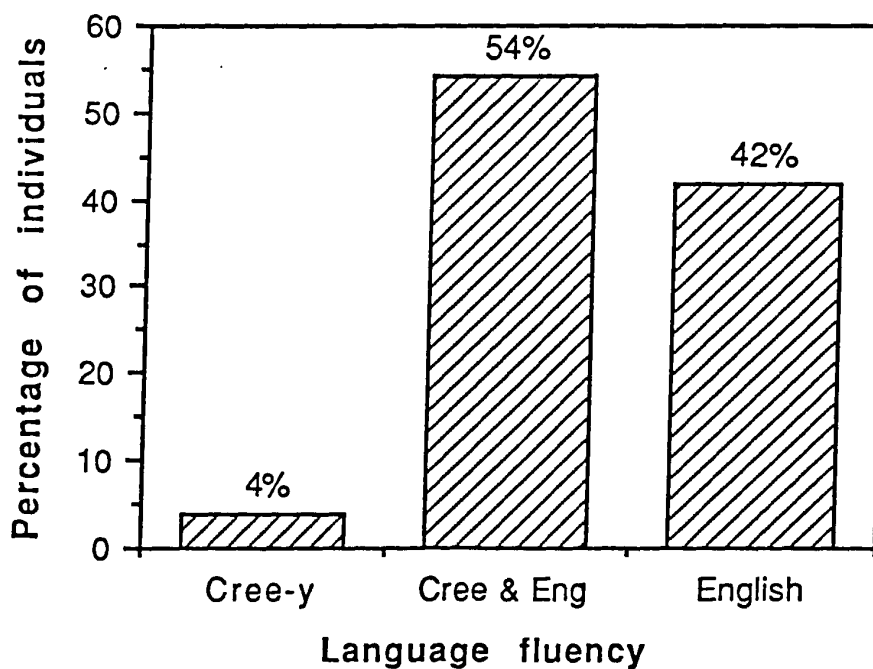
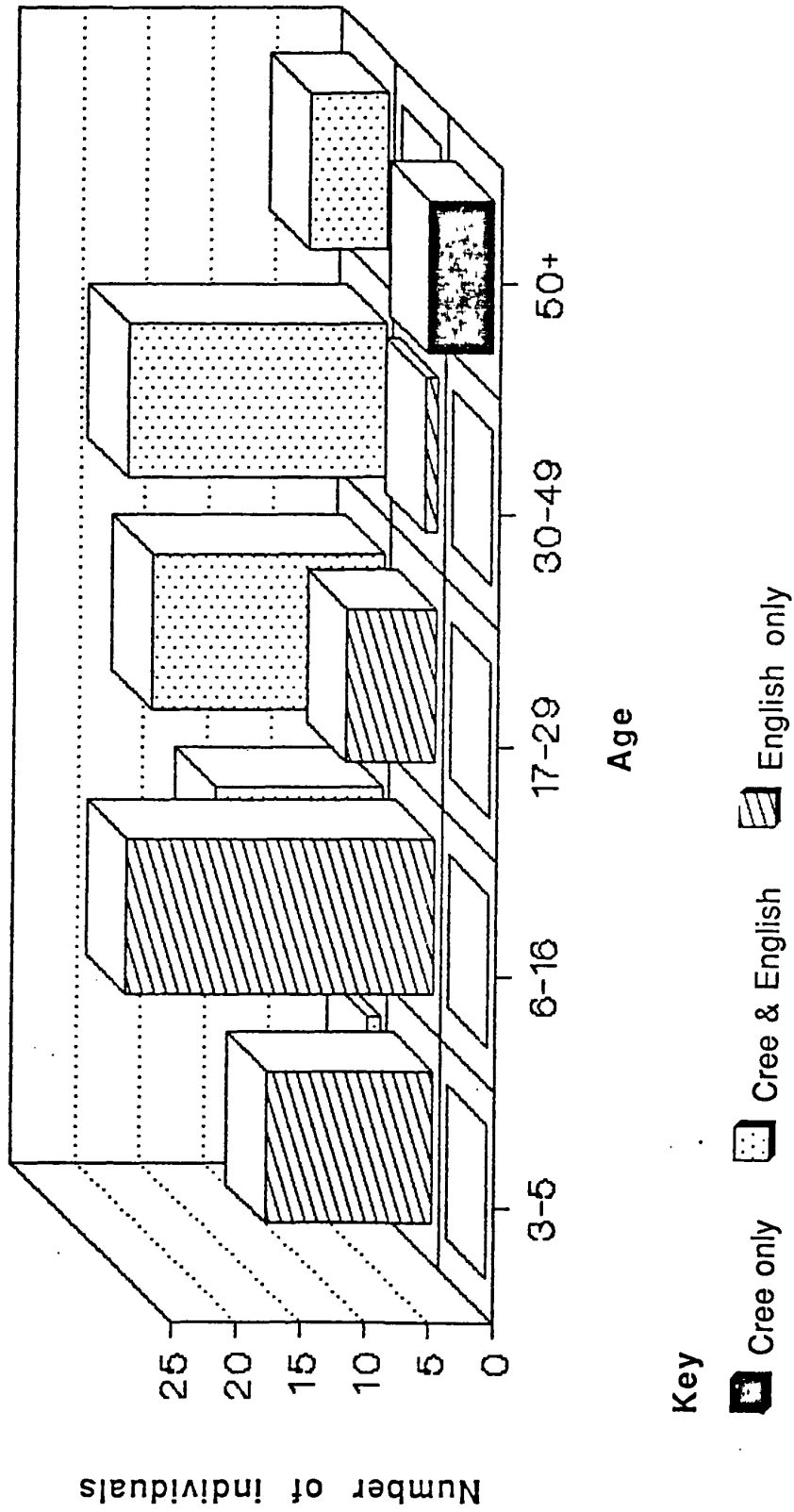


Table16.3 Waterhen: Age and language proficiency
(n = 108 people)



Key

■ Cree only

▤ Cree & English

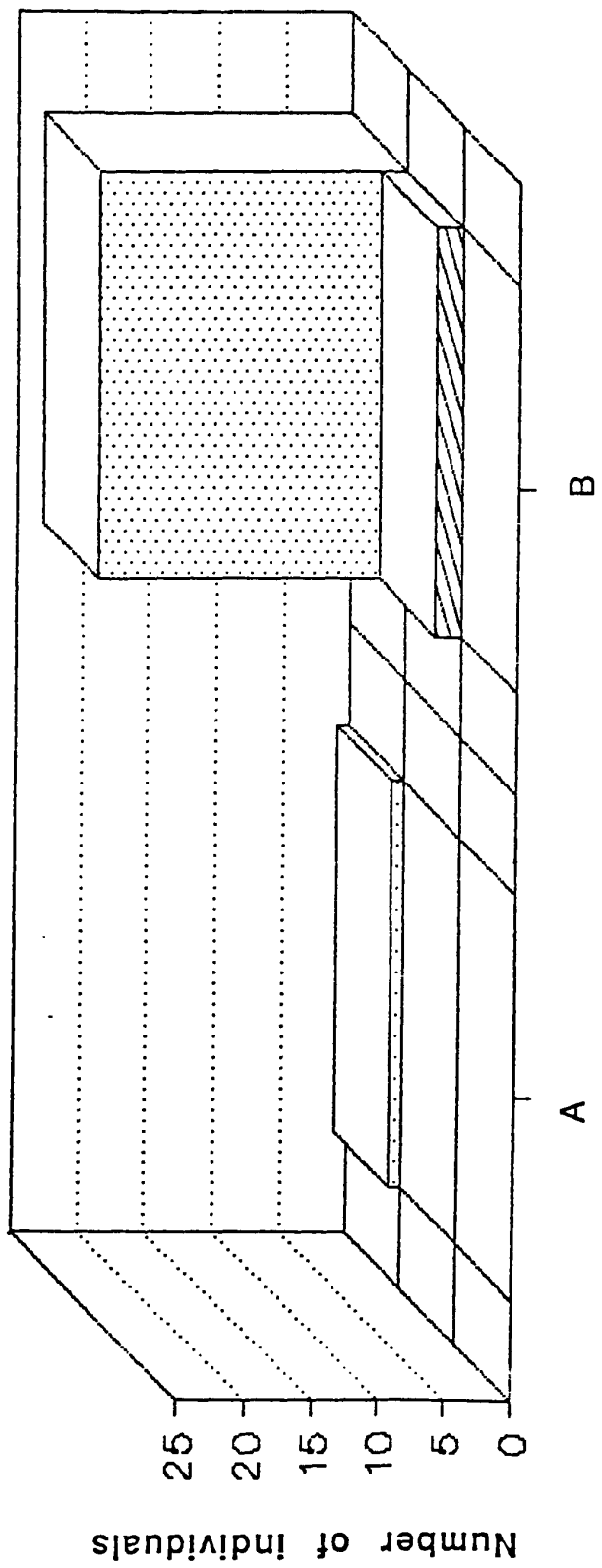
▨ Cree & English

□ English only

Table 16.4

Waterhen: First language compared with adult language proficiencies

(n = 26 adults)



Key

- A [Dotted pattern] Learned English as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults
- B [Diagonal lines] Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree only as adults
- B [Dotted pattern] Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults

Table 16.5 Waterhen: Literacy in Indigenous languages

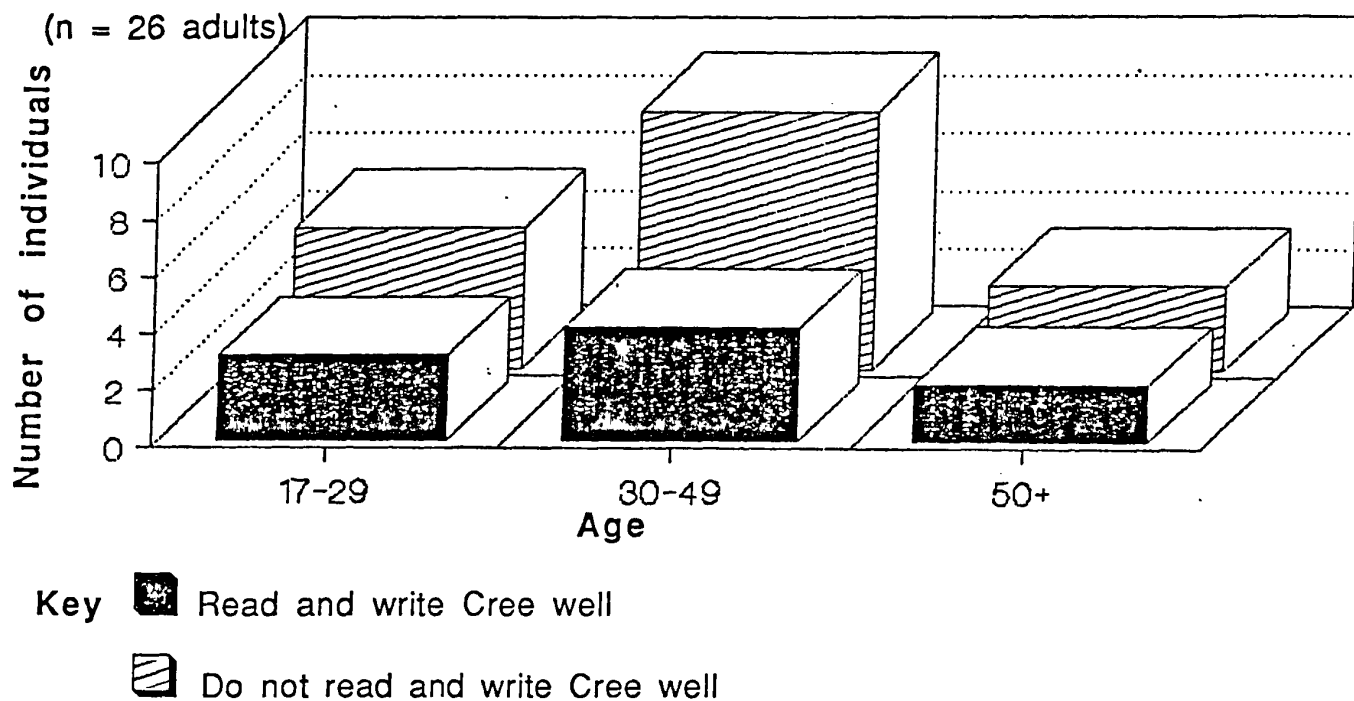


Table 16.6 Waterhen: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)

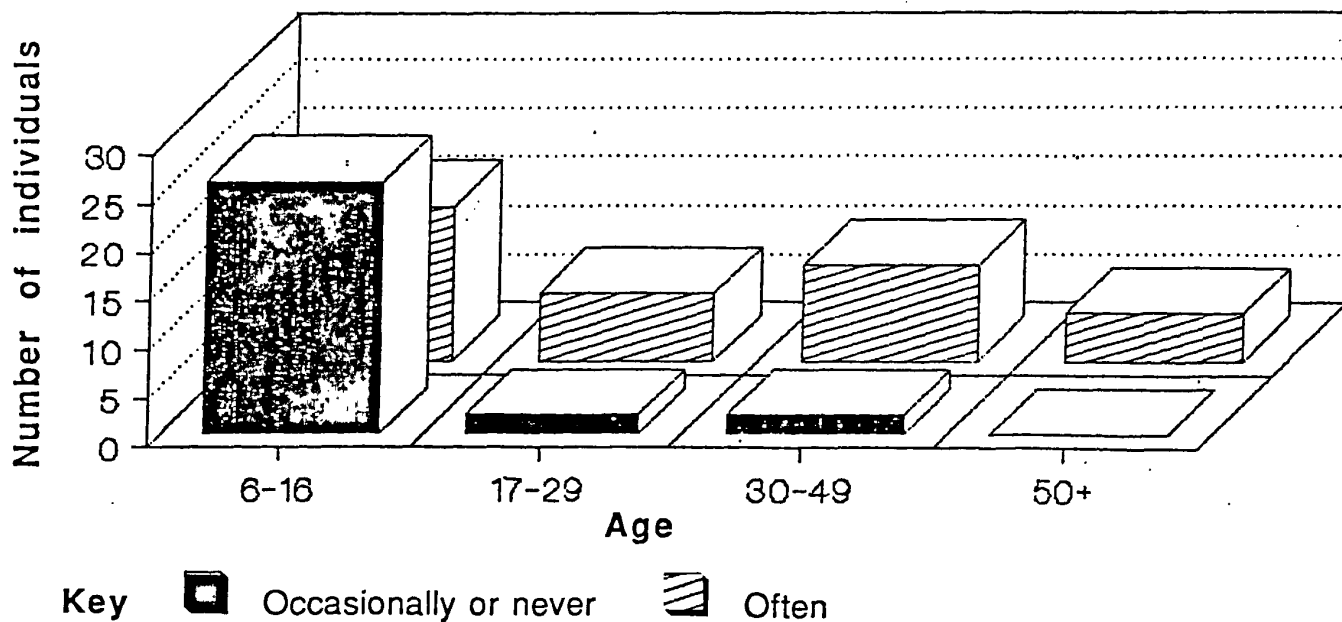
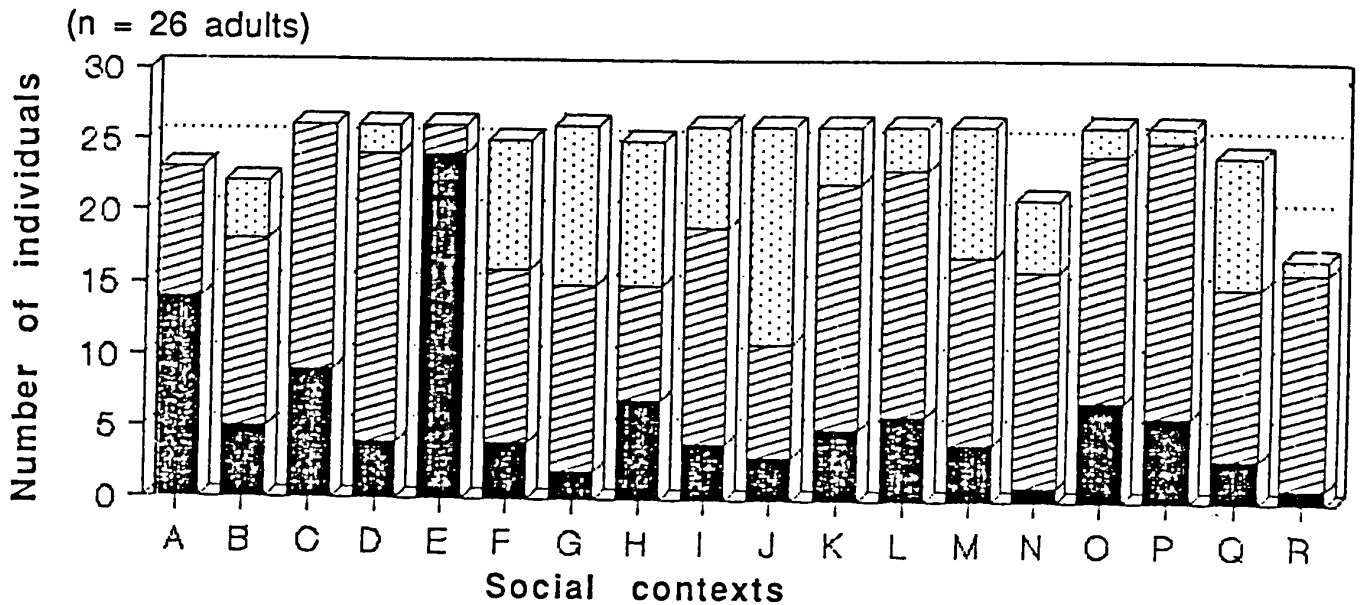





Table 16.7 Waterhen Social contexts of Indigenous language use



Key to languages used most often

-  Cree only
-  Cree & English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 16.8 Waterhen: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 26 adults)

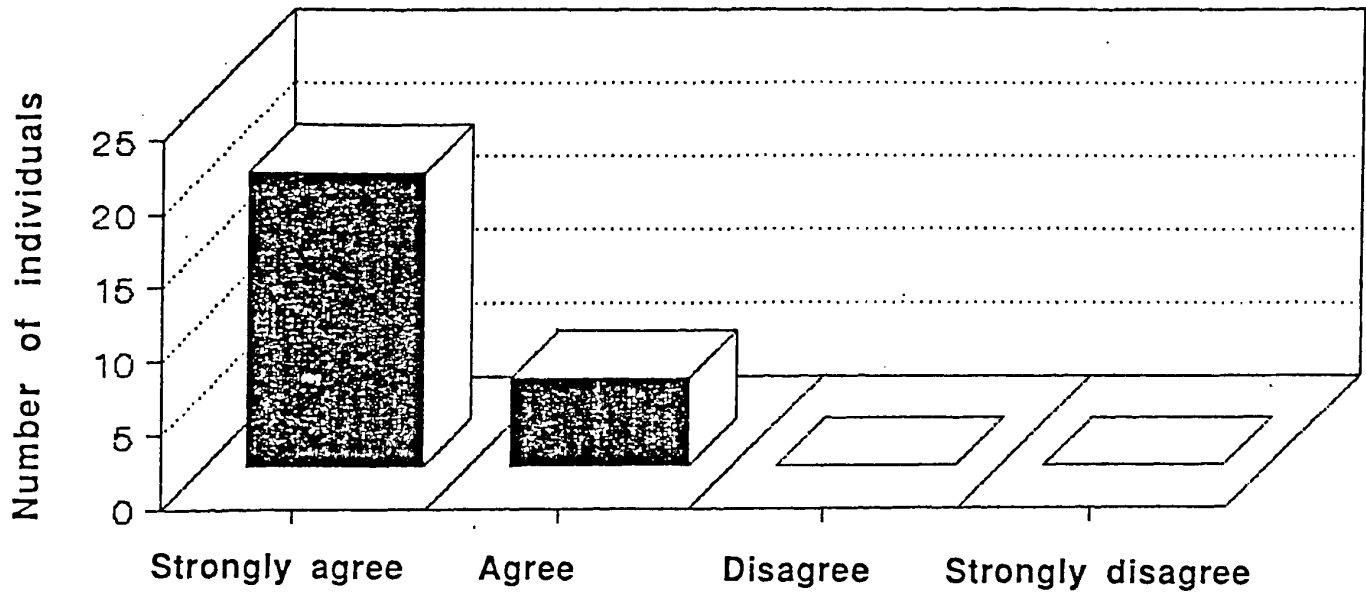


Table 16.9 Waterhen: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 26 adults)

