■ *M. Eleanor Nevins*
IDAHO STATE UNIVERSITY

Learning to Listen: Confronting Two Meanings of Language Loss in the Contemporary White Mountain Apache Speech Community

This article describes a controversy that emerged around a language maintenance program with which the author was involved on the White Mountain Apache Reservation in Arizona. It argues that the controversy had its source in conflicts between two language ideologies, each informing a different pedagogical model within the local speech community. One had its locus in the educational institutions, and the other was more broadly dispersed throughout families and homes, extending to other contexts of everyday life in which Apache standards of communicative competence set the tone for interactions. The article argues that language education programs were perceived by some as threatening to replace Apache pedagogical practices and to undermine relations of authority between younger and older Apache generations. It concludes that language maintenance cannot be narrowly construed as such, but must take into account local meanings of the problems of language loss and survival in the formulation of solutions. [language loss, language ideology, language maintenance, Western Apache, language socialization]

> Still missing from much of the contemporary literature on "endangered languages" is an anthropologically sophisticated understanding of language obsolescence and "death" as complicated social, cultural, and historical processes that usually unfold within small speech communities during periods of socioeconomic and political transformation. . . . Much more ethnography needs to be done before "losses" can be properly counted, or even understood.
>
> Robert E. Moore, "Endangered," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*

In a short overview of the topic of language endangerment within the field of anthropological linguistics, Robert Moore (1999) draws attention to the need for more ethnographic investigations into the sociocultural dynamics that inform language shift or endangerment within particular speech communities. Although there is a growing literature addressing issues of language shift and endangerment in this way (Collins 1998a, 1998b; Florey 1993; Hill 1998; Hill and Hill 1986; Kulick 1997), the vast majority of literature on language endangerment stresses its status as a world problem, involving macroprocesses that encompass and transform local speech communities from outside inward (e.g., Fase et al. 1992; Fishman 1989; Nettle and Romaine 2000).

In a recent issue of this journal, Jane Hill (2002), Nancy Dorian (2002), Joshua Fishman (2002), and Nora England (2002) draw attention to the need for ethnographic

Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, Vol. 14, Issue 2, pp. 269–288, ISSN 1055-1360, electronic ISSN 1548-1395.

investigation into how threatened local language communities engage with language "experts" such as linguists, educators, and other activists interested in saving endangered languages. Hill examines the rhetoric employed by "expert" endangered-language advocates as they attempt to raise support for the cause with general audiences (i.e., people who are not members of threatened language communities). She points to several features of this rhetoric that have the potential to inadvertently run counter to ideas and values concerning the threatened language, held by those who speak the language or otherwise have claim to it. In this article I attempt to provide an ethnographic treatment of just such a conflict. Dorian advocates expanding the range of studies deemed essential to preserving threatened languages from narrowly defined accounts of linguistic structure to ethnographic treatments of communicative competence. Here I describe a case in which conflicts between standards of communicative competence associated with "expert" and local rhetorics, respectively, and the social and political relationships entailed by each, are key to understanding controversies surrounding a local Apache language program.

This article is based on my engagement with people in the White Mountain Apache Reservation speech community in eastern Arizona, on language issues that concern them. I found not only that the threat of Apache language loss was a cause for deep concern (see also Adley-Santa Maria 1997a, 1997b), but also that people were concerned about challenges posed to Apache cultural models of pedagogy and authority by institutional education, including, somewhat ironically, Apache language programs in the schools. I found that many Apache people responded to such programs with ambivalence. On the one hand, many support putting Apache on equal footing with English in the schools. On the other, language education programs are perceived by some as threatening to replace Apache pedagogical practices and to undermine relations of authority between younger and older Apache generations. I argue that the expression of ambivalence or opposition toward these programs by some Apache people was not the result of apathy or confusion (as is sometimes asserted by program proponents in other such communities), but more often involved perceptive, incisive critique of real challenges to Apache ways of speaking and authority within Apache pedagogical practices. I argue further that attending to such critiques, rather than dismissing them as obstacles to progress, is an important step toward truly dialogic, cooperative community language programs.

During my stay there, the White Mountain Apache Reservation speech community was in some ways similar to other colonized speech communities in that the language that had served as the local vernacular, Western Apache, was perceived to be in decline and threatened with replacement by the language of mass media, commerce, national government, and the non-Apache communities surrounding the reservation. As in other such communities, many expressed concern, publicly and in private conversation, that the Apache people were losing their language. In response, various branches of the tribal government had mounted efforts, many of them grant-funded educational programs, to "do something" about it.

Unlike in some other Native American language communities where only a few elders speak the language fluently, Apache language loss would be far from obvious to a casual visitor to the reservation. During my three years there (1996–1999), the everyday conversation of most older people, most adults in their thirties, and probably about half of the people in their mid-twenties was conducted frequently in Apache, sprinkled with English words or phrases. Bilingualism and multilingualism were positively valued, and among adults, bilingualism in Apache and English was prevalent (see also Liebe-Harkort 1979, 1980). Moreover, there were many other signs that the Apache language was expanding into new domains of use. Not only was the language continuing to be used in markedly traditional contexts, such as the Sunrise Ceremony,[1] and with older people in home and family settings, but use of Apache had been extended to new social situations as well. It was not uncommon to find people speaking Apache in the workplace, in hospitals and government offices, and during chance meetings in Phoenix, Holbrook, and other towns outside

the reservation borders. Also, in any given reservation neighborhood or community, there were a number of recently constructed Apache Independent Christian churches, within which Apache was the language of choice for church services and revival camp meetings.

The tribal council had passed resolutions to encourage the teaching of Apache in public schools on the reservation and had designated Apache as one of the tribe's two official languages for use in tribal government and service programs. Speaking and understanding Apache was required, both by law and in practice, of anyone running for tribal council, since many council sessions are conducted primarily in Apache. Council members also predominantly spoke Apache for their radio broadcast speeches. In addition, DJs for KNNB, the tribe's radio station, predominantly broadcast in Apache, using the language to introduce Apache traditional songs as well as a wide range of American pop and country-western music (Samuels in press). Thus, according to many criteria, the Apache language appears to enjoy unusual vitality in comparison to many other Native American languages.

However, despite the language's vital role in a wide range of contemporary settings, during my stay in the community many people voiced concern about its decline. There was a widespread perception that, in unprecedented numbers, young children have not been learning to speak the language (Adley-Santa Maria 1997a, 1997b). Children were perceived to be speaking mostly English, the language they encounter through watching television, going to movies, and listening to music, and the one language that they absolutely must know for school. I was to learn immediately, in my first conversations with most of the Apache people I met, that this apparent decline was alarming to them. It would take me longer to realize that the problem of language loss and the desired survival of the Apache language were understood differently from various positions within the contemporary speech community.

