

SXENIEN YEW ČNES I, TWE SENĆOFEN?— How is it that I have come to speak SENĆOFEN?: My  
Reflections on Learning and Speaking SENĆOFEN

by

PENÁĆ – G. David Underwood  
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Supervisory Committee

Dr. Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins, (Department of Linguistics)  
Co-Supervisor

Dr. Sonya Bird, (Department of Linguistics)  
Co-Supervisor

## Abstract

This project explores the experiences of adults learning the Indigenous language of SENĆOŦEN, in the WSÁNEĆ (Saanich) language group. It looks at adult language acquisition experiences, and examines the theory and practice of Indigenous language revitalization. The Mentor-Apprenticeship Program (MAP) and the SŦÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN [SENĆOŦEN springboard] Language Apprenticeship Program are examined through an auto-ethnographic lens as a way of documenting a personal learning journey—from language-learning apprentice to language speaker, and finally to language teacher. The metaphor of travelling by canoe is used as a way of reflecting on the SENĆOŦEN language-learning journey, allowing a consideration of the optimal conditions for learning SENĆOŦEN, even as optimal conditions are necessary to travel by canoe on the water. The question that guides this project—SŦENI,EN̓ YEW̓ ČNEs TWE SENĆOŦEN? [How is it that that I have come to speak SENĆOŦEN?—is explored through the auto-ethnographic reflection process and tells the story of how SENĆOŦEN was learned and how it is currently being spoken. The story recounts how SENĆOŦEN was learned with the help of the elders of the WSÁNEĆ community; it describes the guiding principles and traditional teachings of these elders, and recounts the self-motivating and external motivational factors, including the personal beliefs and practices that enhanced the learning and speaking of SENĆOŦEN. Various language acquisition and language revitalization theories and practices have been examined in the course of this reflection, including *sociocultural theory*, *monitor theory*, *affective filter* and *affective language intimacy*. Indigenous research methodologies have also been examined in order to align the project with current Indigenous research practices that focus on *relationality*, and the *storyteller as researcher*, and take into account

Indigenous epistemologies and traditional worldviews that are founded on respect and a holistic sense of interconnectedness.

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U, ŚWELOKE ĒTE I, U, NEŦ,OMET ĒTE ŒE,ČÁ, TIÁ, SČA EŒs HELI,TI,IWs EĪ SENĆOŦEN [We are family and of one mind and spirit in the work we do in reviving SENĆOŦEN].

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NE S,JIJEŁ ČSU NENIŁIYE ČAI E ČSE WİYELKĚN,ISTES ČSE SČÁs SKÁŁs I, U, EČOSTES EČs ÍY SĪENÁNĪs TĪÁ,ENENĪ [I give thanks to those who are working to revitalize their languages and who show us other ways of going about the work]. I raise my hands to the Chief Atahm School (the Adams Lake language immersion school), the Hawaiian immersion schools, and more recently, the Indigenous Language Institute (Santa Fe) and all of their language revivalists—for showing our SENĆOŦEN revivalists ways which have helped us to Č,ŁEČ,NONĪT TĪE SENĆOŦEN [have success in] SENĆOŦEN. I also raise my hands to Dr. Stephen Greymorning for providing us with his methodology—another of the many tools in our revitalization arsenal.

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ENÁN SEN U, JIJEŁ MEQ ÇSU NIŁ SCUÇEL TFE WSENÇOFEN,IST [I also thank everyone who is enrolled in the WSENÇOFEN,IST Program]. U, KÁYES SW ÇE,ĆÁ, ŁÁÇ,ŁEÇ,ŚENs ÇSE I,ŁEÇ,SILENŁs ETĪ SENÇOFEN [You are the present feet of SENÇOFEN language transmission and succession].

TÁ, SEN U, FE,ÁSES E ÇSE SCUÇELs ÇSE STELITKEŁ ETĪ LENONŁET SCUL,ÁUTW [I also thank the children who are learning at LENONŁET SCUL,ÁUTW]. YEK SEN EN ŚW,ÇILET HÁLE EÇs ŚXENÁNŁs U, SQÁ ŁTE I, TW Ć,PIWET E TIÁ, ÁNEÇ EN SU ÍY,SOT ŁTE [I hope that you will reveal ways that we do not yet recognize, so that your efforts will make us even better].

NE S,JIJEŁ SIÁM NE ŚÍEŁ [My thanks to my respected elder relative], Kevin Paul, for sparking initial interest in reviving SENÇOFEN, so many years ago now. You taught me a few phrases that were outside the commonly known words and phrases, which triggered in me an early seed of interest.

KELÁT SEN U, JIJEŁ NE TÁN ÇOSINIYE I, NE SÁCS STOLÇEŁ. HIF ÇENs ČAI TIÁ, SKÁL I, U, ČSE LÁ,E ETĪ NEÇILIYE ÇNEs TWE TOLNEW ÇSU NIŁ TI TIÁ, SKÁL (Again, my thanks to my mother and my uncle who have carried this language for so long; it is from you that I have come to know that our language is important).

I, HÍU ØNES I,JIJEEŁ NE SÇÁ, NE ŚWELOŹE E ƑE NE STOLES I, ƑE NE NENE. EUQ NE S,TÁ,  
ØNES ČAI ƑƑU STÁN OL EN ŚW,EWES I, ØENTOL ESE [I thank my family, my wife, and my child,  
for I believe that I would not have accomplished anything were you not with me].

HÍSWŹE SIÁM NEØILIYE. ENÁN U, ƑI ƑƑEN SČA HÁLE [Thank you all. Your work is very  
valuable].

## Dedication

U, S,JIJEĹ ĆE EĹÁ,ENENĚ NE ĆELÁĚEN I, NE SELELWÁN LE I, TW WUĆISTENĚ SEN ĆO. I, TÁ, ĆĹ  
ŚW,ĆA,ĆIs ĆSE SĆÁs SĆÁLs [This is dedicated to my ancestors and my late elders who taught  
me. It is also for those who are working on their own languages].

NE ŚW,ĪIs TFE SENĆOFEN I, NE ŚW,ĪIs NE ŚWELOĶE. SIÁM NE ĚENE I, SIÁM NE STOLEs.

## TWE,NOW SEN SE NE SXIÁM—I Will Begin My Story: Introduction

My story contains the notion of a journey—where I am going and the events that happen along the way. For this story we are I,DO,DEQ [going home]. Home is SENĆOŦEN and I am returning. I am travelling through the stages of my SENĆOŦEN journey, SNEWĒL,OE ĆNEs YÁ [I go by canoe]. Today, I can speak SENĆOŦEN. It is difficult to pin-point an exact, single reason why I do speak my language because there are numerous reasons. And so, the burning question that motivated this paper is “SXENI,EN YEŴ ĆNEs TWE SENĆOŦEN?” [Why is it that I have come to speak SENĆOŦEN?].

Stephen Krashen (1982) hypothesized that learning and acquisition are distinct from each other (p. 10). His “monitor theory” proposes that acquisition is a subconscious process, while learning is a conscious process (Krashen, 1981, p. 1; 1982, p. 15). This paper is an auto-ethnographic reflection that looks at my experiences of SENĆOŦEN learning, acquisition, and speaking. This is my story, which will reflect why I speak my language, having made the journey from apprentice to mentor via the STÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN Language Apprentice and the Master-Mentor Apprenticeship Program (MAP) under the auspices of the First Peoples’ Cultural Council<sup>1</sup>. I have made the journey from being a novice learner to a speaker of SENĆOŦEN SKÁL (SENĆOŦEN language).

I will also provide a brief history of SENĆOŦEN SKÁL revitalization in WSÁNEĆ—from our early beginnings to the emergence of the STÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN [SENĆOŦEN language apprenticeship program], and the LENONĒT SCUL,ÁUTŴ [SENĆOŦEN Immersion Program]. This history has also been recounted from different perspectives by Jacqueline Jim (2016), and

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<sup>1</sup> The program is described in the First Peoples’ Cultural Council *Handbook* (2012).

Renee Sampson (2014). As I review the history of the SENĆOŦEN language revitalization in W̱SÁNEĆ I will consider my own learning and language acquisition experiences, and keep in mind my gratitude for those who have worked toward SENĆOŦEN revitalization—in this way honouring and thanking those who made important contributions to the preservation and revival of SENĆOŦEN.

I will speak to the topics noted above in the following sequence: Chapter 1, QENÁṈW̱ ŁTE [We are seeing/forecasting the weather]; Chapter 2, EŁTELIĆ,EṈ ŁTE TŦE SNEW̱EŁ [We are loading up the canoe]; Chapter 3, HI,ĶET ŁTE TŦE SNEW̱EŁ SU YÁ, DÁŦEL [We are launching the canoe to go across to the other side]; and Chapter 4, JÁṈ,NOŦET ŁTE [We have managed to arrive home].

