

Linguistic strategies encountered at a Haida immersion camp

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The strategies encountered at Haida immersion camp are the focus of the paper. In particular, the difference in politeness between Elder/apprentice as well as the linguistic ideologies of both learner and teacher offer insight to the immersion setting. The presence of such strategies offer insight to the language revitalization efforts for both learner and teacher.

1 Introduction And Goals

Many First Nations' people currently find themselves in critical stages concerning their ancestral language. Many face the possibility of language death. For the Haida, a small percentage, 15-20%, of elders are still fluent in Haida (*Towards rebirth of First Nations languages*: 1992:64, 73). One of the efforts at maintaining Haida at began within the last decade includes teaching Haida at the elementary school level. Another effort incorporates elders and students in a Haida language immersion setting.

Immersion camps, camps focussed on learning a particular language, are becoming very popular among First Nations and American Indians. It is reasonably assumed that the camp participants will espouse various ideologies of language and that they will implement various language strategies throughout the duration of the camp as well. In this paper, I will look at the participants' interaction of a Haida language immersion camp to provide evidence of such ideologies as well as linguistic strategies employed by the elders and students. I will provide an analysis of audio taped interaction that exemplifies the elders' linguistic ideology (Kroskrity 1992; Whorf 1941); the presence of clarification (Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1990) combined with apprenticeship (Lave & Wenger 1991; Goffman 1959; Rogoff 1992), and the presence of politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987), all constantly manifested throughout the duration of the immersion camp.

2 Background

The Haida immersion camp, planned originally for the summer of 1994, but due to the insistence of April Davis, the grantee, the Alaskan Parks Board released the funds earlier. Davis' argument included the reality that the elders that targeted for participation may not be alive the following summer and thus, it was important to engage them in language maintenance and teaching activity as soon as possible. Her argument persuaded the Alaska Parks Board to release the grant earlier than the original date of distribution. During the winter of 93/94, five Haida elders died, one of who was nearly 100 years old, and another was a participant in the immersion camp, thus Davis' prophetic words warranted the earlier distribution of the money.

The participants of the camp were a group of six fluent elders, one of who was male (81), the youngest of who was in her late 50s, and the eldest was 85. There were 14 other participants of varying Haida proficiencies, six teenagers from 14-19, four females and two males; two pre-elders (elders-in-training), a male and female, who were in their mid 40s; and the final group consisted of six mid 20s to mid 30s' persons, three males and three females. All participants were of Haida descent, and all were at the camp to teach or learn Haida.

The camp occurred at Tulung Stung, a traditional Haida dwelling site in the northwestern most location of Haida Gwaii, islands of the Ha'ada (Blackman 1982:23), in British Columbia, Canada. It happened from August 23 to September 2, 1993. The elders arrived by helicopter into the camp, and the rest flew by plane to Ku'ista, "the town at the end of the trail" (Swanton 1909:281), and had to hike anywhere from 25 minutes to 90 minutes, depending on whether the tide was in. If the tide was out, it was possible to walk on the beach (approximately 25 minutes walking time), if it was in, then it was necessary to hike and climb along the craggy cliffs and hills (approximately 90 minutes of hiking, climbing, walking, and resting).

The original concept for the camp was that it would be a complete immersion in Haida, but the reality of a majority of non-fluent Haida speakers and only a minority of fluent speakers quickly established the schedule that would eliminate English at designated times rather than completely. The schedule allowed the elders to present historical narratives, traditional basket weaving from gathering the spruce roots to the finished product, traditional narratives and individual time with all the participants. Certain meals were also designated as NO ENGLISH, which were quiet at first, but which ultimately provided focused Haida interaction in dealing with food.

The elders were aware of and agreed to being recorded through out the camp. In the following section, I will provide transcripts and analyses of the interaction that reveals the presence of the elders' linguistic ideology, the role of clarification during the process of apprenticeship, and the linguistic strategy of politeness through out the duration of the camp.