At White Mountain and elsewhere, the development of institutional language and culture preservation programs has informed the relationship between researchers and the communities in which they work. In fact, concern about Apache language loss partly framed the way some people interpreted and discussed my research. Upon learning that I was interested in ways that Apache and English languages are used in everyday life, many people would be prompted to discuss how kids nowadays are not learning Apache. Many also gave personal accounts of failed attempts to get their own children to speak Apache.[2] Doing research on the Apache language and on the dynamics of change in language use implicitly involved me in what for many people were larger overriding moral concerns, not only about language loss, but also about researchers. In many Native American reservation communities, researchers have been criticized for using their research to make their own living, which to many tribal members appears to be a very good one, without giving anything back to the tribe. In this environment, it can be difficult to secure permission to do research, and once in the field it can be difficult to avoid becoming the object of controversy. In my own case, working for a tribal office developing language resources for the schools won me important friends and supporters who came to my defense on many occasions. I was defensible as a researcher because I could be described as giving something back to the tribe. Likewise, many field linguists and sociolinguists studying Western Apache have produced materials to be used in Apache language literacy programs (Adley-Santa Maria 1997b; Bray 1998; de Reuse 1997; Liebe-Harkort 1980) or have acted as consultants and materials developers for tribal programs.[3] My husband, a cultural anthropologist, and I became involved with three different but interrelated language-maintenance efforts during three years of ethnographic research.[4]

This situation reflects a general trend in field linguistics in minority language communities. Because it has become increasingly untenable to assume the role of neutral observer in doing research in such communities, scholars become involved in issues of interest to the community's members. Increasingly, contributions to language development programs have been written into grant proposals as collateral benefits of research, or stipulated by political representatives of minority language communities

as a precondition to permission for conducting research (Epps n.d., Hofling 1996).[5]

Many scholars as well as local language educators view this trend toward increasing involvement in maintenance efforts as an improvement upon the older colonial relationship. It can be interpreted as the replacement of an expropriative relationship between researcher and language community with a reciprocal one. However, as I was to learn through participating in several failed or controversial language programs, the relationship between such programs and members of the local language community is often quite a bit more complicated and problematic than reciprocity implies.

Institutional Apache language–preservation programs were described by many Apache people as arousing strong feelings and moral judgments from both supporters and opponents. On the one hand, because Apache language programs promote the Apache language within a state and national school system that has been historically intolerant and denigratory, these programs have inspired strong commitment and support in many quarters, as the front-page stories of the July and August editions of the tribe's *Fort Apache Scout* (2000a, 2000b) newspaper attest. On the other hand, as I learned through participation in several failed language projects, these programs can also elicit profound ambivalence and critique from community members, many of whom are themselves deeply concerned about Apache language loss. It was difficult at first for me to understand why, if all parties to the debate share this concern, such programs become targets of controversy.

I would come to learn that Apache people expressed concern about "language loss" in complex ways and that concepts of language loss and desirable language survival were defined in terms of two different language ideologies in the speech community. On the one hand, there was a locally derived discourse on language loss defined in terms of Apache cultural values of speaking, and modeled on ideals of communication within the family (Basso 1970, 1984, 1988; Greenfeld 1996; T. Nevins 2004), the terms of which I explore in the section "Apache Pedagogy and Apache Discourse on Listening, Respect, and Language Loss." On the other hand, there was widespread engagement with the international discourse on language endangerment. The terms of the latter are set within the political apparatus of nation-states in which languages such as Western Apache are problematized as "minority languages." In this discourse, the White Mountain Apache tribal government, like other tribal governments, has a political interest in defining itself and the Apache language in nationalist terms in relation to other identities within national and international political structures (Anderson 1991; Handler 1988; Silverstein 1998). Apache people who were not otherwise involved in the tribal government or politics would encounter this language ideology through pan-Indian media (radio, newspapers, magazines); from other state, national, and international media outlets; and within educational institutions.

The discourse on Apache as a "national language"—that is, the language of the Apache nation—is necessary to the tribe's political interest and is predicated on the same ideas that inform the tribe's institutional relationships with the U.S. government and with educational institutions. For these reasons, this discourse is often the obvious and necessary one for defining language loss, both for an Apache person working to negotiate these institutional relations in order to secure support for language programs, and by necessity for a language researcher who wishes to contribute to them. So it often happens that language programs involve recasting the local language community's imagining of itself in terms of Western-derived institutions and ideas.

A corollary of this problem is that language preservation programs place the linguist in the ambiguous position of being the "expert" on the local language, often amid many people around her whose knowledge of how to employ the language is much more extensive but who are not afforded expert status. The structure of grant funding, the bureaucracy of the educational system, and status of Apache as both a minority language and the language of the Apache nation all prejudice

funding in favor of language preservation programs that are legitimized within Western educational institutions. The products of linguistic analysis are privileged over locally derived standards of communicative competence (Hymes 1972) in this context because they can be applied to fulfill standard requirements of Western language pedagogy: grammars, dictionaries, and other components of literacy education (Collins 1998a, 1998b). Moreover, the fact that schooling is compulsory forces institutional language programs into the consideration of nearly every family on the reservation.

This creates an asymmetrical political relationship, one that privileges linguists and educators above those, usually elders, who hold authority within homes and within other local pedagogical contexts. Many controversies that arise concerning language programs are traceable to the asymmetry of this relationship. Being an "expert" was doubly ambivalent for me as a researcher interested in ways of speaking and discursive practices, because the relations of authority implicit in institutional programs threaten to delegitimize exactly those forms of language use and pedagogy defined by Apache forms of relationship and communicative practices—the very practices that I set out to learn about in the first place.

Many concerned linguists have drawn critical attention to the political asymmetries entailed in the treatment of minority languages within educational institutions (Collins 1998b; Dorian 1998; Hofling 1996). In a chapter entitled "Report from an Underdeveloped Country," Hymes (1996) criticizes educators in the United States for failing to make use of what has been learned in fields such as sociolinguistics, the ethnography of speaking, and ethnopoetics in order to address issues of diversity in communicative competencies, particularly for students coming to the school system from backgrounds in minority speech communities. He suggests that it is our own models of language in relation to society and culture that need to be developed if educators are to recognize and cultivate the competencies that exist in minority language communities, but which are difficult to anticipate from models of language predominant in education today.

Jane Hill (2002), Charles Hofling (1996), James Collins (1998b), Michael Silverstein (1998), and others have called for researchers who apply linguistic products to socially derived problems such as language loss to be cognizant of the effect of the political relationships entailed in their activities upon the local speech community. This is what Silverstein calls "social scientific reflexivity" and is necessary, he says, "to avoid—or at least to face—the ironies of being more an agent of essentially colonial cultural change in local communities, the more one merely desires to play a role in sustaining or fixing a local language structure within the institutional assumptions of the surrounding society" (1998:408).

I would add that the reflexivity called for by such scholars should not be limited to internal critique, but should involve dialogic engagement with local discourses. For local language communities such as the contemporary White Mountain Apache, where Western-derived and Apache-derived communicative values and practices coexist, it is important to treat the issue of whether and how both the threat of language loss and language education programs are problematized within local discourses. My own dual engagement, working within the institutional context of tribal education programs while also conducting ethnographic research in settings such as homes and ceremonial events, afforded a valuable perspective. In fact, it paralleled the complex dual engagements of many Apache people working in education, who must mediate disjunctures between pedagogy in the schools and pedagogy as defined in their own homes, in their communities, and in their other relations involving Apache communicative practices. I learned that persons within this local language community are not mute on these topics, nor are they are blind to the ironies of institutional language-preservation programs—one such irony being that in the name of preservation, these programs actually imply radical change. This discovery has led me to realize that neither the problem of language loss nor the projections of desirable Apache language survival are simple and straightforward for anyone attuned to both discourses, or for

anyone implicated, as all contemporary Apache people are, in both sets of concerns and commitments.