## Chapter 1: QENÁNW ŁTE—We are seeing/forecasting the weather

ÍY SÇÁCEL O? ÍY,ILEN ÇE,ĆÁ, TFE SÇÁCEL NE SU LÁSET SE NE ŚW,YÁ [Is it a good day? The day is getting better, clearing up, so I will prepare myself to travel].

### ESE—Me: Locating myself

ESE PENÁC I, ĆSE LÁ,E SEN ETĪ WSÁNEĆ E ÇSE ÁLELEN Çs SNÁs ETĪ STAUTW. ÇOSINIYE FE NE TÁN I, ÇESTENÅ TFE NE MÁN. ĆSE LÁ,E TFE NE SILE LE TFE NE SÇÁ, NE SNÁ, ÇSU NIŁ LE PENÁC E ÇSE MÁNs LE FE NE TÁN. I, U, ÇELĪIMIYE ÇFE NE SILE LE E ÇFE TÁNs LE FE NE TÁN. FIWONEMOT FE NE SILE E ÇFE TÁNs TFE NE MÁN. I, U, SXIHOLEĆEP ÇSE NE SILE LE E ÇSE MÁNs LE TFE NE MÁN.

PENÁC is my ancestral WSÁNEĆ name, and George David Underwood is my Western given name; I am from WSÁNEĆ [Saanich] and am a member of the STÁUTW [Tsawout] reserve. My mother is ÇOSINIYE and my father is ÇESTENÅ. My WSÁNEĆ name comes from my late grandfather, PENÁC [David Elliott], my mother’s father. My late grandmother on my mother’s side was known as ÇELĪIMIYE. My late grandfather on my father’s side was known as SXIHOLEĆEP, and my grandmother on my father’s side is known as FIWONEMOT.

When I introduce myself, it is customary in WSÁNEĆ to identify my parents and grandparents, and to say where I come from. According to our tradition it is important to let others know who I “belong to,” and where I “come from.” This means identifying my family, my ancestors, our cultural practices, and to which specific places I am linked. I hold to this tradition here to honour my ancestors and my family still present today. In so doing, I am honoured as well.

The territory of WSÁNEĆ [the Saanich people] is located on the southeast end of Vancouver Island and on the Saanich Peninsula of British Columbia (see Figure 1). However, our

traditional WŚÁNEĆ territory extends eastward from the Saanich Peninsula across the nearby islands to the southeastern extent of the Lower Mainland, i.e., from southern Salt Spring Island, northeast to Mayne Island, across the Salish Sea into the United States to include Point Roberts and parts of the San Juan, and south of the Peninsula to include PĶOLS (Mount Douglas) (Elliott & Poth, 1990/1948, p. 13; Jim, 2016, p. 10; Paul, 1995). It is within these boundaries that our SENĆOŦEN speaking people have traditionally spoken to one another as first language (L1) SENĆOŦEN speaking WŚÁNEĆ people. My SILE LE [late grandfather] David Elliott stated that

*the home, headquarters of the Saanich people, is the Saanich Peninsula. We populated the Saanich Peninsula from one end to the other and right around all the shores and all the bays. Saanich people lived on many of the gulf Islands and most of the San Juan Islands. (Elliot & Poth, 1990/1948, p. 13)*

U, ČAI SEN OL TFE SENĆOŦEN SKÁL EČs WI, YELĶEN, IST, EĒ TFE ŠXENÁNŦs. I, ČĒ KÁL SEN ČE ČNEs ENÁN U, TĪ I, TW KÁL , NE SU KÁL. U, XENÁN ČE, ČÁ, TŦU, NIĒ , Č, TĪs ET MEQ SÁN. HELIT ČSU NIĒ E TFE SČÁ, ĒTE SKÁL [I work to revitalize SENĆOŦEN and I believe it to be very important that I speak. Therefore, I speak as we all need to, to save our language]. I work alongside my SENĆOŦEN teacher, my resource and curriculum development colleagues, my co-workers and my family at our ĒÁU, WELŦEW Tribal School, LENONĦET SCUL, ÁUTW, WŚÁNEĆ Leadership Secondary School, Saanich Adult Education Centre, the SĦÁSEN TFE SENĆOŦEN [SENĆOŦEN Spring Board/language Apprenticeship Program], the W, SENĆOŦEN, IST [Speaking SENĆOŦEN Forward] Program, all of which are housed on the grounds of the WŚÁNEĆ School

Board in WJOLĒLP (commonly known as the Tsartlip reserve in West Saanich, Brentwood Bay).

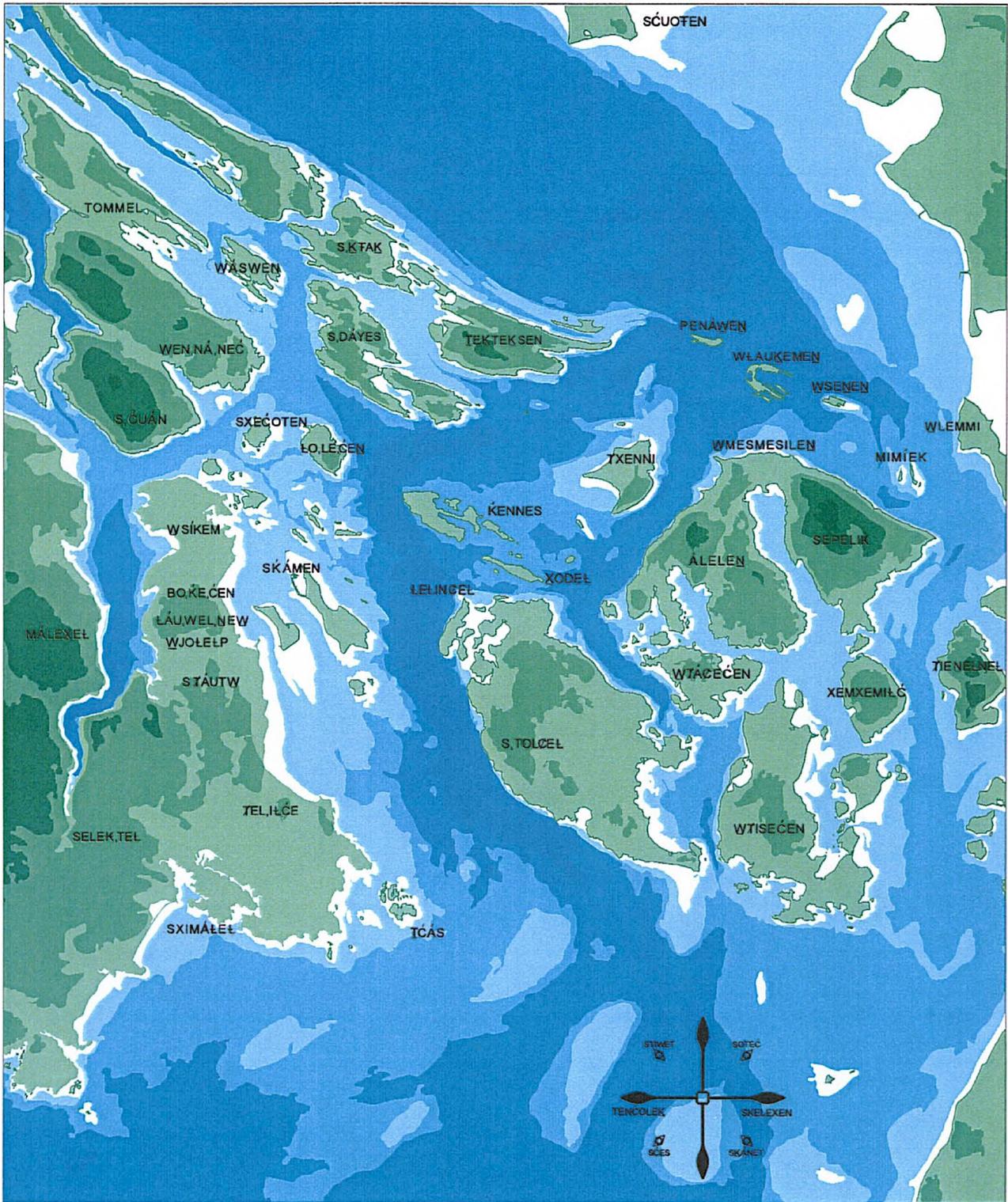


Figure 1: Map showing Saanich territory, from *The Care-Takers*, Philip K. Paul, 1995, p. 20.