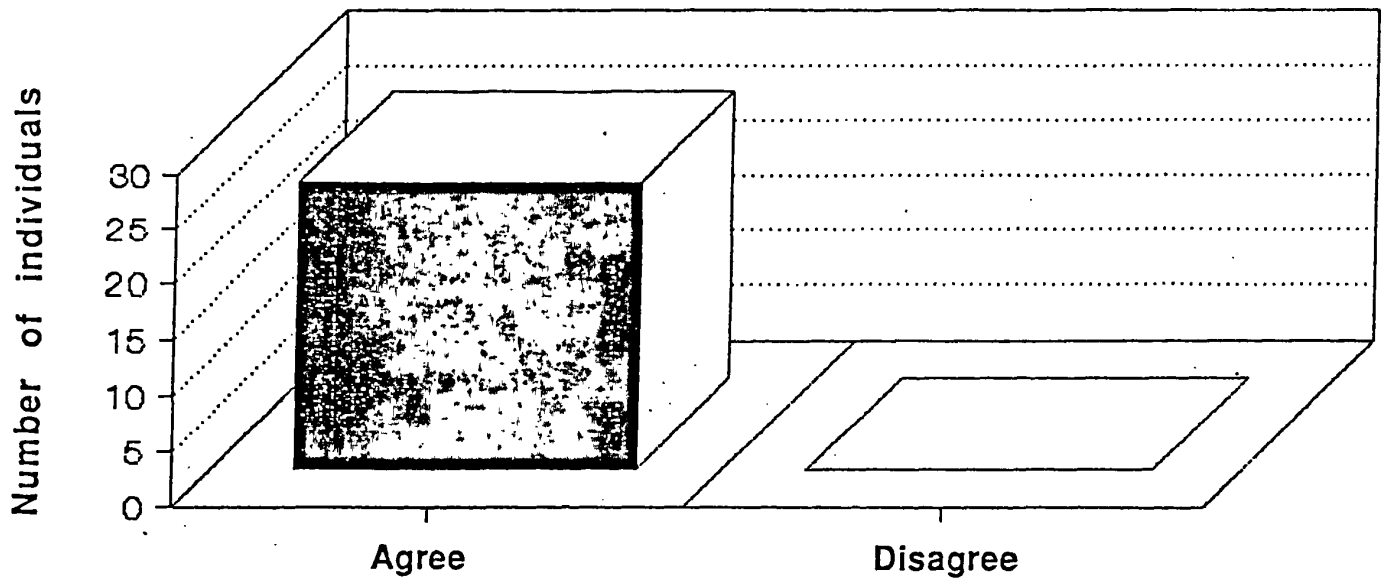
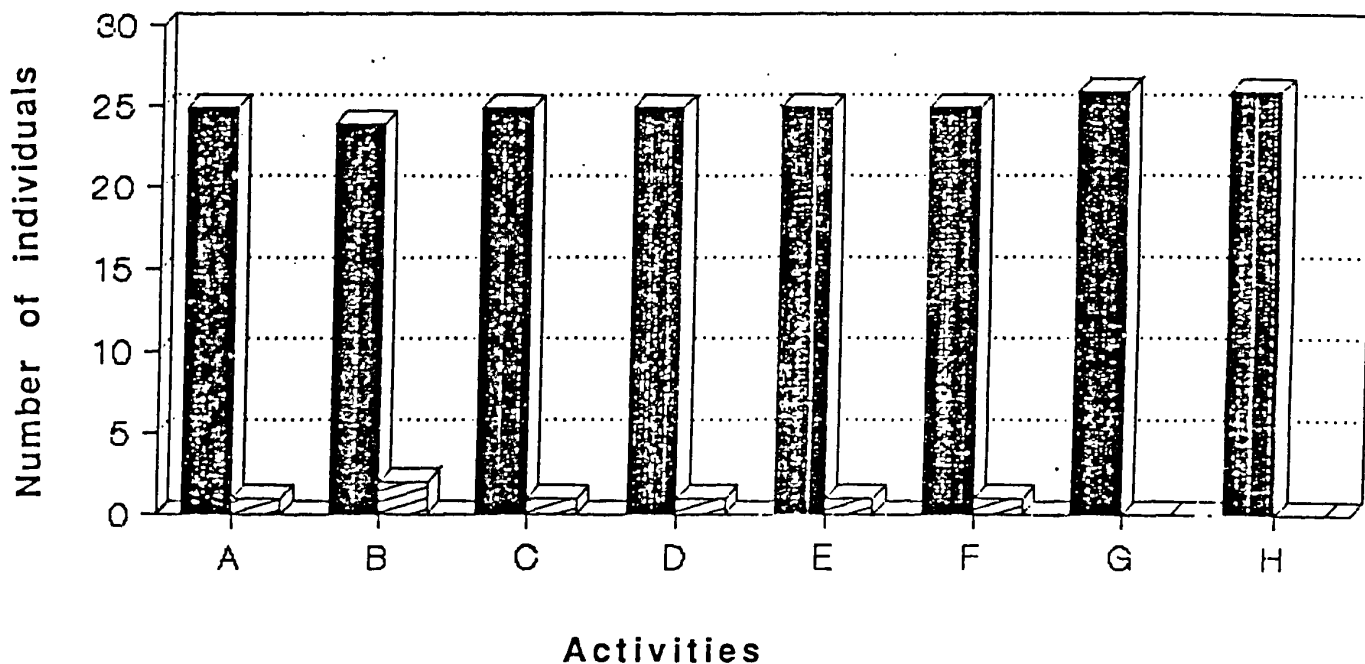


Table 16.10 Waterhen: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 26 adults)



Key to attitudes

Support
 Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

17. White Bear

White Bear is an interesting multilingual community in southeastern Saskatchewan. It is located near Carlyle, about 200 km. southeast of Regina. It is less than 100 km. from the U.S. border. Historically, Nakota, Dakota, Cree, and Saulteaux are spoken by band members.

17.1 Main home language

Of the 22 homes in the survey, 20 used English as the main language of the home, one used Nakota, and one used both Cree and English.

17.2 Individual language proficiencies

When questions about the proficiency of individuals were asked, it was reported that 86% were fluent in English only, while 14% were fluent in one or more Indigenous language. Of the total number of individuals, 8% were fluent in Cree and English; 2% in Dakota and English; 1% in Cree and Saulteaux; 1% in Saulteaux, Dakota, and English; and 1% in Cree, Saulteaux, Nakota, and English.

17.3 Age and language proficiency

No one under the age of 30 was reported fluent in any of the Indigenous languages. The one non-English speaker (Saulteaux and Cree) was over 50.

17.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Information was provided for 23 adult respondents. Just over half gave English as their mother tongue. The other half learned Cree, Saulteaux, Nakota, or Dakota as a first language, and learned English as a second language. Some of those who first spoke Cree had lost their fluency in Cree and switched to English.

17.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

No respondent considered him- or herself literate in an Indigenous language.

17.6 Frequency of use

Only a few people over the age of 30 reported that they used an Indigenous language frequently.

17.7 Social contexts

English was reported used more than any other language in all of the contexts listed. What use there was of Indigenous languages was reported mostly in these contexts: ceremonies, visiting relatives and older people, prayer, greetings, joke-telling, funerals and wakes.

17.8 Attitudes to language retention

There was not a high level of agreement expressed with the view that Indigenous languages should be retained (Table 17.8). Most agreed, but more than half of these did not express strong agreement. There were also some who did not agree. When those who agreed were asked to give reasons, they said:

"it's part of our heritage"

"we are all Indians and we should know our languages"

"it gives you a sense of feeling your culture"

"If I could speak my own language I'd feel good. I wish I could pass it on."

"(we) shouldn't be throwing it away. The Almighty gave it to us to use".

Neither was there clear support for any of the language and culture retention activities listed (Table 17.10). However, all but one believed that Indigenous languages should be in the schools (Table 17.9). Those who thought that knowledge of Indigenous languages would help their children or grandchildren offered these comments:

"I want my children to learn their language. They need another language and preferably an Indian language."

"They'll understand their Native culture and the spiritual aspect of our culture."

"prayer"

"They could understand the elders."

17.9 Summary and conclusions

This community is at an advanced stage of language loss. **All of the languages of White Bear are in extremely critical condition.** The small numbers and average age of the fluent speakers, as well as the lack of use of the language by most people in various key social contexts are evidence of the ill-health of the languages. The apparently low value placed by many individuals on Indigenous language retention would make developing programs and policy for language retention a difficult task. However, the fact that there was considerable support for Indigenous languages in the school may mean that although many do not believe that the languages can or should be revived as languages of communication, they have an important place in the education of the community's children, perhaps to enable them to understand their history and cultural heritage. Further research at the community level would be required to investigate this.

Table 17.1 White Bear: Main home language

(n = 22 homes)

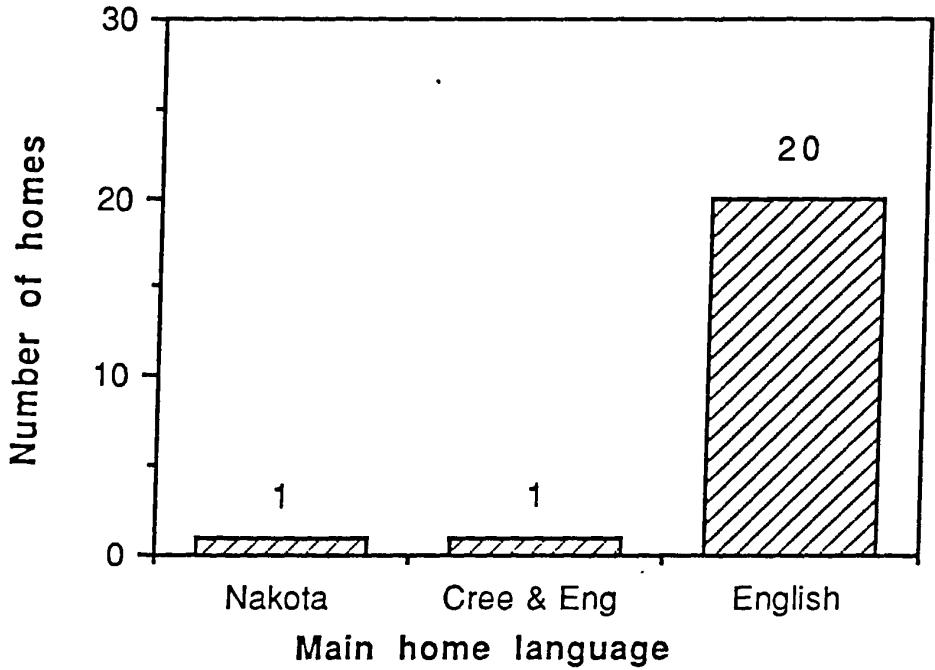
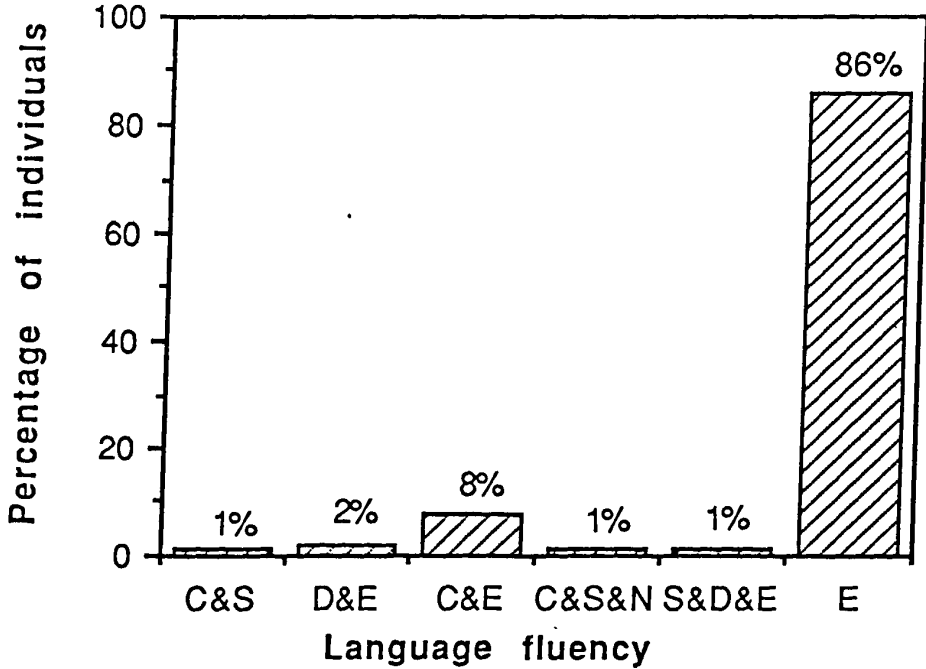


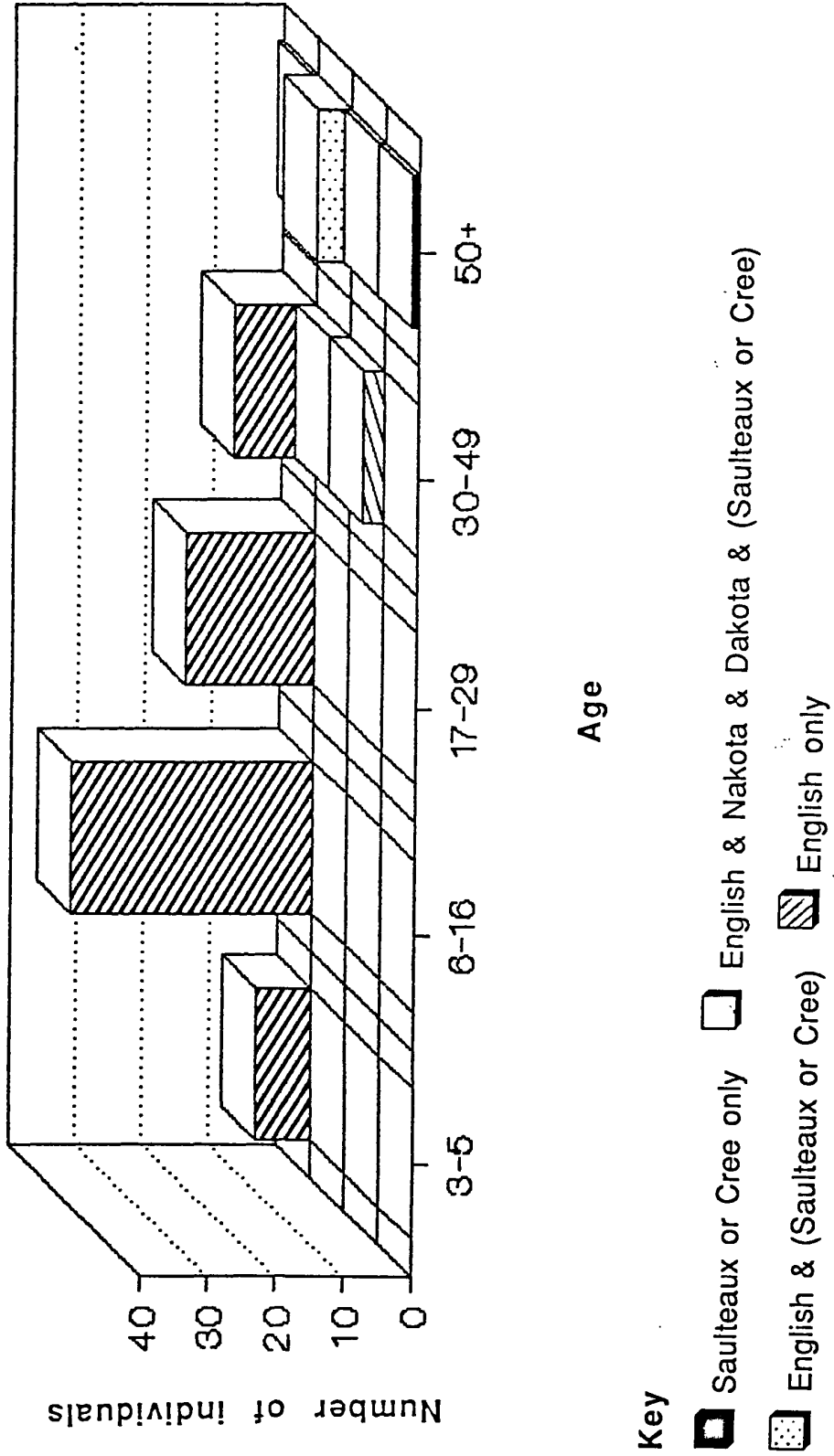
Table 17.2 White Bear: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 87 people)



Key
 C = Cree
 S = Saulteaux
 D = Dakota
 N = Nakota
 E = English

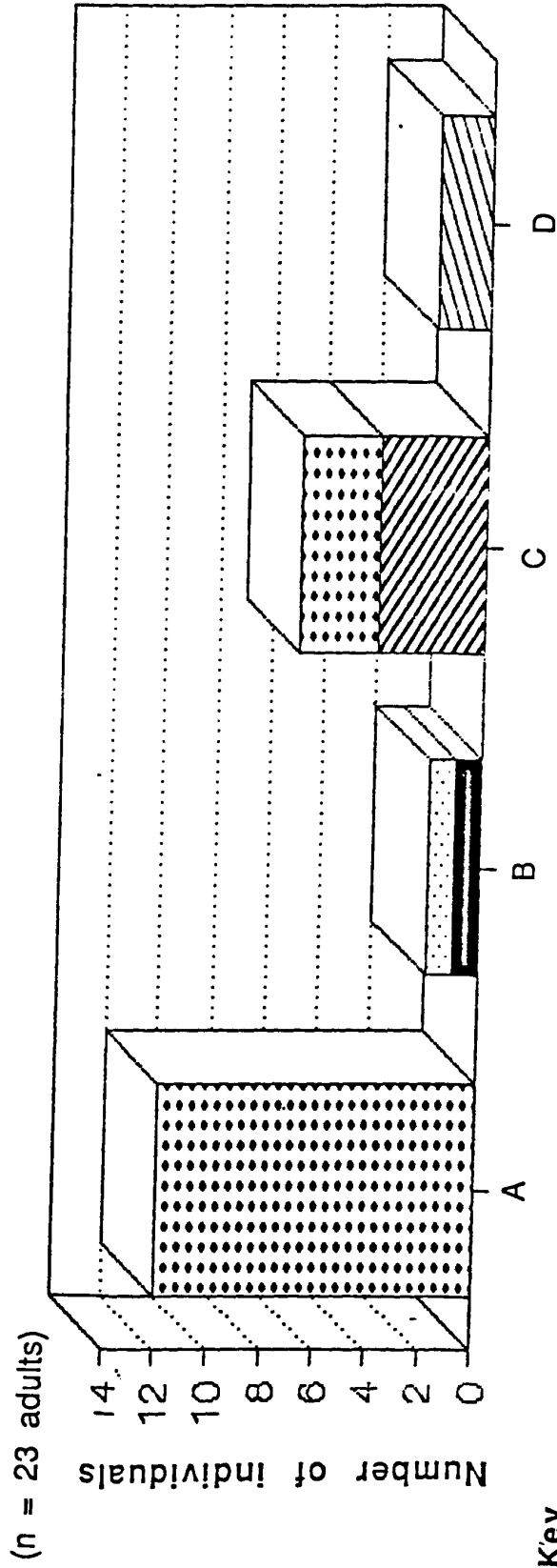
Table 17.3 White Bear: Age and language proficiency
(n = 77 people)



Key

- Saulteaux or Cree only
- English & Nakota & Dakota & (Saulteaux or Cree)
- English & (Saulteaux or Cree)
- English only

