

Revitalizing language, reframing expertise: An ecological study of language in one
teacher-learner's Ojibwe classroom

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to people who do hard, brave things with language.

Abstract

The demand for Ojibwe language education is outpacing the current number of ‘first speakers’ in the United States (Treuer, 2010). This inverse relationship between the number of learners and the number of fluent speakers means most teachers involved in Ojibwe language education are themselves language learners with varying levels of proficiency. Nevertheless, the experiences, practices, and ideologies of the ‘teacher-learner’ (Hinton, 2003) have received little attention despite their central role in the success of classroom-based, K-12 language programs.

This study addresses this gap in the literature through an ethnographic and sociocultural analysis of language use within one teacher-learner’s Ojibwe kindergarten classroom. It examines classroom language and interaction, participant structures, and routines, documenting the languages and discourses that are used for academic, social, and spiritual purposes. It employs linguistic ethnography (LE) to first present a descriptive picture of the linguistic ecology of the classroom along with the teacher-learner’s practices and strategies. LE is then combined with critical discourse analysis (CDA) to unpack the beliefs and ideologies that shape these practices. Findings show how the teacher-learner’s reliance on routines and matrix-language framing to scaffold her own language opens up discursive space for learners to experiment, play, and relate to one another in English and Ojibwemowin. Furthermore, this study highlights the ideological constraints and openings that shape the learning and use of an Indigenous language within a colonial institution (school) that has long been a tool of assimilation and Indigenous language erasure.

This study incorporates experiential knowledge from Indigenous educators and critiques of applied linguistics from Indigenous scholars to call attention to the obstacles and innovations that arise as multilingual Ojibwe language learners and their teacher(-learner) negotiate new terrain in classroom-based language revitalization. Findings provide a better understanding of how language teaching and use function in teacher-learner-led classrooms with implications for both language revitalization research and the development of heteroglossic Indigenous identities. Moreover, the inclusion of oft-dismissed Indigenous epistemology speaks back to the field of applied linguistics, arguing for an increased openness and commitment to difference and flexibility in multilingual language teaching and learning theory.

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Chapter 1

Placing the researcher, placing the research

Ingoding mii wa'aw gichi-mookomanikwe...

Introductions matter. In 2013 I co-presented a paper on assessing Ojibwe language learning to the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages conference in Flagstaff, AZ (Engman et al., 2013). Our paper was the culmination of a semester-long seminar on language revitalization. My non-Indigenous co-authors and I were new to Ojibwemowin and new to the field, but we were familiar enough with the ways of academia. We began our PowerPoint by briefly stating our names and institution before launching into the talk. After no more than a minute, an elderly Hopi woman in the front intervened. She asked us where we were from. Thinking that we had just said as much moments ago, I answered 'Minnesota'. She repeated the question and we repeated our answer, adding that we were still students, still beginners in the language (was that what she wanted to know?). Waabishkimiigwan, our teacher and friend, was in the audience. She stepped in, gently explaining that we needed to say less about our positions relative to hierarchies in academia and more about our positions relative to people and land. In essence, we needed to say 'our ancestors did not originate here, we are here by accident, we are White women.' This kind of introduction at last allowed our audience to place us (and our objectives, methodologies, and outcomes) more deeply than somewhere on the surface of a political geography just a few centuries old.

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Thus, to introduce the study, I first introduce myself: *Mel Engman indizhinikaaz. Ashkibagiziibing indaa noongom. Nigagwe-gikendaan ojibwemoyaan omaa gabe-gikendaasoowigamigong. Gaawiin indoodoodemisiin. Niin gichi-mookomanikwe.* This ‘boozhoo speech’ (King & Hermes, 2014) names me and places me as a resident, a learner, and as a White woman without a clan. Such placement is done for the reader, the participants, and for the writer (*niin*). It is a reminder that I came to Ojibwemowin through academia, an institution that has long been an instrument of settler colonialism (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013; Grande, 2004, 2008 Simpson, 2014; Todd, 2016; Tuck & Yang, 2014) and I continue to engage in language learning, teaching, and research through the academy. It is, in fact, because of the tensions across my commitments (rather than despite them) that I pursue this ethnographic project. The academy’s approach to language learning as a social, cultural, and cognitive process (Vygotsky, 1997; Lantolf, 2011) allows for some interlanguage variation (Tarone, 2000) among learners, but is still a far cry from the assertions I have consistently heard from experienced Indigenous educators that, for their communities, Indigenous language learning ‘is different’. Informally, teachers link this ‘difference’ to a wide variety of factors including but not limited to scarcity of instructional materials, the damage and violence of settler colonialism, and a relationship with the language that transcends the psychological. My goal is not to control for any specific aspect of Indigenous language learning as a point of difference, rather it is to receive any and all of them, as the teachers do, to highlight the significance of the work of the teacher-learner.

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The spirit of many potential differences undergirds my research objectives as I aim to examine language in interaction among Ojibwe language learners in an English-dominant tribal school within the confines of a single kindergarten classroom. From scripted instructional language to informal participant structures and the language of prayers, songs, disagreement, and friendship, this study of language in interaction is both descriptive and interpretive. By presenting a portrait of language use, it seeks to increase the visibility of settler colonialism's long, transmutable tethers within a contemporary tribal school's language revitalization efforts. My introduction acknowledges the tensions inherent in a study concerned with the reclamation of an Indigenous language; a study that is, ironically, represented in English, by a White learner of Ojibwe. As a White woman, the full extent to which Whiteness influences my thinking and action is always somewhat 'unknowable' to me (Probyn, 2004) as well as ubiquitous. And such an introduction is important for the reader to place me relative to the project, within and outside the plane of academic research.

Ojibwe language revitalization 101

Indigenous language revitalization is a grassroots movement of reclamation and resistance that contests the hegemonies of English and other dominant majority languages by increasing the number of proficient speakers of an Indigenous language toward an ultimate goal of intergenerational transmission. Much more than a straightforward linguistic endeavor, Indigenous language revitalization is a project of social justice and it is never 'just' about language (May, 2006). The reclamation and maintenance of

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linguistic continuity in the face of colonization and genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) is an act of resistance, defiance, and self-determination. Particularly in English-dominant spaces, Indigenous language use can subvert structures of assimilation, serving as a site of (post)colonial struggle and thus, also a prime point for transformation (Fairclough, 1992a).

For most of the *Anishinaabe* or *Ojibwe* people of what is now the Upper Midwest, intergenerational transmission of their language is no longer possible in the home. The long legacy of assimilationist policies in the United States, most notoriously the forced removal of Native children to boarding schools, violently destroyed ties to language, culture, and family. Yet the desire to revitalize, reclaim (Leonard, 2008), and regenerate (Hohepa, 2006) the Ojibwe language is growing, and communities are turning to schools as alternative sites for Ojibwe language learning and use. Students at K-12 tribal schools attend compulsory Ojibwe language class or receive “push-in” language and culture instruction on a regular basis, a priority in many communities.

Ojibwe language teacher-learners and second language acquisition (SLA)

After centuries of genocidal and assimilationist policies sanctioning theft and deculturalization (Spring, 2004), few Anishinaabe adults in the land now occupied by the United States grew up speaking Ojibwemowin in the home (Treuer, 2010). Nevertheless, there is tremendous momentum in communities to grow the language across domains in a wide variety of ways, including through language instruction in school. Most teachers involved in Ojibwe language education are themselves language learners with varying

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levels of proficiency and pedagogical training. They often find themselves over-extended thanks to large teaching loads, few pre-existing materials to work with, and no means of support for their own language learning. Furthermore, the ‘effectiveness’ of their teaching is subject to public scrutiny as families and community members try to reconcile their children’s Native language development alongside progress in other school subjects fraught with testing and achievement issues.

Leanne Hinton (2003) refers to these teachers as ‘non-fluent teachers’ and ‘teacher-learners’, and while the courage and commitment of teacher-learners is beginning to attract attention in academic research (Basham & Fathman, 2008; Meek, 2007; Reyhner, 1999; Hinton, 2003, 2011), these acknowledgements rarely extend beyond a nod of appreciation or a laundry list of the teachers’ daily struggles, and they do little to address real concerns of material and linguistic support, and lack of representation in research on language teaching and learning. The teacher and her language are of vital importance to the success of a classroom-based language program (Menken & García, 2010; Moore & MacDonald, 2013; Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009; Wilkerson, 2008) and a lack of insight into the nature of a teacher-learner’s classroom is an obstacle to providing teacher-learners with the support they need and deserve.

The Ojibwe teacher-learner’s classroom is unlike any other: no curriculum or textbook, incredibly high stakes both for the individual and the community (i.e., cultural and linguistic continuity), and few remaining native speakers to consult with (discussed in greater detail below). There is also a far-reaching colonial legacy of schooling *against* Ojibwe culture and language, a situational irony that is not lost on anyone, particularly as

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some scholars have begun to take an interest in the beliefs and ideologies of teacher-learners (Greymorning, 1997). Yet we still know very little about how these historical, political, and material circumstances manifest in the ways teacher-learners *teach* language, and we know little about the kind of teacher and learner language(s) circulating in such a context. This language is vital to the ecology of the classroom as a space for exploration of ideology, the cultivation of multilingual learner identities (Creese & Martin, 2003), and for generating sociocultural models of Indigenous language learning. It also shapes classroom talk, which does more than mediate learning. Classroom talk regiments the codes available for use in the space, it structures the roles of students and teacher (Faltis, 1986; Hall, 2004; Kasper, 2004), and it orients learners to one another and to their language(s). A study of the language in a teacher-learner's classroom is essential to developing an understanding of its ecology, which, in turn, is essential to developing mechanisms of support that can strengthen this growing movement for classroom-based revitalization.

Research questions and procedures

The research questions guiding this study grow from previous engagements with language documentation and materials development projects with Ojibwe language educators, and they ask:

- (1) What is the nature of language instruction, use, and interaction in a teacher-learner's Ojibwe language kindergarten classroom?

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- (2) What ideologies are indexed in the language classroom, how are they indexed, and what roles do they play in the classroom space?

To answer these questions I designed a participatory linguistic ethnography study of one classroom led by a highly respected and experienced teacher-learner who, in the text, I call Jane. I employed a selection of ethnographic methods of data collection that included participant observation (approximately four hours once per week for six weeks, then twice per week for another six weeks), audio-video recordings (four hours twice per week for six weeks), semi-structured focus group interviews with learners, unstructured and semi-structured interviews with Jane, and document analysis. These methods focused on Jane's and her kindergartener's classroom language use to: (1) document how an Ojibwe teacher-learner manages her linguistic resources, tracing the ways that her strategies shape classroom language use, (2) establish an understanding of how learners orient to and reconstruct understandings of Ojibwe language and cultural content, and (3) connect interactive and instructional language in the classroom with developing Ojibwe identities and broader discourses of Indigenous language and education.

Significance of the study

This study's purpose is to address a gap in current scholarship around the nature of language teaching, learning, and use in the classroom of a non-first-speaker Ojibwe language teacher. Embedded in this 'gap' are layers of social, cultural, and historical significance that are interpreted and represented here through my lens of non-Indigenous, White ways of asking and knowing. Though I situate it within the field of Indigenous

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language revitalization, this research draws on and contributes to research in the fields of sociolinguistics, SLA, and language policy (fields of study that are grounded in Euro-centric epistemologies). As such, they are not wholly adequate points of departure for this study of an Indigenous language, albeit in a school setting with Euro-centric roots. Thus I also engage with Indigenous scholarship around language, learning, and knowing in the hope of disentangling and ‘excavating’ some of these layers more deeply.

This study examines multiple modes of language use (linguistic form, language in interaction, and discourse and ideology) in the classroom, analyzing language as both an *object* and a *medium* for learning. That is, while Ojibwemowin is the learning ‘target’, the study acknowledges the potential for other concurrent learning opportunities that accompany a focus on language. Moreover, the ways of teaching and learning in the classroom involve the use of Ojibwe, English, and other languages and signs in the learners’ linguistic repertoires, which are rooted in beliefs, ideologies, and practices outside the school.

The focus on language as *action* provides critical insights into specific social and cultural functions of language in Indigenous school spaces. Rather than seeking to prove or even characterize the ‘difference’ asserted by Ojibwe educators, this study accepts such a condition as it is encoded and embodied by its speakers. By addressing the question of how language ‘works’ in the long neglected context of a teacher-learner’s English-dominant classroom, this study represents a critical intersection of theory and practice that contributes to language research across disciplinary scales and to activists,

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teachers, and learners in the revitalization movement who aim to grow and strengthen language use and language users.

Overview of chapters

I organize this dissertation into five chapters. The second chapter provides a review of the literature that I relied on to develop this project. It further grounds the study in language revitalization and connects it to theories of language teaching, learning, and use. Specifically, it critically examines current SLA research in classroom talk and interaction, and explores biases in the field that undermine and omit Indigenous perspectives. It introduces Bakhtin's heteroglossia as an approach that links language use with discourse to index place, history, and ideology. In chapter three I describe the methodologies that I relied on to collect and analyze data. It details the Indigenous feminist and critical discourse theories that guided the analysis and explores some of the epistemological tensions that are inherent in a non-Indigenous White woman's interpretation and representation of Indigenous practices. Chapter four presents the central findings from this study. It describes the instructional strategies employed by the teacher-learner and the language practices of the classroom. Moreover, it highlights the ideological constraints and openings that shape the learning and use of an Indigenous language within a colonial institution (school) that has long been a tool of assimilation and Indigenous language erasure. Finally, in Chapter five, I discuss the implications of this study's findings theorizing the ways in which the teacher-learner and her expertise challenge everything from schools and neoliberal models of education to research on the

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‘unknowable’ facets of Indigenous language knowledge. Limited characterizations of teacher-learners’ expertise based on linguistic proficiency standards erase a deeper knowledge and ability. Research that is willing to commit to self-critique and epistemologies of engaged belief provides opportunities for a paradigm shift in how we (the academy) perceive language and its role in the lives of its users. It also has the potential to provide untold support for teacher-learners that acknowledges and strengthens the linguistic and extra-linguistic, or ‘shadow’ (Richardson, 2014), work they do.

Chapter 2

How language ‘works’ in a language classroom

This is an investigation of how language ‘works’ within one teacher-learner’s Ojibwe language classroom. While I locate this work primarily in the field of *Indigenous language revitalization* (Hale et al., 1992; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Leonard, 2008; McCarty, 2003; Reyhner & Lockard, 2009), it is a multidisciplinary project and draws from research across areas of *classroom talk and interaction* (Cazden & Beck, 2003; Chick, 1996; Lantolf, 2011; Mehan, 1979), *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin, 1981; Blackledge & Creese, 2014; McCarty, 2011), and *classroom discourse*. At the heart of each of these areas (as with the heart of revitalization) is language: language as a target of acquisition, language as a mediator of learning and social relationships, language as a cultural practice, and language as a reflection and reproduction of ideology.

Language revitalization is often associated with the field of linguistics, striving to make sense of the corpora of First Speaker language that were often recorded by academics and missionaries involved in the spread of settler colonialism. In more recent years, linguists, community members, and community member linguists have honed their techniques and expanded the kinds of language they seek to document for the purposes of maintaining and reclaiming language in ways that are responsive to local needs and desires (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009; Hermes & Engman, in press; Messineo, 2008; Penfield & Tucker, 2011). Community interest in creating language-teaching materials

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(Yamada, 2011) has expanded the reach of language revitalization research. Classroom-based language learning is now a visible force in the language revitalization movement, though with mixed results (Hornberger, 2008, Luning & Yamauchi, 2010; Meek, 2011). Immersion programs are currently seen as the most promising path to school-based language reclamation (McCarty, 2003) as evidenced by Māori and Hawaiian successes (May & Hill, 2005; Rau, 2003; Wilson & Kamanā; 2009). Lessons from these immersion settings are easily projected into non-immersion language learning spaces, and they call our attention to all forms of talk.

A focus on classroom discourse and interaction not only attends to some output-based psycholinguistic processes of learning (Ortega, 2013), but also clarifies the roles and identities that students take on as language learners and social beings (Tarone, 2000). Such an approach is decidedly sociocultural (Markee & Kasper, 2004; Vygotsky, 1997) as even in the most tightly controlled setting, political commitments and various scales of temporality accompany the learners, the teacher, the institution, and the language into the classroom space (Friedman, 2010; Ortega & Iberri-Shea, 2005; Wortham, 2008).

Moreover, in a language class where the content is the language in which learners are being instructed, language ideologies (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Zenker, 2014) and linguistic identity (Norton Pierce, 1995; Toohey, 2008) are salient to the teaching, learning, and use of language. Multilingual Ojibwe learners (including those who are English dominant) possess dynamic and complex heteroglossic linguistic and cultural repertoires. Even the very young have a multitude of codes, signs, and styles of communicating available to them. The ways in which these repertoires are deployed

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within the classroom ecology reveal a great deal about actors' situated perceptions of what is happening in the space, and they link to broader discourses as well, showing how language is regimented by ideology (Fairclough, 1992a).

In this section I provide an overview of the three strands of research most pertinent to the following study: classroom talk and interaction, heteroglossia, and classroom discourse. I characterize the primary concerns of each strand and illustrate their relevance to my project by providing examples of scholarship that are representative of the (sub)fields and that delineate existing gaps in the literature. Furthermore, I show how the three strands support, challenge, and dialogue with one another to lay the groundwork for the following study on heteroglossic language use in a teacher-learner's classroom.

Finding Indigenous languages in SLA research

There is a strong body of research documenting and accounting for cognitive processes of individual and collaborative learning in a variety of language classrooms. Various SLA theories (e.g., *input hypothesis* (Krashen, 1985), *output hypothesis* (Swain, 2005), *interaction hypothesis* (Long, 1996)) point to the importance of interaction in language learning, which drives the current emphasis on communicative and constructivist language teaching for most modern language teachers. Theories that focus on the communicative aspects of language see person-to-person negotiation of meaning and form as critical to the language learning process. Yet, these cognitive studies do little to contextualize the social aspects of their participants' lives, relegating to the

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background certain factors that may be quite pertinent to a particular interaction. When this oversight of the social is re-centralized, the significance of language in the classroom can be extended as a sign of the sense-making processes and outcomes of social actors in social spaces. A sociocultural approach then, views language learning as “realized in and through the interactions of people” (Green & Dixon, 2008, p. 8).

It is important to note, however, that American Indian scholars (White, 2006; Willow, 2010), educators (Jourdain, 2013), and community members have criticized a certain degree of tone deafness in SLA research that fails to account for the unique situation of English-dominant Native people learning their own languages. For instance, White’s (2006) critique of second language acquisition and learning (SLA/L) takes issue with the ‘foreign-ness’ and stability of the L2 in SLA literature. He argues that an Indigenous language’s lack of dominance in its own community is a wholly unique circumstance, and one of numerous complexities that distinguish Indigenous language learning for revitalization purposes. White pushes for language acquisition research to re-categorize “the language situations of Native Americans learning their own language as a second language” (p. 105) as *Ancestral Language Acquisition and Learning (ALA/L)*.

Non-Indigenous scholar Leanne Hinton (2011) argues that the ‘endangerment’ of an Indigenous language is what shapes its difference as an object for learning from other, non-endangered or less endangered languages. The stakes for these learners is incredibly high and it is impossible to imagine that they do not feel the weight of it. To support her assertion regarding the significance of a language’s endangerment, Hinton (2011) has outlined the differences in teaching languages of different statuses (i.e., foreign language,

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majority language, heritage language, and endangered language). Table 1 is an abridged version of the table that initially appeared in Hinton’s article that addresses this very issue. I have eliminated some of the columns¹ that were present in the original version in order to highlight the differences she outlines between conditions surrounding ‘foreign languages’ (i.e., non-endangered languages with significant visibility and political power) and ‘endangered languages’.

Table 1: Foreign language teaching vs. ‘Endangered’ language teaching²

	Foreign languages	Endangered languages
Primary goal of program	Helping people gain knowledge of language and culture practices of another society	Save language from extinction; bring it back into use
Learner’s motives	Communication with foreigners or immigrants; develop literary knowledge of another language	Sense of identity, belonging to a minority culture; resistance to assimilation; political stance about cultural and linguistic autonomy; spiritual and cultural access
Expected future relationship of the learner to the language	Tourist, teacher, job where the language is used	Become a language activist and a transmitter of the language to future generations; help form a language community
Possible influence on the language being learned	None	Influence of a dominant language on the endangered language; modernization of the endangered language, simplification of the endangered language
Considerations for teaching	Large amount of literature on language teaching, lots of research, lots of available tools and materials.	Evolving strategies, including ‘bootstrap’ methods

¹ Hinton’s (2011) original table includes the additional categories of ‘majority languages’ and ‘heritage languages’.

² Adapted from “Table 1: *Differences in teaching languages of different status*” in L. Hinton (2011, p. 309)

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The urgency of the words used to describe the learning of endangered languages is striking. Learners are being called upon to *save a language from extinction*, to *resist assimilation* and *take a political stance*. They are expected to become *activists* and must be cautious about how they shape the language by deliberately or inadvertently allowing influence from the dominant language to seep into it (Hinton, 2011, p. 309). Even in situations where teachers are experienced, well-trained, and well-supported, their good teaching does not mitigate the socio-historical legacy and current political conditions surrounding the language. Furthermore, though Hinton's description clearly delineates the differences in conditions across types of language learning contexts related to endangerment, her work does not address epistemological concerns expressed by Indigenous educators around teaching their languages.

The desire among scholars and educators working in Indigenous language contexts to draw a distinction between SLA/L and ALA/L resonates with many of my own experiences in Ojibwe language learning contexts. For instance, in spring of 2015 I was assisting at an Ojibwe language teacher training when I witnessed an Elder's resistance to the dissonance she saw between the field of SLA and her work as a language teacher, mentor, and community leader. After listening quietly to a language acquisition expert describe the ins and outs of L2 learning, the Elder spoke up. She took issue with the categorization of Ojibwe as a 'second language', stating, "Ojibwe is our first language. We're born with it," with a certainty that was met with nods of approval from other Ojibwe language teachers in the room. This distinction, one that is rarely clear to non-Indigenous researchers, is real and ever-present to the speakers and learners in the

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classroom. The Elder's comment that Anishinaabeg are 'born with' their language seems to ascribe a spiritual or even biological quality to the significance of ALA/L. This represents a view of language that differs from the more psychological approaches to learning in SLA, and indeed even from sociocultural perspectives that have gained momentum more recently. Applying this view to a classroom context re-imagines research around language learning into an almost *epigenetic* project of sorts. It registers the language as present, though perhaps latent, waiting to be switched on by an external stimulus. It requires an attention to the environment concomitant with attention to the social and the cultural *talk* in classroom interaction, and this work demands further exploration.

Classroom talk and interaction

The talk of language teachers has long been a focus of language research. As the primary sources of linguistic input, teachers are pedagogical decision makers and language policy makers (Menken & García, 2010) who, through talk, organize classroom content, facilitate learning opportunities, and provide corrective feedback for learners. A primary construct in research on teacher talk is the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (I-R-E) sequence (Mehan, 1979). Meek's (2011) ethnography of Kaska language revitalization in the Yukon is an example from a revitalization context that showed IRE routines to be the mainstay of language instruction in the Kaska language classes at the school. The influence of these structures was such that learners' Kaska use *outside* the classroom followed the same pattern. That is, Kaska was being spoken among youth

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outside the classroom, but not for communicative functions beyond naming and translation -- strong evidence that teacher talk in the classroom can contribute to learner socialization in many forms.

Alternately, the structuring of teacher talk can function as a language support for teacher-learners, as with the parent-child Halq'eméylem language classroom studied by Moore and MacDonald in the community of Stó:lo in British Columbia (2013). The teachers in this classroom were multilingual learners of Halq'eméylem and they found that pairing traditional cultural practices with an open-ness toward bilingualism and biliteracy had the effect of strengthening their own language development throughout the course of the term. They employed code-switching, translation of names and songs, and bilingual signage to construct a multilingual learning space, and they relied on non-evaluative, modeling-based instructional practices to highlight the cultural values of observational learning. In both the Kaska and Halq'eméylem cases, the instruction came from teacher-learners who were also community members, though it is unclear from this scholarship how teacher-learners might structure their classroom talk and approach their own language development when they are not solely responsible for instruction as when they are working alongside English-dominant or even non-Indigenous non-language 'content' teachers. What strategies beyond I-R-E sequences can a non-fluent teacher rely on to engage learners and how are environmental constraints reflected in these practices? Lingering questions such as these also lead to other sources of talk in the classroom (i.e., the learners).

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Talk among peers is also salient to the revitalization classroom, though there are few Indigenous language examples to draw from. Peer-to-peer interaction can negotiate identity as “authentic” or “inauthentic” via bilingual classroom practices (Creese et al., 2014), it can structure attention and speakership in culturally specific ways (Phillips, 1993), and it can index dominant and non-dominant language status in society through code choice as when two Irish L1 children speak English within one another in their bilingual classroom (Hickey, 2007). Talk in interaction is also a window into the deployment of ‘voice’ - a Bakhtinian concept of dialogic engagement of self (Holland & Lave, 2001) with the surrounding physical, linguistic, and ideological world.

An expanded view of classroom language as voice as opposed to a skill shows flexibility and sophistication across linguistic and cultural repertoires (Pitkäinen & Pitkäinen-Huhta, 2014), a valuable contribution to a more nuanced understanding of bilingual Indigenous identities in the classroom, a means of combating essentialism, and a way of opening “new spaces for heteroglossic languaging” (p. 154). An examination of the talk and interaction across a variety of participant structures (i.e., ways of communicating information (Phillips, 2009)) in a teacher-learner’s classroom relies on patterns of language use to better understand how the linguistic repertoires of the classroom actors interact with one another and the environment to get a richer picture of language as action in this particular context. I provide a deeper discussion of the theoretical foundation of Bakhtin’s voice and its counterpart ‘heteroglossia’, along with their use in classroom-based language research in the next section.

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Heteroglossia and voice

The term ‘heteroglossia’ originates with Bakhtin (1981) as a means of counteracting the single voice that was characteristic of 1920s Soviet commentary. As a literary critic, Bakhtin (1981) envisioned heteroglossia as encapsulating the multi-voicedness that is most apparent in novels (as opposed to more structured literary genres such as poetry). In characterizing Bakhtin’s philosophy of language, translator Holquist writes that it addresses ‘the peculiar interaction between the two fundamentals of all communication’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. xix). These ‘fundamentals’ consist of (a) the system of speaking (i.e., the language or code), and (b) the context in which a given utterance is produced. Heteroglossia accounts for the tension that is created by these centripetal and centrifugal forces, respectively. It is a particularly elegant approach to language because it acknowledges the potential for difference across languages/codes as well as the differentiation that exists *within* a particular language. In this way no word is neutral because it is imbued with the history of its previous uses and its meaning is remade with each new, subsequent use (Bakhtin, 1981). Thus, heteroglossia is a social construction that allows speakers to absorb the voices of others as well as question the authoritative as they continually remake language through their creative use of it.