Currently, I teach and work as an education assistant (E.A.) at LENONET SCUL,ÁUTW—or as my SENĆOFEN colleagues (and I) refer to my role: I provide language support for the maintenance of the immersion environment, which also means that I provide an additional perspective and model a new and diverse language. I also co-teach in the W,SENĆOFEN,IST Program in partnership with the University of Victoria—with my NE SÁCS STOLČEŁ [Uncle STOLČEŁ], and Dr. Marion Caldecott (a linguist and instructor at the University of Victoria and Simon Fraser University). Additionally, I help to develop the resources and curriculum used in this program.

### **NE Č, LÁ, E I, NE ČELÁNEN—My place, placement, and ancestry**

The word WŚÁNEĆ informs my identity, my connection to place, as well as our collective indigenous worldview and epistemology. In *Saltwater People*, my SILE LE [late grandfather] David Elliot says, “Our word WŚÁNEĆ in Saanich means ‘raised up’ (Elliot & Poth, 1990/1948, p. 14). Paul (1995) re-iterates this definition and adds to it, relating the meaning of the term to the WŚÁNEĆ worldview and identity:

*The word WŚÁNEĆ can be translated as “raised” or “rising up”; when used to describe the Saanich people, it is more accurately translated as “rising”, thus, “The rising up people.” (Paul, 1995, p. 3)*

While WŚÁNEĆ refers to “rising” (or “emerging” as I have come to know and refer to it) people, it also refers to the rising land, reminding us of the time of the great flood—appearing in stories told by Paul (1995), Jim (2016), Claxton and Elliott (1993), as well as by many of our language teachers, community members, and our late WŚÁNEĆ elders; it was also recorded by the Saanich Native Heritage Society (2007). The name connects us directly to our homeland and

to the sacred flood-time when we were at the mercy of nature; it connects us to prayer, and to the necessities that were gathered in accordance to the prophecy that foretold of the flood.

*At the height of the flood, our people tied themselves and their canoes to an Arbutus Tree with the cedar woven rope at the top of ŁÁU, WELNEW mountain, named as the place of escape, healing and refuge.... The people sat and prayed.... They were reminded of our teachings and our beliefs. They understood then how they must carry themselves as WSÁNEĆ people (Jim, 2016, p. 50)*

When thinking of our name, WSÁNEĆ, we think of ŁÁU, WELNEW. Additionally, Paul (1995) reminds us that, “with the story, survives a reminder of our relation to the animals...the plants...the Earth...and the Creator (or God)” (p. 3).

WSÁNEĆ is grounded in our worldview—that we are akin to all things, not just human beings, but animals, birds, fish, land, and even the elements, the weather. The word reminds us to care for one another, to care for the land, the waters, and all forms of life. I was told that “it reminds us of our kinship by the way it says what it says, which is that the land is the back of a person rising (or emerging) from the water, as a newborn baby that bunches itself with its back outward” (STOLČEŁ, personal conversation, 2008). While we are reminded of these things by the name of our people, WSÁNEĆ, SENĆOŦEN is the WSÁNEĆ language of our people, the rising people.

### **SYESES ČSU NIŁ WIYELKEN, ISTES I, OXNESEN TI, U KÁYES—A brief history of SENĆOŦEN returning until our contemporary state**

In the winter of 1978, my SILE LE [late grandfather] David Elliott created the alphabet that we use today.<sup>2</sup> Today this alphabet is taught to children at the ŁÁU, WELNEW Tribal School’s

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<sup>2</sup> <http://wsanecschoolboard.ca/history-of-the-sencoten-language>

Elementary and Middle Schools, LENONET SCUL,ÁUTW (SENĆOŦEN immersion wings at ŁÁU,WELNEW), Bayside Middle School in school district 63, as well as to adult learners at the Saanich Adult Education Centre (SAEC) adult education programs, and the WSENĆOŦEN,IST Program through the University of Victoria.

My SILE LE developed the alphabet because he did not find the available phonetic alphabets to be particularly useful (The North American Phonetic Alphabet (NAPA), and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)). He expressed his distaste for the rules associated with these alphabets, such as the coupled phoneme groupings, which he said often made for words that were too long. He saw these alphabets as barriers to inclusivity and not as accessible tools, thereby taking from the hands of our WILNEW EŁTÁLNEW [Indigenous human beings] the self-determination that was becoming exceedingly necessary to our cultural survival. As our SENĆOŦEN SKÁL became increasingly endangered, it became clear that there was a need to simplify our orthography. Our SENĆOŦEN contemporaries today honour the significance of this time, not only because we use the alphabet today and endorse its efficiency, but because the time that my SILE LE spent creating our orthography is viewed as a sacred time: He worked tirelessly, day and night, until the alphabet was complete—a gift from the “visitors” who had helped him and said to him, “EWES ĪEQ,T TŦE SONUSE” [Don’t let the fire go out, there’s only a spark left]. The time was right to act to save our language.

Once the alphabet was created, my SILE LE felt the need to teach others to use it, empowering those of our existing speakers who remained and were willing. At that time, my TÁN [mother], ĆOSINIYE, expressed interest in learning SENĆOŦEN using our new-found orthography in response to our urgent desire to revitalize our language—she was the first of

several students. She learned the orthography by listening to the sounds of our language and transcribing the words as she heard them. The breakthrough for her came when SILE LE asked my mother to read back her transcription of his words. Excited, my grandfather called my other SILE LE ƆFIÁ [late grandmother] over to listen to what my TÁN had just written. When SILE LE ƆFIÁ heard my TÁN read her transcription she said, “I understood what she just read.” Before that moment, “literacy” was seen as a device of WENITEM [Western] education. The only ones who had written down our language before this time were those linguists and anthropologists who were studying and recording what was then seen as our dying language.

My SÁCS [uncle] STOLƆEŁ joined the cause shortly after. He expressed his desire to pray in his own mother tongue. During this time, many of our people, including my family, were involved in activist campaigns and rallies to protect our rights—it was a time of Indigenous resurgence, and SENƆOFEN seemed to be emerging right along with the political movements of the day. During this time, my SILE LE recruited eighteen elders who he identified as “L1” (or first language) speakers on the basis of their knowledge of the language. He had not been able to convince all those that he had hoped would join this newly-assembled cohort, but the eighteen individuals provided a good strong core—from whom my TÁN and my SÁCS were fortunate to learn. Some of the elders who were part of this group became teachers at our school (preschool to Grade 9), some of whom I was fortunate enough to learn from as a child. Sampson (2014) refers to them as our “fire keepers,” which refers to the message EWES ƆEQ,T TFE SONUSE [don’t let the fire go out] that my SILE LE received; she advises that, to keep the fire of language revitalization alive

*you gather what you need; in language revitalization, it is EŁTÁLNEW  
(people), SELWÁN (Elders), SQENSTENEƆ (knowledge keepers), WUĆISTENEƆ*

*(language teachers), SCÁLEĆE (language allies, linguists), and networking with SCUL,ÁUTW (institution/organizations). (p. 16)*

It was during this time that my TÁN and my SÁĆS simultaneously learned the language while becoming teachers.

As the years rolled by, our elders retired and passed on—until there were only four teachers of the language. This meant that our language was becoming critically endangered; the number of our L1 speakers was down to about twenty-five by 2009, and the number of our teachers was reduced to four: TELTÁLEMOT, who works in the school district; KÁNTENOT, who teaches adults at the SAEC (Saanich Adult Education Centre); and my TÁN and SÁĆS, the last remaining teachers at our ŁÁU,WELNEW Tribal School's preschool to middle school. In 2005, evening classes were being offered at the SAEC, led by my TÁN and SÁĆS in partnership with the University of Victoria's Department of Linguistics. At this time, the University was working concurrently with some of our knowledgeable elders to document and analyze various linguistic aspects of SENĆOŦEN (such as phonetics, grammar, morphology, and so on) which would eventually assist in future resource and curriculum development. Shortly afterward, the University offered a summer program, ÁLEN,ENEĆ [Homeland] (Guilar & Swallow, 2008; Jim, 2016; Sampson, 2014). The intention of this ongoing program is to help students develop a relationship to place by way of learning the Indigenous WSÁNEĆ history, uses, and meanings associated with that place. This program has remained a vital component of our various language curriculums and their underlying philosophy as we move forward.