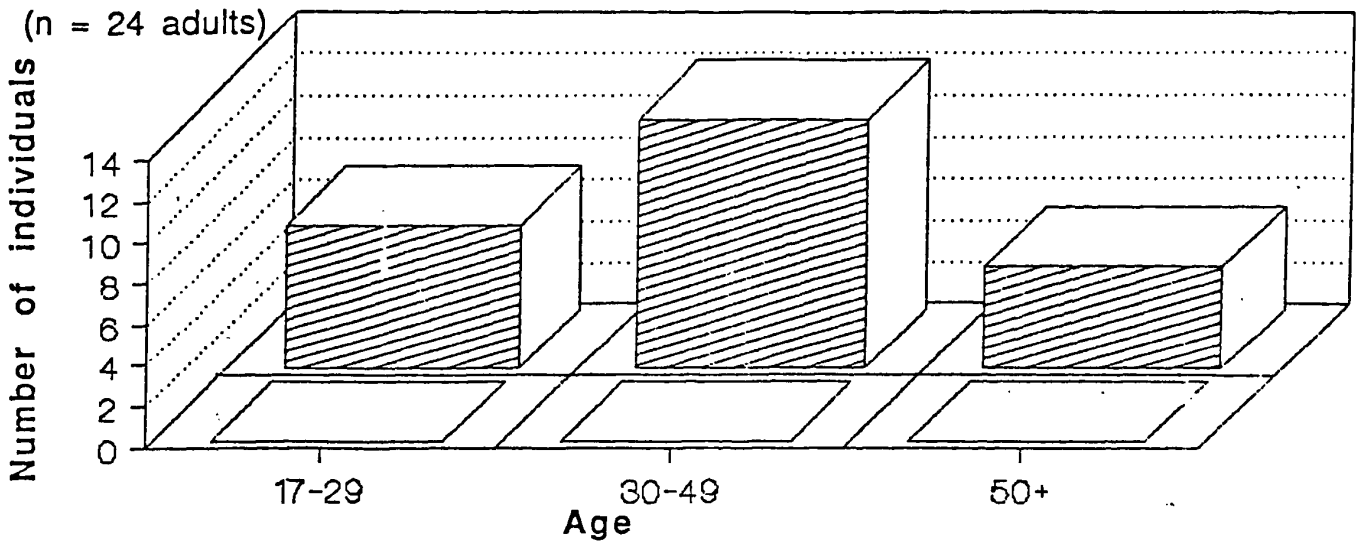
Table 17.4 White Bear: First language compared with adult language proficiencies (n = 23 adults)



Key

- A Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B Learned Saulteaux as a first language and are fluent in Saulteaux & Cree as adults
- B Learned Saulteaux as a first language and are fluent in Saulteaux & English as adults
- C Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree & English as adults
- C Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- D Learned Nakota/Dakota as a first language and are fluent in Nakota/Dakota & Eng as adults

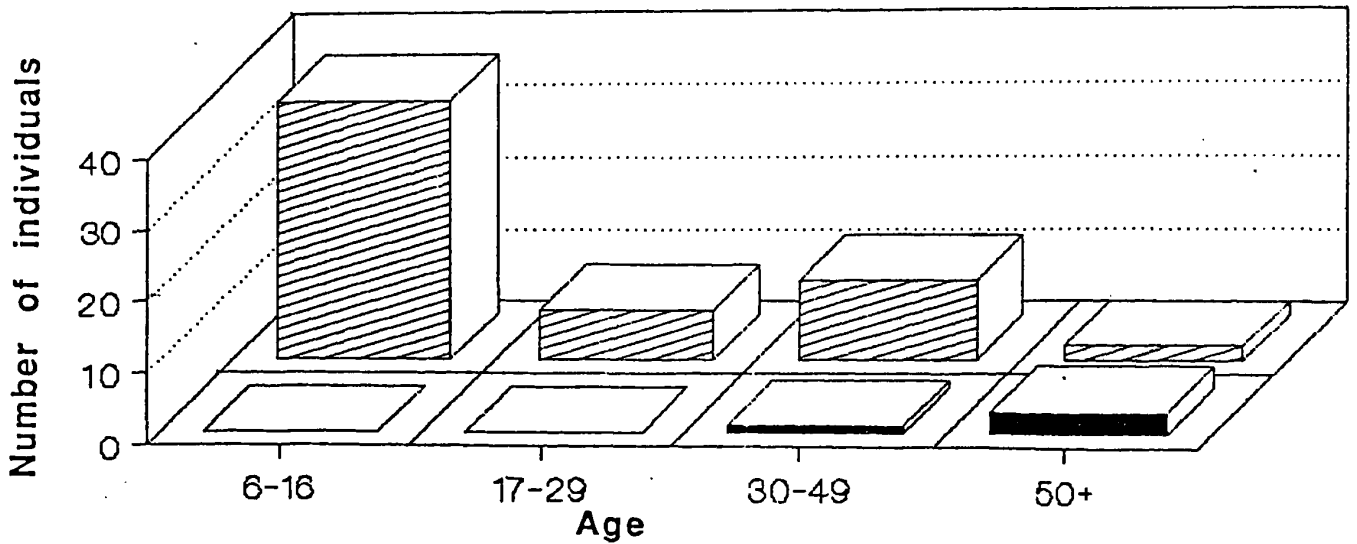
Table 17.5 White Bear: Literacy in Indigenous languages



Key Read and write an Indigenous language well
 Do not read and write an Indigenous language well

Table 17.6 White Bear: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

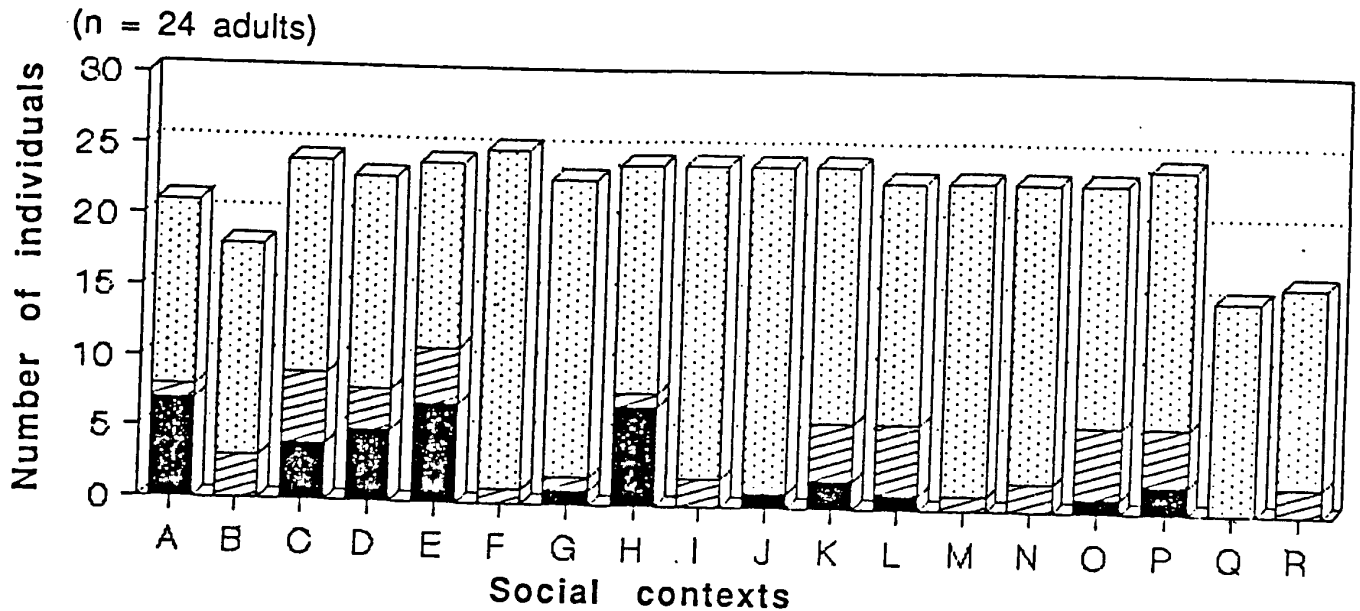
(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)






Key Occasionally or never Often

Table 17.7

White Bear: Social contexts of Indigenous language use



Key to languages used most often

-  An Indigenous language only
-  Indigenous language & English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 17.8 White Bear: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 24 adults)

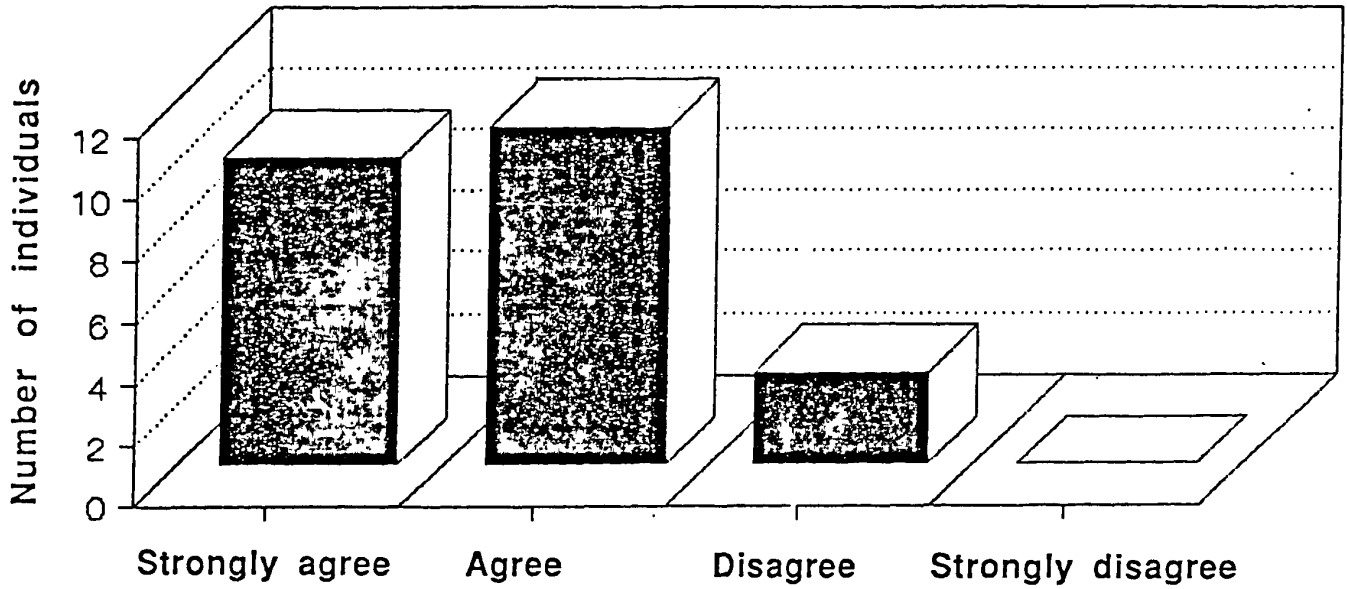


Table 17.9 White Bear: Attitudes to Indigenous languages in schools

(n = 24 adults)

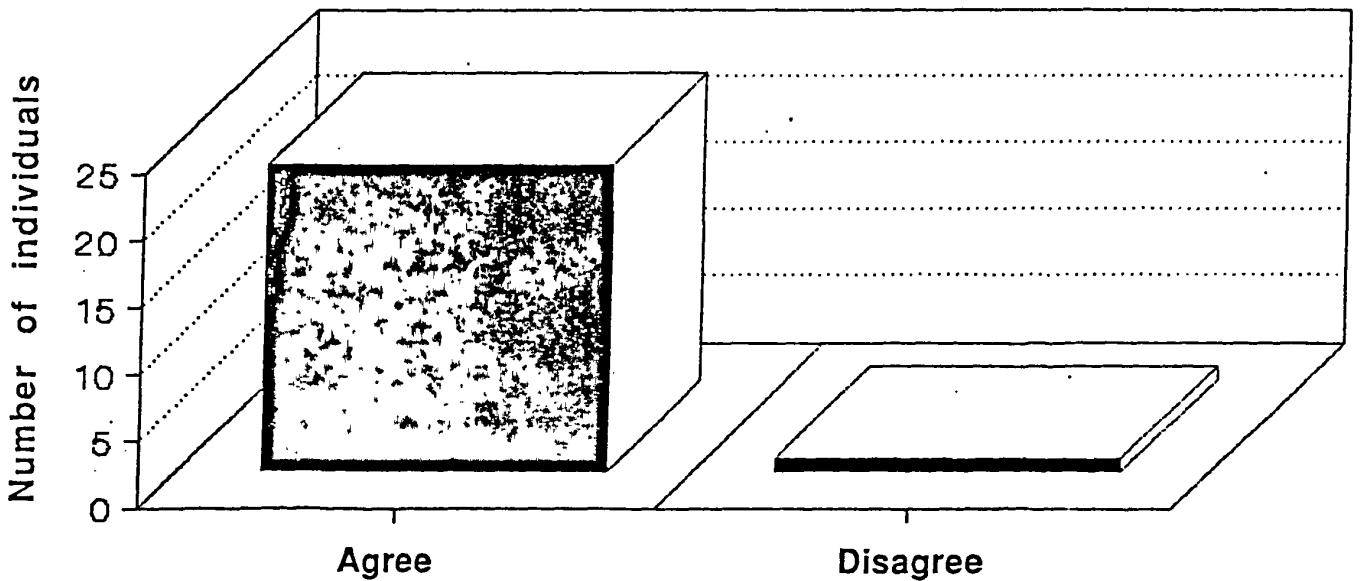
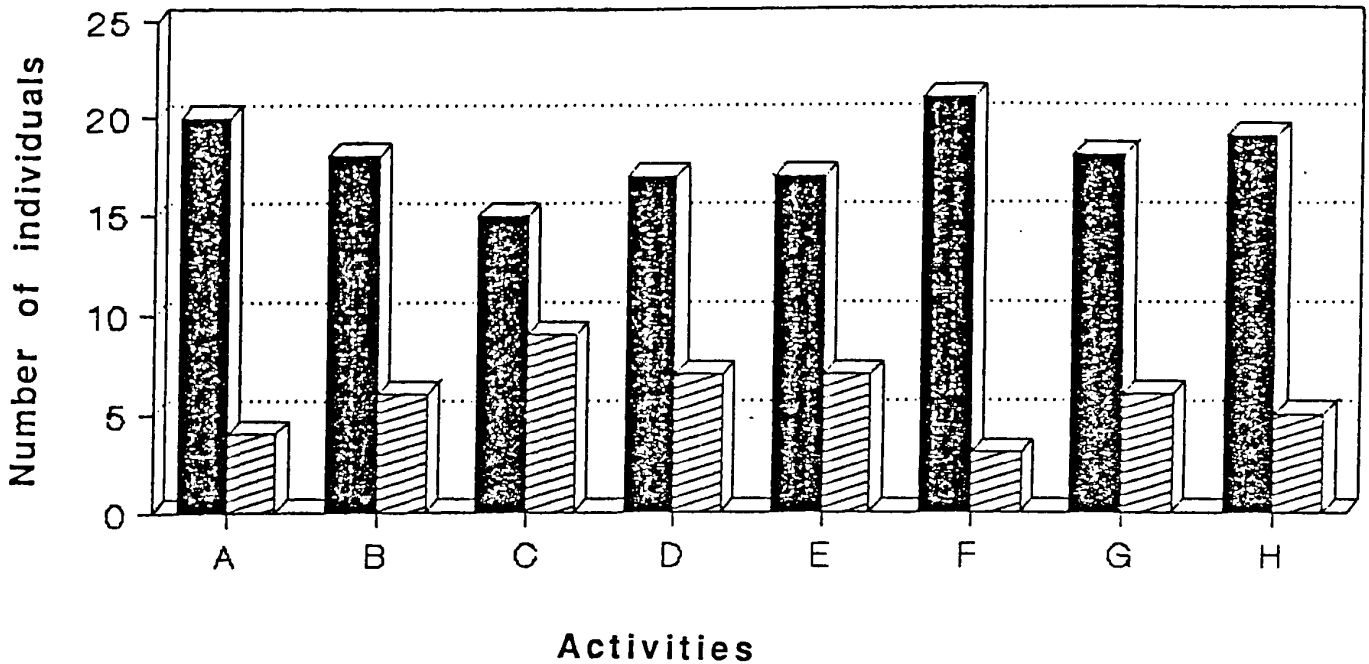


Table 17.10 White Bear: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 24 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support
  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

18. Whitefish

Whitefish is a Cree reserve around 100 km. northwest of Prince Albert. The traditional language is Cree-y dialect. Whitefish is less than 50 km. north of Atahkakohp, another of the communities included in this survey.

18.1 Main home language

Only one of the 23 homes surveyed reported English as the main language of the home, although three reported that both Cree and English were the main languages. Most (19) reported Cree as the main home language.

18.2 Individual language proficiencies

The vast majority (95%) of the 129 individuals living in the 23 homes surveyed were fluent speakers of Cree. A few of these were not fluent in English. The remaining 5% were monolingual English-speakers, or not fluent enough in Cree to be considered Cree-speakers.

18.3 Age and language proficiency

The majority in each age category were Cree-English bilinguals. The 5% who were not fluent in Cree were found in the preschool, school-age, and young adult sub-groups of the sample. The single largest group of monolinguals was in the 50+ age group, but there were also a few in the preschool and middle-age adult groups.

18.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

All but one of the 23 respondents reported Cree as a mother tongue. Of this latter group, most had added English as a second language.

18.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Six of the 23 adult respondents considered themselves literate in Cree. Some of the others had some Cree literacy skills.

18.6 Frequency of use

While all of the adults asked spoke Cree often, this was not the case with all of the school-age children. About one-fifth of them were thought to use Cree infrequently. A number of children were reported to speak English when speaking with friends, parents, and other family members.

18.7 Social contexts

A healthy pattern of Cree language use by adults characterized this community. In all contexts, Cree was the only language used by a number of individuals. Cree dominated in many contexts, including ceremonies, visiting with friends and relatives, playing cards, prayer, community meetings, greetings, making jokes, at work, funerals, and wakes. English was spoken more than Cree in the school.

18.8 Attitudes to language retention

Support was expressed by the adult respondents for Indigenous language retention (Table 18.8). However, while all of them agreed that Indigenous languages were important and should be retained, not all expressed strong agreement. All but one agreed that Cree should be in the school (Table 18.9). Resident elders in the school and summer immersion camps appeared to enjoy strong support (see Table 18.10).

Comments made with respect to language retention included the following:

"(the Cree language) is the only thing that will guide them in the path of life, in this world and the other world to come."

"It is our life."

"Children who understand Cree have a tendency to respect themselves and their Elders."

"Teach the young people how to respect spritual values and each other. The young men should be taught to provide for young orphan children."

"It would help Indian people govern themselves."

18.9 Summary and conclusions

The Cree language appears to be in good health at Whitefish. Ninety-five percent of the individuals surveyed were fluent in Cree, and there were many Cree-speakers in each age category. Cree was reportedly used a great deal in almost every social context listed on the questionnaire. There is cause for concern, however, in that there are indications that a minority of children spoke Cree infrequently. This represents a threat to the language. The situation should be carefully monitored to ensure the viability of the language in this community. Language retention measures designed to prevent erosion of the language should be implemented while the language is still strong.