The aforementioned tensions captured within a heteroglossic approach are both normative and counter-normative (Blackledge & Creese, 2014). Thus, heteroglossia is a wonderful instrument for examining language in interaction as it amplifies the socio-ideological power encoded in linguistic and semiotic moves that actors make to index their own social, political, and historical positions in a given moment. Heteroglossia

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represents an epistemology (Bailey, 2007; Hannahs, 2013), an analytic (Busch, 2011), and a practice, and it intersects and overlaps with frames (e.g., *translanguaging* (García, 2009), *codemeshing* (Canagarajah, 2011), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011) that seek flexibility in approaches to language use. What these frames have in common is a rejection of the monolingual perception of language as a bounded and discrete code, and a preference for viewing language as a flexible social practice that relies on a communicator's individual repertoire (Blackledge & Creese, 2014).

The degree of flexibility within each of these heteroglossic frames is variable and some have gained more traction than others. For the Ojibwe language teaching context described here (English-dominant), it is important to consider the potential for a frame to constrain language use or objectives. Translanguaging, for instance, grew out of the Welsh revitalization movement and has been shown to support bilingual development across domains of home and school (Baker, 2011). Yet, translanguaging “may not be valuable in a classroom when children are in the early stages of learning” (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 644) as the dominance of English can overwhelm in such circumstances. Furthermore, notions of ‘third spaces’ and ‘hybridity’ that also follow frames of flexibility have been critiqued by non-Native (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008) and Native scholars who see them as arising from “the Western white oppressor” (Lyons, 2009, p. 92) and as oppositional to ideas of sovereignty. Thus, I proceed with caution and care for “the socio-political and historical environment (...) and the local ecologies of the schools and classrooms” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 107) in drawing from a broader heteroglossic approach to language.

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Heteroglossia not only hears the multiple voices of bilingual “code”, but it also encompasses the complexities of bi/multilingual practices and identities. Heteroglossia allows for an expanded conception of language *as a cultural practice*, and as such, acknowledges not just the codes, but also any other signs and behaviors as part of a learner’s repertoire. An example of this can be found in Nicholas’ (2011) examination of Hopi identity among English-dominant Hopi youth. She shows how “active participation and involvement in the cultural practices of Hopi” (p. 54) shapes the identities of the youth in her study through “affective enculturation”. This incorporation of cultural practices as well as youth orientations to cultural practices is heteroglossic as it re-imagines language as more than code and more than one medium, including behavior and affect.

Just as heteroglossia can be verbal as well as non-verbal social and cultural practices, so can the use of ‘voice’ be a linguistic/aural expression as well as silence. Bakhtin (1981) employed the concept of voice to describe the dialogism of the human condition whereby we are perpetually “in a state of being ‘addressed’ and in the process of ‘answering’” (Holland & Lave, 2001, pp. 9-10) to the physiological, linguistic, and semiotic stimuli of our environments. These stimuli, along with responses to them, can be realized as behaviors (verbal or non-verbal, active or silent) that bear out ideologies (Hornberger, 2006). ‘Voice’, therefore, is essentially a heteroglossic articulation of how the self dialogues with the stimuli of the environment; making shared meaning across the distance of difference.

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In language and interaction research, studies of voice reveal the complexities of multilingual practices within various institutional and social orders. For instance, in Hornberger's (2006) exploration of language practices among Indigenous bilingual language learners in various contexts around the world, she pairs voice with her biliteracy continuum to better understand how potentially controversial practices such as a student's silence in school (contrasted with 'exuberant', active speech at home) or translation of Indigenous stories into the colonial language can represent agentic alternative visions of self in dialogue with the immediate world. Similarly, Blackledge and Creese, (2009) have employed voice as a means of understanding the parodic language they see students using to mock their teachers, one another, and the school's objectives in classroom talk. The mocking is 'double-voiced' and performs dual functions of requesting specific action within the classroom activity while concomitantly critiquing instruction, learning objectives, and the social order. Their analysis highlights the complexities of intersecting social worlds and the language that is regimented therein.

Just as Hornberger's (2006) aforementioned study participant Basilia exercised voice-as-resistance through silence, so do Blackledge and Creese's (2009) participants exercise voice-as-resistance through parody. What these studies have in common is a view of language akin to Bakhtin's whereby language represents the articulation of a 'speaking consciousness' (Hornberger, 2006) through (non)communicative social practice. It makes meaning in the present out of the shared interpretations of the lexical, symbolic, and stylistic meanings of the past. Rampton (2006) has also applied Bakhtin's theories of language to the classroom as a space where participants tend to expect certain

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language and participant structures. Rampton asserts that the mismatch between these expectations and the actual activity that takes place makes it a prime site for understanding political struggle (Blackledge & Creese, 2009), and language represents such a struggle as it plays out.

Moreover, (un)spoken language is not the only way in which struggle and tension present in the classroom. Busch's (2011) study of a 'superdiverse' (Vertovec, 2007) multilingual primary school in Vienna examines the heteroglossic use of voice in illustrated books created by the learners in possession of linguistic repertoires that are both broad and deep. By examining entirely student-created books (content, illustrations, and text) Busch uses voice to manifest the layers of meaning that learners inscribe in their books. Students' uses of a wide variety of linguistic codes and semiotic representations can be read as learners' exertion of 'voice', which provides insight into the social worlds outside of school and their intersections with regimented life within the institution.

Applications of heteroglossia have also been extended to the learning environments themselves - leveraging 'heteroglossic language ideologies' (Flores & Schissel, 2014) to create ideological and implementational spaces in the classroom. Classroom-based research benefits greatly from considering the complexities of the heteroglossic linguistic ecologies that comprise an Ojibwe language classroom. Treating the classroom as a permeable space, it builds on classroom talk and allows for a dynamic and multi-voiced approach to language and learning, particularly salient to the evolving movement for language revitalization and reclamation. Heteroglossia-focused research highlights the historical and discursive multiplicity of everyday language use and opens

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up the classroom as a significant site for further exploration, particularly in schools for Indigenous learners where the students, teachers, and the institutions themselves have long and fraught histories of entanglements with settler colonialism. This is currently an under-researched area despite the salience of settler colonialism in Indigenous language learning spaces. Unresolved questions include, for instance: How is this history made manifest in multicode, multivoiced, multidiscursive utterances in an Ojibwe tribal school? Where does heteroglossia illuminate new understandings of multilingual practices in this context and where does it require additional theorizing? Attending to these kinds of questions forges a path for the material and ideological complications of Ojibwe language teaching and learning that drive this study.

Classroom discourse

Studies of classroom discourse offer salient points of intersection where research on sociocultural talk in interaction overlaps with heteroglossia. This area of study has grown in prominence over the past several decades as definitions of what is encompassed by the term ‘discourse’ have expanded. Cazden and Beck (2003) describe this new understanding as a paradigm shift. While it used to mean “any stretch of spoken or written language longer than a single sentence” (Cazden & Beck, 2003, p. 166), a second meaning has been added with the work of New Literacy Studies theorists who now delineate between classroom (d)iscourse (i.e., the first meaning) and classroom (D)iscourse (i.e., ideological orientations to roles and identities taken on in the context of the classroom (Gee, 2014)). This dual meaning of discourse is helpful here in that it

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encompasses the ideational content that the language represents as well as the ways in which the content is represented (Fairclough, 1992b). It links classroom talk to the negotiation, reproduction, and resistance of ideologies and power, and it views language as the residence (though not the source) of unstable ideological equilibrium, and thus a locus of social and cultural change.

This distinction between ‘little d’ and ‘big D’ discourses is useful in terms of adding depth to the meanings of our communicative practices beyond the boundaries of the immediate speech event. However, not all discourse analysts follow Gee’s orthographic distinction. For instance, Norman Fairclough relates a communicative event to social practices, identities, and ideologies by considering it in terms of structured ‘orders of discourse’ (Rogers, 2011). In light of the variety of approaches to D/discourse, I only use Gee’s ‘big D’/‘little d’ distinction when addressing work that does the same. This section looks to scholarship on classroom discourse to unpack what this line of research can tell us about the relationships between communicative practices in schools and their ideological contexts as well as to highlight potential blind spots for further study. Significantly, much of the research on classroom discourse that is discussed here draws on critical frames of discourse analysis that originate *outside the classroom* (e.g., Fairclough’s (1992a, 1992b) intertextuality, interdiscursivity). These studies speak to the utility of theoretical frameworks that centralize the role of power in discourse. While the exertion and exchange of power looks different across social and institutional contexts, its ubiquity means that critical frames need not originate in a classroom to be of use in one.

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Current education research sees classroom discourse as having cognitive and sociocultural relevance (Man, 2008). Most of the studies that examine intertextuality in classroom spaces involve interactional texts as data sources to some degree, although these texts are often analyzed in tandem with other written texts such as policy documents, instructional texts, or student-produced texts. For instance, Dixon, Green, Yeager, Baker, and Fránquiz (2000) paired an analysis of classroom discourse with an intertextual analysis of California's Proposition 227 that revealed how community discourses attacking bilingual education were able to shape instructional practices and classroom talk. Written classroom texts (as opposed to policy documents) are a far more common research object for intertextual analysis, as the researcher can analyze the text itself alongside learner and instructor interaction around, with, and toward the instructional or student-produced text.

Scholarship that examines instructional texts divorced from a classroom context, such as Kate Le Roux's intertextual analysis of a math word problem in post-Apartheid South Africa (2008), is a helpful predictor of how texts might be interpreted and transformed in classrooms. The word problem she analyzed was based on capitalist assumptions about a fictional company. By asking multilingual English learners to suspend disbelief about the premise of this question and then put their answer 'in their own words', the problematic question indexed layers of classed and raced discourses embedded in larger ideological entanglements. Thus, a critical analysis of more static written policy texts and curricular texts can shed light on the ideologies that shape text creation and their interpellation of subjects as text receivers. However, there is a

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particular depth that characterizes research on intertextuality *in interaction* that emerges with studies that include an examination of interpersonal communication.

An important feature of research on classroom discourse is its flexibility in treating a variety of communicative acts (written, spoken, non-verbal) as ‘texts’ (Fairclough, 1992b). This is particularly salient to scholarship employing an *intertextuality* analysis as it highlights the ways in which texts move through processes of production, distribution, and consumption (Fairclough, 1991; 1992a; 1992b; Rogers et al., 2005). An interaction-based example of how texts produced for the classroom can be distributed and received, such as Rogers and Mosley’s examination of racial literacy in a second-grade classroom, reveals the richness that an intertextual analysis can bring to bear by incorporating learning and development into the research (2006). Rogers and Mosley studied the ways in which children interrogated race (and whiteness in particular) through talk around classroom readings of children’s books about the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (2006). By overlaying their critical analysis with theories of race (i.e., Critical Race Theory, Whiteness studies), Rogers and Mosley were able to link a student’s hybrid discourses around race and privilege to identity development as processes of interpellation were seen unfolding in this space.

Language classrooms in particular are a rich source of multilingual, multimodal, multidiscursive texts. For instance, Duff (2002; 2004) examined pop culture talk in a 10th grade social studies classroom. Her analysis shows how pop culture elements make their way into classroom talk, forming ‘hybrid discourses’ that weave non-academic and academic texts together (similar to the heteroglossic texts created by Busch’s (2011)

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super-diverse participants described earlier). This intertextual talk functions as sophisticated play, and through it students make meaning and construct identities through the display of social and cultural affiliations. Furthermore, as these discourses were constructed collectively and with locals only, Duff (2004) argued that that these hybrid discourses served the dual functions of engaging the English-proficient students, while marginalizing some of the multilingual newcomers in the class.

The discourses that comprise classroom talk, and the beliefs and attitudes that they index orient a social actor relative to the worlds around them. They construct affiliations and they marginalize fellow learners, all while making meaning through the conveyance of ideational content. As a complement to heteroglossia, studies of classroom discourse not only allow for the permeability of the classroom walls but *insist* upon it, as discourse encompasses both the ideational content and the ways in which the content is represented (Fairclough, 1992b). This research treats a wide variety of ‘texts’ - written texts like instructional materials and student work, oral texts such as teacher talk, peer-group talk, codeswitching, as well as non-verbal communication. It recontextualizes (van Leeuwen, 2009) these practices with links to ideologies and attitudes that structure language inside the classroom and out. Moreover, attention to discourse in the classroom can highlight processes of social change, naming and re-ordering configurations of power.

Thus, classroom discourse is a particularly significant point for a study of an Indigenous language classroom where traditionally colonial education structures are redeployed for what is often conceived of (Hermes, 2005) as an anti-colonial project.

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Furthermore, the unpredictable and broad spectrum of language proficiencies and experiences with pedagogical training, concomitant with ideologies of language that are vastly different from traditional models of language acquisition necessitate research that pays attention the way that heteroglossic classroom talk in interaction reflects the discourses that shape learning and development in the space.

This study is specifically concerned with the nature of language and its related ideologies in a teacher-learner's Ojibwe language classroom because of the literature represented in this section. Numerous ideologies that circulate through the lives of the teacher and her young learners are discursively represented in the classroom. These discourses may be monolingual or multilingual and the *ways* in which they are produced and shared can signal ideological orientations as well as practical considerations (e.g., access to certain linguistic forms, comfort with certain modes of communication, perceived 'legitimacy' of a particular code or discourse). This is especially pertinent in a study of language in a teacher-learner's classroom because the assumptions that might typically hold for a teacher of a more commonly taught, non-endangered, non-Indigenous language cannot be made about the teacher-learner's proficiency and training. While heteroglossic languaging in the classroom has been proven to be a rich site for ideological excavation, the lack of predictability around a teacher-learner's formal and informal knowledges requires a triangulation of sorts.

Research on classroom talk and interaction points to the utility of communicative language in learning. It shows how the kind of language that is used in language class can shape the kind of language used outside of the class, yet it also falls short in depicting

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the ways that classroom talk interacts with undocumented teacher knowledge and the specific ‘push-in’ teaching scenario that this study address. This scholarship also tends to be more focused on sociocultural learning of language as content rather than on the ideological forces that inhabit it and are inhabited by it. While research on heteroglossia in language classes and research on classroom discourse can bridge these historical and ideological gaps, the discursive and ideological conditions of a teacher-learner’s classroom are under-represented in these areas. My research questions seek rich and specific description that can speak to widely circulating ideologies and their representations in classroom language. The questions addressed by this study present a more complete picture of one teacher-learner’s Ojibwe language class and its attendant social, cultural, historical, and ideological conditions.

Chapter 3

Epistemological entanglements and methodology

This chapter explores the theoretical underpinnings that guide the study of an Ojibwe language teacher-learner's kindergarten classroom. While the literature review in Chapter Two described the ways in which current research on heteroglossic approaches to interactive talk and discourse in the classroom does (and does not) resonate with questions of language revitalization in schools, the current chapter presents my own epistemological approach to the material and ideological conditions of a teacher-learner's classroom. I begin with an accounting of the epistemological and interpersonal tensions that I experience as a White settler researcher. Theories of decolonizing scholarship from Indigenous feminist researchers are crucial to this discussion as the descriptive and interpretive questions I ask about the nature of language (as well as the tools I use to address them) originate from a non-Indigenous, Eurocentric perspective on language and learning.

Following this framing, I revisit the research questions that I introduced in Chapter One and I present my methods (and thinking) for data collection, analysis, and representation. I show how linguistic ethnography and critical discourse analysis are especially well-suited for the task of generating the thicker descriptive picture that this study requires, as well as producing the ideological connections that are forged through fine-grained linguistic analysis. This study is situated in one bounded location so I describe the context in depth, attending to the place and its people, and I show examples

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of how I conceptualized the study throughout its course. The methodology that is outlined here deliberately seeks to name the sociocultural, historical, and epistemological points of contention that shape my thinking (e.g., Whiteness, settler colonialism) and my ability to answer the research questions. I aim for transparency throughout, and I show how ethnographic means of data collection and my methods of analysis are the most appropriate way for a non-community member like me to address these questions because of how they ground the theorizing of ideological orientations in observable language practices.

Epistemology (Indigenous Feminist Theory and Positionality)

The following study treats language revitalization as “a larger effort by a community to claim its right to speak a language and to set associated goals in response to community needs and perspectives” (Leonard, 2012, p. 359), and it is grounded in literature that sees decolonizing potential in reclaiming spaces for Indigenous language. It is important to assert, however, that true decolonization is realized physically and politically. It is the repatriation of land and an assurance of the futurity of Indigenous life on and with that land (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Tuck and Yang remind us/me that this truth of non-metaphorical decolonization is an unsettling phenomenon as it calls for the physical displacement of the settler and her/his systems; and while calls for ‘decolonized’ education or research methods are growing, they rarely align with action that physically decolonizes a place. There is grave danger in confining decolonization to a metaphorical use, particularly for White settler researchers. When we deploy decolonization as a

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metaphor, we enable evasions of settler guilt that free us of our participation in systems of oppression that give us privilege and power without having to relinquish any of it.

This ‘incommensurability’ of decolonization for settlers resonates deeply with my settler past, present, and future. Tuck and Yang assert that settlers’ express their concerns with these tensions by asking questions like ‘What will decolonization look like? What will happen after abolition? What will be the consequences of decolonization for the settler?’ (2012, p, 35). This assertion rings true for me as I try to reconcile my settler futurity with anti-colonial epistemologies. Countless times I have mired myself in these very questions and others like them with a sense of futility and frustration that I cannot resolve even after years of university Ojibwemowin classes and countless engagements with Ojibwe educators, scholars, and Elders. Thinking through existential concerns of Indigenous language, or, at least when it is done within the confines of the neoliberal and Eurocentric frames (Tuck, 2013) that have socialized my (White, settler, English-speaking, cis-female) identity, results in failure of imagination. Indigenous feminist theorists, thus, have profoundly contributed to a shift in my intellectual engagements with these concerns, and they have shaped my understanding of how to conduct research, how to write, and how to *be* in colonized and reclaimed spaces.

Indigenous feminist theories treat gender and race as socially constructed, but they also expose the still-existing structures of settler colonialism and its effects on Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill 2013). In the North American context, settler colonialism refers to structures that oppress, marginalize, and erase Indigenous peoples who continue to exist and continue to resist these forces. While

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the story of settler colonialism is often recounted in terms of historical events, the reality of centuries of invasion, extraction, and erasure (Arvin et al., 2013) are visible today in seemingly fixed, almost invisible, societal stratification. Settler colonialism is also reified and remade in institutions such as the university and educational systems where we (settlers) are complicit in producing knowledge that is limited in scope and fearfully self-conscious. Indeed, failings of Western epistemologies tend to fragment Indigenous knowledge. For instance, in Kincheloe and Steinberg's (2008) description of how Western(/Northern) science tends to ascribe value for Indigenous 'ethnoscience' (e.g., ethnobotany, ethnopharmacology, ethnoastronomy), they present Western(/Northern) ways of 'knowing' as performing the dual function of acknowledging the cultural grounding of non-Western(/Northern) ways of knowing while concomitantly declaring a lack of cultural grounding in Western(/Northern) science. They assert that, rather than undermining its own legitimacy, such a representation of Western(/Northern) science as *acultural* inevitably bolsters its claim for universality, and further subordinates the culturally grounded epistemologies.

Arguments against an acultural conceptualization of science and learning are not only the purview of self-identified Indigenous feminist theorists. Bang and Medin (2010) add depth to this critique of Western(/Northern) epistemological exclusivity. They view epistemologies as aspects of cultural processes, which busts the dichotomy of Western/modern science vs. Native science, instead viewing differing epistemologies as culture-based learner resources. Amplifying the oft-ignored and suppressed ways of knowing helps me make sense of relations in this context as well. This scholarship helps

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me to better understand my positionality relative to the parts (e.g., participants, site, methods) and the whole of the study. I take up the challenges offered by Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill (2013) to ‘recognize the persistence of Indigenous concepts and epistemologies’ (p. 21) and to ‘question how the discursive and material practices of ... the academy writ large may participate in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples’ lands, livelihoods, and futures’ (p. 25).

As a non-Indigenous woman writing critically about Indigenous language and education, I take seriously the tensions inherent in white critiques of Whiteness (Land, 2015). I worry about the practice of “taking on the charged, contextualized, experienced words of brilliant communities and stretching them to fit inside [my] own mouth” (Fine, Tuck, & Zeller-Berkman, 2008, p. 162). I am a beneficiary of settler colonialism and I acknowledge that my own complicity in racist systems and actions is always somewhat unknowable to me as a white woman (Land, 2015; Probyn, 2004). Thus, as I choose to do critical research with language learners ‘in the margins’ (Smith, 1999), I must locate my own position in the matrix of social relations of domination and oppression (Land, 2015). My role is not to ‘save’ anyone or anything from the damage me and my people have wrought, rather, my role is one of an accomplice (Accomplices not allies, 2015) “helping construct conditions that allow for indigenous self-sufficiency” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). I am drawn to serving anti-colonial interests, in part, for the chance to break free from the binary of colonized/colonizer, yet how to do this is not always clear to me, nor is it clear to others.

A key component of keeping my unknowable Whiteness in check involves my

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working relationship with the teacher-learner. I wrote earlier of our differing (yet overlapping) commitments and sources of power. Because of this, and because of my ethical commitment to offsetting power imbalances in favor of whiteness, I follow Land's (2015) assertion that "one of the most important things to enshrine for people working together across difference is that supporters should be located or should locate themselves so that they may be challenged by those they are supporting: Indigenous people" (p. 116). Not only am I committed to a research project that directly benefits the LCO Ojibwe language program, but I am committed to a reflexivity of discomfort (Pillow, 2003) that embraces the disruptions, obfuscations, and challenges. This section is not intended to be read as a 'confessional' to alleviate my guilt and preserve my own futurity (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Rather it is meant to serve as a point of intervention for the reader (and the writer) to step back and consider the entanglements present in this project.

The epistemological approaches outlined here (and, indeed, the following study) do not repatriate lands. They do not *literally* decolonize. This section does, however, seek resonance with the thinking behind Million's (2009) assertion that "to 'decolonize' means to understand as fully as possible the forms colonialism takes in our own times" (p. 55). Indigenous feminist theory opens up possibilities for a White settler to do research betwixt epistemological and ideological constraints. I interpret Simpson's (2014) conditional charge that 'if you want to learn about something you need to take your body onto the land and do it' (pp. 17-18) as site- and subject-specific. The knowledges, practices, and predicaments that are represented here are focused on a specific space -- the classroom. The interpretive lens I bring to this space is one of a settler, but also one

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of a settler who rejects a reconciliation with colonialism's incommensurability.

Research Site and Participants

This section details the study's research site and participants. Though I strive to represent people and their places in ways that are recognizable to them, this lens is my own. In attempting to offer a description that is both synchronic and diachronic, it necessarily entails some accounting of damage -- damage to language, place, and human beings. I do not include histories of loss in order to center the damage experienced by the study's participants. As Tuck (2009) writes: "the danger in damage-centered research is that it is a pathologizing approach in which the oppression singularly defines a community" (p. 413). The settler colonial history that is included here is intended to contextualize the study as a description of *survivance* (Brayboy, 2008; Grande, 2004; Tuck, 2009; Vizenor, 1993, 1998, 2008). This concept is not the same as avoidance of corporal death (e.g., 'survival'). Rather, it transcends notions of 'basic survival' and instead represents the dynamism and complex, multidirectional kinesis of Indigenous cultural, historical, and spiritual existences. Centering survivance moves away from static imaginaries of Indigenous practices frozen in time, and in turn, it centers ongoing presence, resistance, and acts that 'forward sovereignty' (Tuck, 2009; Vizenor, 1998). Survivance allows for contradictions and multiplicity to exist in storytelling and scholarship alike, as complex responses to attempted dominance. I do this, in part, through a flexible approach to language and culture that honors the complex personhood of each participant and I employ frames that allow participants to legitimize one

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another's practices (rather than reserving this evaluative power for the White researcher alone). Yet, I also acknowledge the historical context of the site, which includes the havoc and violence of settler colonialism as well as stories, teachings, practices, and relations from long before contact. Descriptions of survivance need not be linear, and their historical tethers extend deeper than the Europeans' collective memory of life on this continent as dynamic Indigenous existence started well before settler colonial contact.

A place around a lake (the land). This study takes place on the land of one of six bands of Ojibwe in the state of Wisconsin. Current enrolment is over 7,000 tribal members (Isham et al., 2015), though large numbers of these tribal members live off-reservation in nearby metropolitan areas (less than one third of tribal members live on reservation, trust, or fee land). The reservation's approximately 70,000 acres of land was the result of an 1854 treaty put in place after the United States government had reneged on earlier treaties attempting to dislodge the Ojibwe band from their homelands for relocation West (Cormell, 2010; Lac Courte Oreilles Mission, 2016). Prior to the arrival of European colonists, Ojibwe society, based on the concept of reciprocity, flourished across a wide swath of land stretching from the Eastern Great Lakes, north into Ontario, and West to the Dakotas (Treuer, 2010). Throughout this large area, Ojibwemowin was ubiquitous as a lingua franca, both prior to and during the fur trade, a testament to Ojibwe adaptability and resilience (Treuer, 2010). Before 1854 and since then, government policies, European-based religious movements, and racist ideologies have conspired to

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threaten and destroy much of the land, sovereignty, and way of life around this place (Cormell, 2010; Loew, 1997). Yet Ojibwemowin, the language, along with many other longstanding cultural practices, persists.

Migiziwazisoning (The school and classroom). This (over-simplified) story of Anishinaabe survivance is an integral part of the study as the long colonial reach of genocide and assimilation continue to shape the lives of the Anishinaabe people. The participants in my study, kindergarteners at *Migiziwazisoning*³ (the tribal school) and their teacher are all learners of ‘their own language’ (White, 2006). Though Ojibwemowin class is compulsory (Pre-K-12), English is the dominant language of instruction at the school as well as the dominant social language outside of school. All the children are English-dominant bilinguals under the most inclusive understanding of the ‘bilingual’ label. For the kindergarteners, language instruction comes in the form of a push-in Ojibwemowin-intensive gathering with songs, and activities at the start of the school day. The teachers in the classroom refer to this as ‘morning meeting’ as it is a routinized sequence of activities rather than teacher-centered meta-linguistic ‘lessons’. Morning meeting takes place on the colorful rug in the kindergarten classroom with the language teacher at the center. She typically stays in the classroom all day as part of the ‘push-in’ model to enhance Ojibwe language use, though her duties regularly align more

³ *Migiziwazisoning* is a pseudonym for the school. Due to early promises of anonymity for the participants, I have decided not to use the name of the community here.

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with assisting the kindergarten teacher with classroom management issues than with extending Ojibwe language practice.