As concern grew about the decreasing numbers of our L1 speakers and our language teachers, all of whom seemed to be approaching retirement age, it became clear that there was a dire need to find language teachers to succeed those who had been bearing the weight on

their shoulders for so long. Thus, in the fall of 2009, a language apprenticeship program was devised that would focus strictly on teaching apprentices our language in order that they would then become language teachers. This program is still in place: the *STÁSEN TFE SENĆOŦEN* [SENĆOŦEN Springboard], also known as the SENĆOŦEN Language Apprenticeship Program—a program that I have been blessed to be a part of.

As our SENĆOŦEN-speaking teachers and community reached this urgent state without any certainty of language transmission to the next generation, *STÁSEN TFE SENĆOŦEN* was a long-awaited breakthrough, one that gave us hope for the survival of SENĆOŦEN. As we learned our language we became the arms and legs of our teachers, mentors, elders, and essentially the language itself, doing all that we could, all that was necessary. We conducted surveys to achieve consensus over whether or not we (the *WSÁNEĆ* community) should go ahead with the planning and development of an immersion program for children, i.e., to begin a “language nest” (Hinton, 2001, p. 119). The survey also explored the question of whether to start a Bachelor of Education Program for SENĆOŦEN teachers. The outcome was the establishment of the Bachelor of Education in Indigenous Language Revitalization (BEDILR), developed in partnership with the University of Victoria. We, under the auspices of the *STÁSEN TFE SENĆOŦEN* program, also developed curriculum and resources, hosted regular meetings with our elders (who helped us translate and transcribe as well as taught us), and assisted our teachers in their classrooms. *STÁSEN TFE SENĆOŦEN* provided me with the opportunity to take part in the Master-Mentor Apprenticeship Program (MAP) with the support of the First Peoples’ Cultural Council (FPCC). The FPCC version of MAP is based on a learning methodology developed in California by Leanne Hinton in collaboration with the Advocates for Indigenous

California Language Survival (AICLS), and the Native Californian Network (NCN) (Hinton, 2002). Along with my SENĆOŦEN colleagues and relatives MENEŦIYE and SIOLTENOT, I was very fortunate in my mentor, the late Ray Sam; he afforded me my breakthrough as I gained the confidence needed for language acquisition, and I was thereby able to acquire the ability to speak SENĆOŦEN on the basis of our immersion get-togethers. This was the case for our STÁSEN team as well—we all developed language proficiency and enlarged our capacity to teach our language.

Once we surpassed the mere apprentice stage we were permitted by the WŚÁNEĆ School Board and our SENĆOŦEN language authority (senior teachers) to take on the role of teacher. The outcome was that, in January, 2012, we established our LENONĚT SCUL,ÁUTW [language immersion/language survival school]: The SENĆOŦEN WUĆISTENEĶ [language teachers] who were once apprentices became the knowledge keepers, the SQENESTENEĶ. Sampson (2014) summarized it this way: “Our mentors were the children of our past language warriors. They now held the torch and touched many WŚÁNEĆ children in their programs” (p. 20).

Although we did not all begin as teachers in the LENONĚT SCUL,ÁUTW (myself included), we were nonetheless a part of the resurgence of language use, thereby increasing its capacity, even if we began by simply participating in the teacher succession process. LENONĚT SCUL,ÁUTW thrust us into the immersion school setting, beginning with preschool children who, with each subsequent year, proceeded to the next grade. Our children have been able to progress through the preschool and primary grades, and are learning at the grade three level. We hope to continue the growth of SENĆOŦEN immersion for as long as we can.

When I entered the immersion teaching stream in the fall of 2013, we were opening our first year of kindergarten, a reality that highlighted the need to further develop our capacities as teachers, education assistants, and resource and curriculum developers. As LENONET SCUL,ÁUTW ventured ahead, growing with each higher grade level, the need to augment our capacity became apparent. Although we had succeeded in the creation of new speakers with the achievements of STÁSEN TFE SENĆOFEN, our immersion stream quickly made us realize that we needed something more in order to keep pace with the growth. This prompted us to change our policy with respect to the requirements of establishing and maintaining LENONET SCUL,ÁUTW. We once believed that the only necessity for creating an immersion environment was having proficient speakers, but the sense of urgency that came with growth prompted us to look at the potential of using the environment as a language training ground.

And so began the recruitment of new apprentices to build our capacity, apprentices who were to learn the language while helping us maintain our language environment at the same time. They would be among the first, so long as they were willing to refrain from using English, while instead speaking the SENĆOFEN that they were learning. We functioned as a learning collective—working to revive our language, engaging in research, and collectively trying our hands at bringing our language back from its state of suspended animation. In so doing, we found that using our immersion environment provided significant insight into what it means to revitalize our SENĆOFEN language. This process highlighted a principle that we implicitly understood but one that we nonetheless perceived anew: EWENE WENITEM, KEN I, CŌCES OL CENS TOLNEW [No English—just use what you know of the SENĆOFEN language].

During this period, we —the SENĆOŦEN language revivalists (SŦÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN Program and our LENONĚT SCUL,ÁUTW)—had the benefit of a relationship with the University of Victoria’s Indigenous Education and Linguistics departments. This allowed us to increase our capacity to promote adult SENĆOŦEN learning in our home community. Even though the eventual makeup of the LENONĚT SCUL,ÁUTW proved to us that we, the learning teachers, can learn SENĆOŦEN by simply allowing ourselves to participate in an immersion environment (should it be provided), the fact remains that, in order to build of our capacity as teachers, we require the benefit of post-secondary academic insights and credentials.

The outcome was that, in January 2010, the University of Victoria Bachelor of Education in Indigenous Language Revitalization (BEDILR) was offered for the first time in WŚÁNEĆ. This program gave us to the means to train and certify teachers who could also speak SENĆOŦEN. Some of the teachers from this first cohort have moved on to teach within the district, while others have joined our team and thereby increased our capacity to provide teachers and assistants. Subsequently, a new diploma program has been developed in partnership with UVic, designed to follow the completion of a BEDILR: WŚENĆOŦEN,IST [Carrying SENĆOŦEN language forward by the breath], as well as the vary program that SĶEDŦELISIYE (Sampson, 2014), Jacqueline (Jim, 2016) and NENSIMU (Rita Morris) have entered to obtain our masters degrees in the Masters of Indigenous Language Revitalization (MILR) Program, which first began in the summer of 2012. At the time of writing, the first cohort of the WŚENĆOŦEN,IST Program is in its second term of its second year and is nearing completion, and, my two SŦÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN/LENONĚT SCUL,ÁUTW colleagues, Jacqueline and SĶEDŦELISIYE are have successfully defended their MILR SĆÁ (work).

I acknowledge that this summary is all too brief, given the history of our SENĆOŦEN SKÁL's resurgence. I agree with Lorna Williams who, on a number of occasions, talked with me about the need to provide a more complete historical overview of our efforts to revive our language. Ideally, such a work would explain more fully the importance of language resurgence in the context of Indigenous language revitalization, and relate this phenomenon to the way that Fishman (1991) speaks about language maintenance and "reversing language shift. All that I have addressed in this paper relates to my own experience as a learner and speaker. I relate our SYESES [history] to my role as both a learner and a speaker because I have always been close to the collective effort to revive SENĆOŦEN. My TÁN was involved with the revival of SENĆOŦEN before I was born; I have always been exposed to this aspiration to revitalize our language, and I attribute some of my motivation to "TWE SENĆOŦEN KÓ,KEL" [come to speak SENĆOŦEN] to my home setting.

### **NE LELÁ,NENTEN—My audience (my witnesses, my listeners)**

I would like to address the question of audience for this project. Who is it that I am speaking with?

First, I speak to those who are engaged in the same struggle with an endangered language and the prospect of language loss: those who want to revive their mother tongue, and the heritage it contains; those who are committed to protecting Indigenous languages. The subject of language revitalization has gained significant attention since I began as a language apprentice in 2009. Our growth in the SENĆOŦEN language revitalization effort has been guided by such notable scholars and language activists as Leanne Hinton, Stephen Greymorning, Kathy Michel, Kauanoe Kamana, Joshua Fishman, William Wilson and Lorna Williams. Additionally,

there are a number of organizations dedicated to indigenous language revitalization including the Chief Atahm School, the First Peoples' Cultural Council, and the Hawaiian language-medium programs<sup>3</sup> and immersion schools. My colleagues and I, those of us who work on SENĆOŦEN and teach at LENONĒT SCUL,ÁUTW and STÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN, now refer to our having graduated from language “apprentice” to language “revivalist.” We identify ourselves as language revivalists; in our struggle, we are akin to Indigenous peoples from around the world who are language revivalists, who do what is necessary and within their power to revive their endangered language.