Table 18.1 Whitefish: Main home language

(n = 22 homes)

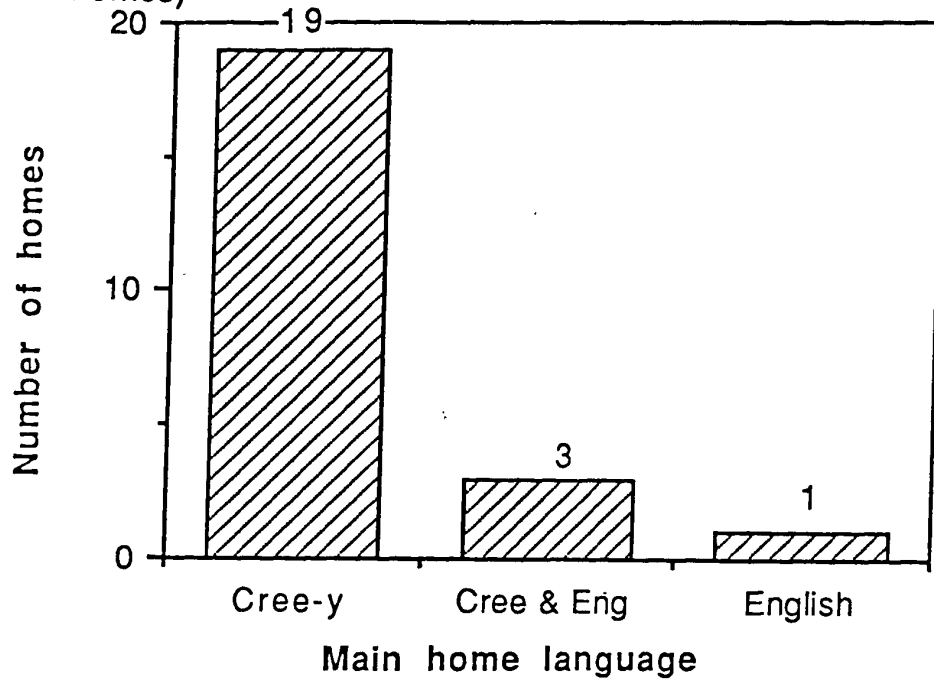


Table 18.2 Whitefish: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 129 people)

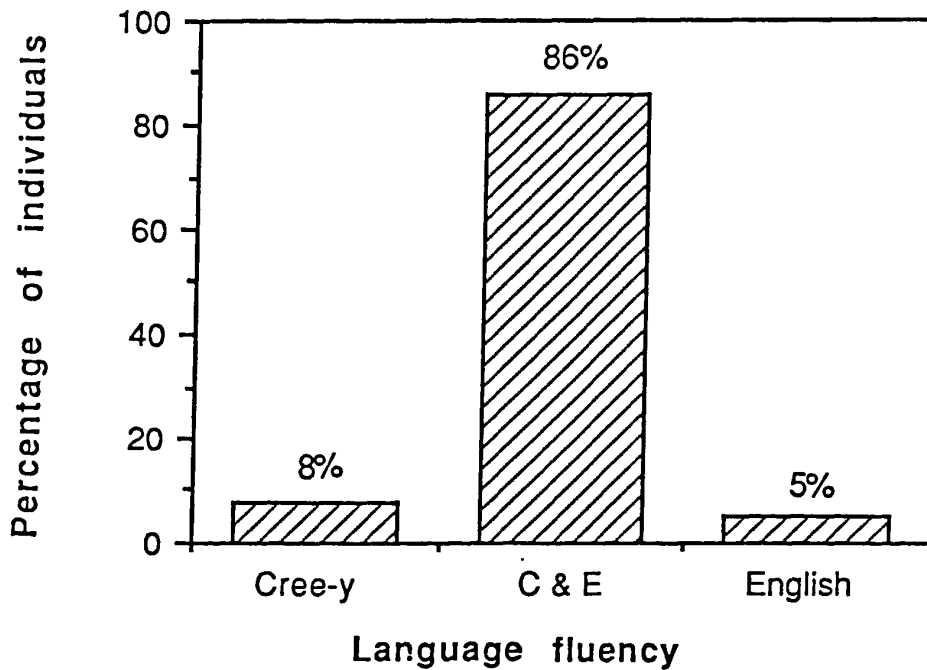
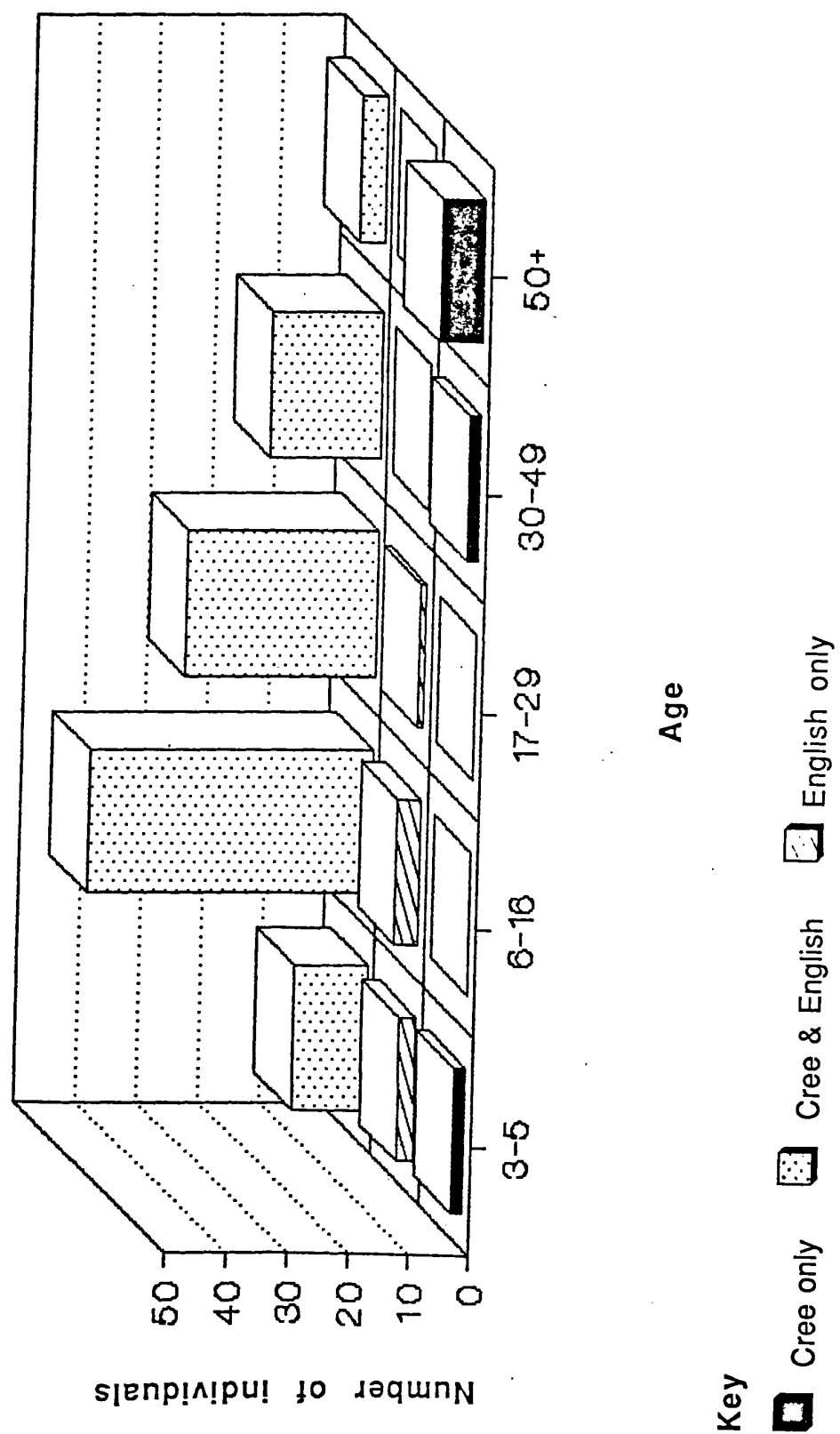


Table 18.3 Whitefish: Age and language proficiency
(n = 128 people)



Key




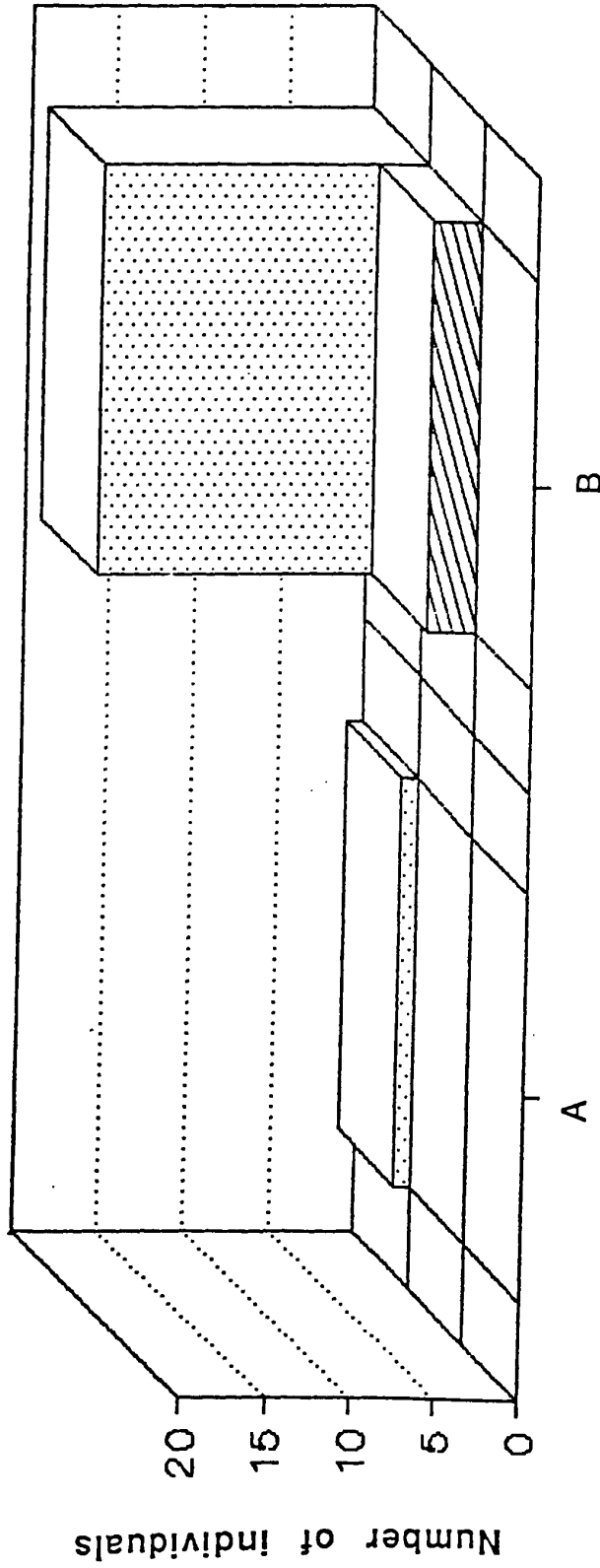
-  Cree only
-  Cree & English
-  English only

Table 18.4 Whitefish: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 23 adults)



Key




- A  Learned English as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults
- B  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree only as adults
- B  Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults

Table 18.5 Whitefish: Literacy in Indigenous languages

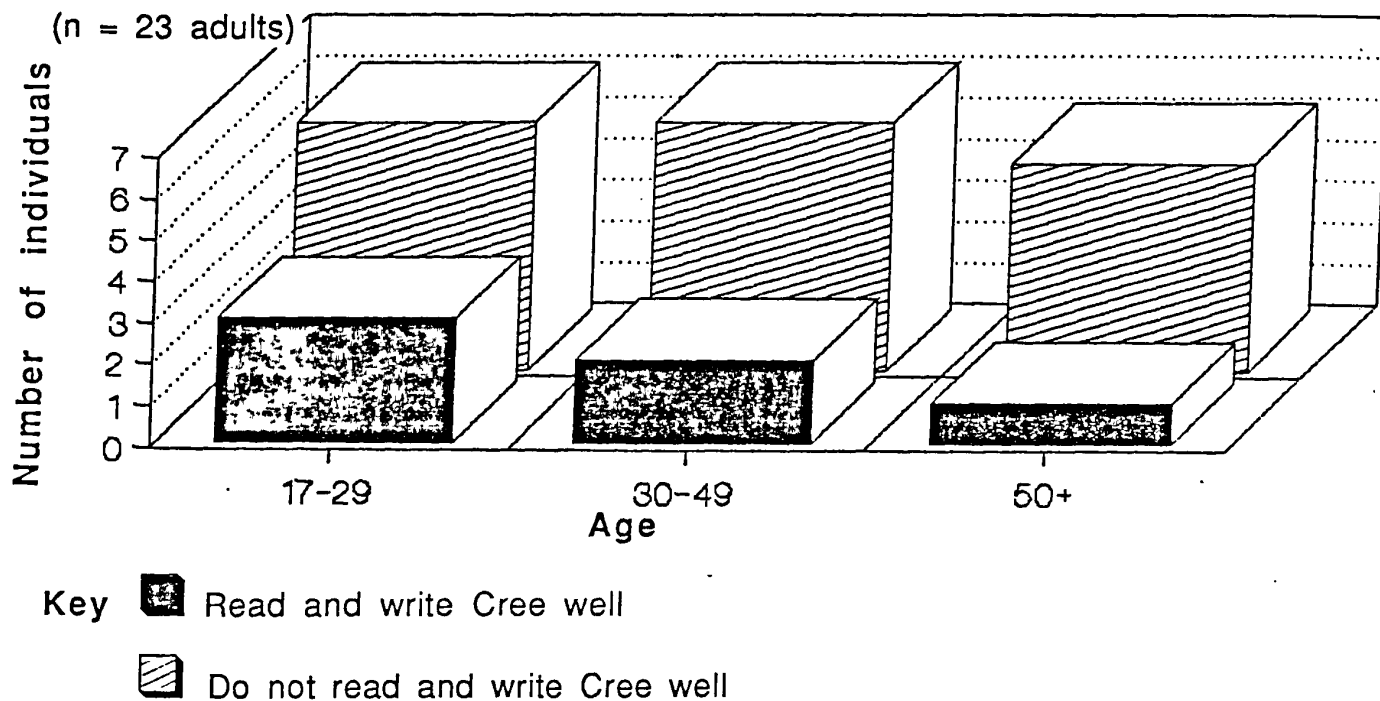


Table 18.6 Whitefish: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)

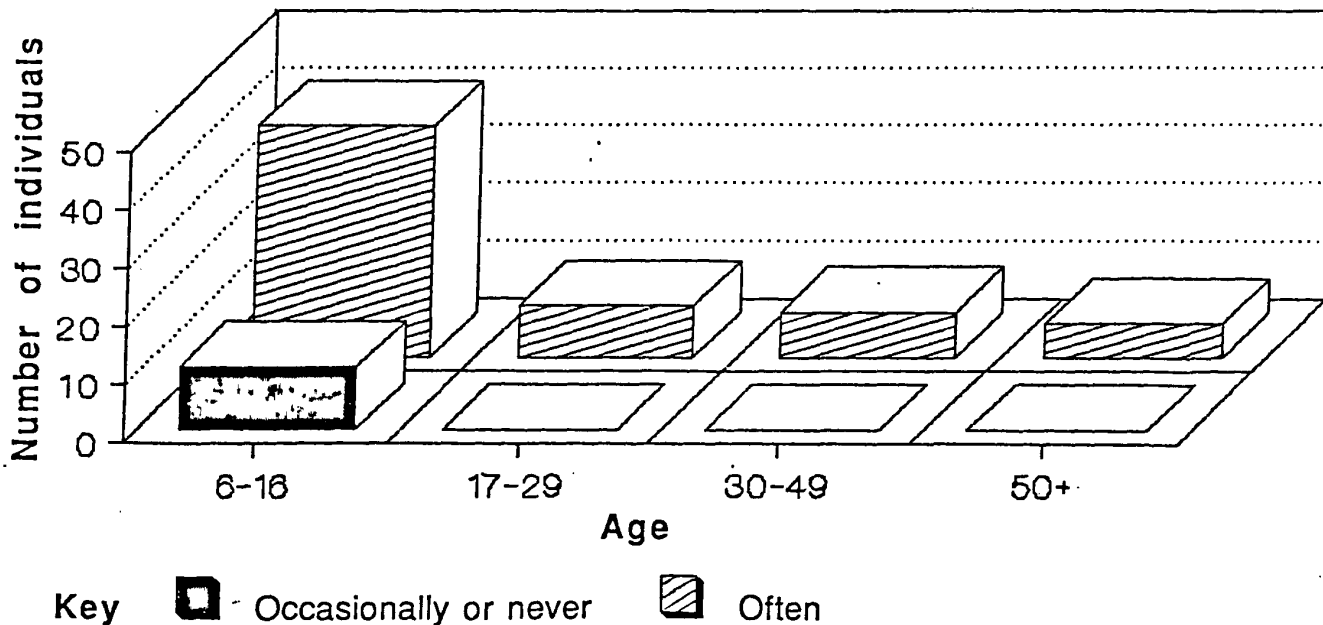
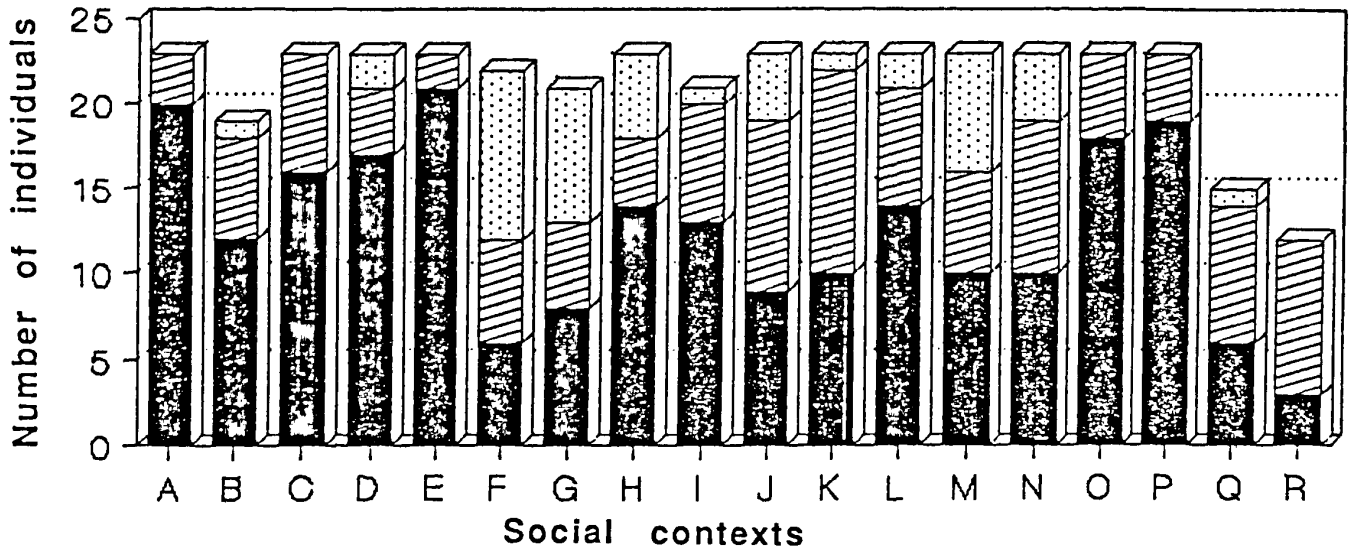





Table 18.7 Whitefish: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 23 adults)



Key to languages used most often

-  Cree only
-  Cree & English
-  English only

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 18.8 Whitefish: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 23 adults)

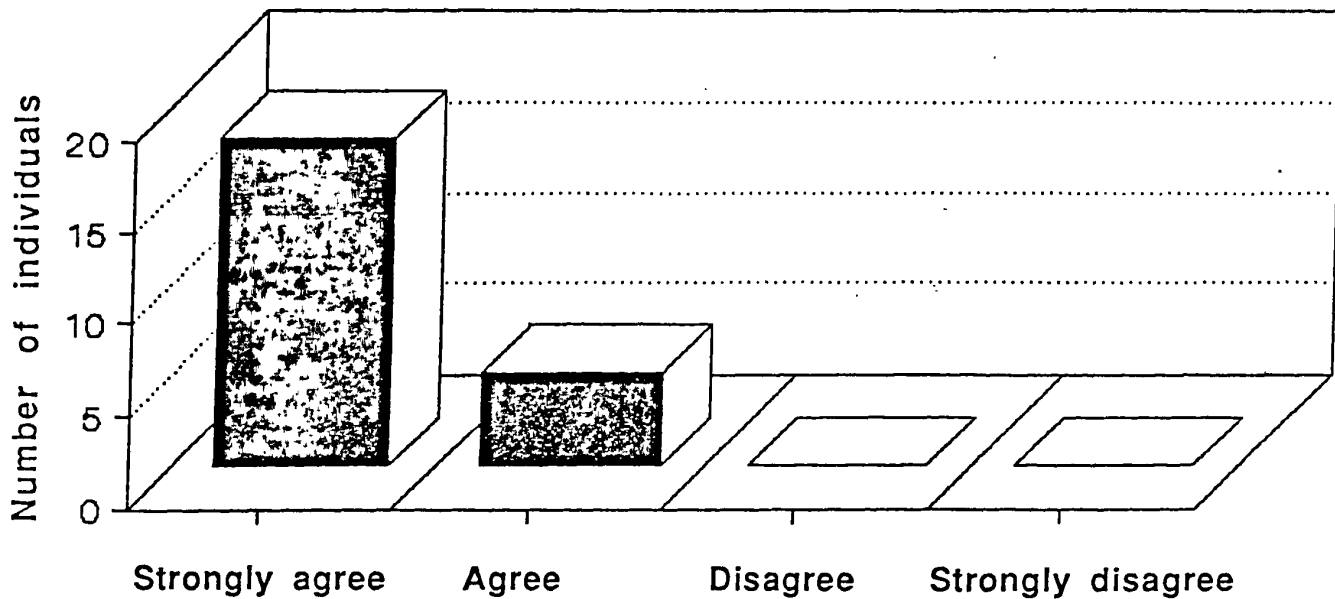


Table 18.9 Whitefish: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 23 adults)