The purpose of this article is to make a contribution to understanding language development through engagement with understandings of language loss and critiques of institutional language programs articulated within the local Apache speech community. I show how the dilemmas described above are constituted within local discourses. Let me also clarify that my purpose is not to condemn language programs as purely colonial impositions. The fact that many Apache people repeatedly seek out such programs and work very hard to support them in the face of controversy and limited resources should be taken very seriously. On the White Mountain Apache Reservation, language programs and the Apache people who support them have emerged as necessary sites of mediation "between the encompassing polity's view of 'minority' languages" (Silverstein 1998:415) and the local language community's necessarily complex construal of itself. It is a mediation in which the community's own political interests and self-definition locally and within national and international arenas are very much at stake. I attempt here to contribute to the dialogicality of that mediation by attending to the contemporary reservation speech community's complex construal of its own participation in an Apache language community.

As an entry point, I describe the rise and fall of one Apache language education program in which I participated, in order to explore what this example reveals about the meanings of language loss and language survival within the contemporary White Mountain Apache Reservation speech community. What is interesting about this program is the controversy it elicited, which eventually led to its termination. As the controversy developed it became clear that the way educators envisioned the problem of language loss and language survival differed significantly from how these were envisioned from the perspective of Apache families and family-related activities. I argue that these differently situated representations came into conflict because what were offered as language maintenance programs by the schools were construed by some to exacerbate the problem of language loss as understood within the locally derived language ideology.

The Ndee Biyati' Project: Its Rise and Fall

In this section I first give an account of the language program from the perspective of its developers in a tribal education office. I then describe some of the early critical responses I received from Apache friends who were not directly involved with the project, but who were supportive and helpful in its development. Following this, I describe the controversy that led to the project's termination, noting that other projects have become similarly embroiled. In succeeding sections I explore some of the differences between the contrasting language ideologies that contributed to this controversy.

When I first arrived at the White Mountain Apache Reservation, articles appeared in the *Fort Apache Scout* (2000a, 2000b) newspaper announcing that the tribe had just successfully established Internet connections for all the schools and libraries on the reservation. After living there for a year and becoming colleagues and friends with several Apache people involved in Apache language education (and after running out of my own grant money), I started to work as a language materials developer for Healthy Nations Ndee Benadesh: The People's Vision, one of the tribe's more youth-oriented and technologically innovative educational programs. Ndee Benadesh was initiated by Linda Goody, a tribal member who grew up on the reservation and returned to it after earning a master's degree in sociology and social work. The organization had enjoyed a good deal of public acclaim for its town-hall-style public meeting series, which solicited concerns from community members (language loss was always first on the list) and for its youth-oriented video composition programs. In the latter, Apache youths learned how to compose and edit videos and utilized this skill to address issues that concerned them. These videos focused on issues as diverse as drug

abuse, alcoholism, child–parent relationships, skateboarding competitions, the land, and the meaning of Apache identity. Students would compose five-minute segments on these and other topics and play them one after another on television monitors set up in various prominent public venues on the reservation. Longer compositions were viewed in the Whiteriver movie theater, with generally enthusiastic audience responses from young and old alike. The Ndee Benadesh offices offered an exciting atmosphere in which to work.

My job brought me into direct collaboration with Apache language teachers in several of the reservation schools. A common complaint among teachers was that they were expected to teach Apache but lacked established teaching materials. They said that it was difficult to coordinate their efforts because each school had its own Apache language program, often developed by an individual teacher, and there was no established way of publishing the materials or sharing them among the various programs scattered throughout the school system. Additionally, many of the materials were handmade in a sometimes ad hoc manner, and some teachers worried that the appearance of the Apache photocopies and mimeographs in contrast to glossy English language textbooks contributed to an impression among students that Apache was less valued than English. In answer to this, my colleagues and I at Ndee Benadesh developed a proposal to utilize the tribe's new Internet facilities, along with Ndee Benadesh's already established emphasis on audiovisual media, to develop a set of cutting-edge interactive audiovisual language materials that we thought would be exciting to young people. In this way, the Ndee Biyati' Apache Language Web Project began.[6]

The purpose of the project was to develop and publish Apache language teaching materials using the World Wide Web to make them available to teachers and students on the reservation's schools. The materials incorporated images, sounds, activities, and stories from the local community. It was hoped that this would be a relatively inexpensive way to reach all the reservation's schools in a form that could be continually expanded and developed.

The project involved four principal people: The director, Linda Goody,[7] a tribal member, who provided content oversight, community outreach, and institutional support; Patricia Nash, an educator with experience teaching the Apache language, also a tribal member, who provided content and offered her own classroom as a venue for trying out our language teaching materials; me (at that time I was going by the name Marybeth Culley), not a tribal member, hired as a linguist and anthropologist to develop culturally appropriate language materials; and Tom Nevins, a cultural anthropologist (and my husband), also not a tribal member, who designed the Web presentation and created a very popular unit on Apache clans.

Also involved in the project but not on the payroll were several teachers and teacher's aides and other employees at one of the reservation's schools, who contributed content or tried out materials in the classroom and helped in many other ways. The project also involved coordination with the tribe's information technology office, which had just finished outfitting all the schools and libraries on the reservation with Internet connections and which would have handled publication of the pages on the tribe's server, had the project reached that stage.

In an attempt to create continuity with already established Apache language programs, we often attempted to consolidate existing written materials, but within a more interactive audiovisual format. For example, several teachers had developed alphabet lessons with sets of word lists to illustrate particular sounds and letters of the practical Apache alphabet. Other teachers had developed sentence drills, requiring, as English grammar lessons do, that students use "full sentences," with subjects, objects, and verbs.[8] I often asked for help from friends that I knew from family contexts outside the office to help me rework the existing materials, check for idiomatic fitness, and help establish an audio component to accompany the texts. Although I did not recognize it at the time, while helping me, many times my friends were also offering gentle criticisms or suggesting alternatives to what I was doing that made

more sense from their perspective. The criticisms they offered were hard for me to recognize because they were not directed to issues that I, as a materials developer, was prepared to address. I was prepared, as a matter of course, to recognize criticism concerning the proper way to say this or that, the appropriateness of certain words or content, whether or not a statement was grammatical or idiomatic, or how to decide between two dialectal varieties of the same word. But instead, the criticisms pertained to the whole set of assumptions I was using to frame the project.

For example, after working with me to establish sound files of a long list of words to accompany a lesson on reading and writing Apache consonants, Everett Lupe, a close consultant and the father of school-age children, recited them back to me incredulously: "*bįįh, chizh, ch'ah, dįį'i, dlǫ, dził, góchi*, ('deer, firewood, hat, the number four, bird, mountain, pig'). . . . Is this really what it's supposed to mean to know the Apache language?" I replied that the exercise was specifically tailored for teaching the use of the alphabet and was not intended to represent the kind of linguistic knowledge that a fluent speaker would have. This answered a smaller question but left his larger question unanswered.

Another time Leo Cruz, a consultant and friend and the father of a school-age child, was helping me with a narrative exercise for the project. I was trying to develop short vignettes set in everyday life in order to target vocabulary for items and events around homes and neighborhoods. Mr. Cruz had just told me a story about an event that took place when he was fishing in the mountains with his three younger brothers. Returning to their trucks before the rest of the group, he found he had left his headlights on. He was so embarrassed at the oversight that he waited until everyone else had driven away before trying to start his truck, preferring to be stranded alone on the mountain rather than reveal his lapse to his younger brothers.[9] Not wanting to use his personally embarrassing story but hoping to create a vignette involving similar themes for the language project, I asked Mr. Cruz to help me write a script that involved a man arriving at his brother Dan's house and noticing that Dan's unoccupied truck is in the driveway with the headlights on. I asked Mr. Cruz how to say, in this situation, "Dan, your headlights are on." He obliged me, saying, "*Dan, ninałbił bikǫ daadiłtł'i*" ('Dan, your automobile, its light is lighted']. But then he added, "You know, somebody who is a really good speaker would not say it like that—with every single thing included. More likely he would come in the door, gesture casually from the person to the open door behind him, and say '*kǫ*'['light']. That person will know just what he means from that, because he has just come in from outside where he would have passed that truck." Mr. Cruz went on to say his son's Apache language homework was similar to the language used in the vignette, in that the homework did not reflect the way that a good speaker uses Apache in actual situations.[10] Again, I did not respond to this criticism and others like it except to delimit the confines of the project. As a materials developer, my job of building up explicit vocabulary and examples of sentence structure was defined in almost antithetical terms to those of Apache pedagogical practices and ways of speaking. The question of teaching someone how to be a good speaker in these terms was left unanswered. There were many other such incidents when I solicited the help of people outside of institutional contexts. And despite unanswered concerns, many people, including Everett Lupe and Leo Cruz, continued to help me and other project members and offer insight and support where possible.