Second, I speak to those engaged with academic specialties focused on language revitalization, for example areas of linguistics concerned with language acquisition, sociolinguistics, sociocultural theory, as well as Indigenous scholarship concerned with language resurgence; and I speak to the language activists, the scholars noted above.

Third, I speak to my daughter, who I hope will continue our legacy of SENĆOŦEN revitalization—what Fishman (1991) identifies as “intergenerational language transmission” (p. 1). I speak to her in the hopes that my efforts are not in vain. I hope that she will want to continue with SENĆOŦEN revitalization—and that this paper might one day help her find the motivation for carrying on, and give her an understanding of how important our efforts to revitalize SENĆOŦEN are.

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<sup>3</sup> The Pūnana Leo language nests, [Kaiapuni - Hawaiian language immersion schools](#) and [Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language Programs describe their delivery of Hawaiian language immersion as instruction that is provided through Hawaiian language medium](#) (Hale & Hinton (2001).

## **NE S, KÁLEKĚN—My Voice**

The voice and language choice for this project is, for the most part, my speaking voice. I think of my audience as those who are interested and engaged in the discourse of successful language acquisition and who are learning with me. I am upholding my end of the conversation by sharing my story, what I have done, how I have learned, and who I have learned with. I maintain a conversational tone throughout, in part because this is a very intimate subject. Sometimes I use the terms “we,” “our,” and “ours” because I tend to speak inclusively of NE LELÁNĚN, TEN in this paper. I like to think of “we” as a characteristic of relationality in my story. I also use the term “we” when speaking of and to my colleagues of STÁSEN TFE SENĆOFEN, LENONĚT SCUL, ÁUTW, my language teachers and mentors, and to the WSÁNEĆ people. We are a part of the movement to revitalize and “reverse the language shift” of SENĆOFEN much in the way that Fishman (1991) describes. Hence, we are language activists, but we have also become Indigenous researchers in the way that numerous scholars talk about (Guilar & Swallow, 2008; Elliott & Poth, 1990/1948; Jim, 2016; Sampson, 2014; Swallow, 2005). I speak inclusively because I cannot claim that my achievements are exclusively my own. Therefore, I feel the need to acknowledge the community that nurtured my eventual SENĆOFEN acquisition.

## **Theoretical Framework – PENÁĆ TFE NE SNÁ (My name is PENÁĆ)**

The theoretical framework for this project is embedded in my namesake, PENÁĆ. As I invoke my name, I signify that my SENĆOFEN learning and speaking experiences are a result of “optimal” (ideal and most favourable) conditions. I use the metaphor of travelling on the water by canoe as a framework to describe the optimal conditions of my SENĆOFEN learning, acquisition, and speaking as well as a framework for recounting my story. As a way of setting out the terms of

my optimal conditions for learning, acquiring, and speaking my language, I will refer to the following language acquisition and revitalization theory and practice in terms of the experiences that I recount and reflect on in my story.

Krashen (1982) distinguishes between acquisition and learning, the optimal use of monitor<sup>4</sup> therein, and provides a distinction between formal and informal linguistic environments, processes which have enabled the “linguistic input necessary for [my] language acquisition to occur” (p. 40). Additionally, as I reflect on my experiences, I am doing so with consideration for a number of sociocultural practices. For example, Swain, Kinneer and Steinman (2011) discuss the “Zone of Proximal Development” (ZPD) which refers to one’s skill or proficiency levels as well as one’s interpersonal and intrapersonal interactions while learning (p. 20); they also identify the idea of a “community of practice” (COP) (p.27), which, like the above formal and informal linguistic environments, refers to the gradual and deepening process of participation in a community of practice, i.e., one’s acquisition and learning environment (p. 27). They also identify the notion of “scaffolding,” which refers to the social or cognitive progression from one level of understanding to the next (p. 26). Swain et al. (2011) also refer to practices of “private speech” (p. 36) or “self-talk” (p. 62) with respect to intrapersonal communication that mediates (one’s) thinking process, i.e., subvocal, inner, or external dialogue to assist oneself to regulate thinking or action. They endorse the practice of “self-regulation,” that is the use of language to regulate the self, such as thinking out loud, or mediating one’s actions by talking oneself through a scenario (e.g., “where is my favorite ball?”),

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<sup>4</sup> In relation to Krashen’s Monitor Theory (1981, 1982), optimal use of monitor refers to one’s balancing of conscious language learning (input), while producing speech (output) and allowing for the subconscious process of language acquisition.

p. 38); they also highlight another form of regulation which refers to one's regulation when being guided by another, for example, that way that one can be directed to action through "total physical response" (TPR) (Hinton, 2002).

Related to Krashen's (1982) "community of practice" is his concept of "integrative motivation" which he defines as "the desire to be like valued members of the community that speak the second language" (p. 22). I have always found this to be the case with my elders who are more proficient, as well as with others who speak SENĆOŦEN.

Finally, I also share some of my experiences that relate to Fishman's (1991) concepts as they concern affect, or "affective intimacy", which relates to the language of intimacy of one's affective "family-neighborhood-community identity-and-society binding experience" (p. 374). My experiences echo the emphasis Rosborough (2012) places on the importance of encouragement, and the emphasis that McIvor (2012) places on the value of emotional states and motivation.

The above-noted references to the theory and practice of language acquisition relate to my optimal learning conditions, and what now follows is the story of how I have come to further understand the meaning of the name that I have inherited, PENÁĆ, my metaphorical framework for this project.

**TOW OL U, SĪO, TEM TFE SÁĆEL Cs YÁ—The weather is good enough (just right) to go). CÁL  
CNEs TWE TELFIN ET PENÁĆ—I just came to understand the meaning of PENÁĆ**

SÁCS STOLCÉE and I were traveling to Kelowna together from Victoria International airport this past winter (2017). We had a good visit along the way, laughing, joking, and telling stories.

When we took our seats on the airplane we talked about the weather, which is not small talk in

WSÁNEĆ. We talked about the winds as we know them in WSÁNEĆ, and that the winds were easy that day, nothing turbulent. We were glad that we did not have turbulent weather for travelling. Then SÁĆS STOLŒE said something that cleared up my understanding of a word that also happens to be the name that I carry from my late grandfather: PENÁĆ.

A great thing about our trip was that we had spoken to each other in SENŒOFEN almost the entire time. As we talked about the winds and the weather conditions being optimal that day, I said to SÁĆS, “TOW OL U, STŒ, TEM TFE SŒÁĆEL EŒs ŒELEN LTE YÁ [the weather is just right for us to fly],” to which he agreed, saying, “HÁÁ, NIE PENÁĆ [Yes it is. It’s a fair wind, a good wind to travel on]”. Up until that point in time I had only understood PENÁĆ to simply mean “fair wind,” according to my SILE LE (Elliott, 1990). My TÁN and SÁĆS had always expressed the word in the same words as SILE LE, and so, I had only used the word to mean fair wind, even though I was aware that it had something to do with travelling by sail (or travelling in general for that matter). The point here is that I did not have a complete understanding of the word, my name.

I had heard the story a few times—why my SILE LE assumed the name—and that he chose the name himself instead of receiving the name of one of our ancestors, as is custom in Coast and Strait Salish territories, and in WSÁNEĆ. Although I heard the story on a few different occasions, I had not understood its true meaning. I was missing something. However, I was told that he chose the name PENÁĆ in memory of one the fondest moments of his life. He recalled the occasion when, as a young child travelling by canoe with his TÁN (my JOMEĆ LE [late great grandmother] and NE SÁĆS NE JOMEĆ LE [late great grand aunty], they were travelling to our

village site on the island of STOLČEE<sup>5</sup> (San Juan Island). As they made the crossing from the WSÁNEĆ Peninsula to STOLČEE, it was night, the sky was clear, the waters were calm, and it was quiet. It was peaceful. Speaking aloud is minimal when we travel by water—a custom of WSÁNEĆ peoples to show respect for the ocean and the life in it. My SILE LE said to my JOMEK LE that he was tired and wanted to sleep. She told him to go ahead and lie down, gesturing to the front of the canoe where there was a bundle of blankets that had been heated with hot stones. My SILE LE lay down on the blankets, looked up toward the clear sky full of stars, and heard only the sound of the paddles in the calm waters until he drifted off to sleep.

As I talked with STOLČEE I finally understood. My mind dashed back to this story and I realized what it was that my SILE LE was referring to: the remembered peace and serenity associated with those optimal travel conditions, the sound of the paddles on the calm water, the clear and luminous sky filled with stars, and the company of his loved ones. As the meaning became clear to me I felt reassured about my improved understanding of the name PENÁĆ. I felt reassured, not only for having a clearer understanding, but that my name reflects my path—who I am, where I come from—and perhaps I am most reassured in relation to this work, that it reflects my journey of learning SENĆOŦEN. My journey to learn and speak my language has not been the easiest one, but it is a journey where optimal conditions have enabled me to learn and speak SENĆOŦEN.