Gikinoo-amaagewikwe (the teacher-learner). At the center of this study is the teacher-learner, who I call Jane. Jane is an enrolled member of the tribe and she grew up hearing Ojibwemowin in the homes of friends and family. Yet the long reach of the US government's oppressive assimilationist policies (e.g., boarding schools, and forced removals and relocations) and their wakes extended to these private spaces, relegating Ojibwemowin to a subordinate position in the lives of Jane and her bilingual community. Jane has been a language educator for twenty years though she was never formally instructed in the language or in second language or bilingual teaching. Jane's language background is neither typical nor unique. Teacher-learners' experiences with their languages share similarities such as inevitable intersections with settler colonialism along with vastly differing distinctions such as language variety or formal training.

Jane has been involved in Ojibwe education for decades. She first learned the language from fluent family members, though they usually only spoke Ojibwe to her by request, instead using English most of the time. She is a committed language activist who was instrumental in establishing the compulsory Ojibwe language class at Migiziwazisoning and, despite never having received a college degree, she has taught language at all levels in the K-12 school. She knows everyone at school. Or, better yet, as she jokes, she knows everyone's grandma. Besides having her own grandson and grand-nephew in the kindergarten class, she has three daughters (two of whom work at

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the school) and long histories with many families in the community. Jane's experiences with Ojibwe language activism, language teaching (and learning), materials creation, and all of the attendant politics means that much of her language and action in the classroom embody a complex life's history of socialization and ideology.

Abinoojiinyag (the learners). There are fewer than 20 children in the kindergarten class. Most already have some oral language abilities: they can say their names, they can recite a prayer, they can name a few animals (household pets and a half dozen familiar forest animals) and objects, and they are working on colors, stating their age, using verbs, and talking about the weather. This sounds straightforward, but closer analyses reveal that the depth and breadth of language learning and use is anything but. This study is careful in its use of code-based metrics such as *number of words* or even with the *amount* of target language relative to English. My caution comes from previous experiences with Ojibwe language educators and struggles with applying assessment frames from non-Indigenous languages and cultures to Ojibwemowin. For instance, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) has created and disseminated a tremendous amount of information for language teachers on assessment. Much of their 'can-do' approach to assessment is appreciated by Ojibwe language teachers who tire of deficit framing, yet it is clearly grounded in academic research that focuses on cognitivist approaches to language and language learning. ACTFL proficiency guidelines tend to distinguish between words, phrases, and sentences in determining boundaries between levels of proficiency (Swender et al., 2012). Yet in

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Ojibwemowin, a sentence with a subject, tensed verb, and objects may be expressed as a single word. As an example of this, *ingii-izhitimawig* is represented as one word in Ojibwemowin though its approximate meaning in English requires eight words: ‘S/he made it a certain way for me’.

Another example of this Western(/Northern) bias in the typical code-based tools of language analysis is evident in how units of analysis for principal constructs of complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF) (Housen & Kuiken, 2009) are operationalized in terms of quantitative measures in studies of second language acquisition. Complexity, for instance, is concerned with “(1) the number and the nature of the discrete components that the entity consists of, and (2) the number and the nature of the relationships between the constituent components” (Housen, Kuiken, & Vedder, 2012, p. 22). While counts of specific linguistic units can provide a numerical picture of learner language complexity in terms of diversity and density, these measures could miss the semantic and pragmatic richness encoded in a single Ojibwe word (as illustrated above) and they restrict complexity to a cognitive construct, ignoring behavioral possibilities (Housen et al., 2012).

Thus, while I employ minimal quantitative counting measures to characterize the linguistic ecology of the classroom, I worry about how much of the learners’ expertise can be lost in the numbers. For this reason, much of my analysis turns to critical theories that link language in use with its ideological orientations (intertextuality, legitimation) to look for patterns that show when learners use language to ‘do things’ in the classroom and how they do it; and to better understand what Jane and the other teachers do in the

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classroom to shape this learner language use. The threshold for the kind of language that can be developed in fewer than 5 hours of formal instruction per week is currently unknown. The same is true for the degree of affective attachment to the language that can develop in that time. Furthermore, we know little about how an all-day push-in model can make inroads against a tide of English. This participatory ethnographic study follows the language to better understand learning and development within one classroom ecology.

Study design

This study has descriptive and interpretive aims that reach for the complexities of Indigenous language learning in a settler colonial institution. My research questions are premised on the view of language as a social practice that is learned and embodied by its users, and they acknowledge the potential for unexpected, multiple, and contradictory language practices in this context. The broad scope of these questions also presumes that the historic hostility of settler colonialism toward Indigenous language, people, and knowledge is more salient for these language learners than for learners of non-Indigenous languages. The first research question seeks to highlight the visible ways that language and interaction move through a teacher-learner's Ojibwe classroom, while the second question reaches for the invisible -- the myriad layers of spiritual and political beliefs, ideologies, and collective experiences that inform and are informed by language use.

- (1) What is the nature of language instruction, use, and interaction in a teacher-learner's Ojibwe language kindergarten classroom?

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- (2) What ideologies are indexed in the language classroom, how are they indexed, and what roles do they play in the classroom space?

These questions work together to tease apart entanglements in an understudied context in order to provide a clearer understanding of the ideological and experiential genealogies that shape language use in this English-dominant school setting for young Ojibwe learners. They not only aim to expose points of colonial influence and erasure in this classroom, but also to characterize opportunities for teaching and learning that resists, subverts, or exploits these sites. The answers to these questions have implications for further theoretical and practical research around institutionalized Ojibwe language learning.

Participatory (classroom) linguistic ethnography. This study follows Rampton's (2007) characterization of linguistic ethnography (LE) as a primary methodology. LE is a newer method and not yet entirely solidified as a methodology in and of itself, although Rampton et al. (2004) characterize it as being shaped by other well established fields of socio- and applied linguistic research that focus on classrooms, language learning, critical approaches to discourse, and ideology. It "combines ethnographic and linguistic methodologies to study language use in a range of social settings" (Maybin & Tusting, 2011, p. 515) and it seeks to address both linguistic and social questions. LE draws on sociolinguistics more than on anthropology though it also places a heavier emphasis on cultural, social, and historical contexts than other more 'micro-analytic' paradigms (e.g., conversational analysis). Particularly in classroom

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contexts, linguistic ethnography provides a language-focused nexus for analyzing sociocultural knowledge construction, critical discourse in interaction, and researcher positionality (Maybin & Tusting, 2011).

This approach is ideally suited for a study of social cultural language use in a classroom as it is an interdisciplinary mode of inquiry that has found a foothold among research on institutional language learning. LE employs ethnography to provide a methodological entrée into the ecology of a classroom -- a context where the object(s) and process(es) of acquisition are observable through language. Its focus on the first-hand, naturalistic fieldwork of participant observation contributes to evolving conceptions of the language classroom as a site of social and cultural meaning making for all social actors (i.e., learners *and* teachers) (Harklau, 2005). Yet, LE tempers ethnography's emphasis on a 'totalising description' (Rampton, 2007) of cultural phenomena with linguistic and micro-analytic perspectives within it. In a sense, LE represents a tension between ethnography and linguistics, critical of both and settling upon neither. Rampton, (2007) clarifies this tension by asserting that "ethnography opens linguistics up" whereas "linguistics (...) ties ethnography down" (p. 596).

I employ LE as a primary methodology here because of its as-yet-unsolidified nature. It is "neither a paradigm, a cohesive 'school', nor a definitive synthesis" (Rampton, 2007, p. 585). LE is flexible, rooted in Hymesian sociolinguistics, and it opens inquiry to complexities of circumstance. The linguistic 'fine-grain' of a text is inextricably linked to the attitudes and social origins within a context. Attending to a part requires attending to the whole, and vice versa. As this study is language-focused, I draw

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specifically on characterizations of linguistic ethnography that make language a central point of analysis (Creese, 2008; Rampton et al. 2004). I combine the ethnographic approach of LE with critical discourse analysis (CDA) -- a common sister methodology that 'zooms in' on the power encoded in circumstance. Rampton (2007) views this pairing of LE and CDA (discussed in detail in the next section) as much-needed expansion of linguistic research, establishing and fortifying links between language and ideology as explored in-depth by social theorists outside the discipline (e.g., Foucault, Habermas).

This study is also participatory - though this goes beyond the sense of the anthropological 'participant observer' as the project is a collaborative one between teacher and researcher that aims for 'subject participation' (Martínez, 2008). The Ojibwe language teacher-learner is the gatekeeper to the classroom and she was interested in being a part of a more reciprocal kind of relationship. I embraced her welcoming engagement with the study, knowing that she brought with her a lifetime of linguistic and cultural expertise. Moreover, there are methodological justifications for working with participants who feel they have a stake in the research, as this sort of involvement is likely to yield more and higher quality information along with better interpretations of it (Hale, 2001). The nature of our collaboration was tentatively reciprocal. My interest in the language of both the content instruction and the social relationships meant that I was an active participant in the daily action of the classroom. Jane and I created materials (e.g., an animals matching game) and songs (e.g., 'Giminwendaamin zhiibiiyang') together. We helped the learners make up for missed meals, bloody noses, and bus-stop

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disputes; and we filled each other in on ideas, practices, histories, and relationships that were known to one and not the other.

Certainly the collaboration was not a clearly defined division of duties. I often worried that I wasn't doing enough to help Jane in the classroom. For instance, early in our relationship, prior to the start of the study, she gave me a book of Wenabozho stories that had been written down by a community member over a decade ago. Each story was mostly in English, but had some Ojibwe words substituted for English ones within an English matrix. Jane asked me to rewrite some of the stories to make them into a children's book format that she could read or tell to the kindergarteners. The stories were complex and longer than the average children's book, but during the initial ask, I thought it would not be difficult as I was a teacher and a parent -- well accustomed to modifying language in a text to meet the needs of a learner. Days later, when I recounted the request to my friend and adviser, Waabishkimiigwan (also a good friend of Jane's), she expressed dismay that I would do this. Upon further reflection with Waabishkimiigwan, I came to realize that the entire Wenabozho story request was, in fact, fraught with potential to corrupt, destroy, or erase meaning from a valuable source of Ojibwe teaching. The layers of interpretation comprising the move from an oral Ojibwe storytelling tradition to an English-dominant children's book were beyond my ken as a non-Indigenous White woman. I returned the original materials to Jane and explained to her why I did not think I could do this for her.

Though our objectives overlapped in some ways (e.g., more language, strong speakers), Jane and I had very different work to do and we were invested with power in

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very different ways. I was an outsider and was acutely aware of my Whiteness, my association with academic research (and its history of inflicting damage on Indigenous people), and my relative inexperience with the seemingly tremendous task of writing a dissertation. To me, Jane was the expert as well as the primary point of access to the classroom. She was open and generous to such a degree that I often worried that I wasn't doing enough to make my involvement 'worth it' to her, as if she might change her mind and withdraw from the study, ending the dissertation before it began. Such a fear seems ironic, in hindsight. Though Jane was the community member with more years than I in language and in life, my affiliation with the university and 'book-learning' likely positioned her and/or her knowledge as less legitimate at times. I was first introduced to her at a teacher training where she was one of the teachers, and I was one of the trainers. I was positioned as an 'expert' before she even knew my name.

Our collaborative relationship required regular check-ins with one another to talk through what we were seeing in the classroom through our different cultural lenses - her Ojibwe teacher, advocate, community-member lens, my White critical language researcher lens. These check-ins took the form of prolonged visits in Jane's office right before lunch. We would drink coffee and chat about the kids, language, and life inside and outside the school. I did not record or take notes, but would later record my reflections of these visits as voice memos after leaving the school each day. Jane's instincts about what is appropriate for her learners in a given specific time and place were unassailable, but she had also expressed a need for 'fresh ideas' and resources for the classroom (e.g., props, games, songs, books) along with support for her own language.

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We were/are two language learners with different strengths and weaknesses, different enthusiasms, and different commitments; and while one outcome of this research is an independently researched linguistic ethnographic study of classroom language, another outcome has been the creation of new and varied Ojibwe language instructional materials, routines, and practices for the classroom and for the teacher-learner.

Critical discourse analysis. I pair the ethnographic approach of linguistic ethnography with critical discourse analysis (CDA) to highlight the ideological processes that constitute the everyday practices that are the focus of ethnography (Rampton, 2007). Educational institutions that serve as sites of revitalization are also susceptible to becoming sites for the reproduction and transmission of colonial discourses, even by anti-colonial educators (Hermes 2005, Keddie & Williams, 2011). CDA is a methodological and analytical framework that allows for movement between historic and present-day timescales, tracing action through and across social actors and spaces (Rogers, 2011). It enables an analysis that deconstructs dominant discourses in language and interaction and traces their source(s) and trajectory/ies toward anti-colonial educational outcomes that re-imagine language, schooling, and identity for Indigenous language learners and users.

CDA views language as the residence (though not the source) of unstable ideological equilibrium. Language (or signs) are viewed as ‘texts’ which comprise the basic unit of analysis (Fairclough, 1992a). Texts signify ordered ways of being/doing in the world (i.e., social practices), which, in turn, signify naturalized ideological constructions of power, particularly in institutions. An analysis of discourse relies

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heavily on the contextualization provided by ethnographic methodologies. It also looks at how a text was produced (e.g., who said it? how did they say it? when did they say it? what prompted them to say it? who did they say it to?), how a text was distributed (e.g., was it said aloud? was it drawn or written?), and how a text is consumed (e.g., who heard it? who saw it? how did they hear/see it?) (Fairclough, 1992a, 1992b, 2001, 2009).

CDA then seeks to connect the text with other texts, social actors, social practices, and social structures.

Norman Fairclough and Theo van Leeuwen offer two versions of critical discourse analysis that are used in the following study (intertextuality and legitimation, respectively). Neither version originated in classroom contexts, but the strength and depth of their approaches to language and power are ideally suited for an examination of language in an institutional context with long colonial roots. Both versions address how ideological orientations are manifested in language, though they differ in their approaches to the role of a text as evidence of discursive power. Fairclough relies on analytic constructs of intertextuality and interdiscursivity to explore explanatory hegemonies and resistance during a time of social change, while van Leeuwen's legitimation undertakes a targeted characterization of the processes by which members of a society discursively reproduce these same shifting power differentials. For both of these critical linguists, text comprises the basic unit of analysis as both approaches see texts as signifying ordered ways of being/doing in the world (i.e., social practices), which, in turn, signify naturalized ideological constructions of power.

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Intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Fairclough conceives of CDA as an analytical approach as well as a methodology for understanding social and cultural change by examining the dialectical relationships between social practices and social structures. The text (i.e., any sort of spoken, written, drawn, or embodied form of communication) is a prime location for ideological evidence of social change to manifest (Fairclough, 2001, p. 231). Individual texts of one kind or another are essential data sources for CDA. Viewed together over time, texts comprise ‘orders of discourse’ (i.e., networks of activity that make up and are made up by social practice). This connection of the parts (discourses) with the whole (the social practices of a given context) benefits from and necessitates an analysis that moves between text and broader social contextual factors.

Discourse is a preferred term here because it encompasses the ideational content as well as the ways in which the content is represented (Fairclough, 1992b). ‘Discursive practices’ (i.e., a particular form or component of social practice), then, are instrumental in mediating between individual texts and their broader social and ideological contexts (see Figure 1). Discursive practices are, simply put, processes of text production, distribution, and consumption. Fairclough (1992a) represents them in Figure 1 as the rectangle between the innermost rectangle (representing a text) and the outermost rectangle (representing social practice). This placement is intended to show how discursive practices are what *moves* a text within existing social practices. They (discursive practices) are constrained by the social practices in which they reside and they are constrained by the resources available to members of a particular social practice or

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event. A discursive practice may be conventional or it may be creative; and discursive practices essentially account for the ways that a text is moved (e.g., how it is produced, distributed, and consumed) within a context. Thus an analysis of discourses within a particular social regime can illuminate social and cultural reproduction as well as transformation.

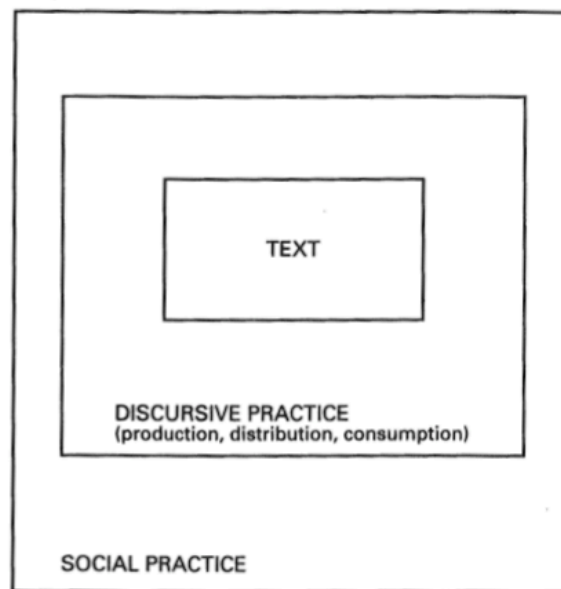


Figure 1: Fairclough's (1992a) 'Three-dimensional conception of discourse'

The context(s) in which these discursive practices occur (i.e., the tribal school and kindergarten classroom) is an important component of the analysis. For instance, there are discursive practices within the kindergarten classroom that can be considered conventional (e.g., singing a song to encourage learners to clean up their tables, using 'inside voices' to speak to a classmate, listening quietly while a teacher reads a book), which are shaped by the social practices of the social actors and the institution. Similarly, there may be discursive practices in the kindergarten classroom that are unconventional or creative (e.g., a learner's silence when asked a question by the teacher,

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performative bilingual language play, singing in place of speaking). Features of the texts (e.g., code/language, content), the nature of the texts' production and delivery (e.g., spoken, enacted, written), and the ways that the texts appear to be received or consumed are observable and they direct us to ideological orientations that social actors may bring into a space or that may already exist in a space.

Attention to the intersections, overlaps, and oppositions among these orders of discourse and processes of text economies is the analytic framework that Fairclough calls "intertextuality" (also "interdiscursivity"). Expanding on the concept that was originally introduced by Kristeva, Fairclough's intertextuality refers the ways in which any given text incorporates elements of other texts. Intertextuality may be horizontal, as in the dialogical relationships between texts that are ordered in a chain (e.g., conversational turns); and it may be vertical as with intertextual relationships across time and across scales of varying degrees (Fairclough, 1992b). Notably, what is missing from Fairclough's nested boxes in Figure 1 is the gaze of the researcher. While text exchange is certainly observable and orders of discourse can be named and traced, it is all subject to interpretation by the researcher. This interpretive process requires a commitment to transparency and highlights the salience of researcher identity and positionality on the analysis. Returning to this study as an example, consider what it means for a White researcher (who has decades of majority-White colonial schooling experience) to observe and analyze the discursive practices of Ojibwe children with their Ojibwe teachers in an Ojibwe school. By what criteria do I deem an observable, describable discursive practice as conventional or creative or something else entirely? This is a subjective, interpretive

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act. Fairclough's omission of the researcher's positionality from Figure 1 means that it is incumbent upon the researcher herself (me) to use frames such as intertextuality and interdiscursivity to attend to the multiple social practices in which text exchanges are embedded -- a demanding feat for a White researcher as whiteness is notoriously difficult to perceive and name (Fine, Powell, Weis, & Wong, 1997; Richardson & Villenas, 2000).

Concerns with processes of text production, distribution, and consumption are helpful because they allow the analyst to stress historicity of texts, networks and means of text transmissions, and the external texts available to interpreters, respectively (Fairclough, 1992a). In this way intertextuality is evocative of Bakhtin's (1981) heteroglossia. A Blackledge and Creese (2009) study that was presented in Chapter Two, in fact, supports this comparison through the use of Bakhtin rather than Fairclough to theorize intertextual analyses of discourse in a multilingual classroom. Their study acknowledged that "discourse bears the traces of the voices of others, is shaped by them, responds to them, contradicts them or confirms them, and in one way or another evaluates them" (p. 238). The dialogism of heteroglossia is certainly similar to intertextuality. Maybin and Swann's (2007) assertion that heteroglossia is useful for exploring "the dialogic positioning of social languages" (p. 504) provides strong support for an intertextual analysis of heteroglossic language. As a methodological sister to ethnography, intertextuality highlights transformational moves as new texts restructure old texts, though this productivity is socially constrained by existing power relations (Fairclough, 1992a; 1992b). It is these different ways of making meaning and ordering relationships that calls forth a consideration of *dominance* in an analysis of

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intertextuality. There is usually a dominant or mainstream way of meaning making along with more marginal ways; and the way a subject might structure these semiotic differences can be *hegemonic* (Fairclough, 2001). That is, we can make meaning in ways that align with “the legitimizing common sense which sustains relations of domination” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2), or we can make meaning in ways that resist and contest the dominant ideological assumptions attached to texts.

Hegemony theory is Fairclough’s preferred theory of power relations to be used in conjunction with an intertextual analysis because (1) it allows the analyst to situate intertextual processes (and their attendant limitations and possibilities) within a certain unstable equilibrium of alliances, and (2) these intertextual processes and transformations can be viewed as processes of hegemonic struggle in their own right (1992b). To return to the example of the Ojibwe language class in a US public school context, our examination of intertextuality here could expose points of complicity and domination in the classroom space (e.g., assessments demonstrating a language-as-a-commodified-skill orientation) alongside points of resistance and struggle (e.g., culture-based language pedagogy that incorporates learners’ existing resources). Learners’ subjectivities are structured by the ideologies embedded in their practices, and while text producers (e.g., the teacher, the school, the US education system) potentially interpellate these hypothetical language learners into particular subject positions, non-compliant “interpreters” may refuse to read coherence onto particular texts (Fairclough, 1991; 1992b).

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As a tool for critical researchers seeking explanatory analysis of social change, intertextuality bridges the gap between linguistic analysis and social analysis (Fairclough, 2004). A focus on orders of discourse grants the analyst a close look at text as a location for ideology. However, this close-range view is attended by the understanding that these ideologies come to be invested in a text via production, distribution, and consumption processes, which serve to reproduce and transform society (Fairclough, 1992a).

Legitimation. Van Leeuwen's approach to CDA echoes the mediating link between language and social practice emphasized by Fairclough. Though van Leeuwen (2009) is explicit in citing 'recontextualization' as the process responsible for realizing such a connection, because "representation is ultimately based on practice" (p. 146). For van Leeuwen, social practices are characterized by a number of 'crucial elements' (e.g., actions, performance modes, actors). These elements can be seen as sort of generalized requisites in any accounting of a particular social practice. Yet when social practices are recontextualized in language (or other modes of semiosis), processes of deletion, substitution, or addition may transform these recontextualized representations into discourses (van Leeuwen, 2009). Van Leeuwen draws on Foucault (just as Fairclough does) in defining discourses as "*socially constructed ways of knowing some aspect of reality* which can be drawn upon when that aspect of reality has to be represented" (2009, p. 144). Thus, he essentially sees the discourse as the connection between text and social practice, though a legitimation analysis has different theoretical forebears and analytic expectations from intertextuality.

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Legitimations are among the elements (also *purposes, reactions, and repetitions*) that may be added to a recontextualized social practice (van Leeuwen, 2009), and a legitimation analysis seeks to separate the ‘crucial elements’ (i.e., actors, actions, etc...) from the more ‘interpretive’ additions (i.e., reactions, purposes, etc...). Van Leeuwen cites Berger and Luckmann (1966) as having laid the theoretical groundwork in this endeavor. When a social practice is discursively legitimated, the legitimation essentially ‘explains’ the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings and (...) justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 111, cited in van Leeuwen, 2007). For an Ojibwe language classroom at a tribal school, this means that the purposes ascribed to the ‘normal’ way of doing things with and about language tend to reify elements of the institutional order that shape those practices in the first place. It is this ‘normative dignity’ ascribed to institutional imperatives that a legitimation analysis seeks to trouble.

Van Leeuwen came to this framework via a methodology that involved a discourse analysis of a corpus of texts⁴ across a wide range of genres (e.g., reports, narratives, advertisements) concerned with regulating or resisting compulsory education (2007). Van Leeuwen’s project sought to trouble the normative dignity (or commonsense notions) inherent in recontextualizations of these discourses. After sifting out language that represented generalized ideational content around actors, timings, settings, activities,

⁴ ‘Texts’ here refers to printed literature as opposed to Fairclough’s ‘text’, which refers to communicative linguistic or semiotic signs.

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etc., van Leeuwen was left with residual textual elements that comprised reactions, purposes, and legitimations (2007). These elements did not add descriptive information to the texts; rather they contributed what could best be characterized as a motivational content to the existing descriptions. These legitimations tended to “distill” evaluative qualities from a representation of a social practice, linking social practices with discourses of *value* (2007).

Through this methodology, van Leeuwen identified four primary types of legitimations (see Table 2) all of which answer the question *why do this?* or *why do this in this way?* (2007). It is important to highlight the distinction between purposes and legitimations. That is, while all legitimations speak to some kind of purpose, not all purposes are legitimations. An element of moralization (either overt or covert) is required of a purpose construction if it is to be considered a legitimation.

Table 2: Four types of legitimation⁵

Type of legitimation	Description	Example
Authorization	Imposes legitimation via a sort of authority (authority figure may be a person, institution, or practice)	<i>The American Academy of Pediatrics recommends zero hours of screen time for children under the age of 2.</i>
Moral evaluation	Imposes legitimation via an expression of morality (morality may be derived from evaluation, naturalization, abstraction, or analogy)	<i>It's natural for a new mother to want her pre-baby body back as soon as possible.</i>
Rationalization	Imposes legitimation via theoretical or instrumental principle of success of a particular action (while these ‘principles’ are usually	<i>Sarah spoke to her baby as much as possible during his infancy to encourage early</i>

⁵ adapted from van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in discourse and communication. *Discourse & Communication*, 1(1), 91-112.

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	devoid of any explicit morality, they rely on a morality that is “oblique and submerged” (p. 100))	<i>language development.</i>
Mythopoesis	Imposes legitimation via storytelling (these stories are usually moral or cautionary tales)	<i>The tenacious tortoise said to the lazy rabbit “slow and steady wins the race.”</i>

For example, although the sentence *Goldie closed the window to keep out the rain,* contains a purpose (to keep out the rain), there is nothing detectably covertly or overtly moral about the subject’s (Goldie’s) motivation for the initial action (closing the window). Thus this example sentence: *Goldie closed the window to keep out the rain,* is an example of a purpose clause that is *not* a legitimation. It provides a helpful contrast to each of the example sentences in Table 2, all of which contain a type of legitimation.