Before the project's termination we had nearly completed an interactive alphabet, which incorporated photographs from the local community along with words that illustrated the sounds associated with individual letters, available at the click of a mouse as both text and sound files. We tried the materials out in several classrooms with positive responses from students and teachers. We had also developed a language and culture teaching-unit on family and clans, which drew the interest of older people as well as students. And we were in the beginning stages of developing interactive narrative- and image-based language lessons, designed with additional input from an Apache artist and filmmaker, Dustin Craig, to reflect local contexts and practices.

The project's design received favorable responses in a general southwestern intertribal education meeting, where we were approached by educators from several other tribes who were interested in starting similar programs. It was, from the perspective of those involved with it in the schools and other institutional contexts, an exciting project.

Our plan was to develop the pages up to the point where we felt we could provide a convincing demonstration in front of the tribal council. If the council approved, we hoped to publish the pages on the tribe's server, with the tribe holding copyright. However, before the project could get a hearing in the tribal council, we received a letter from the tribe's legal office instructing us to stop all activity on the project. People were beginning to become aware of the project, and it was eliciting considerable controversy. A different tribal education office held an Apache language symposium, in which the primary speaker strongly criticized the idea of using computers to teach the Apache language to children (Baeza 1998). The tribal council and cultural advisory board passed resolutions against publishing Apache language materials on the Internet and cast suspicion on the motives of the nontribal members involved in the project. Reservation school boards were divided on the subject. To make matters much worse, it was an election year, and the project, as it turned out, had become a political hot potato. Consequently, it was canceled.

At that time there were many Apache language educators working independently of one another, scattered throughout the various educational offices of the tribe. In fact, language education components were built into the education department, the culture center, the cultural heritage foundation, the health authority's public education program—that is, in every educational sector of the tribe.

Some of these educators commiserated with us, saying, "Now you know what it is like. It is hard to get anything done. Everyone says they want the kids to learn Apache, but if you try to do something, then people don't want it." I also learned of one linguist who was asked to leave the reservation as a result of a controversial language maintenance project with which she was involved. Thus the controversy surrounding this program was apparently not unique—others had become similarly embattled despite the fact that concern about Apache language loss and a desire to do something to get young people to speak Apache were widespread throughout the speech community.

Why Are So Many Language Programs Controversial within the Local Community They Attempt to Serve?

Despite a common interest in language preservation, then, controversy often follows the creation of such programs. The reason, I argue, is because of conflicts between the cultural constitution of communicative competence within the environment of speaking in the schools and other institutionalized educational settings, and environments defined by Apache forms of relationship. By "Apache forms of relationship" I'm referring to kin relations as well as relationships established through various formal means, including the Sunrise Dance and other godparent relationships (for an extended discussion of the dynamic constitution of these relationships, see Thomas Nevins 2004), marriage, or informal relations through familiarity as neighbors and friends.[11] The conflict is based on differences between the discourse on language in the schools, which is shaped by engagement with federal education programs, and its counterpart in contexts where Apache standards of communicative competence and forms of relationship are most salient (see Hymes 1966, 1972, 1996).

These differences arise because Apache language educators are forced to mediate between local language practices and the Apache language conceived as a national language in relation to other national languages. In order to place Apache on more equal footing with English, most of the programs concentrate on developing literacy-based language curricula for the schools, using principles of pedagogy adopted from those used for English. In many respects educators find themselves in the position of

having to recast Apache within the technologies and attending cultural practices of literacy.

Because written Apache is a relatively recent addition to reservation school programs, educators frequently seek out the services of language specialists to devise alphabets, dictionaries, grammars, pedagogical plans, and curricula. In fact, this is how I became involved in the Ndee Biyati' project. I was approached because I was doing research on Apache ways of speaking and it was thought that my skills as a linguist and my experience with computer media would be useful to the project. In retrospect, it is clear that my efforts and the efforts of those with whom I worked represent the application of certain ideas and values about language that conflicted with those of many in the local speech community.

Within educational discourse, language learning is focused upon correct pronunciation, the rules and structures of grammar, the alphabet, and lexicon. Language pedagogy is ideally designed to teach these to students in the classroom. In curricula current during the time of my fieldwork, wordlists, beginning with colors, numbers, and names of animals, and certain basic formal sentence formulas, were the primary Apache language teaching materials. This conception of language as something separate from the relations involved in speaking and listening contrasts sharply with concepts of language as represented in local discourse.

Apache Pedagogy and Apache Discourse on Listening, Respect, and Language Loss

By contrast with the educational model of pedagogy, Apache family–centered pedagogy teaches language by cultivating a child's awareness of the social world in which speaking is possible. One method for doing so, especially with small children, is a form of teasing. While babies are praised, coddled, humored, and generally celebrated, in many ways this early indulgence sets them up for important lessons in humility and modesty of self-representation. One of the forms this takes is a kind of language play mainly addressed to children between the ages of two and four who are just learning how to interact as full social participants. Through teasing, children are tricked out of their accustomed position at the center of attention in the family and led to appreciate the feelings of others. Perhaps this is best explained with an anecdote. I worked most closely with the family of Eva Lupe. One of her maternal grandsons, Berto (age three), loved to talk about himself, and his grandmother would play into this preoccupation. While pointing at a picture of him on the wall she would ask him, "Who's that handsome boy?" and Berto would ask the same question of virtually anyone he encountered. People would respond by exclaiming, "Wow! Berto, you're so handsome!" These moments would often elicit sidelong glances and muted chuckles. This and similar routines continued for several months. As Berto became more competent as a social participant, he became increasingly aware of the two-sided nature of this dialogue and became embarrassed by his grandmother's prompting and by others' perceptions of his own naïve self-interest.

In another example, Everett Lupe, Eva's son, called my attention to the way he teased his daughter, Jodi, telling me, "This is how the old people teach their kids." Jodi at the time was a very lively two-year-old, much celebrated by the family and an obvious favorite at family get-togethers. Everett would ask her the question *"chąąz'es chįh?"*, knowing that Jodi did not know the meaning of the phrase, and taught her to point at her own rear end in response to the question. As it turns out, the phrase can be loosely translated as "What smells like poop?" Everett would ask the question from time to time, especially when there were many family members around. When she pointed at her own rear end, everyone would laugh, and Jodi, accustomed to being celebrated, assumed this was more of the same and basked in the attention. This routine went on for a couple of months, until her accustomed response to the question became more hesitant as she began to detect something else in the laughter of those around her. Eventually she began to realize the meaning of the question for

others and either refused to respond or said, "No!" or "You!" in response to her father. Everyone, including her father, laughed heartily—this time because she had figured out the joke that had been played on her. After this realization, her father persisted in teasing her with this and other routines, challenging her understanding of what it said and what it means to others around her. Her responses progressed from unwitting compliance to embarrassed refusals to attempts to tease him in return. Similar teasing takes places between older and younger siblings.