### **SHOis NE SXIÁM NE SLÁ,LESET TIÁ—The motifs of my story that inform this work**

Reflecting on the story of how I came to better understand my namesake, and how PENÁĆ represents the relevance of optimal conditions for travel (notably by SNEWEE on the water in

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<sup>5</sup> The name STOLČEE was given to my uncle to remind us of our home village on the island.

this case), my SENĆOŦEN learning journey is reflected in PENÁĆ as a metaphor for ideal paddling conditions. As my conversation with STOLČEE reminded me, talk about weather is not small talk in WSÁNEĆ—it often has to do with whether it is safe or unsafe to travel. To discuss the weather is a way of gauging the conditions for travelling, and determining whether they are, in fact, optimal.

Therefore, to reiterate the sequence of chapters set out in my introduction, the following is the way that the PENÁĆ metaphor frames this paper. Chapter 1, QENÁNŪ ŁTE, forecasts the scope and sequence of this paper—where I introduce and locate myself, my audience and theoretical framework, and where I identify my methodology, my voice, and provide some background by way of “brief history of SENĆOŦEN returning.” Chapter 2, EŁTELIĆ,EN ŁTE TFE SNEWEE, looks at my beginnings as a STÁSEN TFE SENĆOŦEN language apprentice, specifically with regard to my learning experiences with my late elders FKOLEĆTEN [Ivan Morris] and WIJELEK [Ray Sam’ at our “elders’ sessions,” and learning through MAP. The focus of this chapter is SNEPENEK [cultural teachings and values], and ČELÁNEN [ancestry (culture, heritage, birthright)]. Chapter 3, HI,KET ŁTE TFE SNEWEE SU YÁ, DÁČEL, is concerned with the methods I have employed—whether established methods, or methods of my own construction—to effectively provide me with optimal SENĆOŦEN learning and acquisition. This chapter also identifies guiding principles and values that have further enabled more effective learning and language acquisition; these principles favour the intimate and relational aspects of learning, such as family, friendship, and home. Chapter 4, JÁN,NOŦET ŁTE, provides the conclusion and recommendations that have emerged for me in the course of this exploration.

As I tell my story of how I have come to speak SENĆOŦEN, my framework is a reminder that the “coast was clear” enough for me to learn SENĆOŦEN. This also reminds me of the worldview context of our most common greeting, ÍY SÇÁĆEL [Good day]. As our SENĆOŦEN language reveals its meanings on its own terms, the WŚÁNEĆ worldview emerges. When we greet someone with ÍY SÇÁĆEL, the context reveals a consideration for others—by stating that the actual conditions of the day, the weather, are good. As Elliot and Poth (1990/1948) noted, our WŚÁNEĆ people were also known as Saltwater People: TŁÁŁSE KÓ, WILNEW. We traveled by sea on a regular basis, and so needed to have a good sense of what optimal weather conditions mean.

U, XENÁN OL TFU, NIŁ PENÁĆ ECs ŠXENÁN S ÇNEs I, TOTELNEW ET SENĆOŦEN [The ways in which I have learned SENĆOŦEN have been under optimal conditions], just as NE SÇÁ, NE SNÁ [my name] PENÁĆ indicates.

### **ŚW, XEĆS, ILEN—Methodology**

As already noted, this paper describes an auto-ethnographic reflection that focuses on my experiences as I moved from learning my language to speaking it, and from apprenticing to mentoring. I will recount my experiences by way of an auto-ethnographic reflective narrative, which relate to the central question: S, XENI, EN YEW ÇNEs TWE SENĆOŦEN [Why is that I have come to speak SENĆOŦEN]? My story will recount my findings in terms of what I did: when, where, why, and how I learned, i.e., how I have come to speak SENĆOŦEN.

I will now elaborate on auto-ethnography as a methodology that can be used in conjunction with Indigenous methods. Ethnography is the study of people and cultures, and auto pertains to the self. According to Onowa Mclvor’s (2010) opening to her article “I Am My

Subject,” auto-ethnography is “a study involving the self” (p. 137). This auto-ethnographic work is situated in the emerging scholarly endeavors of Indigenous academics who are building on the ever-growing discourse that concerns topics such as Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and research methodologies. This discourse validates perspectives that are non-western, or are unconventional in relation to the status quo. Mclvor (2010) refers to Shawn Wilson (2007) who sets out the “key features” of an Indigenist research paradigm, reiterating that “good Indigenist research [is] as when we are connected to all that surrounds us, such as family, ancestors, the land, and the cosmos” (Mclvor, 2010, p. 139).

Indigenous principles also include respect, considering “all life forms,” remembering kindness and honesty and how what is done may bring benefit to the community at large (Mclvor, 2010, p. 139). In WSÁNEĆ, it seems as though we have protocols for everything. When it comes to tradition, we are mindful and respectful, considerate of community, and all the various life forms. There is a system and an order to the way in which we approach matters, which regularly take the form of ceremony: SNEPENEK [protocols/teachings]. Preparation, as a part of the “ceremony of research” (Wilson,2008) is crucial, as “to be a good researcher, I must first be a good person” (Mclvor, p. 140).

In WSÁNEĆ, engaging in ceremony often means that we first DIWIEĒ [pray]; we open up our work with S,DIWIEĒ [a prayer/the prayer], clearing ourselves of the blocks or barriers in our path and setting our attention to the matters at hand: SU LÁ,SET ĪTE ØE [so we prepare ourselves]. To an agnostic this can be regarded simply as honing one’s focus, but in accordance with our spiritual practices, it is a calling to our ancestors or deities to help, guide, and protect us.

The significance of story for this project is that it encompasses, holistically, the paradigm of an Indigenous research method which Wilson (2008) describes as “the storyteller as the researcher.” This approach encompasses important aspects of oral tradition inasmuch as it incorporates the experiential, the intimate connection, and the relationality. Wilson explains that “relationality requires that you know a lot more about me before you can begin to understand my work” (p. 12).

Smith (2012) and Chilisa (2012) raise a number of points that are important to consider—as an Indigenous researcher and as an activist—points which I often find myself concerned about as a WILNEW EETÁLNEW [Indigenous human being] working in an academic setting. Smith (2012) raises the concerns, ones that can be put forward from community members and activists alike: “Whose research is it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it?” (p. 10). Smith also discusses the different roles played by Indigenous researchers and activists, noting that while they are different, both are important for preserving the integrity and the interests of Indigenous communities. Although Indigenous researchers and activists often share the same interests, their goals can be misaligned given that activists are concerned with grassroots or community-based initiatives, while Indigenous researchers tend to concern themselves with decolonizing Western research narratives and the way these narratives frame Indigenous epistemologies.

Chilisa (2012) addresses the concept of deficit theory, which sees Western-based research methods as having developed a body of literature that disseminates theories which threaten to “perpetuate research that constructs the researched colonized Other as the problem” (p. 59). I think that it is necessary to state—with these two points in mind—that not

only is my integrity important here, but also the integrity of my community and ancestors. I will emphasize here, speaking to the emerging discourse about Indigenous research methodologies and Indigenous epistemologies, that our WILNEW EŁTÁLNEW—our ways of knowing—are valid and important.

I have been a language activist who has entered the realm of researcher, which could be seen as compromising my Indigenous sociocultural identity should I happen to neglect such principles as good Indigenist research. Thus, my intention for this project is that it be of benefit to my WSÁNEĆ community—SĪÁSEN TFE SENĆOFEN, LENONET SCUL,ÁUTW, and NE LELÁNEN,TEN—the language revivalists who are looking for additional contributions to their efforts. I have the utmost respect and admiration for all those I have worked with in the course of this project, and so, I honour them.

Relationships are fiercely important in WSÁNEĆ. They are important to our families, both our immediate families and our extended families, to our ancestors, and to our WSÁNEĆ name. Relationships reinforce the concept that we are akin to all things, all life forms. My SILE LE, in speaking about our worldview said, “our people lived as part of everything. We were so much a part of nature, we were just like the birds, the animals, the fish. We were like the mountains....We knew there was an intelligence, a strength, a power, far beyond ourselves (Elliott & Poth, 1990/1948, p. 75).