While the descriptions and examples of legitimations that have been provided here are represented linguistically, van Leeuwen does allow for legitimation to be achieved multi-modally. Images, symbols, music, and other extra-linguistic elements may be employed in imposing legitimation on a particular social practice or social event (van Leeuwen, 2005; 2007). Any legitimation analysis is focused on the representation of a social practice (regardless of whether it is represented linguistically or extra-linguistically) and its reliance on a sort of moral motivation. In this way, legitimation is a tool for a “social semiotic approach to the question of truth” (van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 160) particularly as it concerns the ways in which social control is ordered and accepted. In describing the success of any system of authority, van Leeuwen looks to Weber to express the importance of cultivating a belief in that system’s legitimacy (2007). An examination of the ways in which social practices are discursively legitimated grants the

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analyst a view of how social practices are recontextualized as well as the attendant morality discourses that reproduce systems of social control.

Current education research treats classroom discourse as having cognitive and sociocultural relevance (Man, 2008), and scholarship in this area regularly employs and troubles constructs of legitimation and intertextuality. Many of these studies refer to ‘discourses’ (Anagnostopoulos, 2005; Creese et al., 2013; Dixon et al., 2000), ‘texts’ (Pappas et al., 2003; Varelas et al., 2006); ‘intertextuality’ (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Dorner & Layton, 2008; Rogers & Mosley, 2006), and/or ‘legitimation’ (Enns-Kananen, 2014; Leckie et al., 2013); and they are characterized in ways and according to genealogies similar to the specific approaches described by Fairclough and van Leeuwen discussed in this section. This growing body of research shows these constructs to be incredibly useful in multilingual classroom research contexts. Though often employed as individual frames, I use them together in this study as they provide a more complete picture of ideological connection between language in use and cultural context. Van Leeuwen’s legitimation framework contributes to a discursive understanding of *why* a certain social practice is enacted and *why in this way*. Fairclough’s intertextuality, on the other hand, is the framework that contributes the dialogic context missing from legitimation.

Furthermore, Fairclough’s emphasis on the importance of social change within a given context lends itself especially well to an Ojibwe language tribal school where traditionally colonial education structures are redeployed for what is regularly conceived of as an anti-colonial project (Hermes, 2005). “Culture is not itself visible” (van Maanen,

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2010, p. 2) but at least some of the imbalance of hegemonic relations in the culture of a social/institutional space is undoubtedly evident in the language that is used in that space (Fairclough, 1992a). Paired with linguistic ethnography, these critical discourse frames provide this study with a strong methodology that attends to multiple (contradictory) facets of a classroom ecology.

Data sources and collection

As a participatory classroom linguistic ethnography, this study relied on traditional ethnographic means of data collection (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) along with digital video recordings to capture classroom language use for micro-analysis. Data sources consisted of (1) fieldnotes in the form of voice memos recorded on the drive home after each school day, (2) 28 hours of transcribed video data, (3) transcribed focus group interviews with the students and unstructured interviews with the teacher, (4) analytic memos written throughout the transcription process, (5) instructional materials, resources, and curricula created as a result of collaborations with the teacher, and (6) student work created in class. This section describes these sources in greater detail.

At the start of the study, Jane and I talked about the nature of the ‘help’ she wanted to come out of this collaboration. We agreed that the more participatory my role, the better. As such, my duties most closely resembled those of a teacher’s aide, supporting Jane and the other teachers with classroom management and learner scaffolds. This left no time for writing fieldnotes. Instead, I recorded voice memos immediately after each school day and later transcribed them into fieldnotes (see Figure 2). The voice

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recordings typically covered only standout events from the day as I relied on digital recordings for detailed classroom language. More central in these voice memos were reflections on my lunchtime conversations with Jane wherein we discussed language instruction and the study thus far, as well as our own families, school politics, and tribal concerns.

Memo ID info
May 24, 2015 (Recording)
Main ideas
<p>School is almost out and I'm overwhelmed with emotion for Jane's generosity. She gifted me with some earrings that her niece made and is making it really hard to say goodbye.</p> <p>Jane also shared some recent events that have happened at the school. One of the language teachers has had their hours reduced and the students are not having it. The junior high students staged a walk-out yesterday. This wasn't a case of middle-schoolers looking to cut class on a nice day, they engaged in thoughtful collective action. Jane says that they walked down to the tribal council, and met with Elders who listened to each kid say their piece about the loss of their teacher. Unfortunately, when they returned to school, the principal had the maintenance crew lock the doors so the students could not re-enter the school.</p> <p>Apparently one of the students found Jane who told them to return to the tribal council and tell them that they were locked out. The students did as much and the tribal council walked them back to school at which time they were finally let back in. The lock-out is really disappointing as it only further distances the principal from her students, employees, and community members, both politically and culturally. Furthermore, the loss of this teacher is huge. He has been a fixture of language and culture within that school for decades and despite rhetoric in support of language, this is another example of ambivalence toward it in line with the recent separation of language from culture as subjects.</p> <p>I conducted some focal group interviews today and it was more difficult than I anticipated as the coloring activity was pretty distracting. Victor talked some about the importance of Ojibwe for 'old people', then immediately lifted up his shirt and yelled 'my titties!' at Tre to share a laugh. Sam told me he 'hates doing Ojibwe because it's stupid' but he's among the best speakers and when I heard him singing Just A Phone Call Away with Victor, he sang it in the style of the songs they sing around the drum with rich vibrato, extended notes, and a seemingly different scale. I asked him about it and he said 'it's nothing'.</p> <p>I also heard Sam do some language play during morning meeting. Jane asked 'aaniin ezhiwebak agwajing?' and then asked 'gimiwan ina?' Kids answered 'Eya! Gimiwan gimiwan!' and Sam said 'Eya'. Gimiwan. Yeah. I want you to gimme one, gimme something, go get me a beer!' He got a laugh, which appeared to be his purpose.</p>
For future consideration
<p>Jane (and other language teachers) have expanded roles for the kids (more so than other teachers), yet they seem to have lower status than the culture teacher at the school. What can these differing valuations of learner-centered relationships vs. faculty-centered relationships tell about ideologies of language and education?</p> <p>For the learners: What is the role of laughter in the classroom? Who is it for? What works and what doesn't? How does this intersect with language use? What other instances are there of overlapping Ojibwe/English/school/home identities?</p>

Figure 2: Voice memo fieldnotes

I transcribed (broadly) all of the video and audio capturing classroom talk and interviews, employing many of the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (2004),

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including extralinguistic, interactional details that contribute to meaning-making beyond the extracted linguistic code (see Appendix 1). This attention to detail in participant talk seeks to better capture the patterns that organize the social action achieved (or attempted) in interaction (Schegloff, 1987). Granted, the structure of an interview of ‘morning meeting’ routine does not have the spontaneity of ‘naturally occurring’ talk, which was Schegloff’s and Jefferson’s primary milieu, but the interaction in and around these more rigid participatory structures has the potential to play out in patterns of its own and the conventions developed in their theorizing of ‘singular episodes of talk’ (Schegloff, 1987) have proven incredibly useful for this context as well.

The transcription process served as a first wave of analysis as I often found puzzling or surprising action within the talk as I watched, listened, and typed. I highlighted these puzzles with analytic memos that outlined the questions/concerns at hand and linked back to the specific data point (see Figure 3). These memos guided my transcription as well as my analysis, which I discuss further in the next section.

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Memo ID info
Jan. 5, 2017 Transcription of May 3.2
Puzzle/data
<p>Something I noticed in the transcription process of May 3.2. Jane has done a tremendous job of staying in the target language throughout. Even her admonitions of the kids or behavior management attempts are largely in Ojibwemowin. However, in terms of opportunities to convey ideational content, it is still lacking.</p> <p>I just came across this example (lines 912-920) wherein Jane asks “Aaniin ezhigiizhigak agwajing?” Naturally Aerin answers with a translation “how is the weather outside?” This contribution is a correct translation and certainly worthy of positive feedback and encouragement, but rather than asking again like “geget Aerin. Gidibaajimotaw ina? aaniin ezhi-giizhigak agwajing?” she just says “eya’.” with falling intonation as if she asked a yes/no question.</p> <p>This is something outside of language maintenance framing. This is indexing an ideology of Ojibwemowin as ‘content’ which is a real problem in that it simultaneously validates its presence and undermines its utility. Is this linked to an ideology though, or is it more about Jane’s proficiency. She might want to say in the moment “you tell <u>me</u>.” But doesn’t know how. Full disclosure: before I typed “gidibaajimotaw ina?” in this memo, I spent five minutes looking up the verb and then double checking conjugation with the Fairbanks verb paradigm.</p> <p>This is a strong argument for PD that integrates language -- like what George (immersion teacher) did with his training session in 2015. It also sets up a major web of entangled actions within the classroom. Ideology vs. gap in instructor knowledge? This is also where dividing and separating language from culture makes these teachers vulnerable. She knows so much but if she is confined to only share the linguistic aspects of her knowledge, she is hampered, whole sections of her knowledge pool have been cordoned off or amputated.</p>
For future action
<p>Be on the lookout for more examples of this. How many times are the teacher’s language use decisions made for her by her own non-fluent proficiency? How often does it look like it could be read as ideology?</p> <p>How often (more generally speaking) might we be confusing normalized, common sense ideologies with linguistic and social practices that are shaped more by colonial forces than anything else?</p>

Figure 3: Analytic memo

Instructional materials-as-data sources consisted of songs, games, visual aids (see Figure 4), and even a book that Jane created for her learners as documentation of the language they used during the school year (see Figure 5). Songs and games were regularly incorporated into morning routines (e.g., the ‘body stretching song’) and instructional activities (e.g., ‘animal matching game’) and were analyzed in their

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transcribed context of interaction. Visual aids were photographed and included as their own data points and as mediators of interaction where appropriate.



Figure 4: Visual aid (weather)

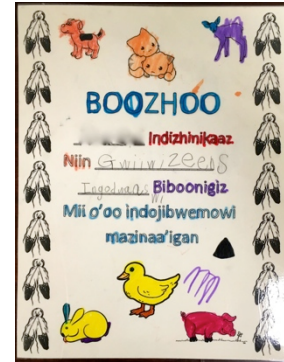


Figure 5: Kindergarten language book

Also included as data sources were student work and class materials that Jane or I used 'on the fly' in the midst of classroom tasks. For instance, I took photos of whiteboard brainstorming sessions led by Jane as well as the accompanying worksheet (selected by the English-language content teacher), completed by some of the learners (see Figures 6 and 7). These photos served to document written and drawn artifacts that mediated learning in activities that were recorded digitally, though the artifacts themselves may not have been captured by the camera.

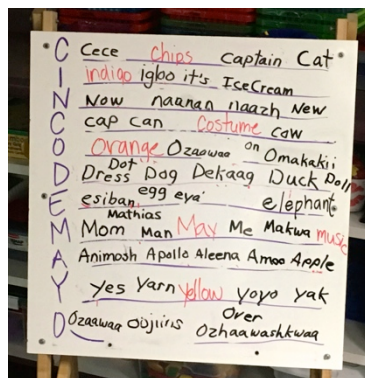


Figure 6: Whiteboard scaffold

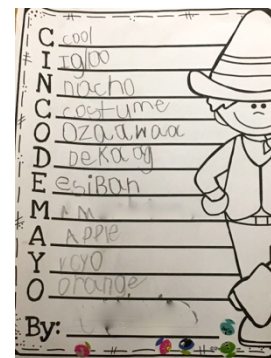


Figure 7: Cinco de Mayo worksheet

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Participant data was anonymized prior to analysis in accordance with Institutional Review Board human subjects protocols that I agreed to prior to the start of the study, and similarly, all participant data and artifacts have been converted to digital files to store securely on an external encrypted hard drive. All of the participants at Migiziwazisoning were made aware that their participation was voluntary, anonymous, and non-binding. Neither Jane nor the English-language content teachers were aware of which students were or were not participating. Additionally, though I used pseudonyms for all participants except for myself, any and all materials that were created through this collaboration with the Jane have become free for her to use and distribute as she sees fit in future kindergarten cohorts.

Data Analysis

All of my written and photographic data sources were uploaded into Dedoose for coding, though I was careful to link memos and photographic data sources to the transcripts that described the action in and around these sources to avoid redundancies and to make cross referencing easier. The initial phase of coding/analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994) took place during transcription and my choice to use LE and CDA methodologies informed this work from the start. Because of the slow pace of transcription and the intimacies it afforded, I was able to combine exploratory coding with watching, listening, and writing to think through my initial reactions to the linguistic and social behavior that I was seeing and hearing in the video and audio data. This pacing helped me to build thick, rich description around noticeable patterns of language

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use as well as to reflect on my interpretations and reformulate them with subsequent iterations of repeated interactional patterns. In this phase, I was less concerned with assigning codes to all of the data, and more focused on experimenting with ways to organize it. Many of these early attempts first occurred in Analytic Memos that highlight particular patterns, surprises, or puzzles that I noticed while I was transcribing, as opposed to occurring in Dedoose. Figure 8 provides an example of this process. While transcribing video taken of classroom interaction, I noticed some variation in Jane’s language use depending on what sort of social action she was trying to achieve.

Memo ID info	
Jan. 30, 2017 Transcription of May 3.4	
Puzzle/data	
I’m still thinking through coding. I have been so entrenched and reading and writing and thinking about the interpretive aspect that I have neglected the descriptive element. I’m thinking through a coding scheme that would help me break down the communicative linguistic landscape -- though ‘landscape’ reads as really static to me and rings false in this space. It’s more like an ecosystem or biome because of the constant movement, growth, damage, and repair that happens from moment to moment.	
Here’s a sample of what I’m thinking can be helpful for getting the lay of the land.	
Teacher utterances in Ojibwe	Student utterances in Ojibwe
# prompting Ojibwe	# prompted by English
# performing classroom functions that don’t require response (e.g., behavior modification, transitions, directing)	# prompted by Ojibwe
# responding to Ojibwe	# unprompted
# responding to English	
# stand-alone utterances in Ojibwe	# stand-alone utterances in Ojibwe
# embedded in English MLF	# embedded in English MLF
	# non-verbal indicators of understanding Ojibwemowin.
# English utterances prompting Ojibwe	
I think it makes sense to start by looking exclusively at Morning Meetings for the descriptive piece. This will allow me to sort of control for the various routines and linguistic richness. It will also show how much variation there is in a single speaker (namely, Jane) as well as the variation across speakers (I’m thinking here of how different Jane will look compared to Mel & Tatia despite seemingly identical routines).	

Figure 8: Exploratory analysis/coding developed in analytic memo

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The ‘noticing’ practices involved in transcription and the composition of analytic memos led me to develop a coding scheme that employs intersecting criteria of linguistic codes (i.e., different languages used) and participant frameworks (i.e., what those language uses do moment-to-moment) to capture numerous descriptive features of the communicative ecology in the classroom. It also allowed me to build on earlier ideas and to document the genealogy of my analytic thinking. Exploratory work in the transcription phase not only promoted and documented a deeper engagement with the data, but it also figured heavily in the development of analytical refinements that shaped both the descriptive and interpretive research goals of the project.

In my second phase of analysis, I relied primarily on qualitative coding methods as described by Saldaña (2013) and employed a simultaneous coding scheme that assigned process codes and values codes to some of the same stretches of talk at the same time. Process codes were useful for creating a description of the language use in the classroom as these types of codes are easily applied to simple observable behaviors as well as to more conceptual activities (Saldaña, 2013). Values codes, on the other hand, are more concerned with “data that reflect a particular participant’s values, attitudes, and beliefs” (Saldaña, 2013, p. 110). Examples of each of these code types are shown in Appendix B. Since this project is both descriptive and interpretive, I found that the choice to employ simultaneous coding aligned with advice from Miles and Huberman (1994) to use this coding method if “a segment is both descriptive and inferentially meaningful” (p. 66). I anticipated code-overlap among the data and, in fact, relied on this overlap to make decisions about third cycle analysis since CDA as a methodology relies

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on the existence of links between language or ‘texts’ and larger, circulating Discourses.

Points of overlap were significant in contributing to the stability of certain thematic categories when the process and values codes aligned, and they signaled potential ‘cruces’ or points of departure for discourse analysis when overlapping codes appeared to point in different directions.

Essentially, comparative analysis of the descriptive codes led me to significant ‘scenes’ of talk and interaction (i.e., ‘cruces’) which I then re-transcribed more closely to capture as many extra-linguistic and non-verbal features of the interaction as I could. I applied intertextual and legitimation analyses to these closely transcribed interactive scenes in the hope of stabilizing certain thematic codes (rather than generating new ones). I looked closely at the ‘texts’ in these scenes and their modes of production, distribution, and consumption to better understand some of the ideologies and ‘commonsense’ understandings of language, behaviors, and roles that were evident in the classroom as well as other rationalizations for patterns of language use and interaction in the space. The themes that this analysis strengthened were the result of categories merging and stabilizing through continued analysis and engagement with theory, especially theory on colonialism, Indigeneity, and learning in research and education. Linguistic ethnography helped enrich the discourse analysis by thickening the context in which I examined the language, and critical discourse analysis shaped my understanding of how certain social and instructional behavior patterns could be ‘read’ differently and more deeply than at first pass.

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Validity and Trustworthiness

The *validity* of the research presented here is relative to the study's objectives and methodology, as opposed to being an irrefutable feature of them (Brice Heath & Street, 2008). In the use of this controversial term (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011), I follow Maxwell in eschewing definitions of validity as a representation of objective truths. Rather, validity is concerned first and foremost with the "correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 122). In other words, validity concerns in qualitative research such as this study are essentially concerns with trustworthiness of the data collection, its analysis, and the representation of the findings. As such, Maxwell identifies 'bias' and 'reactivity' as two specific problems for establishing validity.

Researcher bias is not an affliction. It is not, for example, akin to a fear of flying -- something I could overcome with enough perseverance. Rather it is a condition of my own subjectivity as a complex human person in this world. Instead of trying to eliminate it, I choose to expose and examine it as often as I can -- remembering that the ways I gather, interpret, and represent data are shaped by my biases and commitments as a critical White settler researcher (Patton, 2002). For instance, in my quest for validity in data collection, I took a reflexive approach to transcripts. The fidelity of transcripts has long been a critical component of data collection for qualitative researchers, though the ability of transcribed talk to convey 'the moment' of interaction is worthy of critique (Poland, 1995). I sought, in this study to balance a commitment to the verbal and non-verbal communication of my participants with an understanding that more is happening

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in a given moment than can be captured by the transcript. I did this by transcribing everything myself, and then reviewing each transcript against the video to check for my mistakes (they were numerous). I also included reflexive notes capturing my reactions to the language in action.

Reactivity, Maxwell's (2013) second problem with validity, refers to the influence I may bring to the participants and their environment just through the fact of my presence and participation. In classroom interactions, I treated my presence as any other participant or environmental stimuli and documented it accordingly in transcripts and memos. In interviews, I addressed the potential for reactivity with more reflexivity. I incorporated considerations of power dynamics and differing knowledges and ways of knowing in crafting my interview questions, conducting the interviews, and analyzing the talk therein. Establishing and maintaining validity is entangled with concerns of reciprocity – a concept that is often addressed in a study's positionality, but which also contributes tremendously to overall trustworthiness of data collection, analysis, and representation (Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001).

Ethics

This research project did not perform any premeditated interventions *per se*, but my active participation as an educator undoubtedly had unintended consequences in the classroom as I inductively learned about behavior expectations and grew acculturated to the existing routines. There were times when I introduced new language into the classroom (e.g., including *bizhiw* in the animal matching game before Jane had a chance

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to teach it) and learners were occasionally reprimanded for messing with the camera or arguing over whose turn it was to sit on my lap during storytime. Nevertheless, I believe this research posed minimal risk for any of the participants. I followed the teachers' aides' leads in how to conduct myself in the space and worked to be as inconspicuous and non-disruptive as possible.

The camera was a steady fixture in the classroom and it regularly inspired spontaneous 'extreme close-ups' from learners when they happened to walk in front of it whereby they would see the camera, walk toward it pulling a silly face until they were practically touching the lens with their faces before pulling back and continuing on their way. On rare occasions, a learner would comment on the camera's presence (e.g., "we're on camera over here") or ask if it was recording. Every time a learner mentioned the camera, whether as a question or comment, I offered to shut it off. Only once did a student answer that he *did*, in fact, want it turned off. In that case, I shut it off immediately and did not turn it back on until that learner had moved on to the next center (off-camera). When learners were reprimanded by teachers for getting too close to the camera or for trying to operate it themselves, I made sure to check in with the reprimanding teacher as well, asking if it was too distracting. Not once did a teacher request that I turn it off.

I have attempted to protect the participants' anonymity as much as possible through pseudonyms, blurring of identifiers in photographic and classwork data sources, and refraining from specifying which band of Anishinaabe my participants are. In addition to identity protection, I strived every day to make myself available to Jane as an

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accomplice in revitalization and to save the best of myself for the kindergarteners -- to show up each day as another adult who cares for them and for their families.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study include the amount of time spent in the classroom, digital devices' shortcomings, and researcher positionality. Because of the very young age of the kindergartener participants, IRB protocols required an extensive review of the study design prior to granting approval. This delay in timing prevented earlier collection of data, so while I was in the classroom for four months, the data that are presented here span the final one and a half months of that time period – a 'compressed time mode' (Brice Heath & Street, 2008). Moreover, my focus was on classroom language, thus I am restricted in terms of how I can theorize learner identity development and longer-term, farther-reaching processes of socialization as I did not gather data in any of the participants' homes. The digital devices that I relied on to record verbal and non-verbal interaction were not always able to capture everything. For instance, occasionally the camera recorded audio only from off-screen 'action' because of its placement relative to the talk. There were also times that I captured onscreen interaction, but couldn't tell who said what due to the sheer number of voices talking at once. These instances are represented in the transcripts as 'off-camera action' and talk is represented through generic 'S1', 'S2', 'S3', etc. speaker-identifiers. Finally, as a non-community member and non-employee of the school, I am an 'outsider' in this research context. This outsider status does not preclude me from conducting research with Jane and her community

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(Rice, 2009), but it is important to note that this position has undoubtedly limited the depth of my experiential thinking around cultural practices within the school and its greater community context

Significance of the Study

This project is timely in its examination of a context (i.e., the kindergarten classroom of an Ojibwe teacher-learner) that continues to draw attention and resources from the community (and beyond) in efforts to reclaim language. The study makes a significant contribution to Indigenous language revitalization research in its characterization of how classroom language at the local level can both question and connect with the broader discourses that circulate outside the classroom. Furthermore, it links post-structuralist aims of resonance and advocacy with a sociocultural attention to language learning - a direct connection to local needs expressed by Ojibwe language teachers and administrators. This study speaks back to universalist conceptualizations of language and learning in fields of applied linguistics and second language acquisition. It documents obstacles and innovations that can arise in a teacher-learner's classroom and it produces findings that can support and guide Ojibwe language educators in similar settings. Moreover, this study represents a critical intersection of theory and practice that is relevant to language research across disciplinary scales and to activists, teachers, and learners involved in Ojibwe language work and in the revitalization movement at large.

Chapter 4

Visible and invisible language in one Ojibwe kindergarten

In this chapter, I present the findings of this participatory classroom linguistic ethnography. I do this in two parts. Part 1 represents an answer to the first (descriptive) research question, tracing language as action throughout the classroom as part of a dynamic, generative, and reactive ‘ecology’. This description employs numbers/counts and stretches of real talk representing a prototypical day to characterize the language practices in the classroom. I focus on Ojibwemowin, but include all languages that circulated in that space in my analysis. The second part of this chapter uses the descriptive section as a springboard into a characterization of the ideologies that shape (and are shaped by) this ecology, as well as some deeper characterizations and critiques of its entanglements. Recall that this study is constrained by the limited existing and available tools for classroom language research, and simultaneously uncluttered by its embrace of all visible and invisible difference. It is also filtered through my White, non-Indigenous language-learner lens. As such, this chapter endeavors to read the invisible in the visible, tempered with reflexivity in analysis and representation, and it aims to generate theory that better represents the work of teacher-learners in school-based language reclamation contexts.

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Part 1: Scaffolding the linguistic ecology

The kindergarteners at Migiziwazisoning began each day the same way: a trip to the cafeteria for breakfast, then a walk to their room where they would be brought together for ‘morning meeting’. The language and action of morning meeting looms large in this characterization of the linguistic ecology of the classroom as it comprises the corpus of Ojibwemowin that the learners were exposed to on a regular basis at school. Though it ran for a mere thirty minutes each day, morning meeting was the source of Ojibwe language for nearly every interaction throughout the day. Thus, I first characterize the language used *during* morning meeting through a description of the routines and an analysis of teacher language. Then I characterize the language used *after* morning meeting by analyzing how Jane and a small group of learners re-negotiate a monolingual pedagogical constraint through multilingual experimentation and a reliance on English framing, a common occurrence in this space.

Morning meeting as language instruction. On the last day of school, Jane gifted each learner a book that contained images and Ojibwe text representing all that they had learned throughout the year. She printed the books and bound them at the school library in addition to her full-time teaching load in the hope that the students would bring the books home and share them with their families: “so they won’t lose their language over break” (Voice record fieldnotes, May 26, 2016). The books include nouns, verbs, a song, and a prayer; and all of the language therein came from the thirty minutes each day that everyone referred to as ‘morning meeting.’ Jane’s version of this routinized

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start to the day resembled the format established by the Center for Responsive Schools (Kriete & Davis, 2014) as a means of intentionally providing students time to “practice the skills of greeting, listening and responding, group problem-solving, and noticing and anticipating” (p. 3). Such skills are intentionally built in to a format of four components (i.e., greeting, sharing, group activity, morning message) that creates opportunities for teachers to model them and for students to practice them with one another in a safe and respectful environment. According to Kriete and Davis (2014), the format of morning meeting and its consistent delivery “gradually weaves a web that binds a class together” (p. 3) and aims to provide the predictability of routine while still allowing for variation. While Kriete and Davis focus on the routine as binding the class, it is the intentional interpersonal sharing aspect of the morning meeting that finds common ground with the Anishinaabe sociocultural practice of visiting. The commitment to interpersonal relationships that is shown through informal talk and the sharing of stories when ‘going visiting’, is a practice that helps people show reciprocal care for one another and develops deeper and longer interpersonal networks. It is important to note that ‘sharing’ is just one aspect of the morning meeting model, part of a sequence intended to set the tone for the *academic* day, while going visiting is a deliberate act in and of itself that shows care and maintains relationships with friends and relatives -- to vastly different objectives.