This teasing is a form of language socialization (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986) that teaches children important values of respecting others by not egotistically setting themselves apart from other members of their family, as well as important skills of social awareness. These lessons are accomplished not by directly intercepting and correcting the child's errors, but by getting the child to correct herself. It corresponds to what Ronald Scollon and Suzanne Scollon (1979, 1990), Phillip Greenfeld (1996), Scott Rushforth and James Chisholm (1991), and others have observed as an Athabaskan respect for individual autonomy (for Navajo examples see Lamphere 1977 and Witherspoon 1975, 1977). Through teasing routines the child is not taught a set of rules for what to do or say. Instead, she is encouraged to follow her impulses until these bring her into a self-conscious awareness of relations to others.

Teasing teaches children the value of such awareness, expressed in discourse as "listening." Babies, young people, and adults perceived to be headstrong or foolish are discussed as those who "don't listen" (*doo ídíts'a dah*). The particle *doo . . . dah* forms the negative of *ídíts'ag* ('he or she listens'). In babies this is the expected way of things. They can be indulged because "they don't know anything; they are just babies." Ideally, children learn to "listen" (*ídíts'ag*) by being in the home, participating in what is happening there in everyday life, and being aware of and involved with family members.

Awareness, or listening, is not forced but cultivated in ways like those discussed above, as well as encouraged by other indirect techniques. Basso describes several of these in his many ethnographic descriptions of Apache moral and aesthetic values of speaking. In contrast with what is characterized by Apache as *Ndah bik'ehgo yati'* ('speaking like a Whiteman'), an Apache way of speaking or teaching is accomplished not didactically but through cultivating the learner's engagement in some aspect of the common immediate environment of meaning, whether this is a metaphor, a story, or the fact of being together in silence (Basso 1970, 1976, 1984, 1988). Claire Farrer (1991) has noted a similar emphasis on the cultivation of awareness for Mescalero Apache. As I found in other observations during my fieldwork, this is a model of learning and appropriate speech that extends throughout a person's life.

The discourse on listening is a way in which Apache people talk about the expected moral development that takes place from youthful unawareness and self-preoccupation to maturity and a greater awareness and *bígonsįh* ('knowledge of others'), within the intimate moral environment of family life. One's moral development is expected to continue throughout one's life and is evidenced in one's speech. By listening one shows *dińts'į* ('respect') for older people in one's environment and ultimately for the ancestors as encountered through elders, stories, and the land itself (see Basso 1996:10–11).

In an interesting way this concept of listening has become important for what it means to know and speak Apache. It has also become important to understandings of language loss, through the ways in which it relates language to knowledge of familial relations. A person's speaking proficiency ultimately indexes how attentively and to whom that person has been listening. Knowing how to speak "good Apache" indexes involvement with and awareness of family. Many older people perceive younger people as lacking proficiency in Apache, and this coincides with another common complaint: "Nowadays kids don't listen." In fact, a common, often playful, Apache-English idiomatic phrase used throughout the reservation community is *ts'adah-boy* or *ts'adah-girl* ('naughty boy/girl', literally 'boy/girl who doesn't listen').[12] This prevalent idiom underscores the salience of the idea of listening to contemporary Apache

understandings of intergenerational relationships and extends the meaning of the idea of "not listening" to the lack of Apache fluency among young people.

The Apache discourse on language learning identifies language and listening with participation and fluency in practices constitutive of the family. Studies of Southern Athabaskan family life generally have stressed the importance of cooperation, sustenance, and sharing as constitutive of familial relations (Lamphere 1977; Witherspoon 1975). In effect, the family is a discourse environment wherein membership is demonstrated through the acquisition and expression of competence with regard to practices seen as essential to the family's well-being (Thomas Nevins 2004). Participation or its lapse in key acts of sustenance, such as preparing and sharing food, is identified with participation or its lapse in understanding and speaking with others in the family environment. Both are indications of cooperative acts constitutive of family.

That this set of concepts is central within Apache discourse to what it means to know and learn the Apache language is borne out by how Eva Lupe and her family approached the issue of teaching me to speak Apache. When I first arrived at Eva Lupe's house during my first full day of ethnographic fieldwork, I sat at her kitchen table with her daughters Arlene Natan and Annette Tenejieth and asked if they would help me to learn to speak Apache. Their immediate response was that I had better start by learning how to make bread, and they began what was to be a yearlong process of teaching me to make the four different kinds of Apache bread, beginning with fry bread for that evening's meal. Similarly, Everett Lupe, one night after working with my husband and me on transcribing and analyzing Apache words for the language project, sat silent for a long while. Then he said, "I think that . . . if a girl makes bread every day and if a boy chops wood . . . every day, I think that boy and that girl would be speaking Apache." He proposed that we include this idea in the closing lesson of an Apache reading primer, in a statement that has the feel of a benediction:

Kįhyóó nádołkáho,
('Go home')
Chizh nik'é,
('Chop wood')
Kǫ' dé'ínjéh,
('Build a fire')
A'ílé
('Cook')

Nzhǫ́ǫ́ní
('May it be good/beautiful')

Again and again, in every family with which I was intimately acquainted, I encountered this discourse, which emphasizes awareness and participation in activities sustaining of family life as central to knowing the Apache language.

The view of language loss, then, within the Apache discourse of the family identifies that loss with a crisis in cooperative participation and awareness of others in family life. For example, in an interview with Eva Lupe (EL in the excerpt below) about differences in Apache fluency between older and younger people, when I (EN in the excerpt) asked if there were things that older people say that younger people do not seem to understand, she responded emphatically:

> [EL:] *Everybody*. I hear *everybody*, all over.
> Sunday after church, after twelve, I put on a barbecue corn, beans.
> That's how we used to do it long time ago.
>
> And I bought some short ribs.
> I put short ribs in there and I boiled it outside.
>
> And it's been goin' on all afternoon!
>
> Then, seems like when it's done, I make some bread.

And here the kids, they didn't eat that, they didn't touch it! <emphatic>

They just went in here [her house].
There were two big, those pies that they sell at the store two for five dollars,
They warmed that up.

And nobody eats my barbecue corn!
Just me, Leo, and Leander.

And I make a whole bunch of *báń dit'ááne* ('bread that is thick' or 'bubble bread').

And then, ah, Everett came
And I said,
"Just help yourself.
Eat some barbecue corn right there and I got some bread."
They ate some.

Then Gary came,
And I said "Go eat."<emphatic, laughing>

The kids didn't even touch it.

And I said: "Those White people!" <laughing>

[EN:] Their pizza's in there.

[EL:] *yéeah.* <emphatic>
They never did touch it
And all my kids, you know, *my* kids, they like it.

By *my kids,* Mrs. Lupe is referring to her sons Leo, Everett, and Gary, who were then all in their thirties and perceived to be fluent in Apache.[13] In her narrative, they are represented as different from her grandchildren in that they are aware of the efforts of others in the home environment, and they willingly prefer to eat food prepared by their mother in a way that has come to signify care and attention; thus they participate in the sustaining activities of the family. By contrast, the grandchildren do not pay attention to what their grandmother has been preparing all afternoon; rather, they have been inside watching television and warming up frozen pizzas. This discrepancy in listening and participation is emblematic of changes in knowledge of Apache between younger and older generations. Young people were characterized similarly in other households I visited, especially when the issue of language was salient. Parents would laugh, looking at the kids eating pizza or hotdogs and watching television, and say with both a mixture of good humor and exasperation, "I live with a bunch of White people here!"

