LSA Summer Institute Workshop 13:
Sociolinguistics of Language Endangerment
July 30-31, 2011
University of Colorado at Boulder

PROGRAM
AND
ABSTRACTS

This is the second in a series of workshops on this topic; the first was held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, U of London in June 2009. Selected papers from that workshop appeared in a special issue of *Anthropological Linguistics* 52/2 2010.

SCHEDULE

Brief titles only; for full titles, please see abstracts

Saturday, 30 July 2011

9:30   Opening
9:45   Lenore Grenoble, U of Chicago: Bridging the gaps
10:30   Andy Cowell, U of Colorado: Models for language revitalization
11:15   break
11:30   David Bradley, La Trobe U: Resilience for the Gong
12:15   LUNCH BREAK
1:45   Ofelia Zepeda, U of Arizona: Waiting for a full Tohono O'odham language movement
2:30   Barbra Meek, U of Michigan: Shaping language
3:15   break
3:30   Arienne Dwyer, U of Kansas: The expressive life of religions
4:15   Pierpaolo Di Carlo, U at Buffalo: The loci of cultural reproduction
5:00   Poster Session

           Gerdts & Peter: Liberating loanwords
           Rey: Planning language practices
           Silva: Sociolinguistic diagnostic of Desano

Sunday, 31 July 2011

9:00   Lise Dobrin, U of Virginia: The cultural logic of language as heritage
9:45   Patrick McConvell, Australian National U: Mixed languages
10:15   MaryAnn Willie, U of Arizona: Boarding School Navajo
10:45   Tam Nguyen, U of Oregon: Linguistic variation, different factors
11:15   break
11:30   Cecile Rey, U of Texas at Austin: Planning language practices
12:00   Javid Fereidoni, U Paris Ouest: A sociolinguistic study on multilingualism
12:30   Closing

Abstracts are listed alphabetically by first author's surname

Resilience for the Gong
David Bradley
La Trobe University
d.bradley@latrobe.edu.au

Language revitalization is difficult, even with an orthography, teaching materials and community good will. The current situation of the Gong is a test for resilience linguistics, a new paradigm based on resilience thinking which attempts to empower and assist communities in their language and culture maintenance.

The Gong are a minority group of western Thailand whose language has been in decline for more than a century. It has now contacted to two villages outside its traditional territory. Since the 1970s, its vitality even there has been deeply affected by roads, schools, electricity, Buddhist temples and in-movement of Thai speakers.

We have been working with the Gong since 1977. In 1982, working with speakers literate in Thai, we devised an orthography based on Thai. Since the late 1980s, with support from the Thailand Research Fund and assistance from a Thai university, villagers have been trained and assisted to document their traditional activities, both non-linguistic and linguistic, and a village cultural centre has been established. Since the establishment of a school in the village, some heritage activities also take place in the school.

Models for language revitalization:
Problems of extension and replication
Andy Cowell
University of Colorado
Cowellj@colorado.edu

This presentation will focus specifically on the problems of extending the Hawaiian model of language revitalization to other Native American groups. The Hawaiian model is of course widely recognized for its successes, and numerous Native American representatives have visited or been visited by the Hawaiians as part of an effort to extend this success elsewhere, with some encouraging results but a great deal of variation. Some of the problems of extension are fairly obvious on a broad scale: the relatively large size of the Hawaiian population, the fact that the state has only a single indigenous language, the degree of political support from the state's schools, colleges and state government, and the long tradition of literacy all contrast with most or all Native American tribal situations. But the specific local implications of these distinctions are not always fully appreciated by either academics working with other indigenous communities or the communities themselves. Furthermore, other less immediately obvious but often insidious issues need to be considered: the relative salience of Hawaiian music and dance as specifically linguistic practices that anchor identity formation strongly around the language, or the degree of educational and socio-economic integration of local Hawaiians into the larger community.

These problems are not necessarily insuperable by any means. However, the presenter (who speaks Hawaiian himself and is quite familiar with Hawaii, but whose professional work is with Native American communities) has seen a good deal of disappointment and even some resistance in relation to the Hawaiian model on the mainland. Even where linguists themselves may be very aware of the obstacles to replication, indigenous communities may be much less aware of these, and it is important, as part of processes of "ideological clarification" (Kroskrity) and language planning to highlight what can and cannot reasonably be attempted, and in what sequence, in smaller reservation communities, *specifically* in relation to the one model that virtually all Native American language activists know and emulate to some degree. One particular concern, for example, is immersion schools which may be started prematurely, leading to local disappointments and increased obstacles to restarts, though there are many others issues as well. This presentation will try to cover both some of the socio-linguistic and anthropological issues involved in replication, as well as the ways in which these issues need to be practically (i.e. politically) confronted in local community contexts.