3 Methodology

There are three portions of transcripts that I will use for my analysis:

- (A) Is a student (student) with an elder (elder);
- (B) is the same elder with a different student (novice);
- (C) is the same student (novice) with the junior elder (elder B);

All transcripts serve the purpose of contrastive/comparative analysis, and access to various aspects of the camp's interaction. I have chosen to number the transcript sequentially for the purpose of this analysis even though the sequences are not necessarily sequential. A note concerning the transcription and orthography of the Haida reveals a close similarity to English with the difference's being:

1. /q/ is a voiceless velar fricative (Enrico 1980: 18-19)
2. /ʔ/ represents a glottal stop (Sapir 1923:145);
3. /x/ is a glottal or laryngeal fricative similar to the ultimate sound in

the southern German pronunciation of "Ich" (Enrico: 1980: 18-19; Sapir 1923: 147-148);

4. A voiced alveolar implosive or affricate /dl/ and its voiceless counterpart /tɬ/ (Enrico 1980: 14-15);

5. /o/ represents a guttural presence compared to the /o/ which is "plain" according to the Haida elder.

Anything in [] represents indistinguishable words or questionable hearing of the words. The arrow ">" marks the point of interruption. The use of colons (:) provides a lengthening of the phoneme

Transcripts

(A) Elder and student

The context of the first part of the transcript is that the student has a poem translated for him by the eldest female elder. The student is verifying her translation of the poem with the only male elder attending the camp. As the transcript begins, the elder has heard the poem and seeks to hear it once more.

001 elder can you say it slow again right now?
002 student okay, ot
003 elder ah just a moment ah
004 ----- what are you actually talking about
005 ----- I, I, I don't understand it,
006 ----- that's why I'm>
007 student okay, let me see
008 ----- where's my other one
009 ----- I'm talking about the eagle
010 ----- that sits upon the rocks>
011 elder oh, uh huh
012 student you know>
013 ----- ot kwa ingut qowan>
014 elder yeah, ot
015 student ot, ot
016 elder ot, say it kind of plain
017 ----- you, you say it too low
018 student say it again
019 elder ot
020 Student ot
021 elder ot, you see it's kind of plain
022 ----- when I say it>
023 Student ot
024 elder you say it, uh uh..
025 ----- you say it
026 ----- but it seems like
027 ----- it is spread out more
028 student ahhh, ot>
029 elder you know so it uh,
030 ----- it's, it's, it's not plain
031 student um hmm

033 elder like I say
 034 ----- ot
 035 student ot kwa ingut qawa
 034 elder alright that's good
 035 student ot kwa ingut qawa
 036 elder say it over
 037 student ot kwa ingut qawa
 038 ----- kawa
 039 elder say it over
 040 ----- ot
 041 student ot
 042 elder kwa
 043 student kwa
 044 elder ingut
 045 student ingut
 046 elder qawa
 047 student qawa
 048 elder ingut
 049 ----- means on top
 050 student um hmm
 051 elder sitting on top
 052 student um hmm
 053 ----- ot kwa ingut qawa
 054 elder qawa
 055 student qawa
 056 elder qawa
 057 ----- means sitting down.
 058 student okay, and then
 059 ----- las ananu qowan
 060 elder la sanu qowang
 061 student sitting alone>
 062 elder yeah
 063 ----- la sanu qowang>
 064 student la asanu>
 065 elder say it over again>
 066 student las
 067 elder sanu
 068 student la sanu
 069 elder qowang
 070 student qowan, la
 071 elder sanu
 072 student la sanu
 073 elder qowang
 074 student qowan
 075 elder alright
 076 ----- qowang, qowang
 077 student qowan
 078 elder not

079 ----- qowan, qowan
 080 ----- means, uh when you see a
 081 ----- qowan
 082 ----- it sound like
 083 elder that the eagle's laying egg>
 084 student (laughs)
 085 elder (laughs too, though slower than the student)
 086 ----- you see a
 087 ----- qowan
 088 ----- it comes pretty close to qowan
 089 ----- qowan means egg>
 090 student so what's the right word
 091 elder qowang
 092 student qowang
 093 elder qowang
 094 ----- sitting down you see>
 095 student qowang [alright] qowang
 096 elder sitting down and uh
 097 ----- it's a big difference.
 098 student sitting down and laying an egg>
 099 elder and laying an egg, yeah

B. Elder and Novice

The next section of the transcript has the same male elder (elder) with a different student (novice). The context of this portion of the transcript is that the elder is now clarifying a speech for the student, it is an actual formal speech that the student is writing and preparing for the culmination of the camp. The student, referred to as "Novice" in this segment, will also appear in the final portion of the transcript as well.