In the family of one of Eva Lupe's sons there was one girl, however, who was described by adults as the only one of the children in the family who listened. She was also talked about as the only one of the grandchildren who always helped with cleaning the house. This was attributed to the fact that "she was raised by her grandmother in the old way." In the same breath, it would be noted that when she was living with her grandmother, she, unlike her cousins, really knew how to speak Apache.

The discourse on listening does two things: It describes a moral and appropriate form for relations within the family, and it presents listening as the precondition for any appropriate and effective use of language. It is a precondition to *diníts'į́* ('respect'), another important idea in Apache discourse on learning and knowing language. The authority that listening within the family ideally confers on the elder and more knowledgeable generation is exactly what is being threatened in language loss. Listening as a process constitutive of both family relations and the acquisition of the ability to speak Apache is threatened by the participation of young people in an English-language-dominant regime of meaning. The young people are listening, but their listening does not take place within the family. Because of this the expectation that young people

will learn Apache by listening and participating in the practices constitutive of family life is thwarted by the lure of a social world that is constituted in other terms.

From the perspective of the home, language has its basis in understandings attained by the edifying practice of listening. This and related pedagogical practices focus attention on cultivating children's awareness of others. Knowing how to speak Apache is an index of the child's involvement in the intimate moral universe of family life. The discourse on listening and its association with ideas about learning and speaking Apache contrast sharply with the way these are formulated in school-based pedagogy.

Internal Critique and Conflict between Language Ideologies in the Apache Context

I now explore the interplay of these two different language ideologies and discuss how it factors into the interpretation of Apache language programs in the schools. First I discuss differing understandings of language loss within the two discourses, in which language preservation formulated through institutional discourse is perceived to exacerbate the problem of language loss as defined in Apache discourse. Following this, I explore how differences between the two discourses and their accompanying pedagogical practices are constituted by Apache people in terms of *Ndee bik'ehgo* ('Apache way') and *Ndah bik'ehgo* ('White way'), and note the importance of this construal for definitions of Apache and English within local discourse. Finally, I discuss the often paradoxical nature of language programs from the standpoint of Apache discourse, how this has been addressed in language programs that have survived, and the perceptive, informed, and reasonable nature of this critique.

Unlike the institutional definitions of language, language loss in Apache discourse is envisioned not only as the loss of language itself, but more saliently as a weakening of the relationships from which it springs. Language loss is therefore interpreted as an indication of problems within the family. I have argued that language education programs have become controversial, despite widespread concern about language loss, because of the conflict between two different representations of language in the reservation speech community: one that identifies language with grammatical structures and rules and another that subordinates processes of normative language acquisition to the pedagogical relations between different generations in the family. The Apache language education programs bring these into conflict by equating them with each other and so, in effect, threatening to replace one set of concerns with the other. The schools therefore can be interpreted as contributing to the problem of language loss by shifting children's attention away from the family as a primary site of learning.

Efforts that foreground the use of technologies, such as the one I participated in, can be particularly threatening. Educators identify these technologies with learning, but they are also seen to violate the dialogic principles of listening so valued in the family. During my fieldwork, very few families had a computer or access to the Internet at home. In that environment, computers were perceived not only to remove children from the expected pedagogical relations but also to set them apart from the dialogic nature of direct human contact. The tremendous power attributed to computer technology introduces new uncertainties into a situation that is already perceived to be unstable. A public objection to our program was that computers in the schools should not be allowed to take the place of parents and grandparents. So although the glamour attached to computers may have been one of the reasons why the program enjoyed initial support, the possibility that computer programs might capture children's attention and become the preferred way to teach and learn Apache was perceived to have the potential to further destabilize pedagogical relations in the family.

This possibility is reflected in another concern: that the older generation may lose the language not by virtue of its disappearance, but by being dispossessed of the authority to teach it and by losing their pedagogical relationship to successive generations, and in this view this relationship is what makes meaningful continuity and sharing of the

language possible. The same concern is sometimes voiced in terms such as, "They are trying to steal our kids" or "They are trying to steal our language"—familiar phrases to anyone working on language programs in Native American contexts, but which acquire their full meaning in this case only when viewed in relation to the Apache discourse on listening and language situated within the home, family, and other Apache forms of relationship.[14]

It is also important to take into account power inequalities between school and family, particularly in matters of language, established by the obligatory nature of schooling. Children come home with criticisms of their parents' English from their teachers, who are often non-Apache. In this context the prospect of the schools' becoming a similar arbitrating authority on the Apache language becomes an additional impediment to getting children to listen within the family. Add to this the historical complicity of the schools with government-sponsored efforts to suppress the use of Apache, and it becomes especially important to address problems on this front. For example, it might help if schools were to valorize homes and families as legitimate sites of learning.

Other critiques are also more understandable once it is realized that what is taken as important about language in the Apache language ideology is very different from the way language is viewed in the schools. When asked for the translation for *Apache language*, many Apache people of my acquaintance answered, *"Ndee bik'ehgo yati' "* ('speech according to the way of the [Apache] People'). When asked for the translation of *English language*, they replied, *"Ndah bik'ehgo yati'"* ('speech according to the way of non-Apaches/strangers/White people'). Forms of pedagogy, aesthetics, and morality in the schools are associated in Apache discourse with *Ndah bik'ehgo*, the 'White way', and by extension with *Ndah bik'ehgo yati'* ('alien/White people's way of speaking'), which, as we have learned from Basso (1979), has been construed as unwise, unsettling, and un-Apache. Therefore, the Apache language, presented as Apache literacy in the schools, more closely resembles ways of using language that are associated with English and with non-Apache, "White" identity (see Scollon and Scollon 1979, 1990 for a parallel northern Athabaskan case).[15]

Mr. Cruz raised an important criticism when he let me know that a fluent Apache speaker would generally not make explicit reference to things that would already be in awareness. School programs can be paradoxical in that they teach the sounds and some of the spoken patterns of Apache but in a strikingly un-Apache way. In another conversation, Mr. Cruz, talking about his son's Apache language homework, noted, "They might be using some Apache-sounding words, but what they are really teaching the kids is English. They think they are teaching the kids the Apache word *nakih*, but they don't teach the kids *nakih*; instead they are teaching "*nakih* means two."

Another Apache consultant, educator, and parent, Benjamin Benaly, noted that to most fluent Apaches the meaning of Apache words is altered and reduced in the focus on spelling and "sounding out the letters." He had just attended the Athapaskan Languages Conference and had been unsettled by some of the linguistic presentations. He had this comment: "In spelling you [i.e., linguists, teachers] think of *shash* ('bear') as S-H-A-S-H, but when a fluent Apache speaker thinks *shash* he sees a vital presence moving up there in the mountains." School-based pedagogical practices are criticized by some as severing the word from its creative power—its existence with and effect on what it evokes.