For Jane and her kindergarteners, morning meeting offered some of the same grounding and orienting properties asserted by its proponents, though it also carried the additional weight of being the only time period of the entire school day devoted to

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Ojibwe language. As such, I use this section to focus on the language of the morning meeting, with and without Jane. Although Jane was with the kindergarteners all day as a push-in ‘language resource’, morning meeting was the only time she was deferred to as the classroom teacher by the other adults throughout the day. In practice, her post-morning meeting activities looked very different depending upon the time of day and the current class activity (determined by the classroom teacher). For instance, one day, Jane spent the second half of the morning running a ‘literacy center’ designed (in English) by the classroom teacher, through which the learners cycled in groups of five every twenty minutes. Yet the next day, she was asked to spend most of the morning cutting out laminated silhouettes of the kindergarteners in preparation for an art installation in the cafeteria. The contrast between these two tasks illustrates the lack of predictability in Jane’s day-to-day post-morning meeting teaching practice, as well as the sheer lack of opportunity for her to *use* Ojibwe in interaction with the learners. Thus, as an under-utilized language resource for the kindergarten classroom, Jane focused on the morning meeting as a means of establishing Ojibwemowin’s presence in the classroom. These thirty minutes each day were Jane’s sole opportunity for direct Ojibwe language instruction and she took it seriously.

At Migiziwazisoning, morning meeting was a loosely organized series of activities that asked learners to produce Ojibwe language in response to verbal and nonverbal prompts. Some of the activities were tightly scripted recitations (e.g., morning prayer) though others were less scripted invitations to discuss experiences with the natural world (e.g., *aaniin ezhiwebak agwajiing*). Table 3 outlines the activities that

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comprised the morning meetings and it includes a brief description of the activity and an approximation of the degree to which the activity was scripted. The order of the activities was not fixed, though *boozhoos* and the morning prayer were almost always first, and the *manidoonsag* and song were usually last.

Table 3: Kindergarten morning meeting routines and ‘scripted-ness’

	Description	Degree of scripted-ness⁶
Attendance	Classroom teacher calls out each student’s name, student replies <i>indayaa-omaa</i> to indicate they are present.	Very scripted. Learners only say <i>indayaa-omaa</i> when their name is called, though they often call <i>*gaawiin omaasiin</i> when someone is absent.
Boozhoos	Jane visits with each child one-on-one. She shakes their hands and asks them to tell her their name, how they’re doing, and their age.	Somewhat scripted. Sometimes Jane mixes up the question order, sometimes learners play around with timing and answers.
Morning prayer	Jane counts to <i>niswi</i> and students recite their prayer (all Ojibwemowin, no English).	Very scripted. Learners recite the words, little attention to meaning. Experimentation is discouraged.
<i>Aaniin ezhiwebak agwajiing?</i>	Jane facilitates a discussion of the day’s weather by asking <i>ina?</i> questions in Ojibwemowin and use of a visual aid.	Not very scripted. Jane relies on Y/N questions to jumpstart discussion, but encourages multilingual disagreement and discussion.
Today’s date	Jane uses the day’s date as a jumping off point for counting the days in the month and to recite the days of the week.	Very scripted. Learners count in unified voice in Ojibwemowin. Memorized language only.
Colors	Jane points at colored monkeys on the wall to prompt learners’ review of colors in Ojibwemowin.	Very scripted. Learners give one-word answers as responses to the non-verbal prompts (e.g., <i>miskwaa</i>).

⁶ Scale: *Unscripted*: teacher prompts and responses are unpredictable; no required vocabulary or interactive frames for learners, free peer-to-peer talk. *Not very scripted*: teacher prompts are predictable, no required vocabulary or interactive frames for learners in response, free peer-to-peer talk. *Somewhat scripted*: teacher prompts are predictable; learners produce language within specific interactive frames (e.g., call-response) with room for play, commentary, questioning. *Very scripted*: teacher prompts follow a script; learner responses follow a script; mass-recitation of language.

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Boards	Jane opens up two boards covered in color-printed photos to represent animals, and actions. As she points to a picture, learners say the names of the animals and the actions depicted in each image.	Somewhat scripted. Learners produce animal names/verbs. Jane regularly introduces new frames of use (e.g., <i>Ingii-waabamaa</i> (animal).) to encourage learners to express actual life experiences in Ojibwemowin.
<i>Manidoonsag</i>	Jane shows learners (color-printed) photos of insects and spiders of the upper Midwest, prompting learners to name what they see on each paper.	Somewhat scripted. Learners produce names of <i>manidoonsag</i> . This activity is an extension of ‘boards’, thus learners often experiment with new frames (from ‘boards’) here as well.
Body-stretching song	Jane and kids sing a song about stretching, moving their bodies in the directions they sing as they sing them.	Very scripted. Learners know the song lyrics and move their bodies accordingly.

These routines were (as intended) a reliable, routinized fixture in the kindergarteners’ school day. Similarly, the other adults in the room (i.e., classroom teacher (Miss Stacy), student-teacher (Miss Tanya), teacher’s aides (Sarah and Jenny), and researcher (Mel)) knew the routine, sometimes participating in it if invited. The routine was predictable to the extent that if learners got the sense that Jane was wrapping up without doing one of the usual activities, they would remind her and she would carry out the activity before moving on. Two features of the morning meeting are especially salient here. First, there are twice as many ‘components’ in Jane’s morning meeting (nine), compared with the four that Kriete and Davis (2014) advocate for. At first glance, this appears to be a lot for a class to accomplish in a 30-minute span of time that is also supposed to foster trust and a sense of security. Yet, the components of the morning meeting that Jane developed correspond with three of the four components in the prototypical morning meeting model (i.e., greeting, sharing, group activity). The only prototypical component missing from Jane’s version of morning meeting is the ‘morning

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message', a written daily note from the teacher that is intended to provide students with a chance to practice academic skills at the start of the day (Kriete & Davis, 2014).

The second salient feature of Jane's morning meeting is the level of scripted-ness overall and in each component (described in detail in Table 3). These routines are intended to elicit and reinforce Ojibwe language through verbal and non-verbal prompts that mimic call and response participant structures, interpersonal turn-taking, and large group discussion. In early stages of descriptive coding, I noticed that each day yielded very similar counts of codes that tracked the language and functions of Jane's utterances as well as the learners' utterances. My first thought was to presume that the scripted-ness was a byproduct of Jane's proficiency limitations as a teacher-learner. As Hinton (2003) writes: "It is very easy for a non-fluent speaker (or often, even a fluent one) to fall back on a form of language-teaching that involves word-lists taught through the written word" (p. 79). Anxiety related to content mastery and formal knowledge of effective pedagogy could certainly drive development of a script and adherence to it.

To explore the relationship of the semi-scripted morning routine and the role of the teacher-learner, I looked more closely at the code counts that initially caught my attention. I also returned to the transcripts, carefully coding the morning meeting that was led by Miss Tanya (the full-time student teacher) on a day when Jane was not at school, as well as the two morning meetings that I led when Jane was out again several weeks later. Each of the three morning meeting facilitators represented differing knowledges, expertise, and relationships to the learners and the language.

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- **Miss Tanya** was a White woman with several years' formal training and experience in early childhood and elementary education. Her first exposure to Ojibwemowin coincided with her arrival at Migiziwazisoning in January, and she had begun to pick up some of the language through the same routines that she was asked to replicate in Jane's absence.
- **Mel (the researcher/author)** is a White woman with little formal training or experience in elementary education. At the time of the study I held a Masters degree in applied linguistics, had completed all the necessary coursework requirements for a PhD in second language education, and had years of experience in classroom-based language teaching and learning. I had also been studying Ojibwemowin formally for two years.
- **Jane** is an Ojibwe woman with little formal training in teaching or Ojibwe language, but she had been using the language her whole life and has been involved in Ojibwe language education for decades. She was/is a community member, she had been with the kindergarteners since their first day of school, she knew their families, and was a grandmother to two of the kids in the class.

My intention with this descriptive re-coding of language during the morning meeting was to explore the relationship between the teacher and the semi-scripted routine in terms of language production. Due to the lack of reliable assessments available in Ojibwemowin, we had no baseline on which to establish basic teacher proficiencies, relying instead on self-assessments. However, based upon the seemingly high level of scripting in the

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kindergarten morning meeting, it was not entirely clear that proficiency mattered to a great degree.

Relying on my simultaneous coding scheme, I looked closely at the way scripting interaction worked for the teacher-learner as either a scaffold or a crutch. I was especially curious about how ‘expertise’ might be observed in the use of routinized language; so I focused on the utterance, a unit of speech bounded by silence or another speaker’s turn at talk, as a unit of analysis, adapting my understanding of an utterance from SIL International’s (2004) definition of the term. I then aggregated all of the descriptive code counts of utterances across categories of language type. Specifically, I tracked utterances that were Ojibwe-only, English-only, Ojibwe framed in English, non-verbal communication in morning meetings conducted each by Miss Tanya, myself, and Jane to produce the numbers you see in Table 4 under the heading ‘teacher language’. I did the same for learner utterances except I swapped out the category of ‘non-verbal communication’ for ‘attempted Ojibwe-only utterances’ to represent the numerous responses that were grammatically incorrect, but were nevertheless English-free attempts at Ojibwemowin.

Table 4: Utterance counts for morning meeting teachers

	Tanya (May 5)	Mel (May 10)	Jane (May 24)
Teacher language			
(1) Ojibwe-only utterances	17 (13%)	212 (67%)	217 (64%)
(2) English-only utterances	45 (35%)	16 (5%)	29 (9%)
(3) Ojibwe utterances framed in English	6 (5%)	18 (6%)	37 (10%)
(4) Non-verbal communication	62 (47%)	72 (22%)	57 (17%)

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	Learner language					
(5) Ojibwe-only utterances	75	(66%)	201	(83%)	161	(71%)
(6) English-only utterances	24	(21%)	21	(9%)	47	(21%)
(7) Ojibwe utterances framed in English	1	(1%)	6	(2%)	5	(2%)
(8) Attempted Ojibwe-only utterances	14	(12%)	13	(6%)	14	(6%)

This table illustrates how a teacher with almost no language (i.e., Miss Tanya) was able to elicit Ojibwemowin from learners within the semi-scripted routines established in Jane’s morning meeting. Though Tanya was clearly reluctant to use Ojibwemowin (only 17 utterances), there were enough visual aids available within the confines of the routine that she could rely on non-verbal cues (62 times) and English (45 times) to prompt Ojibwe-only responses. On the day the Miss Tanya led morning meeting, despite her own low incidence of Ojibwe language use, the kindergarteners offered three times as much Ojibwe language (75 utterances) as they did English (24 utterances). These numbers make a case for the semi-scripted morning meeting as a crutch for teacher-learners with truly fledgling proficiencies; yet a comparison of Tanya’s code counts alongside those from a prototypical morning meeting led by Jane shows how much more is possible with a different teacher-learner; specifically, a teacher-learner like Jane who has a longstanding relationship with the learners and with the language.

In Jane’s morning meeting (one of many), she relied on English less than Tanya did (29 English-only utterances to Tanya’s 45 English-only utterances), and she also exclusively used Ojibwemowin in 217 utterances, compared with Tanya’s mere 17

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Ojibwe-only utterances. It is important to note that this numerical description only provides counts of utterances (defined above), as opposed to measures of statistical significance. Circumstantial limitations resulted in imperfect sampling and my intention with this table is only to illustrate how, even with a semi-scripted morning routine, the teacher and her expertise matter. During Jane's version of morning meeting, with the same learners, same activities, and same visual aids, she elicits more than twice as many Ojibwe-only utterances (161 utterances) from the learners as Tanya does (75 utterances). Code counts for me (Mel) as morning meeting leader were much closer to Jane's than Tanya's, and though my language knowledge is likely different from Jane's (learned at the university vs. learned through relationships with community and kin), the similar numbers indicate that our shared baseline proficiencies cannot be replicated in a script.

The teacher and her language proficiency are important to the linguistic ecology of the classroom, even with a semi-scripted mode of instruction. For Jane, the scripting of morning meeting was a scaffold, not a crutch. Its structure regimented the components of the morning routine, priming participants as they finished one activity to look ahead with some expectations for what would come next. This freed Jane to focus her efforts on using Ojibwemowin to do more than single-word prompting (283 verbal utterances vs. Tanya's 68 utterances, overall). She used language to ask questions of learners, scaffold their responses, and to provide feedback in a consistent manner, all of which are captured under the aggregate categories in Table 4. She used Ojibwemowin to call for quiet and calm when the noise level grew too loud, to ask students to sit or stand, depending on the next activity, and to inquire after their physical and emotional well-being. Given enough

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time and resources, Jane could certainly develop her language skills for more spontaneous transitions and comprehensible instructions to new activities. However, Jane only has thirty minutes to teach Ojibwemowin to nineteen kindergarteners. She has little prep time and almost no Ojibwe-language professional development opportunities. Thus, rather than over-tax her linguistic and pedagogical resources in anticipation of the unpredictability that accompanies the piloting of new daily material, she uses the morning meeting's routinized sequences to foster stability and comfort alongside the development of language for that which is most familiar to the learners -- themselves and their environment.

Experimentation and assertion of expertise in the matrix-language frame.

Semi-scripted routines are a scaffold for a teacher-learner such as Jane who must do a lot of language in a short amount of time. Table 4 also hints at the other primary strategy and scaffold that Jane employs: the use of the dominant/matrix-language as a frame for Ojibwemowin. My use of the term 'matrix language frame' comes from Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (1998). In cases of codeswitching, the matrix language is the dominant language and it tends to supply the grammatical structure onto which the 'embedded language' or non-dominant language maps content words. According to the code counts, Jane did this only 21 times over the course of a single morning meeting. This means that for every nine Ojibwe-only utterances, she produced just one mixed utterance of Ojibwemowin framed in English. Yet, when I examined interactive data from beyond the morning meeting, I found that such utterances were

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quite commonplace while Ojibwe-only utterances were rare. This is entirely expected, and the code counts and transcripts tracking my own language in this project closely resembled Jane's speech patterns. Jane and I had more language skill than Miss Tanya, but we were not fluent speakers. The more we tried to increase the quantity and variety of Ojibwe language that we used, the more likely we were to attempt to do things with language beyond our proficiencies. For instance, when I tell a learner **gigii-ozhibii-ige gaazhagens!* in Excerpt 1 below, I use the intransitive verb *ozhibii'ige* (s/he writes (things)) with an object *gaazhagens* (cat). English is my dominant language and it serves as the grammatical frame for my use of Ojibwe words as I maintain English word order (SVO) and treat the Ojibwe verb I associate with writing as having the same flexible properties of transitivity that English's 'write' has. A more fluent Ojibwe language speaker might have used *ozhibii'an*, (write it down), that expresses transitivity, and would not have adhered to the strict English SVO word order, allowing the object (*gaazhagens*) to appear in sentence-initial position. Because of the demands inherent in real-time oral communication, we regularly relied on English to fill in the gaps, framing the Ojibwemowin at the heart of each mixed utterance. This is an issue that is not unfamiliar to educators and researchers in Indigenous language reclamation contexts.

Meek and Messing (2007) assert that this reliance on the matrix-language frame (MLF) is common practice in numerous school settings where an Indigenous language is taught as a secondary subject. This framing can occur in writing or in speech; and by subordinating the Indigenous language to the dominant language it tends to shut down Indigenous language use (Myers-Scotton, 1998). Yet, based on the descriptive data

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Jane's increased use of the MLF in the morning meeting does not appear to suppress the learners' Ojibwe language (she elicits more than twice as much Ojibwe as Tanya does), and when she moves beyond the scripted confines of the morning meeting and into the predominantly English space of post-morning meeting kindergarten at Migiziwazisoning, the MLF seems to function as another scaffold for the teacher-learner. In numerous instances here, English framing works as foothold that inevitably allows Jane and the learners to reclaim interactive/conversational spaces for Ojibwe language carried over from morning meeting, and for new cultural and linguistic content to shine through. The flexibility that Jane draws on throughout her day as a 'push-in' language resource results in learners choosing to use Ojibwemowin when English would otherwise be the default and it allows Jane to work around pedagogical constraints.

Recall that when the morning meeting concludes for the day, so does direct Ojibwe language instruction. At this point, the English-dominant kindergarten classroom teacher typically takes over. She divides the students into predetermined groups and sends them to different tables set up as 'centers' throughout the room. The small groups work with a teacher at each center to complete a task or activity, rotating to the next center every twenty minutes. Jane is often stationed at one of the centers and tasked with facilitating whatever activity the classroom teacher has placed there. She is not asked for any input and is not given advance notice of the activity so she has no time to prepare language and grammar patterns in advance. This is just as well for the classroom teacher, as the activities are often focused on English phonics and emerging literacy skills, and while Miss Stacy always welcomes Ojibwe language into the space when Jane makes it

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available, she rarely thinks to include it as a companion or support structure for other academic skills. Thus, Jane must find ways to be flexible within not only linguistic constraints, but also pedagogical constraints.

For the purpose of this analysis, I define pedagogical constraint as a material, social, or ideological object, instance, or phenomenon that detracts from or interferes with a teacher's instructional ability. For instance, the classroom teacher's reluctance to consult and co-teach with Jane on even an infrequent basis is a pedagogical constraint for Jane as it denies her the opportunity to prepare language for the day's lessons in advance. An example of a material pedagogical constraint is shown in Figure 9. This worksheet was used at a post-morning meeting center on May 5. It depicts a child dressed in presumably traditional Mexican dress and has the words *CINCO DE MAYO* written vertically, in capital letters, down the left-hand side of the page with horizontal lines following each letter as an acrostic. In the rest of this section, I examine language that is produced around and in response to this specific pedagogical constraint. The following analysis demonstrates the linguistic and pedagogical flexibility that use of the MLF affords Jane in bringing Ojibwemowin into the classroom in unscripted interactions.



Figure 9: Cinco de Mayo pedagogical constraint

Prior to the start of the school day, Miss Stacy and Miss Tanya printed the worksheet shown in Figure 9 along with a few other *Cinco de Mayo*-themed worksheets to celebrate this Mexican holiday that has been gaining visibility (albeit an essentialized visibility (Alamillo, 2003)) in the United States in recent years. Though they had researched the origins of the holiday online prior to the start of class, they did not contextualize the meaning of the *Cinco de Mayo*-related activities beyond translating it to ‘May fifth’ and relating it to the day’s date. Jane was not present for this discussion as she arrived mid-way through the morning that day. The students at this center were told to complete the worksheet by writing a word on each line that began with the same letter to the left of that line. Tanya copied the acrostic and some word suggestions onto a portable whiteboard that sat next to the table, turning the activity into little more than a copying task. I do not offer a critical analysis here of the instructional practices of the English-dominant classroom teachers. Such a discussion is outside the scope of this study as it is outside the realm of Jane’s control. For the purpose of this analysis, this un-

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contextualized activity is an example of a pedagogical constraint for learning Ojibwemowin.

Recall that on this particular day, Jane did not arrive until the students' participation in the centers had already begun. Thus, I was alone in leading the first group of learners at the center (Marco, Hailey, Robert, and Billy). I was hyper-aware of the power dynamics involved in being a White researcher from the university acting as a participant observer in or 'studying' a Native teacher's kindergarten class, particularly outside of Jane's morning meeting, so I always strived to follow cues from Miss Stacy in leading centers. I made every effort to help the students complete all the worksheets that were assigned, avoiding any improvisations on my part that might be construed as critique, including attempting to conduct English-medium activities in Ojibwemowin (that is, if I even had the language to do so).

Outside the routine of the morning meeting, the default language for nearly everyone was English, yet, this linguistic boundary was rather permeable. In Excerpt 1, this permeability is evident through a learner's assertion of Ojibwemowin as an academically legitimate code in an English-dominant activity. As the excerpt begins I am helping Hailey determine which word she wants to write for the 'N' space on her *Cinco de Mayo* acrostic, when Marco interrupts.

Excerpt 1: *Gaazhagens* is spelled C-A-T (“you wrote *gaazhagens*”)

1 Mel: you wanna write ‘not’,
2 or ‘net’?
3 ((Hailey nods head))
4 N- so write your N first,
5 ((looks at Hailey's paper)) that's a good one.

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6 E,=
7 Marco: =gaazhagens!
 cat
8 Mel: gaazhagens? ((looks at Marco's paper))
 cat
9 yes!
10 you wrote gaazhagens!
 cat
11 *gigii-ozhibii-ige gaazha- gaazhagens!
 *you wrote ca- *cat*
12 geget.
 good

What Marco wrote on his paper was the English word 'cat', but read it as *gaazhagens*, indicating a certain expectation of bilingual legitimacy in this space. In the positive feedback from Mel that follows, the word 'cat' is not uttered once though *gaazhagens* is repeated three times: once on its own as a clarification question in line 8, once in an English frame in line 10, and once in a grammatically incorrect Ojibwe frame in line 11. If Marco's act is an experimentation with the permissibility of Ojibwemowin in this activity, my response authorizes it. It is important to note, however, that my positive response not only legitimates the use of Ojibwemowin in the activity, but also the understanding of *gaazhagens* as an acceptable substitution for the word 'cat.' This translation orientation conceives of code as separable from culture and life experience *in* or *through* language, and it closely resembles practices described years ago in Hermes's (2005) work with language and culture teachers at Ojibwe schools who saw students understanding only fragments of Ojibwe language through English. The separation of language from its cultural context can "constrain the way students see themselves as Ojibwe people, how they relate to others, and how they participate in co-constructing

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Ojibwe culture” (Hermes, 2005, p. 51). At Migiziwazisoning, this separation of language from culture is school policy. Ojibwe culture is taught as a separate class from Ojibwe language, a recent policy change that Jane disagrees with and resists when she can. Furthermore, while Jane aims for as much English-free Ojibwe language as she can, the culture-based curriculum taught through the Ojibwe language that Hermes advocates for is highly constrained by school policies, the conditions of the classroom, and Jane’s doubts about her own proficiency. While the English framing of Ojibwemowin here limits the relational meaning that the utterance can convey, it also holds open some space during ‘English time’ for more Ojibwemowin, and its markedness in the MLF confers upon it opportunities for legitimation as an academic language.

The meta-linguistic move that Marco made in the first excerpt by writing an English word and ‘reading’ it as an Ojibwe one signals that language and literacy for the bilingual Anishinaabe learners in this classroom are seemingly quite fluid concepts. Since Jane was the focus of the study, I do not have comparative data on learner language use with the English-dominant teachers. Yet, it is evident even from the talk at this center after her arrival that her presence is a contributor to the quality and quantity of Ojibwemowin that is produced outside of morning meeting. For instance, Excerpt 2 took place approximately 20 minutes after Excerpt 1. In that that time, the center I was running got new students (Alice, Ares, and Gemma) as the groups rotated and Jane arrived to the classroom. As she took over leading our center and orienting herself to the activity, she used English almost exclusively.

Excerpt 2: Bilingual experimentation with phonics

13 Jane: ooh. (2.2)
14 ok. let's go on to our I-word here.
→ 15 Ares: I-dee-oh- I dee-yos! ((sounds like /aydiyos/))
→ 16 I dee-[yos!
17 Jane: [(laughing)] that starts with a A.
18 ok.
19 we have a few words here ((looks over to whiteboard))
20 'indigo,'
21 that's a blue color.
22 'iguana',
23 ((Alice gets out of her chair to hug Jane))
24 who knows what 'iguana' is.
→ 25 Gem: i:::gwanakwad?
26 Jane: hh. [hahah!
27 Mel: [oo:h! ((nods at Jane))
28 we can do that for N.
29 that's a good one=
30 Jane: =yeah.
31 do you wanna do an Ojibwe word or an English word,
32 Ares: English word.
33 Jane: ok, let's think about something that starts [with I.
→ 34 Gem: [ichi-manidoo!
35 ((Mel and Jane look at each other, Gemma turns toward calendar))
36 Jane: ichi-mani[doo.
37 Mel: [did she say 'ichi-manidoo? ((smiles))
38 Jane: ((smiling, chuckling to self)) um ok,
39 how about something that starts with I.

The flexibility with which the learners approach multilingualism in a context that is saturated with English is significant. Note that at the start of the excerpt in lines 76 and 77, Ares attempts to produce the Spanish word *adios* perhaps in keeping with the perceived theme of the activity. Jane (Ares's grandmother) catches on to his meaning right away, correcting his spelling, but then suggests some English-language I-words. The flexible and fluid orientations to language and literacy that the learners demonstrate

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do not appear to be as accessible to the adults at the center as Jane's response to Ares is to return to the English-language suggestions on the whiteboard next to the table.

Nevertheless, Gemma experiments with attempts at Ojibwe words in line 25 (*ningwaanakwad* means 'it is cloudy') and line 34 (*gichi-manidoo* means 'great spirit' or 'god'), dropping the first consonants to highlight the high front lax vowel at the start of each of those words. This vocabulary comes from the morning meeting, specifically the discussions about the weather and the prayer that begins *Gichi-manidoo, miigwech...* In this excerpt, Gemma is bringing shared linguistic knowledge into the activity in an experimentation that tests her phonetic understanding of her emerging language skills as a bilingual speaker and an emerging reader.

Although Gemma appears to have interpreted the question in line 24 'who knows what iguana is' as an English-framed question about an Ojibwe word, Jane does not push the learners to use Ojibwemowin here. Throughout the interaction Jane expresses openness to all linguistic attempts, be they Spanish, Ojibwe, or English. She not only allows the learners to explore what they think they know within their developing worlds as bilingual Anishinaabe kids and emergent readers, but she gives them the space to show her how they're understanding the language that is seemingly only reserved for a specific time (morning meeting) and place (the carpet) in new contexts (at a worksheet center during English time). Note how Jane offers to help the learners come up with I-words in line 92, presenting English and Ojibwe as equally valued in this task. Low-stakes reliance on English framing appears to encourage experimentation across literacies and

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modalities as learners test their emerging phonological understandings of all their languages in a single (supposedly) English monolingual activity.

Though Jane has welcomed multilingual brainstorming and experimentation into the task, she is still the primary interlocutor for the students at the center, mimicking an extended, albeit playful, teacher-centered IRE sequence. Part of this is due to the nature of the task as an individual writing/copying activity; though it is also a familiar participant structure for all those involved. It resembles numerous components of the morning meeting as well as instructional practices that the English language teachers rely on. Yet, the interaction is also relatively loose. Learners move fluidly between talk with one another and with the teacher as they write. Some of the teacher utterances providing suggestions and commentary seem to be taken up by the learners and some are left alone. Jane's comfort with the activity despite its lack of formality contributes to an overall relaxed atmosphere at the table. In Excerpt 3, it becomes clear the informal approach to the activity at Jane's center opens up interactional space for peer-to-peer communication, and of course, there is space for Ojibwe language too.

Excerpt 3: Performing bilingualism for affinity (“I love dekaag”)

40 Jane: ice cream. in Ojibwe,
41 you wanna know the word for ice cream,
42 it's dekaag.
ice cream
→ 43 Ares: I love dekaag.
ice cream
44 Mel: me too.
45 ((Kevin moves through the space to pick up an eraser))
46 Ares: hey Kevin,
→ 47 I like dekaag.
ice cream

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48 ((Jane chuckles))
49 Gem: I like ice cream.
50 Mel: raise your hand if you like dekaag.
ice cream
51 ((all hands go up))
52 Kev: ((off-camera)) me! I eat it!
53 Jane: ok write ice cream on your line, Ares.
54 Ares.
55 write that word.
56 ice cream.
57 Alice: dekaag.
ice cream.