100 elder It's got to be in sentences
 101 novice di u yakun gagun
 102 elder di yaku jin gagun
 103 ----- just the same like almost like /gage/
 104 ----- you know /ga/
 105 novice gagun
 106 elder gagun...,yeah
 107 novice e' di u yaku jin>
 108 elder jin
 109 novice ga>
 110 elder ga>
 111 novice gun>
 112 elder alright, keep on saying the same thing over> again
 113 novice di u yaku jin gagun
 114 elder that's better, that's better
 115 novice di u jyaku jun gagun
 116 elder that's right, that's right
 117 novice di u yaku jin gagun

C. Elder B and Novice

In this segment, the same student (novice) is now with junior elder. The context of this portion is that the student (novice) is verifying her speech with the youngest elder in the camp. A malfunction in taping during the sessions results in the random breaks in the recording. The amount of the time lost during the break seemed to be less than two seconds, not much, but sufficient to acknowledge.

- 119 elder B kil lagung
 120 novice kil lagung
 121 elder B no, you're over here>
 122 novice um hmm
 123 elder B lagung
 124 ----- is that [where/what] you did this morning?
 125 novice um hmm
 126 elder B let me see that-
 127 ----- di kil la la::gung>
 128 novice di>
 129 elder B [here] thanking me for helping you
 130 ----- di gudung klats hl dung hahl
 131 ----- klats kil lagung
 132 ----- dung klats kil lagung
 133 ----- di gudung klats dung ahl kil lagung>
 134 novice di gudung klats dung ahl kil lagung
 135 elder B hmmm, let's see
 136 ----- kil lagung
 137 ----- that's it
- 138 ***Break in recording***
- 139 elder B it seems like something's wrong
 140 ----- gyu sinu skits
 141 ----- because it seems like you want to know right now
 142 ----- and then we put that in the past tense
 143 ----- gyu sinu skits gung
 144 ----- gyu sinu skits gung
 145 ----- yeah, let's put the 'g' there ((on the paper))
 146 ----- instead of that 'd'
 147 novice uh huh
 148 elder B gyu skits gung..
 149 ----- gung gu sinu
 150 novice 'g' here ((points at her paper))
 151 elder B umm hmm
 152 novice gyu skits gung gu sinu
 153 ----- gyu..gyu..gyu skit gung..gung..gung

154 ***Break in recording***

155 elder B you see some of the things
156 ----- they put down
157 ----- they only worked on this dictionary
158 ----- a very short period of time
159 ----- so some of the things
160 ----- they say is awkward
161 ----- and [we]
162 ----- we don't say
163 ----- really say
164 ----- your head is
165 ----- your head is sick
166 ----- which is what /sti'k/ means
167 ----- /gagung/ means aching

4 Linguistic ideology

Every culture has beliefs concerning their language (Silverstein 1979), though many can not formally express the beliefs to which they adhere, they can in some cases provide a simple/folk explanation for their usage and understanding of their language. These ideas concerning the usage, that is, the register, rules, context, and structure ultimately reflect a linguistic ideology. Kroskrity (1992) argues that such beliefs govern the understanding, the preference of usage, concern for language maintenance, as well as attitudes towards purism (p.298-299). Hall (1977:31) summarizes the power of language and linguistic ideology as he states "nothing happens in the world of human beings that is not deeply influenced by linguistic forms," and interestingly, it is what is believed about language that also affects how the world is viewed (Sapir 1931).

The elders at the immersion camp held very strong and variable beliefs concerning Haida, and they articulated their beliefs very adamantly. I will provide data to support the presence of linguistic ideology, and to reveal that the ideologies are variable among the elders, i.e., that the elders have differing views among themselves concerning Haida, its structure and its use. Beginning with the first portion of the transcript, in line 016, has the elder giving instruction to the student concerning the articulation of /ot/ and as the elder modeled the correct pronunciation, he explained from his perspective concerning the structure of Haida phonology that the problem with the student's pronunciation was an over articulation and suggested that the student "say it kind of plain." The elder repeated his belief concerning the word's pronunciation as he contrasted his enunciation with the student's and commented that his was "kind of plain" compared to the student's (line 21). The elder continues to evaluate the problem concluding that the student's articulation "is spread out more" (028) and, therefore, "it's not plain" (031) in contrast to his own enunciation "like I say /ot/" (033-034) which in the elder's mind had a quality of plainness.