Finally, older people worry that younger people are not learning many of the subtleties in the use of Apache. Everett Lupe noticed that many people in their twenties are not making a set of important distinctions between terms that describe qualities independent of individual intentions or agency, and terms that describe qualities with particular reference to the intentions and agency of individuals. He offered the example that to say someone is doing a good job (e.g., in fixing a car), an older, fluent speaker would use the term *nłt'éégo* to characterize the job performed as being done well. But if that older speaker were talking about the mechanic as a man, to say that he is a good, knowledgeable mechanic, the fluent speaker would use the word *nzisgo*

to signify that it is the man himself and his ability that are good. Younger people, Mr. Lupe said, use only *nłt'éégo* for any positive evaluation, and thus do not make what for older Apaches is an important distinction. It should not be a surprise that similar concerns on the part of the most fluent and knowledgeable Apache adults to maintain subtle intellectual distinctions in the use of language have not yet begun to be addressed within existing Apache language programs.

Suggested Alternative Models

As described above, again and again concerned Apache parents of school-age children often responded to the language program we were working on together by redefining its objectives in terms of home-based, family-sustaining practices: "If boys would just chop wood for their families every day and girls would make bread, they would know Apache." Another father, an educator, said, "I teach my son Apache by building a *tałt'oh* ('shade/ramada') with him."[16] Apache language and culture classes that survive without controversy occurring in the local community incorporate a good deal of activities that at least symbolically reflect Apache models of pedagogy into their lesson plans. However, such programs are more vulnerable to being deemed superfluous within the school's own terms because standard tools of accountability and control do not apply.

So am I saying that Apache should not be taught in the schools, or am I claiming that Apache people, by and large, are against it? The answer on both counts is no. There are many Apache language education programs currently running, and the project with which I was involved enjoyed support from many Apache people who were disappointed when it was canceled. What I am saying is that scholars who are concerned about endangered or threatened languages should try to understand how the communities themselves perceive and represent these problems. There may be more than one language ideology at play within minority speech communities, and a locally derived discourse may define what it means to know and learn the language in terms very different from those articulated in institutional discourse. The imposition of programs without listening and responding to criticisms from the communities they are intended to benefit may be interpreted as yet another form of oppression.

One of my hopes for this study is that it helps to demonstrate that the view of generational language shift from the perspective of Apache discourse is perceptive, rational, compelling, and certainly worth listening to. It also suggests that steps to strengthen Apache families—in terms that they themselves find appropriate—would not be out of place in language maintenance efforts. Let me also say that I do not intend this as an argument for strict cultural conservatism. As is evident in tribal radio-station discourse, in some of the Apache independent churches, and in the frequent, often ironic use of images, characters, and stories from mass media within local narrative practices, Apache people are fully capable of appropriating selected media, technologies, genres, and styles into Apache discursive practices (Eleanor Nevins n.d.). What is lacking in language maintenance attempts so far is recognition of the importance of locally derived language ideologies, ways of speaking, and pedagogical practices, and the creation of realistic possibilities for persons conferred with authority within Apache communicative practices to author or otherwise exert control over these language programs.

In order for this to happen, there is a need for the educational language programs to locate language within ways of speaking and social relations of speaking:

> Through awareness of and sensitivity to the socioexpressive dimension of speaking, and to intergroup differences in ways of speaking within heterogeneous communities, ethnographic investigators are particularly well equipped to clarify those problem situations which stem from covert conflicts between different ways of speaking, conflicts which may be obscured by a failure to see beyond the referential functions of speech and abstract grammatical patterns.

> Understanding of such problem situations is a major step toward their solution, laying the groundwork for planning and change. [Bauman and Sherzer 1975:115]

The listening that an ethnographic approach affords may also prove to be a potential source of creativity in pedagogy. A dialogic ethnographic approach to local language values and definitions of communicative competence is an indispensable step toward developing the ability to accurately understand criticisms and recognize potential opportunities.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I gratefully acknowledge financial support for this research provided by the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the Phillips Fund for Native American Research of the American Philosophical Society, and the Jacobs Research Fund of Whatcom Museum. Earlier versions of this article were presented in a Conference on American Indian Languages (CAIL) session sponsored by SSILA at the American Anthropological Association meetings in 1999, at the 2000 annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, and at the University of Virginia Linguistic Anthropology seminar. Many thanks are due to Thomas J. Nevins, cultural anthropologist, my husband and research partner, whose critical insights have been indispensable to developing the approach to language loss as a culturally constituted problem articulated in this article. I am also grateful for the support and critical contributions of Dell Hymes, Virginia Hymes, Ellen Contini-Morava, Eve Danziger, Dan Lefkowitz, Lise Dobrin, and Charles Bwenge. This article would not have been possible without thoughtful contributions from many Apache people concerned about the state of the Apache language. I thank the many creative people working under the aegis of Ndee Benadesh and the Apache language educators who responded to our project in the schools, as well as Eva Lupe, Everett Lupe, Arlene Natan, and Leo Cruz. Any shortcomings, of course, are my own.

1. The Sunrise Dance, or *Na'í'ees*, is a young woman's coming-of-age ceremony. It involves two extended families: the girl's, and that of the woman who has been asked to become her godmother. The latter is typically from a family and clan affiliation different from the girl's. The ceremony creates a lasting relationship between the two families (see Thomas Nevins 2004). The most elaborate Sunrise Dances are large public ceremonies involving months, sometimes years, of preparation, hundreds of people, and thousands of dollars.
2. Moral interpretations of language loss among the young were most characteristically evoked obliquely in ways I discuss in the section "Apache Pedagogy and Apache Discourse on Listening, Respect, and Language Loss."
3. Keith Basso has also worked for many years as an active consultant to the White Mountain Apache Tribe Cultural Advisory Board and other Apache culture and language programs.
4. This was not pure philanthropy on my part; I was a paid for my work on various projects. I was a paid consultant to the Ndee Biyati' program; a paid language-materials developer for Ndee Benadesh; and received a modest fee from the Arizona Humanities Council for acting as project director for the tribe's Culture Center and Museum, where I helped with creating a video archive of the *Na'í'ees*, or Sunrise Dance. I needed to make a living while extending my research time.
5. A list of currently active National Science Foundation–funded linguistic research projects, for example, includes at least 30 out of 129 projects with an explicit language-development component (see http://www.fastlane.nsf.gov/servlet/A6QueryList).
6. *Ndee Biyati'* literally means 'the (Apache) People, their speech'.
7. This name has been changed, as have the names of the people referred to in this article as Patricia Nash and Benjamin Benaly. All other names are real.
8. Of course, this is an artificial concern when imported to Apache, a language in which grammatical relations such as subject and object arguments are encoded by pronominal prefixes within the verb complex. Nouns do not directly express grammatical relations but are adjoined to the verb through the pronominal prefixes and serve discourse functions (e.g., to express topic or focus, or to disambiguate).
9. Mr. Cruz was prompted to tell this story because I had just run down the battery on my own truck by leaving on the headlights.
10. Mr. Cruz related this observation to his experience working as an extra on the Hollywood movie *Geronimo*. He said that the director had hired a dialect coach to run the Apache language portions and that this dialect coach directed a team of fluent Apache speakers to follow the

Apache language script to the letter. The director ignored all suggestions and protests that the script directed the extras to speak in stilted and unnatural ways.

11. Other godparent relationships are established through the Independent Apache Christian Churches as well as the mission churches, but are defined in ways similar if not identical to those established through the Sunrise Dance.

12. *Ts'adah* is a shortened form of *doo'ídits'a dah*. *Ts'adah-boy* is an Apache-English phrase in which the ordering of modifier and noun follows the English pattern rather than the Apache, in which the noun comes first, as with *ishkiin*, 'boy' in *ishkiin doo'ídits'a dah*.