WSÁNEĆ epistemology indicates that we consider our life and our actions holistically. Tye Swallow (2005) spoke with elders of our WSÁNEĆ community, emphasizing the importance of “knowledge associated with land” in terms of WSÁNEĆ “knowledge of the most worth,”

because this knowledge is interrelated and mutually dependent (p. 55). He identified the themes that emerge from the associated knowledge in this way:

*Elders as carriers of knowledge, SENĆOŦEN language and place-names, W̱SÁNEĆ history, teachings, ceremony, values, stories, sense of belonging and identity are all grounded in, and have co-evolved from place, the place of W̱SÁNEĆ. (p.55)*

I have always loved a good story, even before I realized the significance of storytelling in W̱SÁNEĆ traditional culture. As with movies, I enjoy things like good plot twists, character development, meaning and rationale, and at times, romanticized notions which elaborate, glamourize or make matters grandiose. However, I have come to realize that the best stories, like good art, are the ones that provoke thought. Instant gratification, when it is purely superficial, leaves little impression on us (unless it is otherwise aesthetically appealing). In recent times I have come to notice the way in which traditional storytelling in W̱SÁNEĆ stands out for me among other ways of storytelling. Wilson (2008) sheds some light on this:

*Indigenous people in Canada recognize that it is important for storytellers to impart their own life and experience into the telling. They also recognize that listeners will filter the story being told through their own experience and thus adapt the information to make it relevant and specific to their life. (p. 32)*

Storytelling can be less about the story and more about the relationship of the story to subject matter, and how story finds its way into conversation, thereby making the story relevant to a conversation or an experience. The point of the story can be to make the listener think, to give the story further consideration. The meaning of the story may relate to an individual's experience, or simply to the conversation that was taking place when the story came to mind.

As my story takes place here, I find that, in aiming for a “higher mental process” in order to solve a cognitively complex problem —a process that takes place, according to Swain et al. (2011) in “the external world of social interaction between individuals [or oneself]” (p. 37)—it has been important to find an optimal balance of learning while remaining true to traditional WŚÁNEĆ teachings and culture. Krashen (1981) describes this, specific to language acquisition, i.e., my engagement with SENĆOŦEN, as a balance between acquisition (language input) and speaking (language output) (p. 4).

## Chapter 2: EĹTEĹĹ, EN ĹTE TFE SNEWEL—We are loading up the canoe

NĹ TFE SNEPENEĹ ĆNEs OĹ, TW NE SNEWEL. TUE ĹY TFE SĹÁCEL (It is the teachings that I am loading on my canoe. The day is still good)

### NE SĶÁ LE ĆENTOL FĶOLEĆTEN I, WIJELEĹ I, ĆSE SNEPENEĹs—Working with FĶOLEĆTEN and WIJELEĹ, and an outline of some of their principles and peachings

As learning apprentices of the language, we (SĶÁSEN TFE SENĆOFEN) had the good fortune of learning and working with several of our elders. In consideration of them, I will focus on two of our late elders who had the greatest impact on my language development: WIJELEĹ [Ray Sam] and FĶOLEĆTEN [Ivan Morris]. We had many discussions about cultural teachings, practices, and, most of all, SENĆOFEN. Before our entry into the Mentor-Apprenticeship Program (MAP), our SĶÁSEN TFE SENĆOFEN language apprenticeship learning consisted of evening classes and sessions with our elders. Although we did not achieve the same level of language proficiency in these sessions without elders as we later did in the MAP setting, the lasting impact of our elder sessions remains a foundation for so much that we—the SĶÁSEN TFE SENĆOFEN and SENĆOFEN revivalists—do to this day. Among other things, our elders emphasized, by example and advice, the importance of a good work ethic, punctuality, gratitude, humility, respect, and kindness. My friend, relative, and colleague Renee Sampson (2014) recalls that these elders encouraged us to “just speak,” and “not to give up;” she cites one of our late elders, Theresa Smith, as having said, “ĆOĆES ĆENS TOLNEW! [use what you know]” (p. 43). Encouraged by this, we adopted this statement as our motto.

Prior to, and during the time that we spent learning through MAP, we would meet with our elders every Wednesday from 9:00 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. until. At some point, these long days became too strenuous, prompting us to finish by 12:00 p.m. instead. The apprentices

would make tea and coffee and provide lunch and snacks throughout the day. We would have an agenda before us, which typically consisted of reviewing word lists, collecting words for resource and curriculum development, and discussing cultural practices and teachings. This allowed us the opportunity of hearing our L1 elders engage in SENĆOŦEN conversation with each other while helping—in our view—our language continue. Although I often did not understand their conversations, I took notice of the intonations and rhythms. Ultimately, I still think of these intonations and rhythms today, and I refer to this memory if I happen to deviate from the sound of SENĆOŦEN: it's like a sound check, or tuning a piano or guitar. As I think back now, I believe that sometimes when I talked to some of our elders in SENĆOŦEN they did not understand me (or I did not understand them) because I did not recognize their intonation patterns and rhythms; the sounds did not come readily to my palette, or they did not recognize the sounds I made. I continue to develop, or compose, if you will, the song of the language that our elders have spoken of so adoringly. What follows are some of the stories, experiences and lessons that our late elders shared with us.

**HÁ, EQ ŹSU NIŁ ELÁ, NEWs E ŹSE SELEL, WÁN—Remembering the sound of the language with ƦƗOŁĘĆTEN's elders**

From time to time, like many of our elders, ƦƗOŁĘĆTEN [Ivan Morris] would share stories from his childhood. On more than one occasion he recalled sitting at the beach among his elders.

They would sit around a fire talking, joking, and telling stories. ƦƗOŁĘĆTEN would say,

*It was so nice to hear them in the way that they spoke. Such clear SENĆOŦEN. They would all sit around the fire and drink tea and smoke cigarettes which they would roll from a tobacco tin that sat in the middle of them. They laughed so hard. And the stories that they told, such great stories. It really felt good to be sitting there with my elders and to have such*

*ÍY ŚW, KÁLEÇEN [good feelings]. I would hear them laughing and joking from afar and I would be drawn to the sound of them speaking such beautiful SENĆOŦEN.*

It was a memory that he spoke of so fondly that I would imagine everything vividly as he recalled some of those elders; they included my JOMEK [great grandfather], Isaac Bartleman, Tommy Paul, Peter Henry and his father Gus Morris, among others. When I think of what I hope for SENĆOŦEN, it is that we return our language to these kinds of settings, where SENĆOŦEN can be heard from near and far, and where we can be in each other's company (ÍY ŚW, KÁLEÇEN).

#### **HÁ, EQ ÇSU NIŁ ÍY ŚXENÁNs—Remembering a good way**

Another memory that FKOLEÇTEN shared with us that made me feel proud follows here:

*I remember being down at the beach once as a child and seeing a young man come ashore on his canoe. You could see that his canoe was filled with NEN S, KEÇE [a lot of catches], just a bunch of salmon. After he dragged his canoe ashore he turned around and went for a swim. While he swam, our elders sitting on the beach went and helped themselves to what they needed from his canoe, one by one, each of them taking salmon. After they had all taken some salmon the young man returned to the shore, got on his canoe and paddled away. I asked Mother who that was and she said it was David Elliott. I always remembered that to be a good WSÁNEĆ way.*

#### **QEN, SOT SW EN ŚW, EWES I, NEÇEN, TEN TFU NIŁ I, TOTELNEWS—Be careful not to laugh at others when they are learning SENĆOŦEN: The issue of minding the self-confidence of our new learners**

FKOLEÇTEN always cautioned us to take care while as we learn SENĆOŦEN. He would say, “be careful not to laugh at others when they are learning SENĆOŦEN.” Then he would recall a time when he felt belittled—which discouraged him for a time to speak SENĆOŦEN. He recalled that, as a boy of thirteen years or so, he was heading up the hill to the nearby strawberry patch to pick some strawberries. As he made his way up the hill, one of his elders shouted from the

window of her home, “I, TXIN SW OĆE? [where are you going?].” To which he replied, “YÁ, SEN FON NE SU, LEMTELLO, ECs...strawberries [(I am heading up the hill to pick some strawberries)]. He decided in the moment to substitute the word for strawberries with the English word because he forgot the name for strawberries (DILEK). After telling me this, he said, “SU JÁN U, NECEN [then she really laughed]. And, I really felt embarrassed.” He explained to us that he managed to carry that embarrassment with him for some time after and was self-conscious about speaking the language. He asked us to be considerate of each other in that regard, to be mindful of how self-conscious learners can be. Hinton (2002) notes that, unlike small children, “as older children, or adults we...get self-conscious and fearful about making errors...we fear mistakes and make all kinds of efforts to avoid them” (p. 8). We have since maintained a mindfulness of our new learners, even giving a community-based evening class an esteemed name, CENSISTOLW HÁLE [join our hands together], which refers to the help we receive, either by way of a hand shake or a kind gesture, to guide each other along.