In line 40, Jane provides commentary with some meta-linguistic translation. She does not demand a response or any sort of indication that her message has been received and/or understood. Nevertheless, Ares picks up on it and immediately provides his own commentary in line 43, responding to Jane's talk as if in conversation, visiting with her rather than engaged in an IRE-based display of linguistic knowledge. I chime in with my agreement in line 44 just as Kevin, Ares's cousin and Jane's other grandson moves through the space to borrow an eraser. Ares sees him and essentially invites him into the conversation in lines 46 and 47. Ares calls him by name and opens with "I like *dekaag*." Moreover, *dekaag* is not a word from morning meeting, but based upon Ares's willingness to use it in an English language frame after hearing it just once, it is possible that he has heard and used that word before; perhaps even with Jane, Kevin, or other family members.

While the dominance of the matrix language is evident in the syntactic structure onto which Ares maps the word *dekaag* in lines 43 and 47, the fact that he does it at all, to converse with a classmate and cousin shows that there is potential here for practices

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and performances of relational and communicative Ojibwe language even within these pedagogical and linguistic constraints. For a few brief lines of talk, this group of learners sounded more like friends and family visiting, relating to one another over shared interests, rather than students engaged in a phonics-based copying task. The turn away from informal visiting and toward the more formal, institutionalized practices of schooling is initiated in line 50 when I ask everyone to “raise your hands if you like *dekaag*” followed by Jane redirecting Ares to write on his paper in English line 53. Ares’s conversational use of *dekaag* in the MLF was marked in this interaction, but that markedness may very well have been an intentional part of this performance of alternate, Anishinaabe voice in an English-language space.

As this activity progressed, it became clear that the learners were interested in incorporating more Ojibwe language into this activity, and Jane was more than happy to oblige. For instance, although Miss Stacy had already written *nacho* and *niño* on the nearby whiteboard as suggestions for N words, Jane, Ares, Gemma, and Alice preferred to brainstorm words that were familiar to them -- words from the morning meeting such as *naanan* (five), *naazh* (go get him/her), *noodin* (it is windy), and *namadabin* (sit down). At this point, there was a shift in how Jane ran the activity. In response to the enthusiasm she was getting from the learners, she turned the copying activity into an exploration of the students’ lexical repertoires by asking specifically for Ojibwe words and then writing them on the whiteboard (in some cases erasing English words to make room for student contributions).

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Excerpt 4 shows how this shift began to take shape, and it highlights some of the tensions that arise when the teacher embraces flexibility and informality.

Excerpt 4: Social relations vs. formative assessment (“I like Owen”)

58 Jane: any Ojibwe words that start with [O?
59 Ares: [ozaa-
60 Mel: any- d- what?
61 Gem: oc[ean.
62 Ares: [ozaawaa!
it is yellow/brown
63 Jane: ozaa::waa:. good job.
64 Ares: wait. let's do Owen!
65 Owen.
66 Mel: do you know somebody named Owen?
67 Ares: yeah.
68 Mel: I like ozaawaa:..
it is yellow/brown
69 Jane: ozaawaa.
it is yellow/brown
70 I love [it.
71 Ares: [I like Owen.
72 Owen.

Jane's embrace of Ojibwemowin in this task is clear in line 58 where she asks specifically for “Ojibwe words that start with O.” Gemma provides the English word ‘ocean’ in line 61 but is interrupted by Ares's suggestion of the Ojibwe word *ozaawaa* that means ‘it is yellow or brown.’ Jane repeats this word and offers positive feedback of ‘good job’ in line 63. She is animated and appears to be enjoying the interaction at this center, writing Ojibwe words on the freestanding whiteboard. The learners are connecting sounds with their corresponding letters, and demonstrating a positive orientation to the language. With Ares's suggestion of Owen in line 64, however, it appears that while he demonstrates a familiar and playful orientation to his Anishinaabe

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language, it is his orientation to people and relationships that are most salient. He is not just bringing alternative voice into the activity, he is bringing social relationships and social histories. We (the teachers) hear this, but we do not take it up. I tell him ‘I like ozaawaa’ in line 68, Jane tells him she ‘loves’ ozaawaa in line 70, but Ares is resolute. He replies in line 71 that he likes Owen, and that is what he writes.

This excerpt also highlights some of the tension that Jane experiences trying to elicit language in such a constrained context. In her explicit attempts to elicit Ojibwemowin (with an English frame), Jane has seemingly turned this copying activity into a formative assessment, helping her to gauge the scope of her learners’ lexicons alongside their understandings of Ojibwe pronunciation and orthography. By writing the Ojibwe suggestions on the whiteboard Jane is also able to provide feedback to the learners who are participating in this formative assessment, and she elevates Ojibwemowin to a status that is closer to English’s. Yet, this is not *her* activity (i.e., she did not have a say in its design or selection prior to its implementation). She has been successful in fostering learner enthusiasm for the use of informal participant structures and Ojibwemowin within its confines, this flexibility and informality appears to push back in this instance. Despite Jane’s call for ‘Ojibwe words’, Gemma provides a perfectly acceptable word (i.e., it begins with O) in English in line 61, which is completely ignored. This lack of attention to ‘ocean’ on the part of the teachers signals that the purpose of this activity has shifted and despite earlier signs of flexibility (e.g., Jane asking learners if they want to write an English word or an Ojibwe word), English suggestions are now dispreferred responses here.

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Responses from Gemma and Ares represent two different forces of tension that arise in the activity: a pull toward displays of English literacy and familiar thematic content vs. a pull toward Ojibwe experimentation and non-school-related content. Though this tension arises here in the talk of learners, it is also visible in Jane's initial adherence to the original English phonics-based intent of the activity. Gemma typically displays preferred academic behavior in this class and is regularly streamed with two other girls who perform above grade level on standardized tests and classroom tasks, and who exhibit model classroom behavior (e.g., they sit quietly during someone else's turn, they raise their hands before speaking, they stay on task during individual work time). Her answer in line 61 is indeed an O-word, it does not interrupt another speaker, and it is in English, typically the preferred code of all work following morning meeting. Jane's introduction of *Ojibwe language* target responses disrupts Gemma's expectations of preferred academic behaviors here. In this way, the flexibility that Jane brings to the task resists normative classroom practices. Ares, on the other hand, though he rarely struggles with classroom content and performs well on assessments, is less likely to sit quietly and wait his turn. He tends to share his ideas without raising his hand and is regularly reprimanded for talking with classmates out of turn. In this activity, Ares appears to embrace the flexibility of brainstorming, though his ideas go beyond what Jane was trying to elicit as his advocacy for the legitimacy of 'Owen' supersedes his initial idea, taken from the language of morning meeting.

Jane's strategy of modifying this English-monolingual copying activity into an interactive formative assessment of learner language shows how informality and

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flexibility are resources for a teacher-learner, along with scaffolds and tools such as routines and use of the MLF. Yet informality in a classroom setting also has the ability to bind the teacher-learner in a position of impotence whereby she is neither aligned with the preferred, more ‘legitimate’ practices of school, nor fully committed to the relational orientations that “support processes and relationships rather than products” (Hermes, 2005, p. 53). This bind has the potential to reject learner engagement that comes through academically preferred channels as well as learner engagement that seeks personal connections and attempts to bring what is outside the classroom in. When preferred school behaviors are so singularly rigid compared with all other ways of being, how can the teacher validate marginally or non-academic behaviors that inquire, test, and create while simultaneously remaining consistent in affirming the more predictable and rigid classroom behaviors? Jane experiences this bind on a relatively regular basis as the person who is expected to grow proficient Ojibwe language speakers by serving as a ‘push-in’ language resource in a colonial, English-dominant setting.

Fortunately for the kindergarteners, Jane focuses on more than linguistic code-as-content in her teaching practice. She also attends to the ideological. This final excerpt (Excerpt 5) shows another way that Jane’s expertise mediates the binds and tensions of her profession.

Excerpt 5: Legitimizing expertise (“another A-word in Ojibwe”)

73 Gem: animosh!
dog
74 Jane: animosh! a good one.
dog
75 ((Mel and Gemma high five each other))

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- 76 Mel: animosh is one of my favorite awesiinyag,
dog *animals*
- 77 'cause it's so cute.
- 78 Jane: ahaw.
good.
- 79 ok, we have animosh
dog
- 80 Ares: how do you say 'apple' in Ojibwe.
- 81 Mel: mishiimin? ((looks at Jane))
apple
- 82 Ares: Ares! Ares! Ares!
- 83 Jane: oh yea:h!
- 84 Ares::s.
- 85 Mel: that's a great A word.
- 86 Jane: alright, I'm gonna write it up h↑ere.
- 87 Mel: that's an Ojibwe A-word.
- 88 Jane: animosh, ((writing on the board))
dog
- 89 Ares,
- 90 Mel: what else. ((looking at Gemma and Alice))
- 91 Jane: another A word in Ojibwe.
- 92 Alice: Alice!
- 93 Jane: Alice! good job.

As the learners brainstorm words that start with A, Ares asks about 'apple' in line 80. I interpret this question as more testing of meta-linguistic understanding. Ares has no trouble understanding how one thing (e.g., an apple) can be called different ways in different languages, but he is still testing what overlaps and what does not. For instance, do certain phonological or orthographic elements of the signifier remain constant (along with the signified) while the code of the signifier changes? Yet, it is not clear that there was uptake of my response to his query because Ares thinks of a better suggestion for an Ojibwe A-word in line 82: *Ares*. Jane not only validates the phonology/orthography of Ares being an A-word, she also legitimizes the 'Ojibwe-ness' of the suggestion by writing it on the board that the center has reclaimed as a space for Ojibwe words,

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alongside *animosh*. This recording of Ares's name is a move that extends beyond code. It is an existential act. Historically, Ares is the name of a Greek god of war. More recently, Ares is the name given to this six-year-old participant by his Ojibwe mother. This naming does not make Ares more Greek by any stretch of the imagination; rather, the name's current association with Ares now inscribes Ojibwe-ness into this name, for this person, in this place. Jane writes Ares on the board, not because it is a word from the morning meeting or because it follows rules of Ojibwe phonology and orthography, but because Ares's existence *makes it* an Ojibwe word.

Although Jane expressed anxiety about her language proficiency, this sequence of interactions that she facilitated while negotiating a pedagogical constraint show that Jane's expertise is of crucial importance. Though the morning meeting was far more scripted than the informal brainstorming that Jane facilitated around the *Cinco de Mayo* worksheet, she drew on recognizable participant structures (e.g., IRE sequences, visiting/sharing, collaborative discussion) and all of the languages in her repertoire to bring learners and Ojibwemowin together in this highly constraining activity. Rather than eliciting scripted talk, her strategic use of familiar frames and language yielded linguistic flexibility, experimentation, and play. Her instruction was consistently spontaneous and informal, which resonates with Paradise and Rogoff's (2009) assertion that informal learning actually involves "tremendous vitality, flexibility, and effectiveness" (p. 103). When Jane was 'on-script' her instruction was organized, formal, and able to cover numerous linguistic targets in a short amount of time. When Jane was 'off-script' her use of English afforded her a flexibility that gave the learners chances to explore what they

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know, and then relate it to other things they were learning (e.g., phonics), and relate it to other things they care about (e.g., ice cream, Owen.) Informality here, rather than a deficit, served Jane well. Then again, her life as a language learner, user, and educator were borne of informal learning. Though this informality was and is a source of worry for her, it is also one of her strengths.

In this description of the language in one teacher-learner's classroom, Ojibwe language utterances tended to require frames. Routines and semi-scripted activities framed language during the time devoted to instruction (morning meeting). The English language served as a frame for Ojibwe language use outside of morning meeting, as Jane traded routinized, semi-scripted language for informal and relational participant structures. Over-reliance on the matrix language frame can be problematic for its potential to strip the marked language of its power (Meek & Messing, 2007; Myers-Scotton, 1998) – a particularly insidious capability in language reclamation contexts – thus it is significant to see the ways in which a teacher-learner like Jane was able to leverage the matrix language frame as a temporary scaffold for herself and her learners toward experimentation, play, assessment, and legitimation with Ojibwemowin, a point of entrée for alternative literacies, voices, and histories.

The push-in model of Indigenous language teaching and learning that guides Jane's classroom practices has the potential carve out new opportunities for language learning and use. It bears a striking resemblance to one-parent/person-one-language (OPOL) approaches to family multilingualism whereby caregivers in the home each speak to the child(ren) in only one of their languages in order to foster a relatively

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balanced multilingualism in the child that matches all of the languages of the caregivers (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). Once believed to be a foolproof method of raising balanced bilingual children, this family language policy is now understood in more nuanced terms and with a greater attention to the complexities of such an undertaking (Baker, 2011; Romaine, 1995). It is noteworthy that OPOL approaches often falter due to language status differentials in the community as well as in the home if caregivers communicate with one another exclusively in the majority language (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004). Similar conditions in the classroom have the potential to delimit Ojibwe language use in this push-in scenario. English saturates daily life outside of Jane's morning meeting, including student-student and adult-adult interaction. Despite these concerns, there is room for strengthening language and culture within the current model. Real family connections already exist in the classroom and the school, and these relational structures provide a strong alternative to colonial schooling practices that focus on the individual. Jane's expertise in this area is extensive, grown from decades of community ties.

A better understanding of the overlooked extra-linguistic expertise of the teacher-learner is essential to the existential nature of language reclamation in classroom contexts. This can have positive implications for the creation of curricular materials that offer educators greater flexibility in their individual classrooms and with their individual skill sets. And it also forces the field of applied linguistics to consider research engagements that allow language objectives to dialogue with the local ecology that is inclusive of overlapping settler-colonial histories and Indigenous futures. How might research on language teaching and learning re-orient its constructs and analytical frames

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in ways that address the full range of what a teacher-learner is able to do? Or, in consideration of the settler colonial context, how might this field re-orient to what a teacher-learner is really being asked to do? This moves beyond an acknowledgment of the differences in Ojibwe (or more broadly, Indigenous) language practices and expertise to also prioritize related social and cultural knowledges as opportunities for expanding and evolving conceptions of what language learning can look like.

Part 2: Ideologies and Indigeneity in language use

The first part of Chapter 4 described the kind of language that circulates in one teacher-learner's Ojibwe language classroom along with the ways in which that language was employed to do certain academic, social, and cultural things in the space amid numerous constraints. The second part of this chapter explores these practices in greater detail by examining the ideologies that are signaled and (re)shaped in discourse. I follow Gal's (1992) understanding of ideologies as both "systematic ideas, cultural constructions, commonsense notions, and representations" (p. 445) as well as "everyday practices in which such notions are enacted; the structured and experienced social relations through which humans act upon the world" (p. 446). As with the first part of the chapter, I draw on aggregates of simultaneous codes as a jumping-off point for deeper analysis, and I present excerpts of recorded and transcribed classroom language to illustrate findings. Throughout this section, I employ van Leeuwen's question *why do this in this way?* along with interdiscursive analyses (Fairclough, 1992a) to highlight how a variety of language uses are embedded in larger ideologically-regimented practices and

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contradictions. The ‘texts’ (oral and written language) that are produced and exchanged in this classroom are heterogeneous, employing multiple codes, voices, and objectives at the same time; and within each of these discursive exchanges are ideological traces that can highlight salient points of struggle and change.

Ideological entanglements in discourse. Recall how, in excerpt 5, Jane accepted Ares’s suggestion that his name was an Ojibwe word by writing it on the whiteboard next to other words such as *dekaag*, *ozaawaa*, and *animosh*. Applying van Leeuwen’s legitimation framework to this interaction asks *why do this in this way?* reveals a tangle of ideologies that play out in talk. When Ares asked in line 80 “how do you say ‘apple’ in Ojibwe?” he was calling upon the iconic nature of ‘apple’ as an A-word that frequently occurs in English early literacy texts. Note that he did not commit to ‘apple’ as a suggestion for the brainstorm as he was likely testing to see if this iconicity would hold for ‘apple’ across language typologies. Though the circumstances of the delivery of this utterance (i.e., in English, directed at an adult/authority figure) index a commitment to the traditional hierarchical organization of language, knowledge, and bodies in school; the content of the utterance reveals ideological orientations that complicate the situation.

Ares’s request for a direct translation aligns with the view that different languages should be able to express identical ideas with a simple code adjustment -- an ideology against the valuing of one language over another. At the same time, a universal assumption of one-to-one translations also scrubs individual languages of relational cultural meanings and contexts. In this case, translation provided learners with a foothold

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for injecting Ojibwemowin into English-dominant activities, though it also posed ideological dangers. The participants in this excerpt reinforced English as the default language, showing alignment with the unmarked, invisible practices of Whiteness (Calgary Anti-Racism Education, 2015) in school that decontextualize and standardize learning.

Thus Jane's decision to validate Ares's suggestion of 'Ares' as an Ojibwe word is transformative. Yet this, too, is complex. The hegemony of colonial schooling standards and practices is real and its reach extends to Migiziwazisoning, but its power is partial and unstable (Fairclough, 1992a), and it is this instability that allows Jane to draw on colonial schooling practices to legitimate Indigeneity. Jane relies upon English to validate Ares (see line 86, "I'm gonna write it up here.") and reinforces this move in writing. She authorizes Ares's proposition of Ojibwe-ness through her status as the teacher and through the use of writing. These legitimations derive their force from traditional ideologies of schooling that view the teacher as a transmitter of knowledge and authority, and that emphasize the written word as a necessary academic skill and an arbiter of objective truth. Their deployment in this scenario is significant because of the existence of alternative Indigenous ways of knowing and learning that include guided experiential learning (Bang & Medin, 2010; Simpson, 2014) and longstanding oral traditions (McCarty, 2003; 2006; Romero-Little, 2006), neither of which are used to claim legitimacy for Ares.

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Collective, relational, and experiential accomplishments in morning meeting.

I return (briefly) to the morning meeting in order to present Table 5. This is an alternate version of Table 4 showing the *thematic* code counts (rather than the descriptive utterance code counts) for the same morning meeting leaders and representative days as were shown in the first part of this chapter.

Table 5: Thematic coding across three morning meetings

	Tanya (May 5)	Mel (May 10)	Jane (May 24)
Authority/Responsibility	9	3	5
Experience	2	6	27
<i>Giinawind</i> ⁷	6	8	25
Individual	2	1	0
Interpretation	7	5	11
Play	7	6	11
Spirit	1	2	3
Total	34	31	82

The far left column of the table represents thematic codes from the Values Codes (Saldaña, 2013) that were initially applied during the cycle of simultaneous coding (and later stabilized). These thematic codes are described in greater detail in the codebook that included in Appendix B. I applied these codes to any stretch of talk or discursive event that appeared to go beyond instructing or practicing language as content, and/or attending to student behavior beyond the immediate needs of an undisrupted classroom. It is important to note that the data in this table represent nothing more than a descriptive

⁷ *Giinawind* is the Ojibwemowin subject pronoun that represents 1st person plural, inclusive.

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numerical snapshot of the extra-instructional themes I observed during morning meetings. They are imperfect samples with no statistical significance having been determined (or attempted) and they are as ideologically imbued as the classroom discourses they represent. The use of code counts as a jumping off point for critical analysis is bound, in and of itself, by monolingual conceptions of compartmentalized code and static notions of language as *verbal* acts (in Table 4 I counted ‘utterances’). While this initial bid to quantify language as a means of description can be linked with the tools and approaches of applied linguists (a group that I identify with) (e.g., Donato & Brooks, 2004; Housen et al., 2012; King, 2013; Macaro, 2001; Toth, Wagner, & Moranski, 2013), it also seems somewhat related to an ideological preoccupation with numbers that has long been present in language reclamation research (Moore, Pietikäinen, & Blommaert, 2010) whereby “complex sociolinguistic states of affairs” (p. 2) are represented numerically.

Thus, the tables in this chapter are intended to serve a more narrative purpose than an analytic one. The purpose of Table 5 is to highlight the disparities between the sheer number of thematic codes applied to Jane as opposed to Tanya and me. Jane’s 82 thematic codes in a single 30-minute morning meeting are more than Tanya’s 34 and my 31 counts combined. While Jane and I had similar utterance code counts in Table 4 (i.e., we used approximately similar kinds of language in similar ways throughout morning meeting), Table 5 shows how much more extra-linguistic work Jane does with language. Moreover, the *kind* of work that is being done with language in Jane’s morning meeting is significant. For instance, while all three morning meeting leaders relied on

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interpretation or translation at relatively moderate levels, Jane's connections to personal experience (for her and for the learners) as well as her ability to foster a more familial atmosphere in the class were far greater than for anyone else. It is necessary to point out that, for a teacher-learner, the decision to rely on translation is not always indexical of ideology. Instead, translation or use of the dominant language can often signal a gap in the speaker's linguistic knowledge. As such, the representative 'texts' (Fairclough 1992a) presented in Chapter 4 are careful considerations of not just the code, but also the content, function, and surrounding social context.

Translation and relational meaning. To avoid misconstruing translational approaches of English language use as purely ideological, I gravitated to texts in which thematic codes overlapped, revealing layers of complexity. This next instance illustrates the ideological complexity of overlapping themes of interpretation (a code representing meaning-focused meta-linguistic movement between language systems) and *giinawind* (a code representing inclusive and relational work). Translation was not uncommon in this classroom as a means of accessing meanings for new or less familiar Ojibwe words/phrases. Participants would rely on a sign/signifier in one code (e.g., 'cat' in English) to index the signified (e.g., a four-legged, domesticated feline(?)) as a representation of a sign/signifier in a different code (e.g., 'gaazhagens' in Ojibwemowin). This dichotomy, a foundational Saussurean tenet of linguistics, indexes monolingual ideologies of language as capable of conveying the same denotational content without

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connotative influence. This kind of one-to-one translation can be seen in the beginning (lines 94-100) of Excerpt 6.

Excerpt 6: “What does it mean?”

94 Jane: what month is this,
95 ((seemingly half the class yells “April!” other half yells “May!”)):
96 May.
97 Marco: waabigwani-giizis!
May
98 Jane: good job!
99 <waabigwani-giizis.>
May
100 ahaw.
good.
101 what does it mean.
102 class: flower [month!
103 class: [flower moon!
104 Stacy: every time you say that I look at you. ((laughs))
105 you’re like ((raises hand, palm up)) what?
106 ((both teachers laugh))
107 Jane: whose name is that.
108 whose name is Waabigwan.
109 Aisha: Miss Stacy!
110 Jane: ((nodding, smiling)) Miss Stacy.
111 yeah.
112 ahaw.
good/ok.

In English, Jane asks the learners to name the current month. She dispels any initial confusion by declaring that it’s “May” in line 96. In line 97, Marco offers up the Ojibwe language version of this answer without being prompted: “waabigwani-giizis”. Jane’s feedback is positive and aligns with the denotative translation approach until she asks, in line 101 “what does it mean”. In asking this question, emphasizing the word ‘mean’ in tone and stress, Jane acknowledges that there is a presupposition of a meaning *other than*

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‘May’ as a possible answer, immediately shifting away from that initial structural conception of language systems.

The learners are quite familiar with the alternative. As the seasons change and the moon waxes and wanes, they follow the thirteen moon lunar cycle in morning meeting and discuss the names given to each moon to reflect the changing landscape of the region. Lines 101 and 102 show how the learners call out their understandings of what *waabigwani-giizis* means -- it is the time when flowers begin to bloom in the area. This is when the flowers have bloomed for as long as the language remembers. Moreover, this time is preceded by *iskigamizige-giizis* (when the sugar maple sap runs), and it is followed by *odemiini-giizis* (time of the strawberries). This knowledge of time and place is cyclical, connected to what nature does before and after. Its truth is evident every day; on the walk to the bus, through the window of the classroom, in the woods at play.

This additional translational stratum contravenes ideologies of one-to-one-translation, instead highlighting the difference in the meaning that relates the passage of time with physical changes in the environment outside of the school. The learners come to see *waabigwani-giizis* as a linguistic approximation rather than a substitute, which opens the door for ideologies of language that honor its cultural residences and histories as essential to the language system itself. The third layer of translation does not only introduce an alternative ideology, but it also weakens the force of the seemingly super-legitimate ideologies circulating in school that presume the language of school (i.e., English) is the language of skills related to ‘the real world’.

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Waabigwani-giizis is rich in connotative meaning, and its relational nature is further extended when Miss Stacy joins the talk in line 104, thinking she has heard her name being called. She and Jane have shared this laugh before. Stacy's Ojibwe name is embedded in the name for this time of year. Jane invites the learners who are witnessing this adults-only interaction, to join in. She makes sure they understand why she and Miss Stacy are laughing, how Miss Stacy is connected to the language they are using, and then she connects them all to Miss Stacy through knowledge of her other name. Names are a spiritual matter, and this moment of relating learners to their classroom teacher, to the time of year, and to the physical changes happening in their environment represents an ideology of language that is relational across scales. In English, the name of the classroom teacher is irrelevant to the name of calendar month, but in Ojibwemowin, people, places, and the ways they are called are not so compartmentalized. As Corbiere (2000) puts it:

“(O)ur identity (Ojibwe/ Odawa, Potawatomi) is based on the natural world. Our names often refer to animals. Our spirit guardians are animals, birds, fish, or spirits such as thunderers and water spirits. Our clans, our social organization frameworks consist of animals, fish, and birds. Our collective identity as Native people is interwoven with place and community.” (pp. 8-9)

Jane's translational move (“what does it mean”) centers Ojibwemowin as something more than a denotational system that is equivalent to English (for if they were equal, parallel systems, the question would be moot). Furthermore, she centers the interrelated meanings of *waabigwani-giizis* and *Waabigwan* through a sort of chained

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inquiry that she and the other teachers regularly use to draw learners up to higher levels of thinking. I observed numerous English-only examples of this practice. For instance, after a reading a book about Curious George's trip to the paleontology dig, the kindergarteners drew pictures of different excavating tools and labeled them. With each new tool came the question "what is this?" asking for a name, and then "what is it for?" and "show me how would you use it" asking for imagined/demonstrated applications. Filtered through Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives for knowledge-based goals, this sequence of questioning can be seen as moving student thinking through different levels of expertise (Davis, 2009).