The loci of cultural reproduction and their importance for language maintenance: Between ethnographic and (socio)linguistic field research in Pakistan and Cameroon

Pierpaolo Di Carlo
University at Buffalo
pierpaolodicarlo@gmail.com

Drawing on my field research I will illustrate two case studies in order to give some clues about how important an ethnographic approach to language endangerment can be in both theoretical and applied perspectives.

The first case study is provided by the Kalasha of northwestern Pakistan. Known as the last Kafirs (i.e. 'pagans' from a Muslim viewpoint) of the Hindu Kush, the Kalasha are the last 4000 practitioners of a polytheistic religion akin to that of the Rig Veda once widespread in the region. The marked contrast with the surrounding (now) Muslim communities, both in terms of practices and beliefs, often causes the Kalasha who convert to Islam to abandon their ancestral language. But where is Kalasha culture reproduced and what are the factors that promote its preservation? A contrastive analysis concerning some differential uses of topic marking devices in ordinary as opposed to poetic discourse shows that it is during verbal art performances that Kalasha reframe their 'heaven', a crucial motivation for an endangered enclave to continue bearing the burden of being unique. This enables us to see ritual verbal art performances as an essential tool for the reproduction of Kalasha culture and hence for the maintenance of their language.

The second case study comes from the Lower Fungom region of northwestern Cameroon, a small area where we find fourteen villages and at least seven different Bantoid languages. All but three are one-village languages and nearly all of them can be said to be in a status of endangerment, mainly due to the spread of Pidgin English. Each village is composed of several lineages, is headed by a chief, forms an autonomous polity, and its population is perceived by locals as speaking a language of its own. The only institutions that ensure the village/polity unity above the lineage level are the so-called secret societies, village-internal closed organizations that (used to) have ethical, political and ritual-magical functions. These institutions constitute fundamental loci of reproduction of the cultural framework, with a one-to-one correspondence between village, polity, and language (at least in local perception). Two considerations arise from looking at this case study from a language endangerment perspective: (i) the prominently distinctive function played by these languages makes it debatable whether the loss of any of them would actually correspond to the loss of a worldview, at least in the commonest meaning; (ii) if continuity of secret societies is the decisive factor for language maintenance in this area, then an outline of these organizations' ritual practices, among which were human sacrifices (now no longer carried out), will raise the question whether language maintenance is always worth being supported.

The cultural logic of language as heritage

Lise M. Dobrin
University of Virginia
ld4n@virginia.edu

For as long as linguists have been actively concerned about preserving endangered languages, they have recognized that linguistic communities do not always share their concern. Even when would-be speakers express regret about the language loss they see taking place around them, this sentiment may coexist with contradictory desires, like that for development, or a belief that language shift is inevitable and so not worth devoting limited energies to trying to overcome. In such cases, apparently, whatever value the traditional language might have in establishing local identity is not sufficient to override these attitudes and motivate people to maintain or reclaim their linguistic heritage.

In this paper, I explore the notion of language as heritage, summarizing anthropological research on the contrast between precolonial Melanesia and the West in order to shed light on the different ways in which language shift may be perceived and responded to. Unlike the western model wherein languages are assumed to be the primordial possessions of bounded social groups (e.g., the 'tribe' or 'nation'), in Melanesia cultural property is understood to be fluid rather than fixed, and distinctive social markers are traditionally accorded value to the extent that they are appropriated from others rather than created (Handler 1988, Harrison 2006). When we recognize that language attitudes reflect culturally particular understandings of how social life works, we can begin to see that superficially similar patterns of language shift do not always reflect the same underlying processes. For this reason, models of language preservation can only be evaluated for their appropriateness to a given culture.

The expressive life of religions:
Do religion practices strengthen or weaken language vitality?

Arienne M. Dwyer
University of Kansas
anthlinguist@ku.edu

The transmission, interpretation, adoption or rejection, and practice of religion is a communicative process. A religion introduced to an area often spreads a language and a writing system (as for example Arabic with Islam, or Latin and Greek with early Christianity); yet religion may also become a central rallying point of ethnolinguistic identity against the incursion of a more dominant language (such as Tengrism ("shamanism") in the former Soviet Republic of Kyrgyzstan).