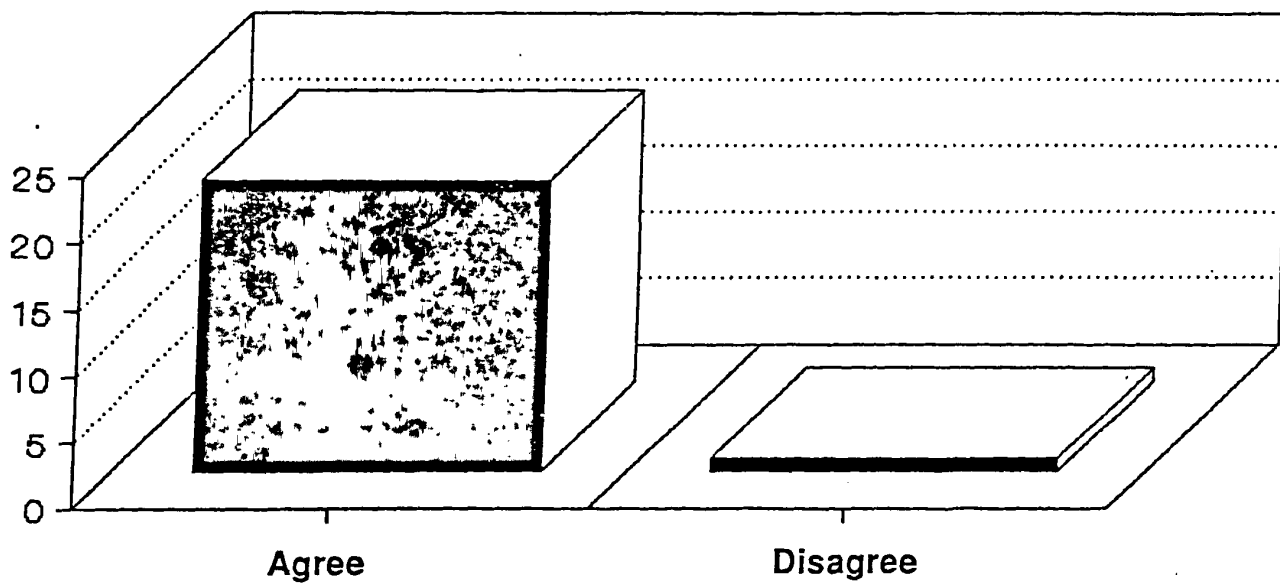
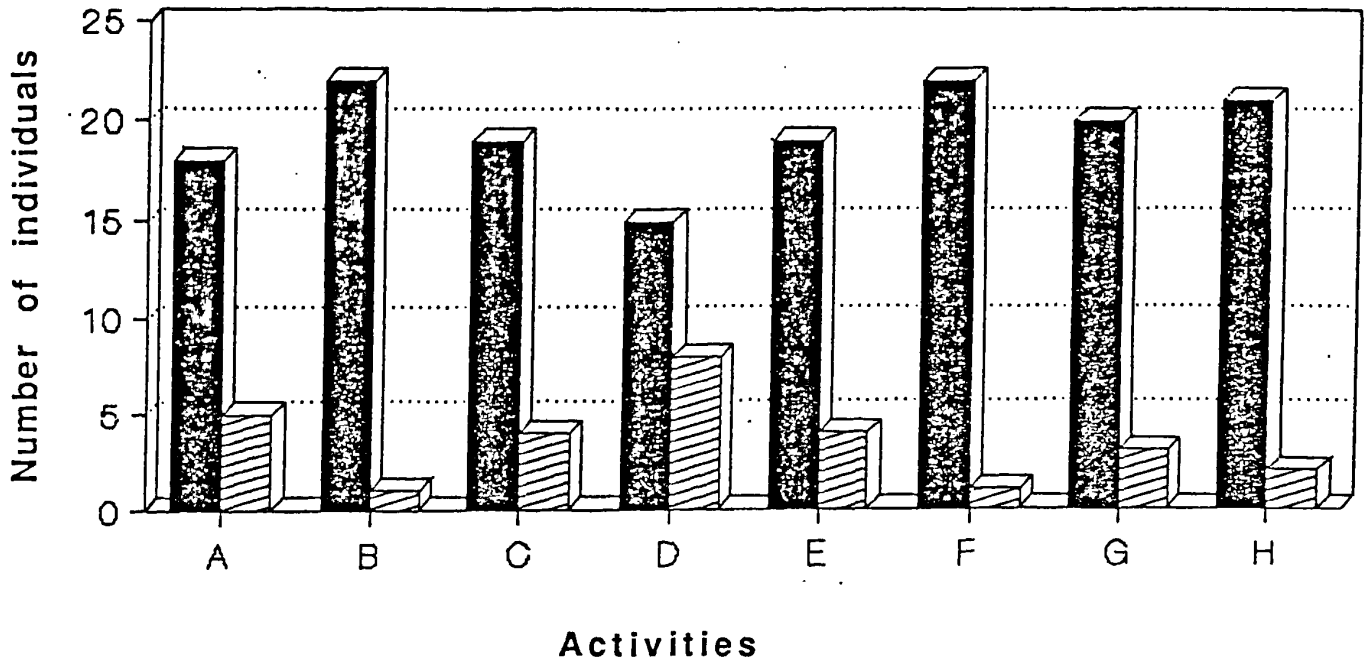


Table 18.10 Whitefish: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities
(n = 23 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support
  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

19. Wollaston Lake

Wollaston Lake (Hatchet Lake Band) is an isolated, fly-in community in northern Saskatchewan. The traditional language is Dene.

19.1 Main home language

The number of interviews completed was twenty. Fifteen of the homes reported Dene as the primary home language, two reported both Dene and Cree as the primary home languages, and three reported English as the main home language. Apparent reasons for non-Dene homes included marriage to a non-Dene speaker or being raised in non-Dene speaking foster home in the south.

19.2 Individual language proficiencies

The number of individuals for whom language information was reported was 96. Dene-speakers accounted for 93% of these. Of the remaining 7%, some spoke only English and others spoke Cree and English. Many Dene speakers were fluent in both dialects of Dene: Dene-t and Dene-k. English fluency was reported by only 48% of the sample. Monolingual Dene-speakers comprised 50% of the sample.

19.3 Age and language proficiency

Among the three to five year-old group, monolingual Dene-speakers were in the majority. Among school-age children (6-16), the addition of English as a second language was reflected in the large Dene-English bilingual group. However, most within the school-age group were Dene-speakers who were not considered fluent in English.

The majority of young adults (17-29) were Dene-English bilinguals, with some monolingual Dene-speakers, and some monolingual English-speakers (or Cree and English). The majority of adults aged 30-49 were also Dene-English bilinguals, although a few spoke Dene only, and a few spoke only English and/or Cree. Those surveyed in the 50 years of age and older group were all monolingual speakers of Dene.

19.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

All of the adults who learned Dene as a first language reported present-day fluency in Dene. Some had added fluency in English. A few had learned Cree or English as a first language and did not consider themselves fluent in Dene.

19.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

Three of the 20 adults surveyed considered themselves literate in Dene. Some others reported having limited ability to read and write in Dene.

19.6 Frequency of use

Almost all of the adult respondents and children were reported to use Dene frequently.

19.7 Social contexts

Dene was reported used throughout all of the contexts listed. Those in which the most Dene was used included ceremonies, playing cards, visiting friends and relatives, church, prayer, community meetings, making a joke, at the local store, work, funerals, wakes, bingo, and at the bar. English was used more than Dene at school and at the clinic/hospital. There was more English spoken when greeting people and telling jokes than might be expected in this community.

19.8 Attitudes to language retention

Everyone asked agreed that it was important to maintain the Indigenous languages, but not all expressed strong agreement (Table 19.8). There was not clear support for Indigenous languages in schools (Table 19.9). Support existed for these language and culture retention activities: summer immersion camps, recreational activities in Indigenous languages, adult language classes, TV and radio in Indigenous languages, and preschool immersion (Table 19.10). There was support expressed for the other activities listed, but not quite as much. Further investigation of community attitudes is required.

Among the views expressed were the following:

"(Indigenous languages should be retained) to maintain our traditional culture; if you lose your language, you lose your traditional ways too."

"(children should learn the language) to understand the elders; to translate for them."

19.9 Summary and conclusions

The Dene language is healthy at Wollaston at the present time. There is a large number of monolingual Dene-speakers in this community, across all age groups. However, when the patterns of language use are examined, there are some contexts in which English is spoken when Dene might have been expected. Language planning is required to maintain the healthy condition of the language. English as a second language (ESL) programs for school-aged children and adults should be enhanced, as should English and Dene literacy programs. In addition, the community might want to consider conversational Dene classes for those who move into the community without fluency in the language. With respect to ESL programs, care should be taken to ensure that Dene fluency does not decline as English fluency grows. In fact, what is required is, more precisely, a *bilingual* education program with an ESL component.

Table 19.1 Wollaston: Main home language
(n = 20 homes)

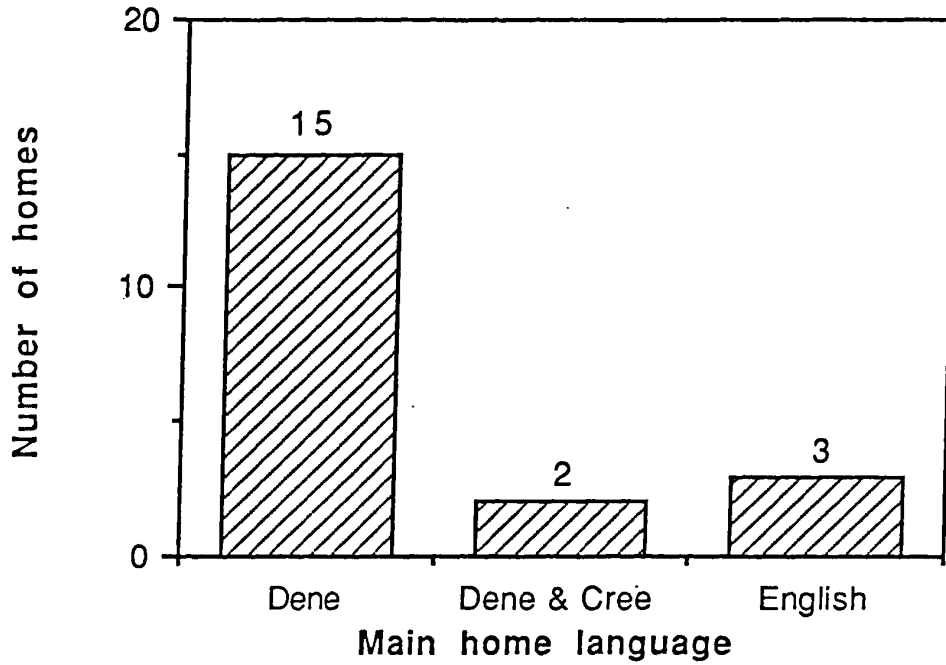
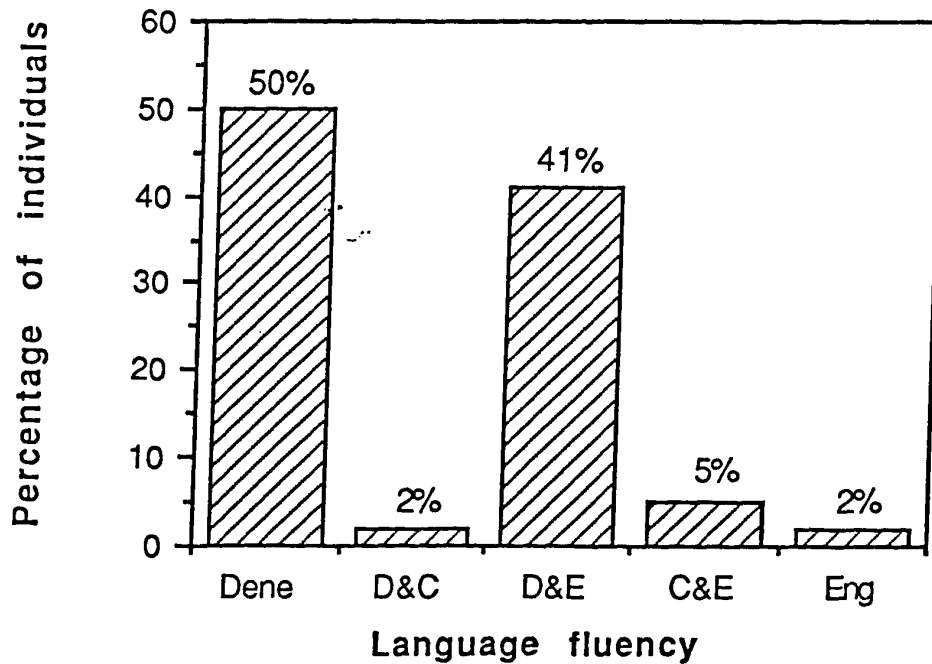


Table 19.2 Wollaston: Language proficiency of individuals

(n = 96 people)



Key
D = Dene
C = Cree
E = English

Table 19.3 Wollaston: Age and language proficiency
(n = 86 people)

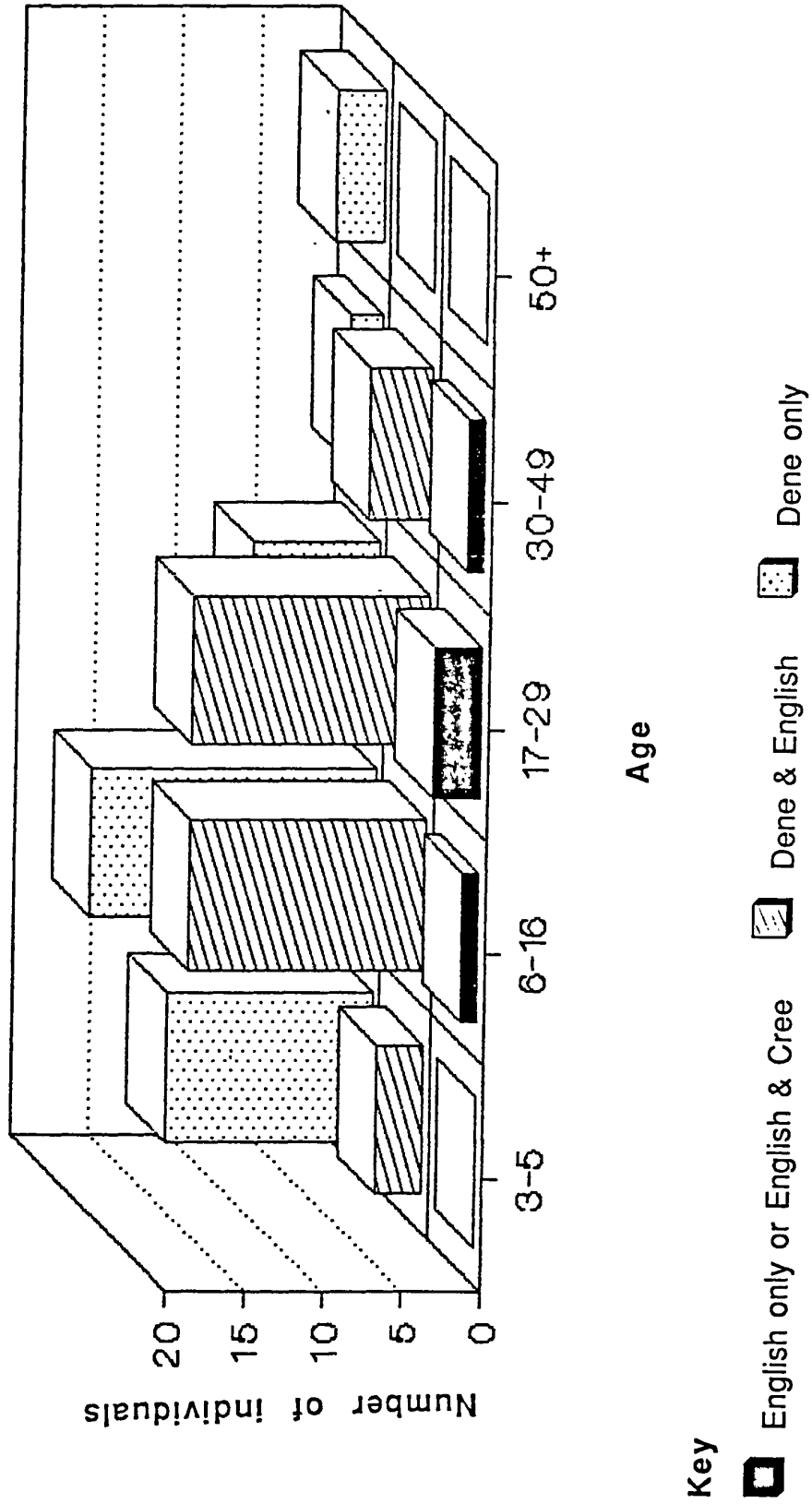
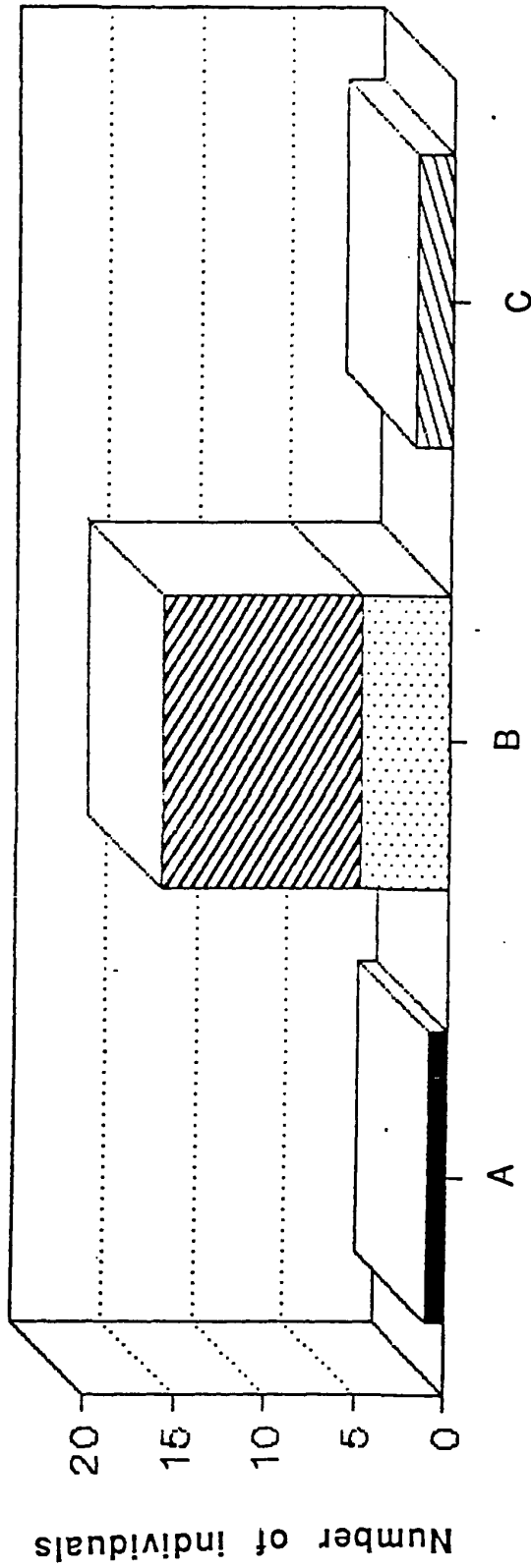


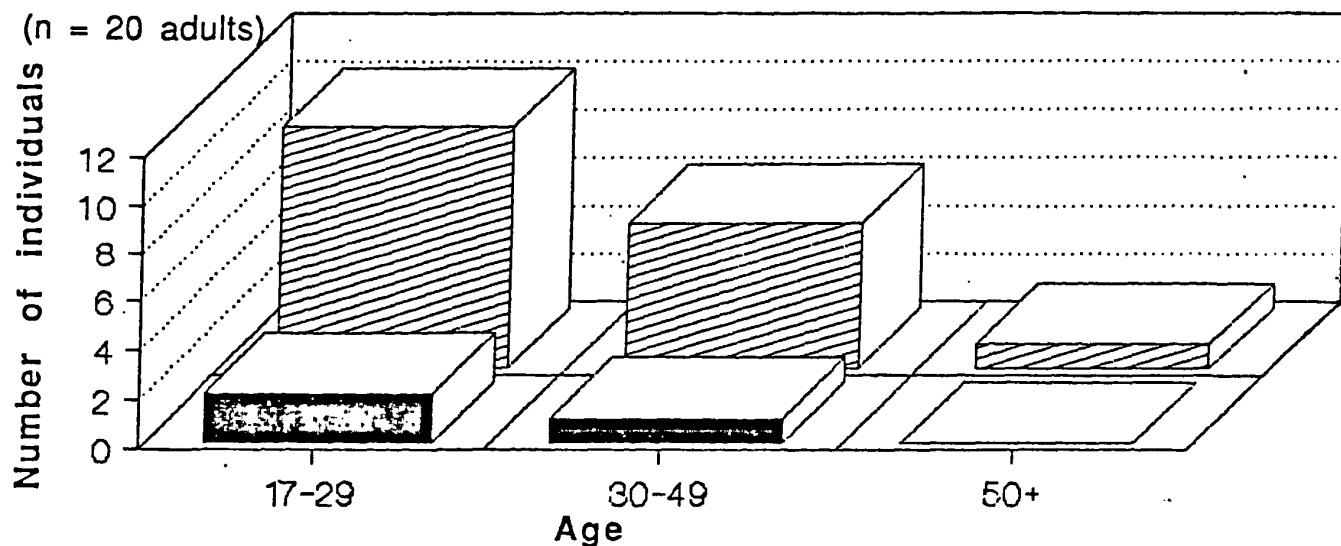
Table 19.4 Wollaston: First language compared with adult language proficiencies
(n = 20 adults)