In the second portion (B) of the transcript, the same elder is now helping a different student. As he explains the pronunciation of "gagun," he

mentions that it is similar to "gage" and the student interrupts him as he models the word. She seemingly understands his explanation and incorporates his comparison in line 103-104 for her production of "gagun." He bases his comparison on the root of the word "gag" and as he provides an environment the student is familiar with, she provides correction and immediate production. Seemingly pleased with her effort, the elder encourages the student by telling her "to keep saying the same thing over" (112), and "that's better" (113), and concludes with the affirmation "that's right" (114).

In the third portion of the transcript, the same novice is now with a different elder. This elder was very analytical concerning her language. She was quick to voice her opinion and often found opportunities to correct others in their Haida usage. In lines 141 and 142, she provides an interpretation of the Haida syntax, grammar, and content of the student's speech, commenting that:

141 ----- because it seems like you want to know right now

142 ----- and then we put that in the past tense

The elder then suggests the correct Haida usage for the English portion she is translating and analyzing. During the interaction, the student mentions that she has been using the *Haida Dictionary*, (Lawrence 1977) and the elder summarizes the situation by commenting on the dictionary. The novice is given an explanation for the Haida dictionary's inadequacies as the elder explains

155 elder B you see some of the things
156 ----- they put down
157 ----- they only worked on this dictionary
158 ----- a very short period of time
159 ----- so some of the things
160 elder B they say is awkward

revealing that the awkwardness was due to the short time it took to produce the book. Accordingly, she implies, that the dictionary would have been adequate if the people had taken the proper time in compiling the words and definitions. The elder's use of "so" in the discourse was the conclusive result marker of the prior statement that foregrounded the fact that "...they only worked on the dictionary a short period of time." She concludes her comment on the dictionary with the "correct" way to say the item in question.

The variable linguistic ideology expressed caused some consternation among the students because there were so many variations of interpretations and translations, as well as variable linguistic competence (in Haida) even among the elders. Lindstrom's (1992) work on debatable truth is appropriate for consideration here because it was often the case that the elders' interpretations and translations were variable, if not contradictory to each other. This fact did not seem to bother any of the elders, but it caused some of the students great distress because of their desire for the "correct translation." It was also evident that some elders believed their interpretation or translation to be the only "correct" or "true" translation, and this fact, though acknowledged by the elders, still did not present any problems of among the elders, but great plight among most of the students. An example of this distress is when one elder commented to a student that "you're doing good, you're doing good. Some of them we'll

have to brush over," revealing the need to negotiate an acceptable production.

The elder's ideology of language, best summarized by the eldest elder, challenges the students with the words "you say by somebody and they'll give you different way, and pretty soon it will straighten up." Her comment reveals the need for negotiation, as well as patience, which both results in the language being "straightened up" and exemplifies the variability of the linguistic ideology among the elders.

5 Clarification and apprenticeship

Clarification is a universal linguistic interaction, but not all cultures have similar methods to clarify speech. Ochs suggests,

those verbal activities such as clarification sequences are organized by sociocultural as well as by linguistic principles. Strategies for clarifying unintelligible utterances are linked to local conceptions of social order, knowledge, and communication. (Ochs 1988:128)

The social order is especially salient in the Haida community because of their hierarchical society. Historically, the social rank (one ethnographer noted that it seemed all Haidas reported that they were of the "noble class" when he asked about their lineage) and moiety (Eagle or Raven) governed the daily interactions in the community. All of the social interaction was historically based on the matrilineal kinship system, and the relationship with the opposite moiety was "naturally" contentious (Swanton 1909). Since Swanton's work, there has been a slight shift in the nature of contention. It is not only between moieties, rather, now the divisions focus on geography: Massett (north) versus Skidegate (south) on Haida Gwaii, or Massett/Skidegate versus Kaigani (Alaska). Thus, historically the social rank would have had great influence on the daily interaction between members from each moiety, but moiety did not influence clarification sequences at the camp. The need for apprenticeship in Haida guided the clarification.

The clarification sequences occurring at the immersion camp, I suggest, are also an interactive apprenticeship (Rogoff 1991) into the language. Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest that "learning viewed as situated activity has as its central defining characteristic a process that we call "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger 1991:29). They trace the progression of apprenticeship to situated learning to legitimate peripheral participation. The clarification sequences serve to provide legitimate peripheral participation, or as they argue, "full participation" (Lave & Wenger 1991:37) in the Haida immersion camp, and hence, the Haida language.