Whether or not religious practice contributes to the strengthening or weakening of a minoritized linguistic community depends in part on the indigeneity of the religion, I suggest. The relationship of religion and language vitality also depends on the degree to which religions constitute and replicate vital social systems, which we may term are *centrifugal* religions. Religions possess semiotic virtuosity (Appadurai 1986); they not only transmit languages, but they also index prestige and value to specific languages. This presentation tests these claims by examining several language communities in Inner and Central Asia.

A sociolinguistic study on multilingualism:
Kurdish as an Iranian language

Javid Fereidoni
Université Paris Ouest
jfereidoni@yahoo.com

Language as a social and cultural phenomenon cannot be studied without the social context in which communication takes place. The way society members choose varieties of a language or switch toward another code can determine the influence of social factors on language choice. Iran as a multilingual society is a suitable community in which the different varieties of language are used to serve different functions. West Azarbayjan, one of the Iranian provinces, is a good representative of multilingualism in Iran.

The study tries to analyze the linguistic structure of Orumiyeh in a domain analysis perspective. Three languages are spoken in Orumiyeh. As mentioned earlier, three ethnic and linguistic populations (Armenians, Kurds, and Turks) are living in the city and speak Armenian, Kurdish, and Turkish respectively. In this study, the researcher will focus on the frequency of Kurdish language spoken in Orumiyeh, the capital of West Azerbaijan in Iran.

Since in the census taken in Iran, only religious and ethnic populations such as Armenians and Zoroastrians are included, so the researcher has access to the number of Armenian population, but the number of Sunni Kurds as a linguistic population is neglected. "Kurds are a group of Iranian ethnic colonies that have a lot of commonalties with the others with respect to the language, religion, customs, the life-style, etc. However, geographical situations and historical events had great influences on their ethnic and racial characteristics; so that considerable differences emerged in their dialect, religion, and customs" (Sanandaji 1987/1366:8).

It is worth mentioning that mass media, Persian instruction, and immigration have a great impact on the dialects. Kurdish spoken in Iran has a few varieties such as Kormanji, Sorani, Mukri, etc. Mukri dialect is spoken in the extreme west of Iran, south of Lake Orumiyeh where this study was carried out. Most Kurds in Orumiyeh are Sunni Muslims.

This study follows a threefold objective: 1) to discover which language variety (Turkish, Kurdish/Armenian or Persian) is used most in which social domain, that is, to find out the degree of bilingualism of Turks and trilingualism of Kurds and Armenians in seven social domains. The domains are family, religion, friendship, transaction, neighborhood, education, and government/employment. Discussing the underlying forces behind people's choice of language in each domain is a matter of interest. This study seeks to find out how domain analysis can be related to the triglossic situation in the area. That is to say, the researcher wants to know if there is sufficient evidence that the Orumiyeh community tends to be triglossic and to determine the High and Low

languages. 3) The study concerns itself with looking for nonnative speakers' views with regard to Turkish. An attempt is made to see whether non-Turkish speaking individuals, namely Kurds and Armenians, have any attitude whether positive or negative toward using Turkish in one of the above-mentioned social domains.

This study is based on the hypothesis that people's choice of language in different social contexts is determined by or correlated with their level of education, age, sex, etc. So the hypotheses of the study can be presented as follows:

H1: The more formal a domain is, the more Persian is used.

H2: People with high levels of education use Persian in most situations.

H3: Persian is used by females much more frequently than males in most situations.

H4: Young people use Persian more frequently than old people.

As far as the researcher knows, the study of domain analysis in multilingual society has not been carried out in Iran. This study can be a guideline for those who are eager to find out the social situation of languages. Determining the dominant language can be useful in language planning in trilingual communities like Orumiyeh.