Key

- A** Learned English as a first language and are fluent in English only as adults
- B** Learned Dene as a first language and are fluent in Dene and English as adults
- B** Learned Dene as a first language and are fluent in Dene only as adults
- C** Learned Cree as a first language and are fluent in Cree and English as adults

Table 19.5 Wollaston: Literacy in Indigenous languages





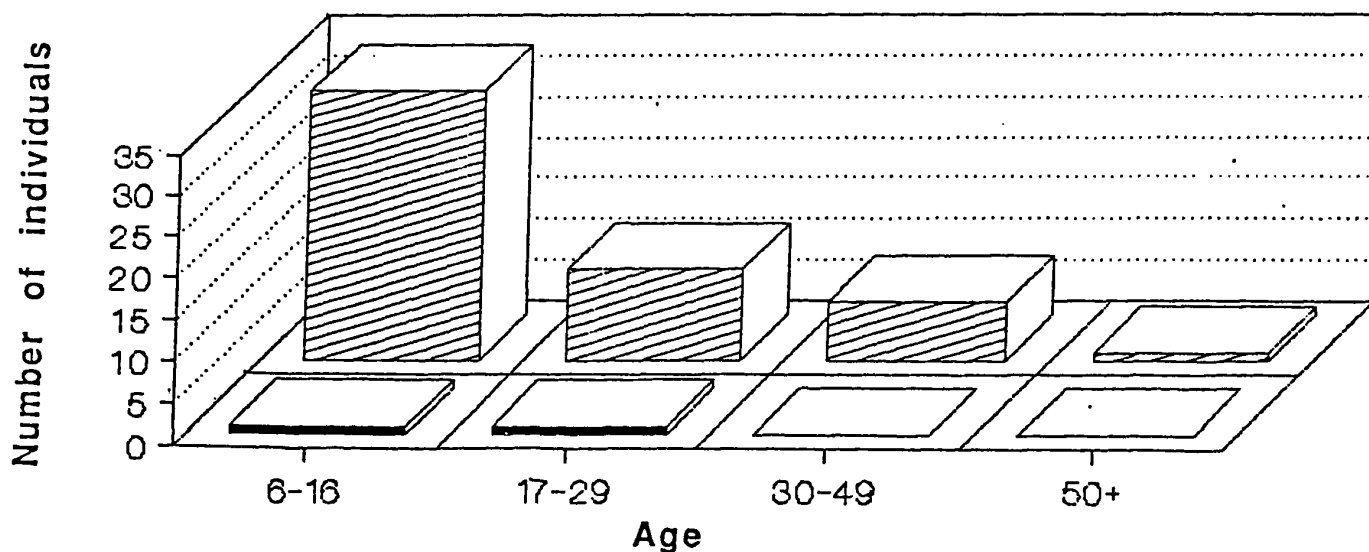
Key  Read and write Dene well
 Do not read and write Dene well

Table 19.6 Wollaston: Frequency of use of Indigenous language

(n = adult respondents and the children in their homes)





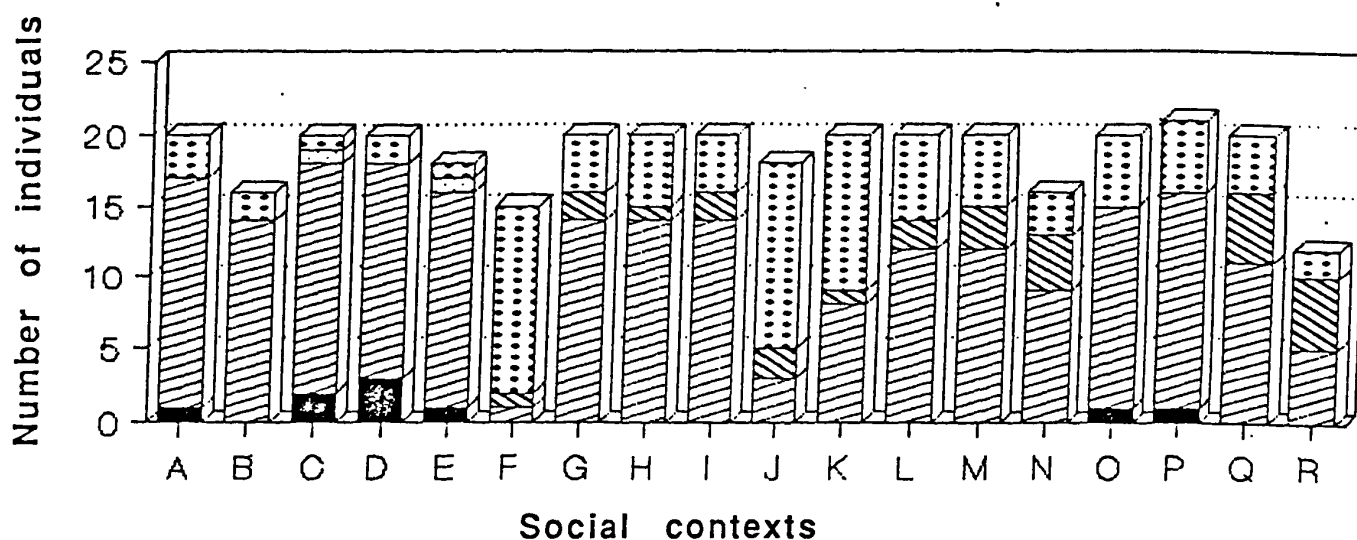





Key  Occasionally or never  Often

Table 19.7 Wollaston: Social contexts of Indigenous language use

(n = 20 adults)



Key to languages used most often

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  Cree only |  Dene only |
|  Cree & English |  Dene & English |
|  English only | |

Key to social contexts

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| A. During ceremonies | J. At the clinic/hospital |
| B. Playing cards | K. Greeting people |
| C. Visiting relatives | L. Telling a joke |
| D. Visiting brothers and sisters | M. At the local store |
| E. Visiting older people | N. At work |
| F. At school | O. At funerals |
| G. At church | P. At wakes |
| H. In prayer | Q. Playing bingo |
| I. At community meetings | R. At the bar |

Table 19.8 Wollaston: Attitudes to Indigenous language retention

(n = 20 adults)

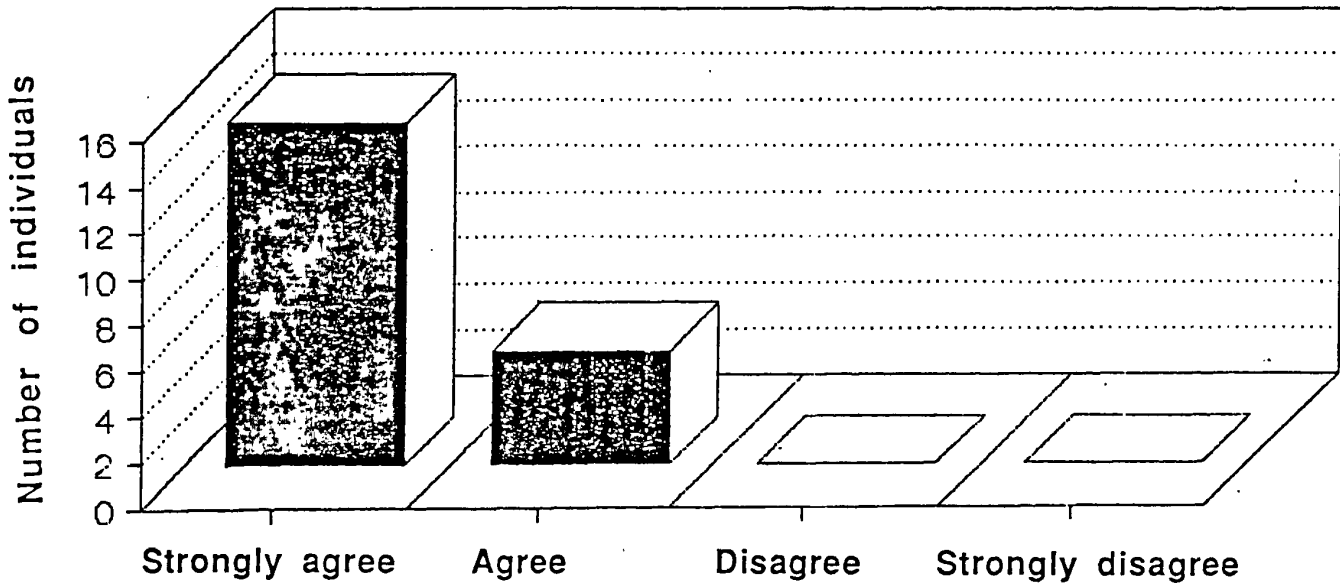


Table 19.9 Wollaston: Attitudes to Indigenous language in schools

(n = 20 adults)

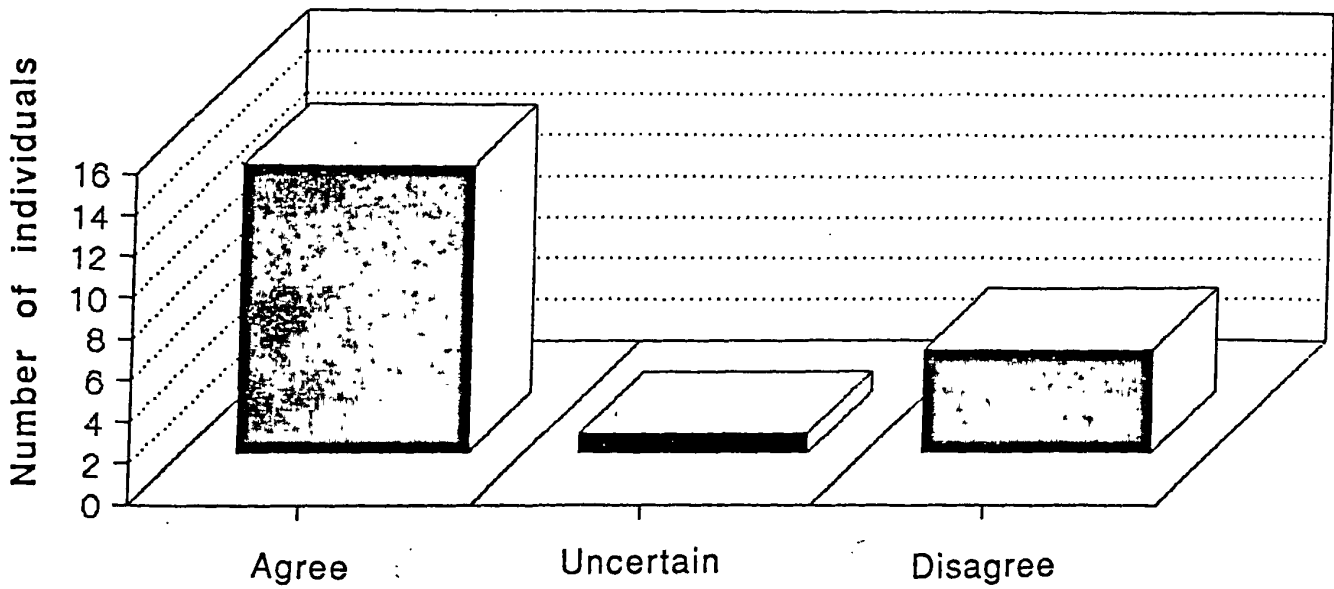
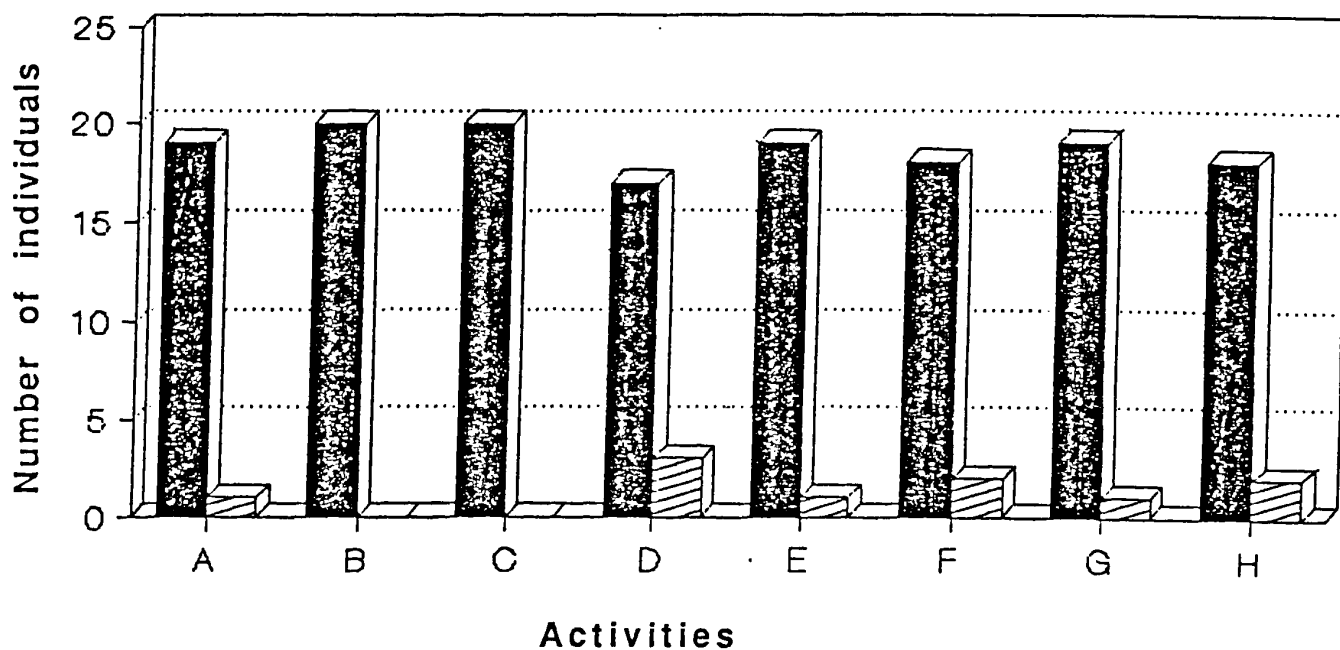


Table 19.10 Wollaston: Attitudes to Indigenous language and culture retention activities

(n = 20 adults)



Key to attitudes

 Support
  Lack of support

Key to activities

- A. Adult language classes
- B. Summer immersion camps
- C. Recreational activities conducted in Indigenous languages
- D. Newspapers in Indigenous languages
- E. TV and radio in Indigenous languages
- F. Resident Elders in schools
- G. Preschool immersion
- F. Language and culture clubs

20. Wood Mountain

Wood Mountain is a Lakota Reserve in southern Saskatchewan. It is located just north of the Canada - U. S. A. border. It has a very small on-reserve population: under 10 at the time of writing. Because of the small sample size, all three of the homes in the community were surveyed and are discussed in this report. However, the small numbers did not permit the production of graphs.

20.1 Main home language

English was indicated as the primary language in each of the three homes.

20.2 Individual language proficiencies

Of the five people for whom information was collected, all were fluent in English. Four were also fluent in Lakota and/or Dakota.

20.3 Age and language proficiency

The ages of the five individuals in the survey ranged from 35 to 55. All those over 45 spoke Lakota and/or Dakota. One in the 35 - 39 age group was fluent in Lakota.

20.4 First language compared with present day language proficiencies

Each of the three adults who were asked had learned Lakota as their first language. All still spoke it fluently as adults.

20.5 Literacy in Indigenous languages

One out of the three adults asked reported that he could read and write Lakota quite well.

20.6 Frequency of use

One of the three individuals used Lakota often; the other two used it seldom.

20.7 Social contexts

The individual who reported that he used Lakota often used the language when visiting older people and relatives, when telling a joke, and in greeting people. Contexts reported by one of the individuals who used Lakota seldom were similar. The other infrequent user of Lakota reported that he used English in most contexts, but both Lakota and English in ceremonies and at wakes.

20.8 Attitudes to language retention

One individual expressed the belief that it was very important to retain the Lakota language. Another agreed, but not as strongly. The third did not experience the importance of the Lakota language at a personal level: in his words, "(there is) no real need...no one understands me. Some people are offended when you use your own language.". However, this same individual expressed strong agreement with the statement that it is important to retain the Indigenous languages "to keep our culture and traditions alive".

20.9 Summary and conclusions

The Lakota language is in extremely critical condition at Wood Mountain. It would appear that ties to the larger Lakota communities in the U. S. A. and to the Dakota and Nakota nations in Canada will continue to be of vital importance if the Lakota language is to survive at Wood Mountain.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall conclusions

Based on the data which was collected beginning in the fall of 1988 and extending through the spring of 1989, the survival of Indigenous languages is threatened in each of the communities in the survey. The survey sample included all languages and dialects, and a range of geographic locations in Saskatchewan. In some communities the language is on the verge of extinction. In others, the language appears healthy but there are signs of declining use. The conditions of the various languages and dialects in the respective communities range from good health with a few symptoms of ill-health, to extremely critical condition.

The following is a summary of the status of Indigenous languages in each of the research communities:

Extremely critical condition

- very few or no fluent speakers under age of 50
- no strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community. English used in most cases.
- English main home language in most homes
- infrequent use of language by those under 30.

Cote Reserve	Saulteaux
Carry the Kettle	Nakota
Muskeg	Cree-y
Peepeekisis	Cree-y, Saulteaux, Mechif
Saskatoon	all Indigenous languages
Standing Buffalo	Dakota
Wahpeton	Dakota
White Bear	Cree-y, Saulteaux, Dakota, Nakota
Wood Mountain	Lakota

Critical condition

- very few or no fluent speakers under 30
- no strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community
- English main home language in more homes than Indigenous language
- infrequent use of language by those under 17

Atahkakohp	Cree-y
Moose Woods	Dakota

Serious condition

- few or no fluent speakers under 17 (fewer than half)

Cumberland House	Cree-n
Ile-a-la-Crosse	Cree-y, Mechif
Kinistin	Saulteaux
Waterhen	Cree-y

Fair but deteriorating condition

- majority of those under 17 are fluent speakers, but a significant minority who speak only English
- strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community, but shift to English among some children
- Indigenous language main language in most but not all homes

Onion Lake	Cree-y
Patuanak	Dene

Good health, but a few symptoms of ill-health

- majority of fluent speakers in all age categories
- strong pattern of Indigenous language use in community
- Indigenous language main home language in all but a very few homes.
- some children reported as infrequent speakers of Indigenous language in several contexts, or some social contexts characterized by more use of English than might be expected.

Stanley Mission	Cree-th
Whitefish	Cree-y
Wollaston Lake	Dene

By definition, a minority language is *always* threatened (see Fishman, 1989). Its continued survival can never be taken for granted, especially in today's highly mobile, quickly-changing society. If proactive language retention policies are not put into place, even a healthy bilingual community may lose its language in a very short period of time.

Recommendations

A language retention plan should be developed by each community. Such a plan should encompass home, school, and community, and should address oral and written language development needs. Current Indigenous language retention activities in Saskatchewan must be rapidly expanded and new initiatives immediately launched if the languages are to survive into the next century.

The current level of resources allocated to Indigenous language retention is inadequate to respond effectively to the expressed desire of Indigenous peoples to maintain their ancestral languages. However, communities cannot wait for resources to increase. Short and long range plans should be developed and immediately implemented, using existing resources.