The apprenticeship that occurs at the camp serves to provide the necessary skills and ability to learn and use Haida. During the process of apprenticeship, the clarification sequences provide explicit training in the phonology, grammar and syntax of Haida, much like Schieffelin's (1990) observation of "elema," Kulali for "say it like this." The ultimate goal of the non-fluent Haida speakers is fluency, both in production and comprehension. The results, then, have the students following the progression of apprenticeship

to situated learning, to legitimate peripheral participation.

In the beginning of the first transcript, the elder is trying to clarify what the student is trying to say. He asked (line 001) the student to repeat the poem, and soon as he heard the first word, he interrupted and began the clarification sequence. Once the elder realizes what the word should be, /ot/, he then provides the correct form of the word. He did not try to guess what the student uttered, but simply expressed that he didn't understand (line 005). The sequence then progresses as the students refers to the English,

007 student okay, let me see
008 ----- where's my other one
009 ----- I'm talking about the eagle
010 ----- that sits upon the rocks>
011 elder oh, uh huh
012 Student you know
013 ----- ot kwa ingut qowan>
014 elder yeah, ot
015 student ot, ot
016 elder ot, say it kind of plain
017 ----- you, you say it too low

The clarification sequence begins when the elder realizes that the Haida word the student is not enunciating correctly is /ot/, and then models the correct form until the sequence culminates in correct production by the student in line 034. The sequence exemplifies clarification and apprenticeship of word choice and enunciation.

Another example of clarification with the same elder but a different student occurs in the second portion of the transcript, lines 100-118. For the purpose of this analysis, I will focus only on 101-112:

101 novice di u yakun gagin
102 elder di yaku jin gagan
103 ---- just the same like almost like /gage/
104 ---- you know /ga/>
105 novice gagan
106 elder gagan...,yeah
107 novice e' di u yaku jin>
108 elder jin
109 novice ga>
110 elder ga>
111 novice gun>
112 elder alright, keep on saying the same thing over again

The clarification sequence begins in line 102 as the elder provides the correct form of the utterance and then begins to explain in line 103 the problematic word. He continues his explanation and as soon as he provides a similar word in line 104, the student is able to correct her own production before the elder finishes providing his clarification. Her participation, then, can be seen as the

progression from apprenticeship of pronunciation to situated learning of similar morphophonemic environments of /gagə/ and /gagun/, to legitimate peripheral participation through the sequence of clarification, as well as the elder's encouraging response in line 112 to her Haida production.

One final example of clarification concerns the eldest elder as she helps the student with her speech. The student is interested in thanking and/or acknowledging the elder for her help and the elder is analyzing what the student has written down as the sequence begins:

- 119 elder B kil lagung
 120 novice kil lagung
 121 elder B no, you're over here>
 122 novice um hmm
 123 elder B lagung
 124 ----- is that [where/what] you did this morning?
 125 novice um hmm
 126 elder B let me see that-
 127 ----- di kil la la::gung>
 128 novice di>
 129 elder B [here] thanking me for helping you
 130 ----- di gudung klats hl dung hahl
 131 ----- klats kil lagung
 132 ----- dung klats kil lagung
 133 ----- di gudung klats dung ahl kil lagung>
 134 novice di gudung klats dung ahl kil lagung
 135 elder B hmmm, let's see
 136 ----- kil lagung
 137 ----- that's it

The clarification sequence starts with line 119 as the elder begins to provide help. She refrains from helping until she can see (lines 124-126) what the student had done earlier that morning and then assesses how she can be of assistance. She vocalizes the possibilities of utterances from line 127 to 132 and finally produces what she feels is the best answer in line 133. The student immediately repeats what the elder has said in line 134, but the elder has one final assessment in line 135 and repeats /kil lagung/ and ultimately concludes with "that's it." This sequence exemplifies the role of apprenticeship of a very traditional social act, that of giving thanks to the elders (Boelscher 1989). The student is carefully being provided with the correct form of thanks /kil lagung/ that can literally translate as "speaking well of". The result of this clarification sequence has very particular ramifications of legitimate peripheral participation that will be the ability to publicly acknowledge and thank the elder(s) for the help provided.

6 Politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that politeness is a universal notion and strategy employed in conversational interaction. They suggest that different cultures express politeness distinctively. I proffer that

there was politeness at the immersion camp, and I will specifically look at the interaction of the male elder and compare his politeness in the clarification interaction sequences with the other elder's similar interaction to provide support for the assumption that there was indeed a presence of politeness.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) the concept of 'face' equates with the qualities of embarrassment or humiliation (P.61).