Liberating loanwords: Halkomelem-ized English as a language revitalization tool

Donna B. Gerdts & Ruby M. Peter
Simon Fraser University Quamichan First Nation
donna.gerdts@sfu.ca

This paper arises from our experience of being rebuked by semi-fluent language teachers for including words of English (though not French nor Chinook Jargon) origin in the Halkomelem dictionary and educational materials. Such efforts at language purification, while understandable because of the continuing yoke of colonialism perpetrated on the Halkomelem people, are misguided from both a sociolinguistic and educational viewpoint. Rolling back the clock and observing what monolingual speakers did to accommodate foreign words not only gives a lesson in contact linguistics but also provides a blueprint for assimilating additional words into the language. At earliest stages of contact, the name was borrowed along with an item and accommodated phonologically, morphologically, and semantically into Halkomelem. For example, obstruents were devoiced (boat > /put/), forms were pluralized and diminutivized (/puli'pt/ 'little boats') and used as roots for further derivation (/putew'txw/ 'boathouse', /cput/ 'make a boat'), and new words were slotted into gender and numeral classifier systems based on similarity in shape or function to a native word (/put/ like /snuxwulh/ 'canoe' is feminine and counted with the vessel/container classifier). Fluent speakers are virtuosos at nativizing words of all sorts and find it humorous to do so. They would no more think of stopping this practice than they would of ceasing to knit their famous Cowichan sweaters, just because the idea of a sweater with designs comes from the Scottish settlers' Fair Isle sweaters. Rather than trying to purge hybrid words from the language, teachers can use them to help learners get started in Halkomelem: the loanwords are easier to pronounce than words of native origin, they are mnemonic, they quickly increase the size of vocabulary, since many everyday items are due to contact, and, when enough tokens of them are learned, they provide insight into the linguistic structure of the language. The advice of the fluent speakers then is to liberate the loanwords from their stigma and co-opt them as a language revitalization tool.

Bridging the gaps:
Challenges and opportunities in endangered language research

Lenore A. Grenoble
University of Chicago
grenoble@uchicago.edu

The last twenty years have witnessed an explosion of research on issues of language endangerment, with the emergence of documentary linguistics and the growth of language revitalization programs as two of the most obvious results. In this talk I take stock of the current state of this work in terms of the impact it has had on the field of linguistic science, focusing on several aspects of the overall outcome. Specifically, this includes the resulting documentation corpora, what they document, how they are collected, archived, and used for research purposes, which have brought about tremendous changes in methodology and in certain fields such as historical linguistics and typology. At the same time the push to document the "last" fluent speakers has resulted in gaps in our current research, such as a general lack of documentation of variation, few studies of the kinds of change that take place during language shift and attrition, and few studies of the newer forms of language which emerge as the result of revitalization. I argue for research models to address these issues which will benefit both the scientific community and the speaker community.

Mixed languages – half empty or half full?

Patrick McConvell
Australian National University
Patrick.McConvell@anu.edu.au

Mixed or hybrid languages, which have both grammar and lexicon of two languages intertwined, are a possible outcome of language endangerment, alongside outright language shift to a dominant language. In Australia there are several well documented examples of this kind of language built from a traditional language and a creole lingua franca evolving from language contact usually involving code-switching between these two. (McConvell & Meakins 2005). I have suggested that this outcome particularly results from a situation where one traditional language is found in a community, whereas where several have been brought together in one community in recent history, the result is usually language shift to English/creole directly rather than a mixed language. (McConvell 2008). Another aspect of this situation is how to deal with it in surveys of the type I have participated in of endangerment of languages in Australia (McConvell, Marmion & McNicol 2005). One component of such surveys is measuring the extent to which an ethnic group speaks the traditional language. In the mixed language case it is unclear how these speakers are counted. They are not simply 'semi-speakers' but are speaking a new language and in a number of cases regard the mixed language as the same as or a continuation of the traditional language.

Shaping language: From politics to people

Barbra A. Meek
University of Michigan
bameek@umich.edu

In the struggle for human rights and political recognition, indigenous groups have frequently turned to language. Indigenous languages have served as a seemingly neutral platform for the negotiation of these struggles. These struggles in turn influence the state of indigenous languages, from their representation on the page to their use in performances of indigenous identity. To investigate the mutually constitutive nature of this relationship, this paper examines different sociolinguistic domains in which language serves as a symbol of indigeneity and self-determination, indexing social distinctness, human variability, and political marginality (research, media, and politics). In particular, it focuses on the various ways in which such domains mediate the shape and the shaping of language itself. Then, turning from these more publicized and media-oriented domains for expressing and managing language and difference, the intimate, personal and ultimately biographical shaping of language is considered. Personal narratives and family histories reveal the individualized and circumstantial motivations for using, or not using, indigenous languages. The resulting choices, past and present, thusly shape language; a noun here, an archaic phrase there, a story on stage for all to hear. All of this underscores the inescapable complexity of linguistic practice and the tenuous predictability of socially emergent (revitalized and recreated) language practices. As participants ourselves in the emergence of these practices, what is the shape of language to come?