The chain of questions that Jane asks (i.e., "what month is this?", "what does it mean?", and "whose name is that?") is not a linear progression of thinking up Bloom's cognitive ladder like the English-only example, but the chaining of questions itself serves to elevate the layers of Ojibwe meaning that are being pursued as an academic subject worthy of meta-linguistic examination in school. The examination, however, proves to be decidedly non-academic in terms of demonstrating 'mastery' of the language as content. Rather than providing feedback on the learners' morphological breakdown of the Ojibwe word parts that comprise *waabigwani-giizis*, Jane helps the learners connect one of those word parts to Miss Stacy's name. Moreover, this digression into the relational does not return to the translational task that it began with. Jane does not provide evaluative feedback on the learners' proffered meanings of *waabigwani-giizis*, until the end of the chain when she punctuates it all with *ahaw*, and moves on. Jane's move to the relational supersedes the translational; and by centering Ojibwemowin in this academic

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way, Jane legitimates its presence in the school, an attitude that is still rather new following so many years of cultural genocide at the hands of the institution. This shift in status also immediately constrains Ojibwemowin as a knowledge system and as a mediator of experience of the body in the world. When an Indigenous language's position is defined in terms of its ability to do exactly what English does, it is easy to discount any of its capabilities beyond what English can do. Thus, even in a class that seeks to elevate a language's status, ideologies of academic language that orient to English and colonial traditions of thought are directly related to the deculturalization in schools that "replaces one culture and language with another that is considered superior" (Spring, 2004, p. 1). Jane's relational work, embedded in the everyday language of morning meeting and interpersonal interaction, is crucial to countering this hegemony.

Relationship status: It's complicated. The status of Ojibwemowin in the school is an ideologically fraught concern, reflected in policy and talk. As an academic subject at Migiziwazisoning, Ojibwemowin is compulsory, just like the subjects of reading and math. This is a status that is legitimated through authorization (i.e., it is school policy) though it occupies an ideological position that is not identical to other academic subjects. Excerpt 7 provides another brief example of code overlap (a confluence of *giinawind*, authority/responsibility, and play), as well as an interactional frame for considering an Anishinaabe ideology of language.

Excerpt 7: "That's not what you say."

113 Stacy: it's too loud, I can't even hear anybody.

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→ 114 Jeremy!
115 Jer: indayaa-omaa garbage.
 I am here
116 Stacy: that's not what you say.
117 that's very disrespectful to our language.
118 (3.0)
119 Vincent.
120 Vin: indayaa-omaa.
 I am here.

This excerpt occurred at the start of the day during attendance. The students were still coming in from breakfast, getting chairs and setting them up in a circle around the carpet as Stacy, the classroom teacher, called their names one-by-one. Each kindergartener is expected to answer *indayaa-omaa* if they are present. In this particular case, the noise level in the room had risen to a point where Stacy could not hear if a student had answered. In line 114 Stacy calls Jeremy's name and he answers with "indayaa-omaa garbage". This is a typical performance of silliness from Jeremy who regularly played with familiar language and participant structures, stretching the boundaries of preferred classroom behavior. Stacy's admonition in line 116 "that's not what you say" is an ideological reproach, not a grammatical one. Denotationally (and grammatically), Jeremy produced what was expected of him, he merely added the English word 'garbage' to the end of his utterance.

When I frame this brief exchange with Fairclough's (1992a) nested boxes of interdiscursivity (see Figure 1) it becomes clear how a single text can produce a 'cruces' and highlight ideological orientations beyond the immediate situational context. Jeremy's text ("indayaa-omaa garbage") was produced within the interactional norms of the social practice of attendance taking (i.e., teacher calls his name, he responds in

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Ojibwemowin that he is present). It was produced orally, for all to hear in the first minutes of the day's class, and one of the text's consumers, Miss Stacy, found it necessary to resist. Note that her sharp rebuke is not based on the discursive practice itself (Jeremy's answer announced his presence and fulfilled the function of the attendance call), rather on the content of the text and its broad distribution.

Stacy's strong reaction to the word garbage at the end of Jeremy's utterance shows how fostering a sense of play (a pedagogical endeavor) and encouraging grammatical correctness (a linguistic endeavor) are secondary to demonstrating respect for the language. This kind of devotion to 'the language' has been documented in scholarship that examines discourses of authenticity (Messing, 2009; Wong, 1999) and the ways in which their focus on 'purity' in Indigenous languages can work against more flexible and evolving usages that result from language contact and shifting sociopolitical landscapes. The respect that Stacy is invoking, however, is not concerned with the code-mixing per se. Instead she is disturbed by the proximity of the word 'garbage' to the Ojibwe part of the utterance *indayaa-omaa* as a form of linguistic denigration. Although it is not clear whether Jeremy's intention is to play or to provoke (or both), this sort of interaction seems highly unlikely re-imagined with another subject of equal 'status' in the school. For instance, were Stacy to ask Jeremy to answer an arithmetic problem (e.g., "what is two plus two?") and he were to answer "four garbage", it is conceivable that he would be reprimanded for distracting from the task, though it would be quite unexpected to hear a reproach such as "that's disrespectful to math".

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This excerpt shows how looking to academic subject status as a legitimator actually undermines the ideological position Ojibwemowin occupies in the bodies and spirits of Anishinaabe language learners. Stacy's use of the possessive pronoun 'our' in line 117 links Jeremy to the language, to her, and to their shared community of Anishinaabeg that transcends geography and generational time. The status of Ojibwemowin at Migiziwazisoning is complicated because its relational value to people, histories, land, and spirit is essentially amputated when its status is 'elevated' to compulsory school subject. For young learners still constructing their understandings of schooling as a general set of institutionalized practices, the potential for confusion around this abrupt shift in ideology pertaining to a single 'subject' highlights the problematic nature of trying to fit an entire system of relational meaning into colonial schooling practices that encourage disciplinary isolation and detachment.

Semi-scripted subversion: Ojibwe language, tasks, and experiential expertise.

Clearly, there are ideological and practical difficulties associated with attempting to cultivate relational conceptions of Ojibwemowin in a decidedly *non*-relational school environment. However, as the first section of this chapter illustrated, Jane was quite adept at finding footholds for developing 'Ojibwe-ness' at school. One way she did this was to embed participant structures in her semi-scripted morning meeting activities that run counter to colonial ideologies of decision-making and expertise. Most emblematic of this practice is the portion of the morning meeting that I call *Aaniin ezhiwebak agwajiing?* During *Aaniin ezhiwebak agwajiing?* Jane facilitated discussions among the

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kindergarteners about the weather on a particular day. She supported her language with the visual aid pictured in Figure 4 (Chapter 3) and she asked the learners a sequence of yes/no questions in Ojibwemowin using the second position question particle *ina* (e.g., *Gimiwan ina?* Is it raining?). Depending on the learners' opinions of the most apt description of the day's weather, Jane would move laminated checkmarks to the visual depictions of weather that reflected the learners' decisions. A prototypical example of how this activity looked in action is provided in Excerpt 8.

Excerpt 8: Negotiation and consensus (“Gisinaa bangii”)

- 121 Jane: gisinaa na noongom?
is it cold outside?
- 122 Aisha: eya’!
yes
- 123 Vin: bangii.
a little
- 124 Jane: gisinaa? ((wraps arms around self as if shivering))
it is cold?
- 125 Vin: bangii!
a little
- 126 Jane: gisinaa bangii?
it is a little cold?
- 127 ahaw.
good.
- 128 eya’, gisinaa noongom ((moves checkmark to *gisinaa* pic))
yes, it’s cold today.
- 129 ((points to the *noodin* pic)) noodin ina?
is it windy

In line 121 Jane directs her question to the entire class, typical for this activity.

While sometimes multiple voices would respond at once, on other occasions only one learner would answer. In this case, only Aisha speaks first, answering in the affirmative, and in Ojibwemowin. Vincent follows Aisha with a slight modification of her initial

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response: “bangii.” This modification acknowledges the appropriateness of Aisha’s “eya’,” while adding some detail to the official account of the day’s degree of coldness. Jane asks the question twice more (in lines 124 and 126). This gives Vincent and Aisha chances to negotiate further if necessary, and it offers the other learners in the circle more opportunities to share their opinions. Finally in lines 127 and 128, Jane restates the final assessment that it is indeed cold that day and moves on to the next question.

While on the surface, this activity looks like an extended I-R-E sequence (i.e., teacher-fronted prompt, student response, followed by feedback/evaluation of response), the analytical question *why do this in this way?* reveals that this is an entirely different form of questioning. Jane’s initial prompt is not a display question. It is posed to the whole class in order to distribute the expertise widely -- all learners have had some experience of the weather that day and each participant’s knowledge is valued. What Jane is really teaching the learners to do with this activity is to come to a *consensus*, a mainstay of Anishinaabe decision-making and relationship-building for untold generations (Stark, 2010). The consensus-building process requires deep listening and negotiation, and it is out of place in an American school where ideological commitments to democracy and majority-rule are taught, modeled, and enacted. Dewey’s (1903) view of democracy as “freeing intelligence for independent effectiveness” exposes the ideologies of individual exceptionalism that have long been entrenched in the senses of order and efficiency that dominate school discourse. Such individualist ideologies oppose what Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2014) calls “Nishnaabeg intelligence” - a relational, consensual engagement with the environment. Simpson writes: “visiting with

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Nishnaabeg intelligence means sharing oneself through story, through principled and respectful consensual reciprocity with another living being” (2014, p. 18). Jane encourages this experiential, relational, ‘Nishnaabeg’ way of knowing and sharing in the *Aaniin ezhiwebak agwajiing* portion of the morning meeting.

It is significant that the entire sequence of talk in Excerpt 8 occurs in Ojibwemowin. Though this was not always the case for the activity, particularly when Jane was not facilitating it. Excerpt 9 provides an example of the same activity, *Aaniin ezhiwebak agwajiing?*, when I facilitated it in Jane’s absence. Though I had seen this done many times, the consensus-building nature of the task was not entirely clear to me. My own socialization as a White woman moving through a lifetime of public education institutions is evident in the non-verbal action of this example (twice I try to move the checkmark before consensus has been reached) as well as through my verbal attempts to speed things along through agreement, disagreement, and even a feeble and patronizing attempt at compromise (lines 144-145). The learners block this injection of Whiteness at every turn and essentially socialize me to how it is done here, and they leverage Ojibwe language to negotiate consensus. This example also shows how discursive practices that orient to experiential ‘Nishnaabeg intelligence’ can maneuver around authority-oriented pedagogy to redistribute knowledge.

Excerpt 9: Displaying expertise in Ojibwemowin (“bangii gisinaa”)

130	Mel:	mino-giizhigad ina? <i>is it nice out?</i>
131	class:	ye[a::h.
132	Marco:	[eya'. <i>yes.</i>

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- 133 Mel: eya'.
yes.
- 134 geget. ((moves a checkmark to *mino-giizhigad* pic))
good.
- 135 Tim: no!
- 136 Mel: gaawiin?
no?
- 137 Tim: it cold.
- 138 Mel: eya'.
yes.
- 139 bangii gisinaa.
it's a little cold.
- 140 ok.
- 141 Ares: gaawiin gaawiin gaawiin.
no no no.
- 142 ((Mel moves a checkmark to the *gisinaa* pic))
- 143 Vin: no. it's not cold.
- 144 Mel: you know, it's a l↑ittle chilly this morning.
I'll give him that.
- 145 I'll give him that.
- 146 Marco: hey!
- 147 it's sunny out.
- 148 Mel: waaseyaa na?
is it sunny?
- 149 class: yeah.
- 150 Tim: no:::
- 151 Vin: eya'. eya'.
yes. yes
- 152 Mel: eya' waaseyaa.
yes it is sunny.
- 153 (3.4)
- 154 Tim: bangii! ((puts his index and thumb very close together))
a little!
- 155 Mel: bangii waaseyaa?
it's a little sunny?
- 156 ((Tim nods head, settles back into chair as if satisfied))

The talk in Excerpt 9 begins just as Excerpt 8 did -- with the teacher asking a yes/no question about the weather. This text (line 130) is a common discursive practice, produced and distributed in the manner considered 'conventional' in this specific context.

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In lines 131 and 132, numerous voices including Marco's affirm that it is nice out (in both English and Ojibwe languages), so I move a checkmark to that picture on the visual aid until Tim protests in line 135. Note the features of this text's production. His protest in line 135 is shouted and in English; and then his experience-based elaboration in line 137 is in English as well, which I accept as part of the discussion based on previous observations of Jane's flexible approach to language. I affirm that it is a little cold and, in an attempt to appease Tim, I put a checkmark on the picture for *gisinaa*, revealing how unfamiliar I am with consensus-building. My move to put a checkmark on the picture for *gisinaa* appears to be read as an autonomous move from an adult (positioning myself as an authority figure) that does not enact consensus, and thus it is met with multilingual protests from Ares in line 141 and Vincent in line 143. By showing how out-of-place my actions are, these protests also highlight how unexpected an authoritative move is in this activity, revealing more of the 'conventional' social practices in this situational context.

I try to appease the resistance in English, arguing for a chill in the morning air in line 144 and condescending to 'give [Tim] that' in line 145. Again, I produce texts that seem to conform to discursive norms in terms of code (both English and Ojibwe) and in terms of content (the weather), but the social action that my texts are attempting to achieve create dissonance in the interactive space. Marco joins in the growing sense of dissatisfaction with my discursive moves and offers a counter suggestion (in English) that 'it's sunny out'. I recast the suggestion in Ojibwemowin in line 148 and a majority of the class confirms (in English) that 'yeah', *waaseyaa* (it's sunny out). Note how this

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particular text is received far more warmly than the ones that came before it -- rather than attempting to mollify, it seeks only to re-voice a learner concern.

Yet, the recast is not received warmly by Tim as his experience with the morning cold has not yet been acknowledged by his classmates. In line 150, Tim persists (in English). Yet Vincent continues to argue (in Ojibwe) that it is sunny outside -- this is clear even from inside the classroom and I confirm as much in Ojibwe in line 152. Tim is stuck. His experience with the weather this morning is being ignored and the teacher is now siding with the majority, essentially directing him to share in the observation that the sun is shining through the classroom windows. The text I produce in line 152 draws its authority from the fact that it is produced in Ojibwe and that its truth value can be observed (rather than from my role as an authority figure/adult), thus it is produced in line with the discursive practices for the given situational context. For Tim, a reckoning of some sort is needed here. Clearly, yes, the sun is shining now, but he was cold this morning. He reconciles this position after a pause in line 154 with the Ojibwe word *bangii* (a little) and corresponding gesture.

This interaction illustrates an ideological clash between teacher and students, and it shows how my own discursive practices (shaped by decades in White-majority schooling contexts) were marked in the participant frames that regimented social action in this particular time and place. As acting teacher, I engaged in practices of authority and time management (e.g., attempting to placate vocal dissent to keep the activity moving) while the learners resisted, countering with Ojibwemowin and English responses that related their experiences to their assertions. Tim, especially, worked to be heard and

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while I tried to mollify him with condescension and observable evidence, he was only satisfied when his voice was included in the final consensus. The use of Ojibwemowin is significant in this interaction because learners appear to rely on it to assert expertise, particularly after an opinion has already been expressed in English. These Ojibwe language assertions can express agreement (e.g., Marco's *eya'* in line 132), disagreement (Ares's *gaawiin gaawiin gaawiin* in line 141, Vincent's *eya' eya'* in line 151), or even compromise (Tim's *bangii* in line 154). Ojibwe language and experiential expertise are critical to this consensus-building activity, as tools/instruments for argumentation and negotiation. In a sort of legitimation-pyramid, this excerpt shows how learners' experiences legitimated their opinions, which were legitimated by Ojibwe language, all of which, in turn, legitimated the entire activity through instrumental rationalizations. The relational aspect of this process is seen in the shared movement among the learners toward consensus. Furthermore, the relational nature of this Anishinaabe approach to language is deeply connected to this consensus-building activity's ability to transform experience as a mediator of knowledge for the individual into shared (triangulated?) experiences of the environment for deeper distributed knowledge.

Ideological disjunctures outside of the classroom. Thus far, this chapter has examined language and ideologies in Jane's classroom and their connection to more widely circulating ideologies in American schooling contexts. These ideologies intersect and contest one another, revealing some of the tensions that structure life in this English language-dominant space, and they illuminate more potential points of change

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(Fairclough, 1992b). These discursive entanglements do not occur in a vacuum. Jane's work is conducted in a broader context of the English-dominant tribal school and her work is inevitably shaped by the discourses and attendant ideologies that circulate outside the classroom. To get a better understanding of this discursive context, I share findings here from data that were collected during the kindergarten graduation ceremony to show how authority figures at the administrative and tribal level alternately rejected and invoked colonial ideologies of 'two-worlds' in education and neoliberal conceptions of human capital throughout the ceremony.

The graduation ceremony began with a song from the drum⁸. It was set in the middle of a ring made up of a teacher and six students, all to the left of the makeshift stage platform in the gymnasium. As the kindergarten graduates filed in one-by-one down the center aisle, the sounds of the drum circle's rhythm and its members' singing voices reverberated throughout the space. As the song ended, the principal and kindergarten teacher thanked the families in attendance to start the ceremony. A short time later, the tribal chairman (TC) stood to address the graduates and their families. Excerpt 10 contains the start of his 'congratulatory remarks'. These remarks appeared to pick up where the drum left off. His words ran counter to the contentious 'two-worlds' approach to education for Indigenous youth that has been a point of contention for language reclamation activists who reject its binary categorization of linguistic and social practices as either 'Indigenous' or 'modern' (Lee, 2007; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009).

⁸ The drum was a large, round drum approximately two feet tall. Different kinds of drums are used for different purposes and in specific contexts. Beyond describing its size and its drummers, I cannot say precisely what kind of drum it was.

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reimagines school as a place that Indigenous language and sacred cultural practices such as drumming can inhabit, rather than as a space that exists entirely in opposition to Ojibwe life.

Yet, this discursive continuity does not last. Excerpt 11 presents an example of the discontinuity in ideologies of learning and schooling in this tribal school. As the chairman's speech continued, he descended from the stage and directly addressed the kindergarteners seated in front. In Excerpt 11, he encourages the graduates to think ahead to their adult lives, reminding them in line 169 that they can "do anything [they] want to".

Excerpt 11: Two worlds, one future ("Dream big")

166 TC: I want all you guys
167 ((points left index finger at several students in front of him))
168 to know one thing.
169 that you guys can do <any>thing you want to.
170 anything.
171 you want to be an airline pilot, a pilot, an astronaut,
172 if you want to be a banker,
173 if you want to be (.) a rich guy or a rich girl,
174 or own a business,
175 anything you want to do you can do.
176 so dream.
177 dream big.

He presents a number of specific career suggestions in lines 171-174, including a more general "rich guy or a rich girl" (line 173). In this 'text', the discourse is decidedly more individual- and capital-oriented. While the first example showed how school had the potential to be 'localized' and 'indigenized' (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001), this excerpt invokes neoliberal conceptions of education whereby all actors (e.g., teachers, students,

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administrators) are viewed as ‘little capitals’ (Brown, 2015) with non-metaphorical market values attached. These career options read as individual achievements, and are presented as such, without nuance, without references to community, and without any acknowledgement of potential institutional barriers. Here school is represented as a place where certain kinds of knowledge (with objective market values attached) are available for the taking, if only students choose to do so of their own accord. Learning is a means to a marketized end -- a discourse that is problematized further in the ceremony with a subsequent slideshow of the kindergarteners holding up signs on which the classroom teacher, Miss Stacy, has written their individualized future career goals. The most common signs read ‘teacher’ and ‘police officer.’ But what do the tribal chair’s words mean to six year-old Vincent whose sign read ‘hunter’? What is that knowledge ‘worth’ here?

Vincent’s sign (contrasted with his classmates’ signs) highlights a rupture in the difference between the two questions *what do you want to be when you grow up?* (which was the prompt for the slide show) and *how do you plan to earn a living in a capitalist society?* The latter question aligns more closely with the tribal chair’s words of encouragement and it highlights the role of neoliberal ideology in American schools. Eve Tuck (2013) describes neoliberalism as an “epistemology, economic strategy, and moral code rolled into one” (p. 325). She further characterizes neoliberalism as an extension of colonialism and its reach into school discourse is evident here. Thus, in presenting an array of futures to kindergarteners that are legitimated by their connection to the capitalist marketplace, the words of the tribal chair conflate questions of *what one wants to be* vs.

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how one will assimilate into the marketplace. These two questions, however, ask very different things, and their significance is existential.

The ideological disjuncture represented here is pertinent to the work that Jane does in the classroom because the discourses evident in excerpts 10 and 11 are institutionalized in the school, where ‘discursive events themselves have cumulative effects upon social contradictions and the struggles around them’ (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 97). Teachers, administrators, and community members encourage language learning and use at Migiziwazisoning, knowing that it can serve as a multi-purpose medicine. Ojibwe language locates speakers in a place, it relates them to a community, and it redistributes experiential, shared knowledge.

Jane’s ‘family-style’ pedagogy works to integrate language and instruction that supports relational thinking and ‘Nishnaabe intelligence’ (Simpson, 2014), though she is in need of greater support. Her expertise could benefit greatly from further language training, chances to develop more personalized pedagogical tools, and a learning environment that fosters curiosity, joy, relationships, and experiential knowledge. The push-in model shows promise for integrating the language into academic work and social interactions throughout the day, but it necessitates enough fluency to respond and react spontaneously to lesson elements that were not pre-planned. In this classroom, for Jane, the ‘unplanned’ encompasses everything that occurs after morning meeting -- this is more spontaneity than we ask of immersion teachers. As such, Jane relies on both languages in her repertoire throughout the day to support the learners’ developing language and complex selves. An alignment of pedagogical conditions and professional development

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that are more supportive of Jane's skills and the task she has been assigned would go far in increasing the presence of the language in the space and, subsequently, the learners' experiential knowledge of Ojibwemowin.

This chapter described the ways in which Jane's needs (i.e., for language-specific materials and professional development) and objectives (i.e., trying to engage learners in the use of an entire system of relational knowledge in thirty minutes a day) shape her instruction. The excerpts presented here represent clear examples of prototypical practices in the classroom, and they highlight Jane's innovative and strategic responses in a constrained environment. The school's use of a push-in model (as opposed to a separate language class) for the youngest learners comes from a community desire to support language growth. Yet fulfilling such a desire requires closer attention to the critical role the teacher plays in this process. A language program that supports teacher-learners ecologically can contribute to the creation of a feedback loop of culturally relevant content and language (Hermes, 2005) that, in turn, allows learners to imagine flexible futures outside the neoliberal marketization of human activity.

Chapter 5

Reclaiming and reframing institutionalized Ojibwe language learning

“Well, it’s this little matter of colonialism, see?” (Todd, 2016, p. 14)

The findings from this study convey a deeper understanding of the expertise that one Ojibwe language teacher-learner relied on to cultivate language among young learners in an English-dominant kindergarten classroom. Jane counted on strategies such as scripting and flexible multilingualism to mitigate concerns of her own linguistic limitations. Embedded within these strategies and the talk that they produced were ideologies of ‘one-world’ modern Indigeneity, experiential learning, and relational ways of knowing. Jane labored to engage these ideologies in her classroom language use to foster relationships between the learners and their linguistic, social, spiritual, and temporal worlds. Ojibwemowin as a school subject was the mediator and bridge, and so Jane’s ideological moves were constrained, countered, and ‘contained’ (Hermes, 2005; Richardson, 2011) by ascendant school ideologies of colonized, standardized ways of knowing, individual exceptionalism, and neoliberal futures.

These dominant discourses prevail well beyond the K-12 institution of Migiziwazisoning. Jane has faced it throughout her professional life as she has wrestled with her lack of access to formal instruction in language and pedagogy. Certainly, she would welcome professional development tailored to Ojibwe language teaching. She has said as much and requested as much on numerous occasions. Recall that our first

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meeting was at a professional development training session. During a lunch break, as we shared pizza and talked in greater depth about the teachers' day-to-day challenges, Jane expressed how pleased she was to have some language-specific training. "I'm just glad you guys are here," she said. "We've been begging for this for years" (personal communication, February 4, 2016). She echoed this sentiment numerous times in our informal conversations describing how hard it is to create everything from scratch and imagining how nice it would be to have access to the kind of training that other teachers get on a regular basis. However, the reality is that this sort of training -- language-specific professional development grounded in academic research -- is difficult to find. The academy's attention is drawn elsewhere (e.g., more visible languages, more profitable contexts), and Jane is needed here. While scholarship in the field of applied linguistics is growing more interested in non-European languages and pedagogies, this may still be of little use to Jane as "institutions have been more invested in language standardization and the manufacture of materials than in the production of speakers" (Meek, 2011, p. 127). In this section I theorize the findings from Chapter 4 and discuss implications for further scholarship and engagement with teacher-learners.

Ecoglossia and institutional repertoires in revitalization

This study relied on a heteroglossic approach to language that viewed all of a multilingual participant's resources as part of one repertoire. This approach allowed me to 'read' history and ambiguity in participant texts, and it allowed for multi-voicedness in interaction, which Blackledge & Creese (2009) describe as "voices of ideological

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becoming, (...) expressing simultaneously more than one intention” (p. 236) in a single stretch of talk. The expression of voice can be a tool of resistance, countering hegemony, and it is in this way that Jane was able to do several things at once with language, aligning with institutional ideologies and simultaneously subverting them. Hermes and Haskins (in press) write of ‘epistemic disobedience’ in their description of the ways in which Ojibwe immersion teachers concomitantly appropriate and subvert Common Core state standards in their teaching of Indigenous knowledge frameworks within a settler colonial place. Though Jane did not wrestle directly with standards, her version of epistemic disobedience performed a similar double duty in terms of employing academic practices to elevate the status of the language in the space while simultaneously orienting learners away from invisible schooling practices. This allowed Jane and her fellow learners to absorb the voices of others as well as question the authoritative as they continually remade language (and kindergarten) through their creative use of Ojibwemowin.

These findings offer an extended view of heteroglossia that describes the political, social, and historical tensions inherent in the classroom as a context for language use and learning. Just as a heteroglossic approach to language views each utterance as weighted with its previous uses, so are contexts, particularly institutions and the practices therein, weighted with their previous uses. The extra-linguistic features (e.g., organization, hierarchies, practices, and associated beliefs/ideologies) of a school in a settler colonial state have made and remade it as a context that regiments social action. These practices, objectives, and stakeholder roles throughout history are significant to its current

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incarnation, as they are part of the classroom ecology in which we are trying to grow language.

It is helpful for me to imagine these institutionalized practices, objectives, and roles similar to the way that heteroglossia imagines the layering of language uses and meanings. The findings here that illustrate the ideological tensions of revitalization in a colonial context push for research that values an *ecoglossic* approach to language that highlights the multi-layered, multi-scalar, institutional histories that contextualize language use. Such a focus on the institutional and political context of a language project is warranted alongside (and in dialogue with) applied linguistics' focus on the word, the code, and its possible usages. The substitution of the prefix 'eco-' for 'hetero-' in *ecoglossia* emphasizes the relationships rather than the difference in the consideration of a language in use. It examines the physical and ideological surroundings of language use and the ways in which language practices relate to the other parts of a given sociolinguistic habitat. Indeed, there are multiple voices in one utterance that are shaped by their tethers to innumerable prior usages and contexts. Likewise, there are multiple ideologies and practices in a single context that are shaped by their tethers to institutionalized language use, institutionalized roles, and participant structures developed over generations of prior engagement.