• SCHOOLS

Education is a critical force. The school should be an active advocate for minority languages. If a minority language does not have a strong presence in the school, the school will by default work against that minority language. Burnaby (1984) argues that the school exerts a powerful social influence on the community with

respect to Indigenous language use. The symbolic and practical significance of having the Indigenous language in schools must not be under-emphasized. Efforts to use the languages in various ways in the school should be investigated: for example, extended core programs, language throughout the curriculum, bilingual bulletins and reports to parents and grandparents, Elders programs, and seminars and workshops for both children and adults in the school.

There is growing evidence that minority language education can improve overall academic achievement. Cummins (1984, p. 44) states:

"...for minority groups who experience disproportionate levels of academic failure, the extent to which the students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program constitutes a significant predictor of academic success."

The assessment of students is critical (formative and summative evaluation, and pre-entry assessment). The system should be designed to assess and teach to strengths as well as weaknesses. For example, a Dene-speaking student entering an urban school for the first time should go through informal (not standardized) testing procedures with an assessment team. An assessment team should include individuals with various skills, knowledge, and experience; knowledge of the Dene language and culture, and knowledge of appropriate testing procedures with minority ESL students are essential. Placement decisions should reflect the student's abilities in both languages and cultures (e.g. oral fluency? ability to read and write? cultural knowledge?). For a further discussion of assessment of language abilities of Canadian Indigenous children, see Toohey (1982, 1985) regarding English language assessment, and Fredeen (1987) regarding Cree language assessment. For a discussion of the issues, see Cummins (1984).

Innovative models such as the San Diego reverse immersion project (McLaughlin, 1984, 141-143), and the Khmer-ESL project in Edmonton (Derwing, 1991) should be considered. In the latter, adults are taught to read and write in their mother tongue, and in the same program, to understand and speak English as a second language.

Languages should be used *for learning* as well as for communicating. If a language is used for learning, it will stay healthy. It is important to encourage life-long learning strategies. Teach students *how* to learn in and out of the classroom.

The interrelationships among languages must be used to better advantage. A viable Indigenous language program can successfully co-exist with an effective program in one of Canada's two official languages. Good literacy skills in English (and/or French) are essential if young people are expected to successfully complete their post-secondary education and enter arenas of influence. On the other hand, failure to learn spoken or written English cannot be blamed on bilingualism or bilingual programs. Proficiency in one language should be viewed as an *asset* rather than a liability when learning a second language.

Bilingual education models chosen should reflect the *aspirations* of the community for its children, and available *resources* (teachers, materials, administrators). The best instructional model will not operate effectively without good teachers: "...the academic achievement of children in bilingual programs is greatly dependent on the the teacher's ability to communicate with her students, to provide them with rich language input, to develop their language skills, and to keep them engaged in their academic tasks." (McLaughlin, 1981, 141-3).

• COMMUNITY

Policy development is needed to support the retention and revitalization of Indigenous languages. For those involved with languages that are relatively healthy at present, it is critically important not to wait for a language to be on the edge of extinction before action is taken. In order for a language to be maintained, there needs to be a critical mass of speakers. If no children speak the language, it is very difficult to change students' attitudes toward the language sufficiently to alter their communication patterns. They need peer models. This is one of the factors that makes immersion education difficult. Those who speak of language revival sometimes refer to the revival of the Hebrew language in

Israel. We must remember that the Hebrew situation was unique. The Hebrew language was not a dead language. It was still viable as a written language because of its importance within Jewish religion, traditions, and laws.

Language retention initiatives at the community level should reflect priorities within the community. Through community development workshops, the status of the Indigenous language(s) in that community can be discussed, and various courses of action considered. Some of the language and culture retention activities which have been mentioned in this study include language and culture immersion preschools and daycares, adult language and literacy classes, summer immersion camps, and various community and government services offered in Indigenous language(s). Language use policies which recognize and build on existing patterns of language use could be implemented. That is, a community should operate according to policies which encourage its members to *continue* speaking the Indigenous language in those social contexts where it is normally spoken. In addition, the community may be able to identify social contexts where the language could be used to a *greater extent*, and implement policies to support greater use.

Expanded broadcasting and publishing in Indigenous languages would help change attitudes by indicating a recognized social status. This would also provide another real function for the languages.

Accurate and up-to-date information is critical to inform the policy development process. Involvement of Indigenous governments and institutions in census design, collection, and interpretation of statistics regarding languages should continue to grow.

Policy development and implementation must occur at the local, provincial/regional, national, and international levels. Grass roots involvement is a key to success.

Use as an operating principle the position that when dealing with minority languages, special status is required to move toward equal results. In other words, *affirmative action programs* are required for Indigenous languages.

•DEVELOPMENT AND UTILIZATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES

Some of the key players include the Elders; those who care for young children; those who work with adolescents; educators; and researchers.

Preschool programs should have strong language and cultural components. Staff members who are trained in early childhood education and fluent in the Indigenous languages are required. Elders should be included in all programs.

Create incentives for Indigenous people, particularly the youth, to further their education and training in the languages. Incentives might include scholarships, guaranteed jobs, affirmative action hiring policies, or bilingual bonuses.

The training and education of fluent community members should be prioritized. Key areas for education and training of Indigenous language specialists include literacy, oral language development, cultural education, teacher education, language research, collection of stories from Elders, and translation/interpreting (cf. the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre's Language Specialist Program).

•GAINING SUPPORT

Use arguments that appeal to those who have the power. For instance, arguments relating to efficiencies and cost-effectiveness will make sense to administrators who may have little interest in the cultural reasons for Indigenous language survival.

Be careful not to place too much weight on arguments based on the need to communicate with monolingual Indigenous language speakers. Monolingual speakers are becoming increasingly rare.

Lobby with the support of Indigenous governments. Motions from meetings, policy statements, and quotes from leaders create powerful arguments.

Keep the issues on the table. Raise Indigenous language issues at meetings, conferences, social gatherings, and schools. Actions speak louder than words. Use Indigenous languages in public.

Conduct workshops to develop lobbying skills at the community level.

Publicize current initiatives which are successful. Facilitate communication among Indigenous communities regarding successful and exciting events projects. For example: Kinistin Band's summer camp, or Muskeg Lake's summer immersion program. Invite reporters and journalists to events if appropriate.

- WORK TOGETHER TO PROMOTE POSITIVE INITIATIVES

Involve Elders and younger people. Work across jurisdictions whenever feasible.

Continue the provincial network which has been established through the activities of the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee. We must continue to share ideas, support one another, and join together to work for change.

In conclusion, action to preserve Indigenous languages in Saskatchewan must be taken immediately. This applies not only in those communities where the Indigenous language is in extremely critical condition, but also in communities where the language appears healthy at present. Once there develops a sizeable number of young parents who are not fluent enough in their ancestral language to use it as their home language or with their young children, the battle to bring back the language becomes very difficult, time-consuming, and expensive. Indigenous language immersion programs have been used for this purpose (Fredeen, 1988), but it is much easier to *maintain* a language than to *revive* it. One of the problems implied in this study arises from the fact that Indigenous languages are retained in part due to the presence in the community of adults and Elders who speak only or primarily the Indigenous language. As time goes on, there will be fewer such individuals; consequently one more factor which has acted to reinforce Indigenous language use will diminish in strength. As long as Indigenous languages retain their minority language status in society, special efforts must be made to speak and retain the languages.

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Appendix I
Questionnaire: Version A

Saskatchewan Indian Languages Committee
Sociolinguistic Survey
QUESTIONNAIRE A

INTERVIEW INFORMATION

Interview # _____ / _____
 Speaker _____
 Date _____
 Location _____
 Interviewer _____
 Interviewer's Phone# _____
 Interviewer's Address _____

The Saskatchewan Indian Languages Committee is working on a major research project. Its goal is to collect information on Indian languages in Saskatchewan, including where and how much they are used. Over 400 interviews like this one will be conducted in Saskatchewan. Please help us by answering the following questions regarding the language characteristics of your home. All of the information you give will be treated as confidential.

I. LANGUAGES IN THE HOME

1. In many homes there are people who know more than one language or dialect. How many Indian languages are known in your home?
 NONE _____ 0 --> SKIP TO QUESTION 3
 ONE _____ 1
 TWO _____ 2
 THREE _____ 3 (SWITCH TO QUESTIONNAIRE B)
 FOUR _____ 4 (SWITCH TO QUESTIONNAIRE B)

2. Which of these languages are known by people living in your home? (circle numbers)

Cree-n dialect.....	1
Cree-th dialect.....	2
Cree-y dialect.....	3
Dakota-ihapktowan dialect.....	4
Dakota-Isajtee dialect.....	5
Dene (Chipewyan)-t dialect.....	6
Dene (Chipewyan)-k dialect.....	7
English.....	8
French.....	9
Lakota.....	10
Mechif.....	11
Nakota (Assiniboine).....	12
Saulteaux.....	13
Other (specify) _____	14

If one or two Indian languages are known in your home, please label them A and B for the purposes of this study.

LANGUAGE A: _____ (YOUR PRIMARY INDIAN LANGUAGE/DIALECT:
THE LANGUAGE YOU USE MOST)

LANGUAGE B: _____ (A SECOND INDIAN LANGUAGE/DIALECT USED
IN YOUR HOME OR KNOWN BY YOU)

II. LANGUAGE ABILITY OF SPEAKER

I will now ask you about the languages you know.
(please use codes)

3. What was the first language that you spoke?

4. What language/s did you use most
just before you started school?

- | |
|----------------------|
| 1. Cree-n |
| 2. Cree-th |
| 3. Cree-y |
| 4. Dakota-ihapktowan |
| 5. Dakota-Isajtee |
| 6. Dene-t |
| 7. Dene-k |
| 8. English |
| 9. French |
| 10. Lakota |
| 11. Mechif |
| 12. Nakota |
| 13. Saulteaux |
| 14. Other |

- 5. What language/s do you now use most often for conversation
 - _____ WITH YOUR SPOUSE/PARTNER?
 - _____ WITH YOUR CHILDREN?
 - _____ WITH YOUR FRIENDS?

NOTE: IF SPEAKER CANNOT SPEAK OR UNDERSTAND AN INDIAN LANGUAGE, SKIP TO QUESTION 58.

- 6. CREE
Can you understand Cree?
 - NO.....1
 - YES.....2

--> SKIP TO QUESTION 18

- 7. How well can you understand Y-dialect Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 8. How well can you understand TH-dialect Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 9. How well can you understand N-dialect Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 10. Can you speak Cree?
 - NO.....1
 - YES.....2

--> SKIP TO Q18

- 11. How well can you speak Y-dialect Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4
- 12. How well can you speak TH-dialect Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 13. How well can you speak N-dialect Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 14. Can you read Cree?
 - NO.....1
 - YES.....2

--> SKIP TO Q18

- 15. How well can you read your dialect of Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3

- 16. Can you write Cree?
 - NO.....1
 - YES.....2

--> SKIP TO Q18

- 17. How well can you write your dialect of Cree?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3

- 18. DAKOTA/NAKOTA/LAKOTA
Can you understand Dakota, Nakota (Assiniboine) or Lakota?
 - NO.....1
 - YES.....2

--> SKIP TO Q32

- 19. How well can you understand Dakota (Ihaptogyan-dialect)?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 20. How well can you understand Dakota (Isajtee-dialect)?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 21. How well can you understand Nakota (Assiniboine)?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

- 22. How well can you understand Lakota?
 - VERY WELL.....1
 - QUITE WELL.....2
 - SOME.....3
 - NOT AT ALL.....4

23. Can you speak Dakota, Nakota, or Lakota?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q32
 YES.....2
24. How well can you speak Dakota (inanktopwan-dialect)?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
25. How well can you speak Dakota (isanteo-dialect)?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
26. How well can you speak Nakota?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
27. How well can you speak Lakota?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
28. Can you read Dakota, Nakota, or Lakota?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q32
 YES.....2
29. How well can you read your language?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
30. Can you write Dakota, Nakota, or Lakota?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q32
 YES.....2
31. How well can you write your language?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
32. DENE (CHIPWYAN)
 Can you understand Dene (Chipewyan)?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q42
 YES.....2

33. How well can you understand Dene (t-dialect)?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
34. How well can you understand Dene (k-dialect)?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
35. Can you speak Dene?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q42
 YES.....2
36. How well can you speak Dene (t-dialect)?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
37. How well can you speak Dene (k-dialect)?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
 NOT AT ALL.....4
38. Can you read Dene?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q42
 YES.....2
39. How well can you read Dene?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
40. Can you write Dene?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q42
 YES.....2
41. How well can you write Dene?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
42. MECHIF
 Can you understand Mechif?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q50
 YES.....2

- 43. How well can you understand Mechiff?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 44. Can you speak Mechiff?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q50
 YES.....2
- 45. How well can you speak Mechiff?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 46. Can you read Mechiff?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q50
 YES.....2
- 47. How well can you read Mechiff?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 48. Can you write Mechiff?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q50
 YES.....2
- 49. How well can you write Mechiff?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 50. SAULTEAUX (PLAIN SULTANE)
 Can you understand Saulteaux?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q58
 YES.....2
- 51. How well can you understand Saulteaux?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 52. Can you speak Saulteaux?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q58
 YES.....2
- 53. How well can you speak Saulteaux?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3

- 54. Can you read Saulteaux?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q58
 YES.....2
- 55. How well can you read Saulteaux?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 56. Can you write Saulteaux?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q58
 YES.....2
- 57. How well can you write Saulteaux?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 58. ENGLISH
 Can you understand English?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q66
 YES.....2
- 59. How well can you understand English?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 60. Can you speak English?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q66
 YES.....2
- 61. How well can you speak English?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 62. Can you read English?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q66
 YES.....2
- 63. How well can you read English?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 64. Can you write English?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q66
 YES.....2

- 76. Can you speak this language?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q83
 YES.....2
- 77. How well can you speak this language?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 78. Can you read this language?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q83
 YES.....2
- 79. How well can you read this language?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 80. Can you write this language?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q83
 YES.....2
- 81. How well can you write this language?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 82. Do you know any other languages? Please give details:

III. LANGUAGE USE BY SPEAKER

- Now I will ask you some questions about how you use the languages you know.
- 83.* How often do you speak Language A? (that is, your primary Indian language: the language you use most) SEE PAGE 2
 ALWAYS.....1
 OFTEN.....2
 SELDOM.....3
 NEVER.....4
- 84.* How often do speak Language B? (that is, your second Indian language: the language you use second most, or the other Indian language used in your home)?
 ALWAYS.....1
 OFTEN.....2
 SELDOM.....3
 NEVER.....4

- 65. How well can you write English?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 66. FRRNCH
 Can you understand French?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q74
 YES.....2
- 67. How well can you understand French?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 68. Can you speak French?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q74
 YES.....2
- 69. How well can you speak French?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 70. Can you read French?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q74
 YES.....2
- 71. How well can you read French?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 72. Can you write French?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q74
 YES.....2
- 73. How well can you write French?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3
- 74. OTHER LANGUAGES
 Can you understand another language?
 NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q83
 YES.....2
 WHICH LANGUAGE?
- 75. How well can you understand this language?
 VERY WELL.....1
 QUITE WELL.....2
 SOME.....3

85. * When do you read in Language A?
 LETTERS..... 1
 LEGENDS..... 2
 BIBLE..... 3
 COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER..... 4
 HYMNS..... 5
 IN TEACHING..... 6
 NEVER..... 7
 OTHER..... 8
86. * When do you read in Language B?
 LETTERS..... 1
 LEGENDS..... 2
 BIBLE..... 3
 COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER..... 4
 HYMNS..... 5
 IN TEACHING..... 6
 NEVER..... 7
 OTHER..... 8
87. * When do you write in Language A?
 LETTERS..... 1
 LEGENDS..... 2
 COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER..... 3
 IN TEACHING..... 4
 NEVER..... 5
 OTHER..... 6
88. * When do you write in Language B?
 LETTERS..... 1
 LEGENDS..... 2
 COMMUNITY NEWSPAPER..... 3
 IN TEACHING..... 4
 NEVER..... 5
 OTHER..... 6
89. * If you can write Language A, please write your word for 'dog' in this language:

 Do you have another way to write the same word in Language A?

90. * If you can write Language B, please write your word for 'dog' in this language:

 Do you have another way to write the same word in Language B?

91. * How well can you understand an older person speaking Language A?
 VERY WELL..... 1
 QUITE WELL..... 2
 A LITTLE..... 3
 NOT AT ALL..... 4
92. * How well can you understand an older person speaking Language B?
 VERY WELL..... 1
 QUITE WELL..... 2
 A LITTLE..... 3
 NOT AT ALL..... 4
93. Do you see differences in the speech of older and younger people when they are speaking Language A?
 NO..... 1
 YES..... 2
 How are they different?

94. Which language or languages do you use in the following situations? (use codes)
 NOTE: IF A SITUATION DOES NOT APPLY, WRITE --.
 DURING CEREMONIES _____
 PLAYING CARDS _____
 VISITING WITH RELATIVES _____
 VISITING WITH BROTHERS AND SISTERS _____
 VISITING WITH OLDER PEOPLE _____
 SCHOOL _____
 CHURCH _____
 PRAYER _____
 COMMUNITY MEETINGS _____
 CLINIC OR HOSPITAL _____
 GREETING PEOPLE _____
 MAKING A JOKE _____
 LOCAL STORE _____
 WORK _____
 FUNERALS _____
 WAKES _____
 BINGO _____
 BAR _____
 OTHER _____
- | |
|---------------|
| 1. Cree-n |
| 2. Cree-th |
| 3. Cree-y |
| 4. Dakota- |
| Ihanktooyan |
| 5. Dakota- |
| Isaytee |
| 6. Dene-t |
| 7. Dene-k |
| 8. English |
| 9. French |
| 10. Lakota |
| 11. Mechlif |
| 12. Nakota |
| 13. Saulteaux |
| 14. Other |
95. If you speak English, are there other situations in which you would use English (in addition to the above situations)?

96. How important is the use of an Indian language for you personally?
 VERY IMPORTANT..... 1
 IMPORTANT..... 2
 NOT IMPORTANT..... 3
 VERY UNIMPORTANT..... 4

Why is it important or unimportant to you? _____

IV. LANGUAGE ABILITIES AND USE BY CHILDREN

NOTE: IF SPEAKER DOES NOT HAVE CHILDREN, AND THERE ARE NO CHILDREN IN THE SPEAKERS'S HOME, SKIP TO Q111.

I will now ask some questions about the language or languages used by the children in your home.

97. What language/s did the children first learn to speak? (use codes) (ages as of Jan. 1, 1989)

CHILD	GENDER (M/F)	AGE	LANGUAGE/S
#1	_____	_____	_____
#2	_____	_____	_____
#3	_____	_____	_____
#4	_____	_____	_____
#5	_____	_____	_____
#6	_____	_____	_____
#7	_____	_____	_____
#8	_____	_____	_____

- 1. Cree-n
- 2. Cree-th
- 3. Cree-y
- 4. Dakota-
- 5. Dakota-
- 6. Dene-k
- 7. Dene-t
- 8. English
- 9. French
- 10. Lakota
- 11. Mechif
- 12. Nakota
- 13. Saulteaux
- 14. Other

NOTE: IF THERE ARE MORE THAN 8 CHILDREN IN THE HOME, PLEASE CONTINUE ON BACK.

98. What other language/s or dialect/s do the children now understand? (use codes)

CHILD	LANGUAGE/S OR DIALECT/S
#1	_____
#2	_____
#3	_____
#4	_____
#5	_____
#6	_____
#7	_____
#8	_____

99. What other language/s or dialect/s do the children now speak? (use codes)

CHILD	LANGUAGE/S OR DIALECT/S
#1	_____
#2	_____
#3	_____
#4	_____
#5	_____
#6	_____
#7	_____
#8	_____

- 1. Cree-n
- 2. Cree-th
- 3. Cree-y
- 4. Dakota-
- 5. Dakota-
- 6. Dene-k
- 7. Dene-t
- 8. English
- 9. French
- 10. Lakota
- 11. Mechif
- 12. Nakota
- 13. Saulteaux
- 14. Other

100. *How often do the children speak Language A (your primary Indian language)?

CHILD	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM	NEVER
#1	_____	_____	_____	_____
#2	_____	_____	_____	_____
#3	_____	_____	_____	_____
#4	_____	_____	_____	_____
#5	_____	_____	_____	_____
#6	_____	_____	_____	_____
#7	_____	_____	_____	_____
#8	_____	_____	_____	_____

101. *How well do the children understand Language A, for children of their age?