Linguistic variation, different factors:
A case study of endangered Bih, a Chamic language of Vietnam
Tam Nguyen
University of Oregon
tnguyen8@uoregon.edu

Bih is a highland Chamic language spoken in Buon Trap town, Krong Ana district, Dak Lak province in the southern highlands of Vietnam. Even though around 500 people consider themselves as Bih ethnically, the number of actual speakers is less than 15 elderly people. This paper describes the sociolinguistic context which has led to this situation.

The main factor can be attributed to the long-term contact with Ede (Rhade), another Chamic language in the area. Bih people live together with Ede people and other ethnic groups in which all social activities and ceremonies in the communities are in the Ede language, the standard language of their communities and the only language understood by the vast majority of community members. Bih adults use Ede to communicate among themselves and to their children. Only elderly people still speak Bih and they have to use Ede to communicate with their children and grandchildren. Gradually, their speech is mixed with a lot of Ede lexicon. One example of long-term contact with Ede is the case of an eighty-four-year-old consultant in this project. He is a shaman in the area. His speech uses Bih grammar with the majority of Ede lexicon.

Another factor which supports the observation that Bih will disappear in the next generations is the acceptance of lexical variation among elderly speakers. Bih young people can't understand their grandparents if they speak Bih. So, their grandparents accept lexical variation within Bih (mixed with Ede or mainly in Ede). This results in modern Bih lexicon being different from the original. Nowadays, Bih teenagers can only communicate to their parents and grandparents with Ede-type lexicon, even though occasionally their grammar (such as the negation marker) still uses Bih structure.

These factors have caused diversity in Bih: some speak traditional Bih, some mix Bih grammar and Ede lexicon and the majority speaks Bih with a few phonological and syntactic residue features of Bih. This has created a big gap between elderly Bih speakers and young people. Ultimately, it could be that in the next generations, no one in the Bih community will be able to understand their parents or grandparents speech, such as folktales or narratives.

Planning language practices and representations of identity within the Gallo community in Brittany: A case of language maintenance

Cecile Rey
University of Texas at Austin
rcecile@gmail.com

This study focuses on the representations of the Gallo language in the Eastern part of Brittany among elder native speakers (group 1) and students of Gallo (group 2). Jones & Singh (2005) and Williams (2000) both stress the importance of an asserted community identity for language transmission and the active involvement of community members in the revitalization process. In light of these two studies and the revitalization models proposed by Grenoble & Whaley (2006), the present research establishes that, in order to obtain a more appropriate and possibly successful revitalization program, it is necessary to consult and probe the approval of native speakers of Gallo. Informants from both groups show little involvement in language planning activities; in contrast, revitalization efforts in the last decades have increased within associative and militant groups.

Based on the findings of Jones & Singh (2005) on Jersey Norman French and Williams (2000) on Welsh, this study provides evidence that Gallo is on the verge of achieving a different status. The framework used for the fieldwork was adapted from the Boas TGPD project on Texas German (2001). Most of the interviews were conducted in a private setting. Two groups of individuals were involved in this study: older native speakers (41) and students (17), and half of the respondents participated in a follow-up interview (1-2 hours). The results of field research on language attitudes show a positive Gallo identity: 50% of the native speakers answered that Gallo is part of their identity as much as French and 78.6% of the students selected the same statement. Only 20% of group 1 and 21.4% of group 2 declared that Gallo was not an important part of their identity. In the same set of questions on identity and representations, 90% of group 1 and 85.7% of group 2 expressed a positive attitude when asked whether or not speaking and/or understanding Gallo was valuable. Overall, above 80% of the total informants think that the knowledge of Gallo is an advantage. This research demonstrates that the speech community expresses a more positive Gallo identity than expected, one of the main factors necessary to secure language maintenance.