13. In the excerpted interview Eva Lupe speaks of making *báń dit'ááné* (literally, 'bread that is thick'). This is one of the four kinds of traditional Apache flatbread, distinguished from the others by the addition of baking powder to the dough and by the cooking method, which uses dry heat from a fire or stovetop. It is called *bubble bread* in English, referring to the bubbles that form in the dough as it heats.

14. "They are trying to steal our language" was also a criticism raised in official contexts such as the tribal council. Here council members voiced the concern that publishing Apache language materials on the Internet would make the language available for anyone to take up and use or misuse.

15. Scollon and Scollon (1979) make the case that literacy is interpreted as a form of interethnic communication by Chipewyan persons who identify with Athabaskan discourse patterns because written prose corresponds to ways of speaking that they have come to associate with non-Athabaskan English speakers.

16. *Tałt'oh* is a traditional Apache outdoor shelter made of saplings and oak branches. It is a rectangular structure with branches full of gamble oak leaves woven throughout to provide shade and a pleasant rustling when the wind blows. Most homes on the reservation with any yard space have one, usually covering a seating area and fire pit.

References Cited

Adley-Santa Maria, Bernadette
1997 White Mountain Apache Language Shift: A Perspective on Causes, Effects, and Avenues for Change. M.A. thesis, Department of American Indian Studies, University of Arizona, Tucson.
1997b White Mountain Apache Language: Issues in Language Shift, Textbook Development, and Native Speaker-University Collaboration. *In* Teaching Indigenous Languages. Jon Reyhner, ed. Pp. 129–143. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University.

Anderson, Benedict R.
1991 Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso.

Baeza, Jo
1998 First Apache Language Symposium Explores Ways to Keep Language Viable. Fort Apache Scout, February 13: 10.

Basso, Keith H.
1970 "To Give Up on Words": Silence in Western Apache Culture. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 26(3):213–230.
1976 "Wise Words" of the Western Apache: Metaphor and Semantic Theory. *In* Meaning in Anthropology. Keith H. Basso and Henry A. Selby, eds. Pp. 93–122. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
1979 Portraits of "the Whiteman": Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols among the Western Apache. New York: Cambridge University Press.
1984 "Stalking with Stories": Names, Places, and Moral Narratives among the Western Apache. *In* Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society. Edward M. Bruner, ed. Pp. 19–55. Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society.
1988 "Speaking with Names": Language and Landscape among the Western Apache. Cultural Anthropology 3(2):99–130.
1996 Wisdom Sits in Places: Language and Landscape among the Western Apache. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Bauman, Richard, and Joel Sherzer
1975 The Ethnography of Speaking. Annual Review of Anthropology 4:95–119.

Bray, Dorothy, ed.
1998 Western Apache-English Dictionary: A Community-Generated Bilingual Dictionary. Tempe, AZ: Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe.

Collins, James
1998a Understanding Tolowa Histories: Western Hegemonies and Native American Responses. New York: Routledge.
1998b Our Ideologies and Theirs. *In* Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory. Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, eds. Pp. 256–270. New York: Oxford University Press.
de Reuse, Willem J.
1997 Issues in Language Textbook Development: The Case of Western Apache. *In* Teaching Indigenous Languages. Jon Reyhner, ed. Pp. 116–128. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.
Dorian, Nancy C.
1998 Western Language Ideologies and Small-Language Prospects. *In* Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response. Lenore Grenoble and Lindsay Whaley, eds. Pp. 3–21. New York: Cambridge University Press.
2002 Commentary: Broadening the Rhetorical and Descriptive Horizons in Endangered-Language Linguistics. Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 12(2):134–140.
England, Nora C.
2002 Commentary: Further Rhetorical Concerns. Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 12(2):141–143.
Epps, Patricia
N.d. A Linguistic Investigation of Hupda (Maku). Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia.
Farrer, Claire R.
1991 Living Life's Circle: Mescalero Apache Cosmovision. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Fase, Willem, Koen Jaspaert, and Sjaak Kroon, eds.
1992 Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Fishman, Joshua
1989 Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
2002 Commentary: What a Difference 40 Years Make! Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 12(2):144–149.
Florey, Margaret J.
1993 The Reinterpretation of Knowledge and Its Role in the Process of Language Obsolescence. Oceanic Linguistics 32(2):295–309.
Fort Apache Scout
2000a Issues on White Mountain Apache Language. Fort Apache Scout, August 25: 1.
2000b Threats to Native Languages: Issues That Could Affect Dzil Ligai Si'an Ndee Biyati' (White Mountain Apache Language). Fort Apache Scout, July 28: 1.
Greenfeld, Phillip J.
1996 Self, Family, and Community in White Mountain Apache Society. Ethos 24(3):491–509.
Handler, Richard
1988 Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Hill, Jane H.
1998 "Today There is No Respect": Nostalgia, Respect, and Oppositional Discourse in Mexicano (Nahuatl) Language Ideology. *In* Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory. Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, eds. Pp. 68–86. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2002 "Expert Rhetorics" in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who Is Listening and What Do They Hear? Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 12(2):119–133.
Hill, Jane H., and Kenneth C. Hill
1986 Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of Syncretic Language in Central New Mexico. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
Hofling, Charles Andrew
1996 Indigenous Linguistic Revitalization and Outsider Interaction: The Itzaj Maya Case. Human Organization 55(1):108–116.
Hymes, Dell
1966 Two Types of Linguistic Relativity: Some Examples from American Indian Ethnography. *In* Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964. William Bright, ed. Pp. 114–167. The Hague: Mouton.

1972 On Communicative Competence. *In* Sociolinguistics. J. B. Pride and Janet Holmes, eds. Pp. 269–285. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
1996 Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality: Toward an Understanding of Voice. Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis.

Kulick, Dan
1997 Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction: Socialization, Self and Syncretism in a Papua New Guinea Village. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lamphere, Louise
1977 To Run after Them: Cultural and Social Bases of Cooperation in a Navajo Community. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Liebe-Harkort, M. L.
1979 Bilingualism and Language Mixing among the White Mountain Apaches. Folia Linguistica 13:345–356.
1980 Recent Developments in Apachean Language Maintenance. International Journal of American Linguistics 46(2):85–91.

Moore, Robert E.
1999 Endangered. Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 9(1–2):65–68.

Nettle, Daniel, and Suzanne Romaine
2000 Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nevins, M. Eleanor
N.d. "You Find Yourself in There": Hybridity, Transposition and Translation in White Mountain Apache Discourse. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia.

Nevins, Thomas J.
2004 A World Made of Prayer: Alterity and Moral Vision in Contemporary White Mountain Apache Culture. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia.

Rushforth, Scott, and James S. Chisholm
1991 Cultural Persistence: Continuity in Meaning and Moral Responsibility among the Bearlake Athapaskans. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Samuels, David
In press Ambiguity and Identity: Contemporary San Carlos Apache Expressive Culture. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi B., and Elinor Ochs
1986 Language Socialization across Cultures. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Scollon, Ronald, and Suzanne B. K. Scollon
1979 Literacy as Interethnic Communication: An Athabaskan Case. Working Papers in Sociolinguistics 59. Austin, TX: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.
1990 Athapaskan-English Interethnic Communication. *In* Cultural Communication and Intercultural Contact. Donal Carbaugh, ed. Pp. 259–286. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Silverstein, Michael
1998 Contemporary Transformations of Local Linguistic Communities. Annual Review of Anthropology 27:401–426.

Witherspoon, Gary
1975 Navajo Kinship and Marriage. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1977 Language and Art in the Navajo Universe. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

M. Eleanor Nevins
Department of Anthropology
Campus Box 8005
Idaho State University
Pocatello, ID 83209-8005
eleanor_nevins@msn.com