CHILD	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#1	_____	_____	_____	_____
#2	_____	_____	_____	_____
#3	_____	_____	_____	_____
#4	_____	_____	_____	_____
#5	_____	_____	_____	_____
#6	_____	_____	_____	_____
#7	_____	_____	_____	_____
#8	_____	_____	_____	_____

102. *How well do the children speak Language A, for children of their age?

CHILD	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#1	_____	_____	_____	_____
#2	_____	_____	_____	_____
#3	_____	_____	_____	_____
#4	_____	_____	_____	_____
#5	_____	_____	_____	_____
#6	_____	_____	_____	_____
#7	_____	_____	_____	_____
#8	_____	_____	_____	_____

103. *How often do the children speak Language B?

CHILD			
#1	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM
#2	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM
#3	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM
#4	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM
#5	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM
#6	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM
#7	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM
#8	ALWAYS	OFTEN	SELDOM

104. *How well do the children understand Language B, for children of their age?

#1	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#2	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#3	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#4	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#5	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#6	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#7	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#8	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL

105. *How well do the children speak Language B, for children of their age?

#1	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#2	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#3	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#4	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#5	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#6	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#7	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL
#8	VERY WELL	QUITE WELL	A LITTLE	NOT AT ALL

106. If your children speak Language A, how different is it from your own?

CHILD	VERY DIFFERENT	SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT	ALMOST THE SAME	THE SAME
YOUNGEST	_____	_____	_____	_____
OLDEST	_____	_____	_____	_____

If their language is different than yours, how is it different?

107. What language/s does the oldest child mostly use to talk to: (use codes)

- _____ YOU?
- _____ OTHER PARENT?
- _____ BROTHERS/SISTERS?
- _____ OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS?
- _____ GRANDPARENTS?
- _____ FRIENDS?
- _____ TEACHERS?

108. What language/s does the youngest child mostly use to talk to: (use codes)

- _____ YOU?
- _____ OTHER PARENT?
- _____ BROTHERS/SISTERS?
- _____ OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS?
- _____ GRANDPARENTS?
- _____ FRIENDS?
- _____ TEACHERS?

109. *When you speak to the children in language A, in what language/s or dialect/s do they respond? (use codes)

CHILD	
#1	LANGUAGE/S OR DIALECT/S
#2	_____
#3	_____
#4	_____
#5	_____
#6	_____
#7	_____
#8	_____

110. Do the children sometimes spend time with relatives or friends outside of your home who speak a language or dialect other than English?

NO.....1
 YES.....2
 Which language/s or dialects? _____

V. LANGUAGE ABILITIES AND USE BY OTHERS IN THE HOME

I will now ask some questions about the languages and dialects used by other people living in your home (other than children).

111. Are there other persons living in your home who speak or understand a language(s) other than English?

NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q116.
 YES.....2

- | |
|---------------|
| 1. Cree-n |
| 2. Cree-th |
| 3. Cree-y |
| 4. Dakota- |
| Inaykotogwan |
| 5. Dakota- |
| Isaytee |
| 6. Dene-t |
| 7. Dene-k |
| 8. English |
| 9. French |
| 10. Lakota |
| 11. Nechif |
| 12. Nakota |
| 13. Saulteaux |
| 14. Other |

If yes, indicate who speaks it and what language/s and dialects are spoken or understood (not children): (ages as of Jan. 1, 1989)

WHO	AGE	LANGUAGES UNDERSTOOD	LANGUAGES SPOKEN
#1	(e.g. spouse/partner, parent, etc.)		
#2			
#3			
#4			
#5			

- 1. Cree-n
- 2. Cree-th
- 3. Cree-y
- 4. Dakota-ihaphtoywan
- 5. Dakota-isaqtee
- 6. Dene-k
- 7. Dene-t
- 8. English
- 9. French
- 10. Lakota
- 11. Mechif
- 12. Nakota
- 13. Saulteux
- 14. Other

NOTE: IF MORE THAN 5 OTHER PEOPLE LIVE IN THE HOME, PLEASE CONTINUE ON BACK OF SHEET.

112.*How well do the people in your home understand Language A (your Primary Indian language)?

#1	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#2	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#3	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#4	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#5	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL

113.*How well do those in your home speak Language A?

#1	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#2	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#3	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#4	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#5	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL

114.*How well do those in your home understand Language B?

#1	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#2	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#3	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#4	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#5	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL

115.*How well do those in your home speak Language B?

#1	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#2	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#3	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#4	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL
#5	VERY WELL	—	QUITE WELL	—	A LITTLE	—	NOT AT ALL

116.*How often is Language A spoken in your home?

- ALWAYS.....1
- OFTEN.....2
- SELDOM.....3
- NEVER.....4

117.*How often is Language B spoken in your home?

- ALWAYS.....1
- OFTEN.....2
- SELDOM.....3
- NEVER.....4

118. What do you consider the main language in your home (the language normally spoken around the supper table)?

119. Which members of your family always speak an Indian language to each other?

Which language/s or dialect/s? _____

Now I will ask you some questions about the languages you use or used with your parents.

120. What language do/did you normally use when talking to your mother? (use codes)

Do/did you ever use another language with her?
NO.....1
YES.....2

Which language? _____

121. What language does/did she normally use when talking to you?

Does/did she ever use another language with you?
NO.....1
YES.....2

Which language? _____

122. What language do/did you normally use when talking to your father?

Do/did you ever use another language with him?
NO.....1
YES.....2

Which language? _____

- 1. Cree-n
- 2. Cree-th
- 3. Cree-y
- 4. Dakota-ihaphtoywan
- 5. Dakota-isaqtee
- 6. Dene-k
- 7. Dene-t
- 8. English
- 9. French
- 10. Lakota
- 11. Mechif
- 12. Nakota
- 13. Saulteux
- 14. Other

123. What language does/did he normally use when talking to you?

Does/did he ever use another language with you?
NO.....1
YES.....2

Which languages? _____

124. Now I will ask some questions about the languages you use or used with your grandparents (use codes).

What language/s do/did you normally use when talking to your:

maternal grandmother	maternal grandfather	paternal grandmother	paternal grandfather

- 1. Cree-n
- 2. Cree-th
- 3. Cree-y
- 4. Dakota-
- 5. Dakota-
- 6. Dakota-
- 7. Dene--1
- 8. English
- 9. French
- 10. Lakota
- 11. Michif
- 12. Nakota
- 13. Saulteaux
- 14. Other

125. What language/s does/did she/he normally use when talking to you?

maternal grandmother	maternal grandfather	paternal grandmother	paternal grandfather

VI. LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

I will now ask your opinions about Indian languages in schools.

126. Do you think that Indian languages should be taught in schools?
NO.....1
YES.....2

127. Do you think learning an Indian language gets in the way of learning English?
NO.....1 --> SKIP TO Q129.
YES.....2

128. If you think an Indian language gets in the way of learning English, how do you think it gets in the way?

129. Do you think that being able to learn or use an Indian language at school would help your children or grandchildren either at school, or in their lives?
STRONGLY AGREE.....1
AGREE.....2
DISAGREE.....3
STRONGLY DISAGREE.....4 --> SKIP TO Q131

130. How do you think it would help?
--> SKIP TO Q131

VII. OTHER LANGUAGE RETENTION ACTIVITIES

Now I will ask some questions about Indian languages in today's society.

131. Do you think it is important to keep our Indian languages?
STRONGLY AGREE.....1
AGREE.....2
DISAGREE.....3
STRONGLY DISAGREE.....4

132. Why or why not?

133. Should some government services be provided in Indian languages?
STRONGLY AGREE.....1
AGREE.....2
DISAGREE.....3
STRONGLY DISAGREE.....4 --> SKIP TO Q135

134. What services should be made available? (circle as many as you want)

- MEDICAL AND DENTAL SERVICES.....1
- LEGAL SERVICES.....2
- SOCIAL SERVICES (FOSTER CARE, UIC, ETC.).....3
- PROGRAMS FOR SENIOR CITIZENS (PENSIONS, VETERAN'S AFFAIRS, ETC.).....4
- LAW ENFORCEMENT.....5
- OTHER.....6

- 21
135. Which of the following language and cultural retention activities would you support in your community? (circle as many as you want)
- ADULT LANGUAGE CLASSES.....1
 - SUMMER LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IMMERSION CAMPS.....2
 - RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED IN INDIAN LANGUAGES.....3
 - NEWSPAPERS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES.....4
 - TV AND RADIO PROGRAMS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES.....5
 - RESIDENT ELDERS IN EACH SCHOOL.....6
 - PRESCHOOL CENTRES FOR CHILDREN WHERE CHILDREN ARE IMMersed IN THEIR TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.....7
 - LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CLUBS.....8
 - OTHER.....9

VIII. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON SPEAKER

And now, could you please answer some questions about yourself to help us interpret the answers you have given?

136. Age: How old were you on January 1, 1989?
- 20 - 24.....1
 - 25 - 29.....2
 - 30 - 34.....3
 - 35 - 39.....4
 - 40 - 44.....5
 - 45 - 49.....6
 - 50 - 54.....7
 - 55 - 59.....8
 - 60 - 64.....9
 - 65 - 70.....10
 - 70 - 75.....11
 - 75 +12

137. FEMALE.....1
 MALE.....2

138. What is your status?
 TREATY OR STATUS INDIAN.....1
 METIS.....2
 NON-STATUS INDIAN.....3

139. What Band do you belong to? _____

140. How many persons are living in your home?
 TOTAL_____

141. Of the people living in your home, how many are in each age category below? (including yourself) (ages as of Jan. 1, 1989)
- 0 - 4.....
 - 5 - 9.....
 - 10 - 14.....
 - 15 - 19.....
 - 20 - 24.....
 - 25 - 29.....
 - 30 - 34.....
 - 35 - 39.....
 - 40 - 44.....
 - 45 - 49.....
 - 50 - 54.....
 - 55 - 59.....
 - 60 - 64.....
 - 65 - 70.....
 - 70 - 75.....
 - 75 +

142. Where did your mother live when you were born? _____

143. Who raised you? _____

144. Where did you live as a child? _____

145. Where do you live now? _____

146. How many different communities have you lived in during your life?
- 1.....1
 - 2 - 3.....2
 - 4 - 5.....3
 - 6 - 9.....4
 - 10 OR MORE.....5

147. How much time have you spent living on the trapline or in the bush? _____

148. How much time have you spent living in a town or city? _____

149. Which towns or cities have you lived in? _____

150. What was the highest level you finished in school?

- GRADE 1-3.....1
- GRADE 4-6.....2
- GRADE 7-9.....3
- GRADE 10-11.....4
- GRADE 12.....5
- SOME UNIVERSITY.....6
- BACHELOR'S DEGREE.....7
- SOME GRADUATE WORK.....8
- GRADUATE DEGREE.....9
- OTHER.....10

151. Where did you go to school?

For how long?

- RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL.....
- RESERVE SCHOOL (INDIAN AFFAIRS).....
- RESERVE SCHOOL (BAND-CONTROLLED).....
- PROVINCIAL SCHOOL (TOWN OR CITY).....
- UNIVERSITY (CITY).....

152. Where did your mother go to school?

For how long?

- RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL.....
- RESERVE SCHOOL (INDIAN AFFAIRS).....
- RESERVE SCHOOL (BAND-CONTROLLED).....
- PROVINCIAL SCHOOL (TOWN OR CITY).....
- UNIVERSITY (CITY).....

153. Where did your father go to school?

For how long?

- RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL.....
- RESERVE SCHOOL (INDIAN AFFAIRS).....
- RESERVE SCHOOL (BAND-CONTROLLED).....
- PROVINCIAL SCHOOL (TOWN OR CITY).....
- UNIVERSITY (CITY).....

154. Do you have any other comments:_____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

Appendix II
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Appendix III
Interview Procedures

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWERS

Sociolinguistic Survey: Saskatchewan Indian Languages Committee
Winter/Spring, 1989

I. PURPOSE OF STUDY

The main purpose of this study is to collect information on the use of indigenous languages in Saskatchewan. We want to assess the state of health of the languages in 1989.

II. USES OF THE DATA

The data may be used for policy and program development by Bands, Districts, schools, Secretary of State Canada (the funding agency), the Saskatchewan Indian Languages Committee, or the Languages Department of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre. It may also be used to compare with data collected at a future time.

III. METHOD OF THE STUDY

A sociolinguistic approach is being used in this study. We want to find out not just how many people are able to use particular languages, but also where and when they speak it, and who they speak it to. The method entails a community-based interviewer conducting questionnaire-guided interviews with a sample of people in their community. Detailed information will be collected from the person being interviewed (the speaker). The speaker will also be asked for information about the language use of other people in the home.

IV. SCOPE OF STUDY

Funds are available to carry out the study in 22 communities across Saskatchewan, with an average of 20 - 25 interviews per community, based on the size of community. You will be informed about how many interviews to conduct in your community. It will be up to you to select the people to interview. You will be expected to include a cross-section of the community. More sites will be included at a later date if more funds become available.

V. GUIDELINES

1. Use a random method of choosing homes to be included in the survey. Interview only one person in each home. The person you interview must be an adult.
2. Give people the choice of whether or not to participate in the study. If you don't have their cooperation, you will not be able to collect the information. Whenever possible, arrange in advance for a convenient time for each interview. Explain that the information gathered will not be released to anyone in its "raw" form, in order to ensure confidentiality. Explain the purpose of the study. One purpose is to make recommendations regarding languages that will help them in their communities.
3. Answer all the questions on the questionnaire. If a question does not apply, explain why. Write 'N/A' or draw a line through the question if the question does not apply.
4. Listen carefully to what the speaker is telling you. If they give extra information that is relevant to the questionnaire or research question, write it down. If a question does not fit for the speaker, ask questions to find out why, and write down their answer.
5. After completing a questionnaire and after leaving the home where the questionnaire was done, take a few minutes while sitting in your car to go over the questionnaire once more. While it is fresh in your mind, clarify answers to questions, and write down any additional information necessary.
6. Number each questionnaire.

7. If possible, tape each interview. Before you begin, ask if the speaker objects to being taped. If they object, don't tape the interview. The tapes will be used if necessary to clarify or supplement the information collected through the interview. With older people, offer tobacco. If you are not sure of how to approach people in the traditional way in your community, ask an elder in the community for advice.
8. Use of tape recorder: Before beginning your interviews, make sure you feel comfortable operating the tape recorder. Label each tape with the questionnaire number, date, and location.
9. Give each speaker the opportunity to tell his or her own "story". Don't interrupt. Give enough time for them to answer. When you begin, tell them that you recognize there are different opinions on various matters, that everyone's opinion is important, that you value their opinion, and that you will try to write down their answers as best you can.
10. If during the interview, the speaker loses interest, becomes distracted, gets tired, etc., ask if there's a later time you can return to finish the interview.
11. Use the number codes for the languages and dialects, where indicated.
12. Some people say they "mix up " languages. Try to get them to explain what they mean. Make comments on the questionnaire where necessary.
13. MECHIF: is Cree with French nouns incorporated into it.

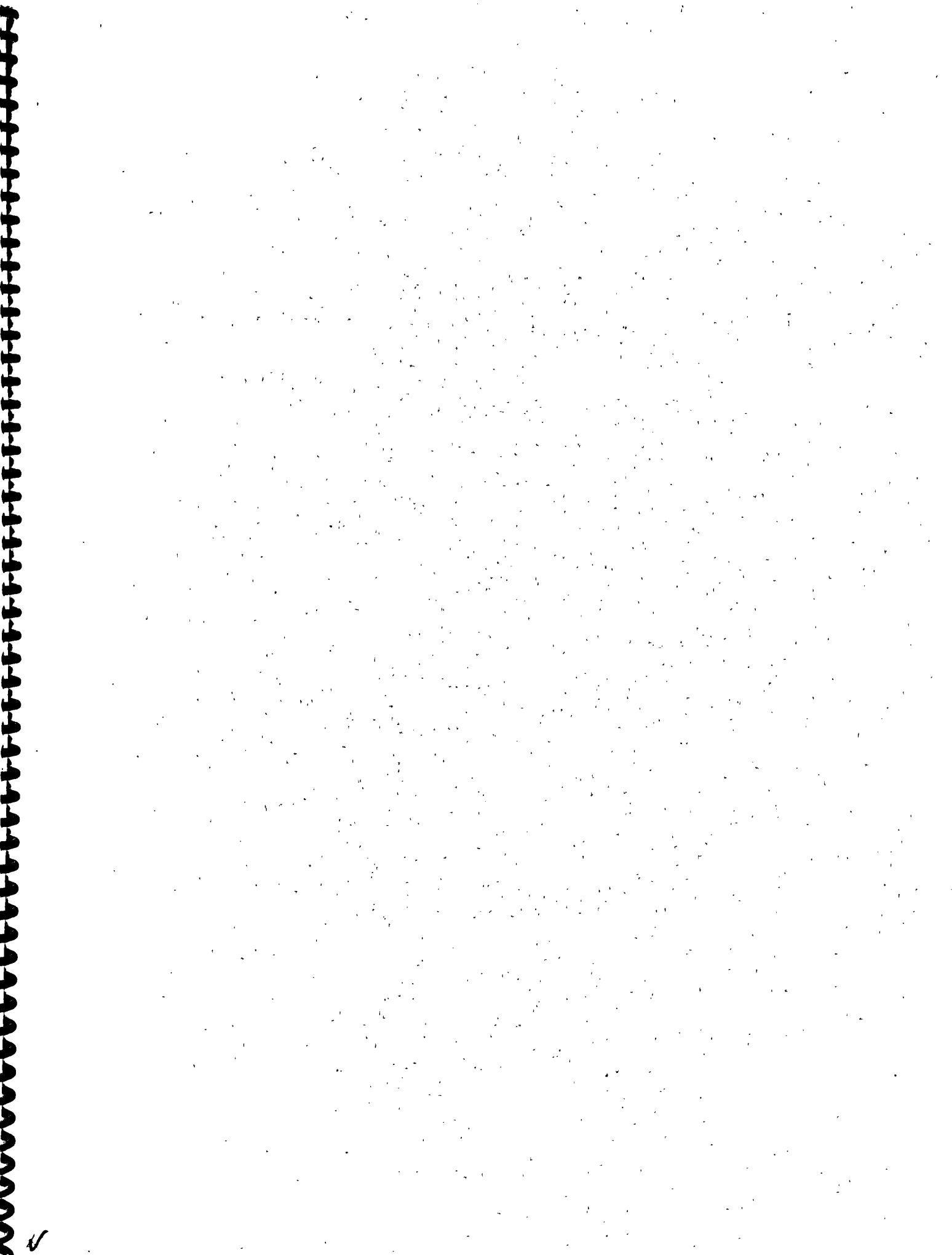
14. CREE dialects:
 Sample words in N-dialect (Swampy Cree), TH-dialect (Bush Cree), and Y-dialect (Plains Cree):
- | | | |
|------------------|-------|---------|
| | I, me | person |
| N-dialect Cree: | nina | ininiw |
| Y-dialect Cree: | niya | iyiniw |
| TH-dialect Cree: | nitha | ithiniw |
15. DAKOTA dialects:
 Sample words in Dakota dialects, Nakota, and Lakota:
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|------|---------|
| | very | boy |
| Dakota:isantee dialect (true 'd'): | dida | hoksida |
| Dakota:ihanktonwan dialect: | dina | hoksina |
| Nakota (Assiniboine): | nina | hoksina |
| Lakota: | lila | hoksila |
17. Go over the questionnaire ahead of time and think about how you could ask the questions in your language. When interviewing, use the language the speaker is most comfortable with: English or their Indian language.
18. Don't ask questions of a spiritual nature. Be sensitive when asking questions which refer to relatives who may have passed on.
19. If an answer given by the speaker seems to contradict an answer that was given earlier, ask questions to clarify. Write it down.
20. Get approximate information if necessary. (e.g . ages, years or locations of schooling, etc.)
21. Use Questionnaire A for those with up to two Indian languages in the home. Use Questionnaire B for those with more than two Indian languages in the home.

22. When all your interviews have been completed, collect them all together with their tapes. Go over them one more time to make sure all the questions have been answered, and to make sure the numbers on the tapes correspond with the numbers on the questionnaires. Provide some background information on the community. Package everything up, including the tape recorder (in padded box) and send on bus

to: LANGUAGES DEPARTMENT
 SASKATCHEWAN INDIAN LANGUAGES DEPARTMENT .
 120 33RD STREET EAST
 SASKATOON, SK. S7K 0S2
 244-1146

23. If you run into any problems, call me at the above number.

HAVE FUN!





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