Interdiscursivity and legitimation were helpful for reading the power in these regimented practices and subversive resistance. The findings from this study illustrated the ways in which Ojibwe language along with Ojibwe knowledges and practices are subordinated to the ideological frames of the colonizer. In an *ecoglossic* view, these

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ideological frames comprise something of a repertoire. Just as a language user develops a repertoire of signs to be deployed for the purpose of communication, so has this context (a school) developed a repertoire of orientations and epistemological tendencies to be deployed for the purpose of transmitting certain knowledges to certain people in certain ways. When knowledge is viewed as something to be contained, transmitted, and operationalized, there is little room for relational expertise. Where does Ojibwemowin as a school subject begin and end? Even when Jane seemed to bundle and bind it with a script, legitimating the language as a 'subject' worthy of study alongside other compulsory domains, the bindings frayed in places and reified longstanding relational bonds beyond the 'code'. An ecoglossic view of Ojibwe language learning here shows that when local practices elevated the Indigenous language to a status akin to institutional legitimacy, the ideological context of the settler colonial institution and its dominant systems of thought tended to erase, neutralize, or 'domesticate' (Richardson, 2011) extra-linguistic relations. Accounting for ecoglossia has implications for school-based language revitalization and reclamation programs as it demands more attention to the practices that organize ideologies of 'school' rather than to the institutional legitimacy of language and culture as 'subjects'. It is important to show how misplaced emphasis on legitimacy within the confines of a context's repertoire is a place where school-based reclamation can lose focus, diverging from the movement's primary objectives.

Language activists and educators have always been wary of the perils of doing anti-colonial work within schools. For instance, culture-based education is one approach that attempts to shift the conventional colonial ways of doing school to more localized

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Indigenous approaches to content and learning. Yet culture-based curriculum has been critiqued for failing to produce greater shifts in Indigenous education systems and greater degrees of academic success in the learners (Hermes, 2005). An ecoglossic perspective addresses these concerns by examining the institutional repertoires of the sites where these programs are being implemented. *How did this school/church/organization come to be? What was its original purpose? How has that purpose changed over the years? What is the history of this place's mechanisms of power and control? What practices originated here? How have those practices changed and why? What has remained fixed?* When the focus shifts to the system that is supporting a particular program or educational endeavor, we find clues as to how the use of particular cultural and social practices may be elevated, bent, or obscured by the historical, political, and social repertoire of a given institution.

Encouraging Indigenous youth to learn in and use their Indigenous language(s) is grounded in positive outcomes for everything from academic achievement (Kawai'ae'a, Housman, & Alencastre, 2007; McCarty, 2003) to health and wellness for entire communities (Hallett, Chandler, & Lalonde, 2007). Communities who look to schools as sites for the reclamation of their language are not seeking to institutionalize the language; rather the efforts are part of a response to the seeming contemporary necessity of institutionalizing something in order to grant youth any significant exposure to it. An understanding of the institution's historical and political repertoire is critical to the language teaching and learning attempted therein.

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Institutionalization and Indigeneity

The conditions of the institutionalization of Ojibwe language in this study have implications for similar projects with Indigenous languages across numerous settler colonial schooling contexts. Though the material conditions of these contexts have changed over the years, they remain authorized forms of social control (Spring, 2004). Teaching and using Ojibwemowin in schools that operate within a “geopolitics built on hierarchies, hegemony, and privilege” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008) can reshape the language into a form that better fits the existing curricular frame. This is evident on a micro scale with the routinized language of the morning meeting. Jane’s strategic use of scripts and structures helped compensate for linear conceptions of learning and hierarchical models of knowledge distribution.

In the school, Jane’s role as the instructor comes with predetermined qualifications and expectations of dominance over the content (i.e., she should be in possession of particular fundamental knowledge of the language) and the authority to regulate and transmit this knowledge to the learners with the material tools and conditions contained within the school itself. In reality, Jane’s knowledge of the language is so thickly bound up with other relational phenomena such as stories, people, experiences, and the spirit, that the routines and scripts provide a ‘scaffold’ that essentially keeps her instruction in line with the content-specific demands of being a language teacher in school. Implications for the presence of such steering mechanisms to function as strategies for teacher-learners call to mind discussions of ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2002, 2005).

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The ways that language is understood in the school (ideological space) and the classroom practices that enact these understandings (implementational space) (Flores & Schissel, 2014) reveal the tensions described in Chapter 4. While some communities continue to struggle with trying to carve out space for their languages within the school day, Migiziwazisoning has used policy to establish ideological and implementational space for Ojibwemowin at school (conceivably all day long for the kindergarteners) and Jane's flexible languaging aligns with the alternative practices intended by the terms (Hornberger, 2005). Yet the ideological space that Migiziwazisoning has carved out for Ojibwemowin is still constrained by dominant colonial schooling ideologies and their roots in the history of deculturalization. As an example, consider how this entire study has been concerned with developing a better understanding of the 'teacher-learner' -- a person who is defined by perceived limitations on language proficiency (limitations that resulted from school-based policies of linguicide) rather than by deep spiritual and experience-based cultural and *relational* expertise.

Language policy research regularly envisions teachers as policy-makers (Hornberger, 2005), a connection that holds in this study as well. As such, there may be openings for further teacher-learner support in the form of educative curriculum design. Curriculum materials already have 'reach' within schools as routinized tools of teaching and learning (Ball & Cohen, 1996) and re-imagining these kinds of materials as educational resources for the teacher as well as the students can fulfill some of the same functions as professional development workshops and formal training. Curriculum materials that teach language and teach language teaching alongside the provision of

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‘units’ and lesson plans could be of great benefit to teacher-learners looking for new ways to do a wide variety of language in limited time and space constraints. Looking to curriculum, however, means looking to tools that originate within the structures of colonial schooling -- tools that can standardize learning and erase valuable teacher insight (Beyer & Davis, 2012) -- to develop connections to language and culture that are easily subordinated in a school setting.

The challenges of assimilation and erasure in schooling are well documented in language reclamation literature (e.g., Fenimore-Smith, 2009; McCarty & Nicholas, 2014; Meek, 2011), particularly in the thickening body of research concerned with immersion education (e.g., Greymorning, 1997; Harrison & Papa, 2005; Hermes, 2005, 2007; Kipp, 2009; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). The specter of immersion looms large in Indigenous language scholarship as the best way to reclaim a language, and though this individual project concerning Jane’s kindergarten is about an English-dominant classroom, the prominence of immersion in the field of language reclamation as well as its proximity to the context (metaphorically and literally⁹) necessitates a discussion of how this study can and cannot dialogue with immersion research.

By all accounts, revitalization-model immersion (i.e., ‘Indigenized’ immersion (Reyhner, 2010)) is better than periods of instructed language in an otherwise English-

⁹ An Ojibwe language immersion shares space with Migiziwazisoning. Though it is politically contentious at times among community members and school staff, the learners at both schools have close social relationships with one another and they move freely through the shared spaces. As an example, one of the students in Jane’s kindergarten transferred from the immersion school several months into the study and already knew everyone in the class.

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dominant day. Revitalization-model immersion education differs from the ‘additive’ model established via French immersion schools in Canada (Aguilera & LeCompte, 2007; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). It goes well beyond the translation of a non-Native curriculum into the Native language. It requires a ‘one-world’ approach to language and life that is accompanied by a worldview that the Indigenous language should be the language and daily culture of interaction for the place (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001). These models require a tremendous amount of effort to get off the ground and to maintain, creating curriculum from scratch, connecting with families, and developing trust (Hermes, 2007). For instance, bilingual graduates of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo in Hawaii are now raising their own children to speak Hawaiian as a first language (Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). This intergenerational transmission of the language is part of the dream for many language reclamation activists and immersion is seen as being the best way to get there.

According to the principal at Migiziwazisoning, part of the reason for the push-in model for Jane’s kindergarten class was to eventually “transition to immersion” (personal communication, March 3, 2016). Yet, immersion is not possible for this teacher-learner at this moment in time, a circumstance that is true for many other teacher-learners in similar situations in other contexts where there is not enough fluency, funding, or infrastructure. My reluctance to include a lot of Indigenous immersion literature in this study has been deliberate. This is not because of any particular disagreements with immersion researchers or educators, but rather out of loyalty to Jane and her fellow teacher-learners around the world. Immersion programs garner a tremendous amount of attention and funding (which they should as they tend to generate truly positive outcomes

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for the language and for the learners). This attention not only overshadows other non-immersion language programs but can also cast them in a negative light by comparison. The unabashedly assets-based perspective that this study brings to bilingual Ojibwe language teaching is intentional. It is important to establish the kinds of assets that teachers like Jane come to the classroom with; not as a counter or alternative to immersion efforts but to better understand how non-immersion language teaching fits in the broader picture of the movement for Indigenous language revitalization.

Attitudes (among researchers, administrators, and funding sources) that are essentially immersion-or-bust can do damage to classrooms like Jane's by overlooking the opportunities for development within English-dominant settings. There may be dozens of fluent future Ojibwe language teachers developing in the immersion school down the hall. But rather than waiting until these current immersion students are old enough and ready to teach the next generation (concomitant with a confluence of financial and political factors, of course), there are real opportunities at Migiziwazisoning and elsewhere to make smaller scale changes that can have large impact on local language. Though Jane uses English throughout much of the day, she already knows how to incorporate a 'one-world' approach into her instruction and classroom interaction, she already has established relationships with learners and their families, and she is undoubtedly committed to an 'Indigenized' view of language that is uncontained and relational. An investment in the non-immersion teacher-learner's language development and a willingness to work with her co-teachers to start some fundamental shifts in the ecology would go far for Jane.

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This is by no means an argument against immersion education. Rather it is intended to be read as an indictment of the scarcity, competition, and meritocracy that are reinforced in the billion-dollar industry that is American education (Brown, 2015; Burns, Nolan, Weston Jr., & Malcom, 2016; Hermes & Dyke, in press). Indigenous language education (immersion and non-immersion) is well-versed in how to do a lot with very little, and schools have proven to be tactical tools in the endeavor. Yet the current focus on high-stakes competition leads to funding based on performance rather than need, and support for less-visible programs like Jane's push-in model can end up lost in the shuffle. That immersion programs might be seen as competition for financial or scholarly attention that could support Jane and her kindergarteners' language development is a consequence of colonial schooling ideologies and practices. In fact, the lessons for language teachers around language, culture, and schooling that can be learned from research in immersion contexts are vast and deep.

There is ideological tension at play in language and cultural contexts, and it is felt beyond language in numerous culture-based efforts (Hermes, 2005; McCarty, 2003, 2008; Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). The enduring calls for culturally responsive teaching have been carefully acknowledged, considered, and critiqued as susceptible to the long reach of colonial imperialism (Grande, 2008). Hermes (2005) wrote about this problem years ago, asserting that "[l]esson plans, subject areas and course content all attempt to act as containers for culture-based curriculum" (p. 44). These 'containers' can block any semblance of extra-linguistic or cultural interconnectivity. However, as the findings around the extent of Jane's extra-linguistic 'work' in the classroom show, these

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containers are not impenetrable. The multilingual experimentation with new language uses, the multi-modal legitimation of Ojibwe identity in academic activities, and the cultivation of relationships to the language and one another contravene the controlled bundling of knowledge. They resonate with ideas of relational seeking, doing, learning, and living -- what Debassige (2010) refers to as *mino-bimaadiziwin*. Yet, as I read and write with these findings in mind, I find myself stalling on the articulation of practical implications around Jane's 'extra work'. I read these actions as subversive because they deviated from the seemingly dominant container model. Though perhaps, a reading of subversion and what its representation entails has implications for my own failed White imagination.

I hesitate to characterize implications that argue for further incorporation of this extra-linguistic, 'extra work' expertise in curriculum for fear that it could become so *incorporated* that it is no longer recognizable. Todd (2016) asserts "Indigenous thinking must be seen as not just a well of ideas to draw from but a body of thinking that is *living and practiced by people with whom we all share reciprocal duties as citizens of shared territories (be they physical or the ephemeral)*" (p. 17). When and how is this thinking 'subversive' and when and how does it cease to be so? How would this be incorporated or changed in a curriculum container? These questions are implications extended from findings that explicate the tensions inherent in efforts to teach language relationally as a compulsory school subject. My hesitation to interpret them further for 'practical action' draws strength from academic ideas of 'refusal' (Tuck & Yang, 2014), that push "to limit settler territorialization of Indigenous/Native/community knowledge" (p. 817).

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Unframings

In search of generative critical frames, I turn to Indigenous scholars to further theorize this study's findings. Richardson (2011) writes at length of the dangers of 'inclusion' in the curriculum for Indigenous knowledges. He follows Hermes's (2005) characterization of curriculum as a container where its "theoretical and philosophical foundations [along with considerations of practicality] act as forces which continuously eclipse the conceptual, theoretical, and philosophical forces of Aboriginal intellectual tradition" (p. 333). This notion of Indigenous knowledge being 'eclipsed' by non-Indigenous paradigms resonates with this work; from the failure of applied linguistics to connect with an Ojibwe epistemology on the nature of language, to the tensions that abound in the instructional objectives and practices of compulsory Ojibwe language class. Findings from this study also align with Richardson's description of a 'shadow curriculum' -- the more opaque, relational aspects of Native knowledges (e.g., spirit, dreams, memory, ceremony) that teachers and learners draw on to poke holes in the container curriculum.

This shadow work is akin the 'extra work' that Jane did (described in Chapter 4), orienting to family relationships and language that indexes 'Ojibwe-ness'. As such, the implications for findings that Jane is indeed incorporating a shadow curriculum into her language teaching are not to make this more explicit in the language curriculum.

Richardson turns away from the materialist philosophy that drives constructivist pedagogies and instead looks to Indigenous theories for guidance. He draws on Gerald Vizenor's (2008) idea of *survivance*. Focused on creating an active presence, survivance

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transcends notions of physical survival (i.e., the avoidance of corporal death) and extends the influence of stories, dreams, and epic narratives to amplify Indigenous knowledge and prevent its subordination to hegemonic Euro-centric frames.

Leanne Simpson (2014) also advocates for centralizing stories and land in teaching and learning, and she describes both as a pedagogy that contributes to ‘whole body intelligence’. This embodied knowledge resonates with Million’s (2009) felt theory that conceptualizes history as something a person does not just think, but also feels. To Simpson, theory is ‘for everyone’. It goes beyond cognitivist models of thought and it involves kinetic, spiritual, and emotional learning. Simpson situates stories at the heart of *Nishnaabewin*, (A)nishinaabe intelligence through consensual engagement with relational cores of various contexts. Consensual curiosity and exploration allows for different, multiple intelligences, and her emphasis on consent signals a move away from the varying degrees of dominance that are normalized in current educational structures. Moreover, *Nishnaabewin* disavows the creation of Indigenous futures in the current neoliberal marketplace of human capital. “It is designed to create self-motivated, self-directed, community-minded, inter-dependent, brilliant, loving citizens, who at their core uphold [Anishinaabe] ideals around family, community and nationhood” (Simpson, 2014, p. 23).

This is where Jane’s expertise as a self-motivated language learner and a family and community member is so very valuable. Though she rarely carved out time for storytelling as a deliberate, central part of the lesson, this knowledge of story-driven theory was already a part of Jane’s expertise. Recall that in our earlier meetings she

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asked me to rewrite a book of Wenabozho stories. The stories were longer than the typical storybooks the kindergarteners read. She hoped to add more Ojibwe words and to make the dense English language in them more ‘accessible’. After consulting with my friend and adviser, Waabishkimiigwan, I returned the book and declined the task altogether as too ideologically fraught for someone like me (i.e., White, non-community member, non-proficient speaker).

I know that I could have done damage to the language, the knowledge, and to the learners by attempting to modify those stories, so I do not regret returning the book. Yet, I missed an opportunity to stand with Jane, to explore and validate her expertise in the face of hegemonic ideologies of linear, sequenced learning toward one kind of intelligence. Could a collaborative attempt have avoided damage? I have thought about this a lot. Thinking through the potential for my own Whiteness to harm, a next step is to wonder about the potential for other sources and kinds of Whiteness to arise (e.g., Whiteness in academic English, Whiteness in schooling, Whiteness in the genre of European storytelling (Hermes & Haskins, in press)) that could exert forces of erasure even in collaboration with a voice such as Jane’s. This is where this study’s findings on ideologies are felt and this is where there is room for change. Research has power to shape many of the ongoing conversations about education. Collaborations with educators, learners, administrators, and community members have driven the discourse of this study, deciding what is already known, what is worthy of continued study, and appropriate methods for this subsequent work. What do cross-cultural collaborations centered around development of curriculum, instructional materials, and literacy texts tell

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us about the ideological ecology of school-based Indigenous language teaching and learning? Where is power invoked or cast aside? How is it deployed or resisted? What happens to the language and its relational meanings when it is put into academic forms? Where are the points of survivance in creation if the creation is for a settler colonial institution?

Reframing (researching) language and expertise

The research presented here has implications for practitioners that overlap the theoretical implications described above. There is certainly a need for greater administrative, material, and linguistic support for teacher-learners like Jane, yet this need grows out of political and ideological struggle within colonial educational institutions rather than from missed opportunities for teachers to receive academy-sanctioned teacher training. There is a tremendous need for research that supports the teacher-learner's development of technical expertise (linguistic, pedagogical), concomitant with work that speaks to the historical and structural conditions of Ojibwe (and Indigenous) language learning. I interpret these findings as highlighting an urgent need for activists and scholars to name and counter the institutional and sociopolitical ideologies that undermine the reclamation work in school-based contexts. The long reach of colonialism's tentacles into all manner of schooling institutions (including tribal schools) means that research and advocacy is just as needed at administrative levels as it is in the classroom.

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The teacher-learner is tasked with growing a language in a foreign ecology. Prior to settler colonialism, this language was grown organically through a relational ecology of consensual engagement over the course of innumerable generations. Now the language is cultivated in an institution where relational and familial connections are erased in favor of specialized skills and individual achievement. The teacher-learner and her expertise challenge everything here. For schools and their dominant ideologies of value-added knowledge and standardized teaching and learning, the teacher-learner challenges typical modes of evaluation (e.g., *what makes a 'good' teacher-learner?*) and typical means of support (e.g., *what sort of professional development does she need/want?, where can we get it?*). For the field of applied linguistics and its ideologies of codified, countable language systems, the teacher-learner challenges research paradigms (e.g., *what is the nature of language in this space and with these participants?, how does this change 'foundational' epistemologies?*) and it challenges modes of representation (e.g., *what kind of expertise does she have?, how do I characterize this?, for whom?*).

We (researchers) need to find new and better ways to support teachers with different and varied knowledges through research that addresses the concerns that are most pertinent to them. This begins with research and writing that represents an ecological view of their expertise and experiences. It also requires more deliberate collaborations that result in the development of actions, tools, and theories that support practices of survivance (Richardson, 2011) toward reclamation. Implications from this research demonstrate that there are facets of Ojibwe language learning and use that are unknowable to non-Indigenous researchers (me) and to the academy. Rather than trying

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to possess fragments of this knowledge, applied linguistics research can benefit from shifting the dominant epistemology grounded in positivist and cognitivist conceptions of language teaching, learning, and knowing, to an epistemology of uncertainty and belief. The nature of a language or, at least, the nature of Ojibwemowin is defined by its users and by the nature of its relationship to its family members. This is an expertise beyond 'proficiency', and teacher-learners can benefit greatly from collaborations with a field willing to commit to a synchronic and diachronic self-critique along with epistemologies of engaged belief.

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Appendix A
Transcription conventions¹⁰

Symbol	Description	Example
IDENTIFYING SPEAKERS		
<i>italics</i>	approximate English translation of word directly above it	Jane: geget. <i>good.</i>
:	Abbreviated pseudonym of participant	Gem: Gemma indizhinikaaz. <i>I am named Gemma.</i>
?:	Unidentified participant	?: animosh? <i>dog</i>
class:	several or all learner participants talking at once in relative unison	class: gaawiin! <i>no</i>
OVERLAPPING UTTERANCES		
=	Latching; no gap between two consecutive turns	Jane: geget.= <i>good</i> Mel: =good one.
[Simultaneous, overlapping talk between two participants	Gem: [makoons <i>bear cub</i> Marc: [makwa <i>bear</i>
CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEECH DELIVERY		
(.)	Brief, untimed pause	Jane: are we ready, (.) boys?
-	Repair, self-interruption	Tanya: and it was just- I mean it was a nightmare
—	Emphasized syllable/word	Mel: ozaawaa <i>it is yellow/brown</i>
.	Falling intonation	Mel: yeah.
,	Slightly rising (or “listing”) intonation	Tanya: and it would be rummaged through, it would be missing papers,
?	Rising intonation	Tanya: like can I please get a laptop?
<>	Slower speech	Jane: <oboodashkwananjiinh>! good! <i>dragonfly</i>
><	Faster speech	Tim: >Tim indizhinikaaz< <i>I am named Tim</i>
	Quiet speech	Jane: °aaniin endaso-biboonigiziyan° <i>how many winters are you.</i>
:	Preceding sound lengthened	Mel: oh no:::
↑ ↓	↑ indicates rising intonation; ↓ indicates falling intonation	Jane: g↑ood one.

¹⁰ Adapted from Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.) *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

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EXTRALINGUISTIC FEATURES OF SPEECH		
(())	Gesture, non-verbal communication	((Jane raises hands parallel, palms up))
(0.0)	Timed pause (tenths of a second)	Jane: awenen wa'aw. (1.2) shh. <i>who is this.</i>

Appendix B
Codebook

Code	Description	Example
VALUES CODES		
Authority/ responsibility	talk or actions that indicate a pre-determined distribution of obligations and responsibility.	Vinc: nice going, Tabian Ted: you're not the boss.
Experience	talk or action that indexes the relevance of life experience outside the classroom	Joe: I see zagime-s everywhere. <i>mosquito(s)</i>
Family	when relative classroom roles appear more family-like than hierarchical	Peter: *gaawiin ayaasiin. Stacy: no Sam again? Aimee: yeah. I miss Sam.
Giinawind	talk or actions that index to collaborative endeavors ('we,' 'us')	Jane: aaah, nagamodaa. <i>let's sing</i> nagamodaa. <i>let's sing.</i> niibawig, nagamodaa. <i>stand up, let's sing.</i>
Individual	talk or action that highlights the talk of action of a single individual	Tanya: so who wants to lead me in the prayer ((Lulu, Billy, Penny, Aimee raise hands)) Tanya: I just looked at Penny right away, can you please stand up here? and we're gonna all follow Penny's lead,
Interpretation	a code for talk or action that translates/interprets language	Tanya: nagamon. <i>song</i> what does that mean? Aimee: singing.
Play	talk or action that indicates a playfulness; can be experimentation or performative	Travis: ((in a funny voice)) gichi-mani-way-[ay

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	'silliness'	
Spirit	talk or actions that relate to anything beyond the physical world	class: gichi-manidoo, <i>great spirit,</i> miigwech, <i>thank you,</i> miizhiyan, <i>for giving me,</i> mino-giizhigad, <i>it is a beautiful day,</i>
PROCESS CODES		
T - Direction to act/do (non-ling)	Teacher utterances/actions that direct students/adults to perform a nonverbal action/task related to classactivity)	Jane: let's sing our song now, niibawig! <i>stand up!</i>
T - Transition	Teacher utterances/actions that transition from one activity to the next.	
T - Scaffold Ojib Lang.	Teacher utterances/actions that scaffold student language use	Jane: naanan? ((holds up five fingers)) <i>five?</i>
T - Respond to question	Teacher utterances/actions that respond to student questions	
T - Modify behavior (non-ling)	Teacher utterances/actions that are directed at modifying student behavior. These behaviors are not directly related to task at hand (e.g., 'niibawig' at the start of the song is not an example).	Jane: eh! bizaan-ayaag! <i>be quiet!</i> yous should not be talking right now.
S - Answer in Ojibwe	Student utterances in Ojibwemowin that respond to a teacher prompt	Jane: aaniin ezhi-ayaayan. <i>how are you.</i> Peter: nimino-ayaa. <i>I am good.</i>
S - Ojib Unprompted	Student utterances in Ojibwe that arise in talk without direct prompting from a teacher (may or may	Ares: I love dekaag. <i>ice cream</i>

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	not include some English)	
S - Answer in English	Student utterances in English that respond directly to a teacher prompt	Mel: aaniin endaso-biboonigiziyan <i>how many winters are you</i> Max: six.
T - Ojib no English	Teacher utterances that are free of any English	Jane: namadabig! <i>sit down (pl.)</i>
T - Ojib embedded in English MLF	Teacher utterances that use Ojibwemowin embedded in an English language frame.	Jane: let's do our manidoonsag now. <i>bugs</i>
S - Ojib embedded in English MLF	Student utterances that use Ojibwemowin embedded in an English language frame.	Joe: I see zagime-s everywhere. <i>mosquito-(s)</i>
S - English embedded in Ojibwe MLF	Student utterances that use an Ojibwe frame for English language	
T - English embedded in Ojibwe MLF	Teacher utterances that use an Ojibwe frame for English language	
S - Talk to S in Ojibwe	Student utterances in Ojibwe that are directed at other students (may or may co-occur with English)	Ares: Kevin, I like dekaag. <i>ice cream.</i>
S - Talk to S in English	Student utterances in English that are directed at other students (no Ojibwe language used)	Trav: That's my chair!
T - Commentary	Teacher utterances that are not prompting language, directing action, modifying behavior, or answering student queries. General commentary, may include Ojibwemowin or English)	Jane: I like <u>these</u> guys. These are the guys that <u>eat</u> the zagime-s. <i>mosquitos</i>
T - Prompt (V) Ojib Lang Use	Teacher utterances (Verbal) that prompt students to use Ojibwe language in the classroom.	Jane: awenen wa'aw. <i>who is that.</i>
T - Prompt (NV) Ojib Lang Use	Teacher actions (NonVerbal) that prompt students to use	Jane: ((points to picture of a beaver))

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	Ojibwe language in the classroom.	
S - Repeat in Ojib Lang	Student utterances in Ojibwemowin that repeat a teacher's previous utterance (as opposed to Ojibwe language used to answer a prompt)	Jane: oboodashkwaaninshih! <i>dragonfly!</i> Billy: oboodashkwaaninshih. <i>dragonfly.</i>
S - Talk to T in English	student utterances in English that are directed at the teacher, though unrelated to direct prompts for language or action.	Hannah: ((to Jane)) I got my ears pierced.
T - Talk with adults	Teacher utterances directed at other adults (may be in English, Ojibwemowin, or both)	Tanya: does he need to get marked down?