Sociolinguistic diagnostic of Desano (Eastern Tukanoan)

Wilson Silva
University of Utah
wlsilva78@gmail.com

This study is part of a project for the documentation and revitalization of Desano, an Eastern Tukanoan (ET) language. Desano, an ET language, is spoken in the Northwestern region of the Amazon Basin. Speakers of ET languages live in communities along the Vaupés River and its tributaries in Brazil and Colombia. ET languages are also spoken along the Piraparaná and Cananari Rivers, both tributaries of the Apaporis, Caquetá, and Japurá Rivers in Colombia. Tukanoan has 20 languages, in two main branches: Western and Eastern. Western consists of Korenguaje, Secoya, Siona and Orejón. The Eastern branch consists of: Bará, Barasana, Desano, Karapana, Kubeo, Makuna, Piratapuyo, Pisamira, Siriano, Retuarã, Taiwano, Tatuyo, Tuyuca, Tucano, Wanano and Yuriti. ET peoples are well-known for their linguistic exogamy and 'obligatory' multilingualism – i.e. one must marry someone who speak a different language (Aikhenvald 2002, Chernela 1982, 2004, Correa Rubio 1997, Gomez-Imbert 1991, González Ñáñez 2004, Hugh-Jones 1993, Jackson 1974, Sorensen 1967 and Stenzel 2005). Because Desano marry speakers of other ET languages, thus going to live in different communities in the region, it is difficult to provide an accurate number of speakers.

However, in 2010 I have started to carry out a sociolinguistic investigation for Desano starting from the Desano communities and including nearby communities in the same river. This way, I would account for those people who go and live in other communities. I used two questionnaires for this investigation. One is a questionnaire for 'individual family, which provides information of individual Desano families; and the other one is a 'community' questionnaire, which provides information about the languages spoken in the communities. Besides information about the Desano group and its language, these questionnaires also provide information about the exogamic marriage preferences amongst the ET peoples.

Boarding School Navajo: Should it be taught as a second language?
MaryAnn Willie
University of Arizona
mwillie@email.arizona.edu

The issue is not if Navajo should be taught, but what kind of Navajo. Since the 1950s, a different kind of spoken Navajo has emerged. It is sometimes called Bilingual Navajo (Schaengold 2004), Slang Navajo, or BS Navajo (for Boarding School Navajo). The typical speaker of BS Navajo is a native speaker of Navajo, attended federal boarding school, and is a parent or grandparent of 20-something today.

An example in Schaengold (2004), quoting Canfield (1980):

1) Swimming   asht'į́.
                         1sg:doing
    'I am swimming.'

The verb stem 'do' is used as an auxiliary verb. In standard Navajo, the sentence would be

2) naa.sh.bé   (own speech)
    about.1sg-swimming
    'I am swimming.'

Another example from Canfield is the following

3) shił   naweasy   (*ibid.*)
    1sg:with   *na*-queasy
    'I feel sick (queasy).'

In standard Navaho examples similar to (3), usually only the bare stem of verb or adjective is suffixed to the Navajo prefixes that indicate aspect and manner.

4) náánábake   ánílééh.   (own speech)
    again.bake   2sg.making
    'Bake it again.'

In standard Navajo, (4) would be

5) náá.ní.łt'ees
    again.3sg:2sg.roasting
    'Bake/roast it again.'

Most bilingual Navajo/English speakers believe they are speaking two different and separate languages, yet studies of actual utterances indicate that we speak a blend of both (Canfield 1980, McLaughlin 1992, Schaengold 2004). In a language undergoing drastic 'unnatural' language shift, what or which version ought to be taught as a second language?

In this presentation, I question the desire by Navajo educators to teach Navajo as an unchanged language. What the data show is that the structure of Navajo is intact and verbal aspect and manner are preserved in BS Navajo speech. Time would be well spent if revitalization efforts are directed toward immersion strategies and methods rather than arguing for a 'traditional' form of Navajo speech.

Waiting for a full Tohono O'odham language movement:
Some personal reflections

Ofelia Zepeda
University of Arizona
ofelia@u.arizona.edu

This presentation will consider my own involvement in efforts to carry out various linguistic works on my native language, Tohono O'odham of southern Arizona. During this life's work I have had the opportunity to be involved at different levels of cross-reservation efforts to implement language programs with limited success. O'odham as a significantly large U.S. tribe and is moderately healthy if one considers the population and speaker population. With approximately twenty-five thousand members it is estimated that more than half speak O'odham as a first language with English or Spanish as a second. The situation O'odham is in currently with language endangerment is it does not have children or youth currently learning the language. Theoretically, changing this linguistic profile of the O'odham language is a possibility. Why hasn't it happened yet? There are numerous factors to consider including social, cultural as well as political ones. This presentation will consider the various efforts, some successful others not while considering the factors that require consideration as all turns.

For further information about this workshop, please contact David Bradley
d.bradley@latrobe.edu.au