The two qualities of face are:

- I. negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others
- II. positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable at least some others (Brown & Levinson 1987:62).

The two faces are prone to what is described as a face threatening act (FTA), a result of certain communicative interactions (p.60). My focus shall exemplify FTAs against a positive face. The concept of politeness, thus, incorporates a quality of characteristics and interactions measured in a high degree or low degree of FTAs.

In line 001 of the first portion of the transcripts, the elder graciously asks the student "can you say it slow again right now?" The first word of the poem presented a problem for the elder because he could not understand it and instead of assuming what the word was, he asked for a slow repetition of the poem. The manner in which the elder asked seemed to minimize his FTA request to repeat the utterance and he entreated with respect for the student's positive face. The elder's graciousness is consistent as we see in line 017 in which he explains that the student is saying the word "too low" and provides further comment by saying the student's production seemed "spread out more" (lines 27-28). The elder's tone is not one of unquestionable imperatives, but an analytical prescription which offers the correction to the problem of enunciation the student is having. His FTAs have been very low (on the scale of high or low) because the speaker (elder) seemingly does not want to impede the hearer's (student) freedom (Brown and Levinson 1987:65).

Later in the same portion of the transcript, the elder tries to explain that the word the student is saying, /qowan/, is not the word for sitting down, but actually means laying an egg:

078	elder	not
079	----	qowan, qowan
080	----	means, uh when you see a
081	----	qowan
082	----	it sound like
083	elder	that the eagle's laying egg>
084	student	(laughs)
085	elder	(laughs too, though slower than the student)
086	----	you see a
087	----	qowan

The concern for the student's face can be seen as the elder explains the difference of the correct word and the incorrect word and only laughs after the

student. If he did not care for the student's 'face,' he could laugh earlier when he first heard the utterance, instead, he waits until the student has laughed and then joins in the laughter. But he continues:

088 ----- it comes pretty close to qowan
089 ----- qowan means egg>
090 student so what's the right word
091 elder qowang
092 student qowang
093 elder qowang
094 ----- sitting down you see>
095 student qowang [alright] qowang
096 elder sitting down and uh
097 ----- it's a big difference>
098 student sitting down and laying an egg>
099 elder and laying an egg, yeah

After the elder recovers from the laughter, he continues his explanation in lines 88-89. He defines the correct word in lines 93-94 and concludes with a low degree FTA comment in lines 96-97 but is interrupted by the student who concludes the utterance.

The positive-face FTAs occurring with the other elder has a negative evaluation of the situation and she states "no, you're over here" (line 121). She then starts to demand information about the work previously done, "is that [where/what] you did this morning?" Then, without an invitation, she insists of the student "let me see that" (line 126). The tone of this section of the transcript had a high degree FTAs because the elder's evaluation of the student's location (121) was negative. The elder was demanding, disapproving, and challenging. She then provided an unsolicited analysis and correction of the spelling of one of the words. An interesting note concerning the elder's disapproval concerns literacy in Haida. As of this date (7/94), there has not been an official orthography adopted by the Council of the Haida Nation, and the elder's attitude reflects a strong ideology concerning literacy in spite of the fact that there is no official orthography (See Duranti and Ochs [1985:71] for a discussion of literacy).

A final observation in line 139 reveals the elder's passive tone, but she is still negatively evaluating the student's speech as she states "it seems like something's wrong." She offers a negative evaluation and tries to analyze and correct the problem through repetition (Tannen 1989) to herself, ultimately resolving the problem in line 133. The student is very quick to repeat the correct form (line 134) perhaps as a face saving act to counter all the high degree FTAs she had been receiving.

7 Conclusion

The phenomenon of First Nations/American Indian Language immersion camps provides tremendous opportunity for linguistic research and participation. Leap (1988:283) and Brandt (1988:322) both suggest that information/research concerning the linguistic state of many First

Nations/American Indian languages is very sparse, but is extremely relevant and salient. What I have provided in this essay was the presence of variable linguistic ideology of the Haida elders concerning the Haida language; clarification in the context of apprenticeship, and politeness in the presence of correction all experienced during the camp. The transcripts provided and the ensuing analysis thus offered confirm the claim and interpretation that these phenomena were present at the camp, and, thus, it is possible to infer that similar interaction will be found at other immersion camps.

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