**STÁN YEW CE, CÁ, ŚW, ÍYs HO Cs EWES I, KÁL, TW E TFE SKÁL?—What else is language good for if not spoken?**

WIJELEK once asked us, “What else is language good for if not spoken?” He asked us, nudging us to speak, trying to turn us away from the fear that we might have of being wrong, making mistakes—all the issues that an early learner faces. I have since advocated for speaking in SENĆOFEN, rather than merely “learning” it. If a language is not used in conversation then it is only a subject of conversation in the colonizer’s language, e.g., a topic of discussion in English. I read and write the language often, but speaking the language is the standard by which to measure language revitalization. Otherwise, it is just a topic of conversation. But if we can

discuss SENĆOŦEN *in* SENĆOŦEN then why not? In what way do we further language revitalization if we do not speak the language?

The First People’s Cultural Council (2014) characterizes our language as “critically endangered” (p. 14), meaning that it needs to be spoken to live. I myself hear it and speak it, making myself a part of its current, its life, its breath. Where there is a break in a circuit, there is no current. I believe that the act of speaking SENĆOŦEN is the life breath of SENĆOŦEN. When it is not spoken, it wanes, it fades toward its death. John Sullivan (2011), co-founder of the Zacatecas Institute for Teaching and Research in Ethnology (IDIEZ) in Mexico, speaks about the importance of creating a mono-lingual space where language can be allowed to flourish in its natural state, a place without language disruption where the language is spoken exclusively. He stresses that there is a desperate need for mono-lingual spaces in order for an Indigenous language to survive. Referring to the Indigenous Mexican language of Nahuatl, he says “every minute we spent speaking to one another in Spanish was a minute we were contributing to the extinction of Nahuatl” (p. 142).

In 2015, while listening to a panel of the Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language Faculty at University of Hawaii at Hilo, I heard Dr. Glenn Kalena Silva summarize their attitude towards and philosophy of language revitalization: “It’s language, or death. You either do what needs to be done and just speak, or let it perish” (Silva, 2015).

If the SENĆOŦEN language is not being spoken there is no SENĆOŦEN.

### **QOM,QOM ĆSU NIĪ MEQELLO—Strength from humility and patience**

Humility and patience are important characteristics of great value for those learning SENĆOŦEN. I recognized the humility of my elders who carried with them lifetimes of traditional

teachings and language. Although speaking SENĆOŦEN was second nature to my elders, hence their standing as L1 speakers, translating what was said (and what was meant) was sometimes a challenge, one that only in-depth conversations would resolve, as meanings of the words were clarified. The humility of these elders highlighted their wisdom; they would often say, “I’m not too good at SENĆOŦEN” even as they delved into conversations with ease as they worked to unravel the meaning of some of the most complex words, words that I eventually managed to understand through their discussion. Their humility and their patience with our learning always made it easy to admire and respect them, and it was at those times when I found myself reflecting on the necessity of humility and patience: *ČNEs I, ČÁU,TW E ČSÁ,ENEN ŠXENÁN*s [what I admired about their ways].

These elders always provided a gentle pace for our learning. There was no rushing, but we never strayed from our job for very long; if we did, as it was always important to continue working. There were times when I found myself wanting to move ahead a bit faster as we would discuss parts of language that “I already knew,” only to find that the point of the discussion was always more important than I imagined or was immediately able to understand. I never spoke out in these moments, but I was able to sense the same “shiftiness” around the table that I was feeling, a restlessness that you might see in our *LENONET SCUL,ÁUTW* students. Mind you, no one ever stood up and started jumping around or yelling.

As time passed, and my appreciation for the value of what our elders carried with them grew greater, I learned to give them the benefit of the doubt and anticipate their meaning, the greater significance of what they were saying. Often, these meanings would not become clear until later. Our elders always say, “*QOM,QOM,T TŦEN ŠW,ĆÁLEČEN* [Strengthen your

mind/feelings]”; our word for mind is the same as the word we use for feeling, for inner dialogue, or for our personal feelings. For example, every now and then WĪJELEK would check a word with us; at one point he asked, “Do you guys know that word, ‘ŚW,ĶÁLEÇEN?’” I asked, “It’s your feelings isn’t it?” He agreed, but elaborated in a manner that I often like to share: he patted his hand over his heart and said, “It’s your mind.” Initially, I thought he made a mistake by patting his heart instead of tapping his head. In time, given that repetition is itself a corner-stone of the way we teach our cultural knowledge, I would hear many of my WŚÁNEĆ people say, “just speak from the heart when you speak.” To speak without referring to feeling is to speak inauthentically or dishonestly. Subsequently, on hearing one of my relatives tell me to speak from the heart after telling him that I felt nervous about speaking on a particular occasion, I remembered WĪJELEK’s gesture of patting his heart: NE S,TWE TELFIN ÇO [thus I understood] our word ŚW,ĶÁLEÇEN.

### **TELEÇÁNEN TW SW OL—Confidence and the power of encouragement: Just let yourself search your mind**

Patricia Rosborough (2012) emphasizes the importance of encouragement as she talks about her experience of learning Kwak’wala: “Literature from the field of language revitalization, the people I interviewed, and my personal experience point to the need for encouragement” (p. 233).

Rosborough (2012) goes on to talk about one particular point in time in the course of her learning Kwak’wala when she had been consumed by numerous negative emotions, which gave her the ability to observe for herself the importance of “affect” in learning a second language. Early on, as I was learning our language with WĪJELEK through the Mentor

Apprenticeship Program, I gained the confidence necessary to “put myself out-there” and allow myself to speak more openly. It is funny to think of it now, but my confidence was prompted by WĪJELEK having a good laugh at what he described as our “grasping at straws” to comprehend what was being said to us when he was directing us to organize tea and snacks in SENĆOFEN. He could have been frustrated, but he just laughed. I was eager and tense many times over leading to that particular moment, often afraid of making mistakes and having to push past my fears to keep going. Often my face was so flushed that my head could have popped like a balloon. I had a feeling of relief as he laughed, realizing that I was in the good company of my family and that I was not being judged. Although I would rather be correct in the use of my language and my knowledge, I learned to embrace my mistakes, or rather, I learned to not be so afraid to make them. In this way, the course of my learning was refashioned as I began to test different ways of constructing phrases when speaking with our elders. I was no longer as afraid to be corrected as I had once been.

Swain et al. (2011) reminds us that it is often the case with learning language through a process of immersion, that we plateau but that we also eventually “scaffold”, or move up the ladder to the next level (p. 26). Waves of emotion might overwhelm us, and the plateau we’ve already reached might prompt us to question our ability and our conviction that we could go forward and upward.

I remember a time when we were sitting around WĪJELEK’s dining room table, conversing in SENĆOFEN. After so many times of repeating actions and words, only to forget them again—even when we had just repeated them—WĪJELEK said, “TELEĆÁNEN TW SW OL [Just let yourself search your mind].” He then switched to English and said, “You know,

sometimes all you have to do is encourage someone in what they are doing and they'll find they already have the answers." I contemplated those words for quite some time and eventually came to realize that he had effectively encouraged us to believe that we could do what it was that we were trying to do: to learn to speak SENĆOŦEN.

Recently, I remembered something else that WIJELEK said to me on a few occasions: "It's going to be you who saves the language." The first time he said that to me I actually felt myself blush and I thought, "Not too loud"; I felt a great weight being placed on my shoulders while, at the same time, keeping perfectly still and quiet so as not to suggest any conceit on my part. The second time he said that to me I still blushed, but I nodded my head in agreement, offering respect and gratitude for his kindness, and accepting his words with a bit more comfort. When he said this to me again, I acknowledged his words, replying quietly, "HÁÁ. EWE SEN SE ENEW [Yes, I will not stop]." I, EUQ ŹNEs ENEW TFU, STÁN OL [And I have not stopped for anything].

In the next section I will discuss the ways in which I have taken responsibility for my learning. I will be looking at the various things that I have done on my own, and the things that I have done in collaboration and communication with others. The ways in which I have taken responsibility include activities and methods, but also principles and values which have guided me.

### **Chapter 3: HI, KET LTE TFE SNEWEL SU YÁ, DÁCEL—We launch the canoe to go across to the other side**

I, ÁMEK, SIT SEN CE NE C, NEPENEK NE SU YÁ, DÁCEL, IST. I, TUE ÍY TFE SCÁCEL [I am bringing the teachings that I received to the other side for them. And the day is still good].

#### **ŠXENÁNs CNEs I, TOTLENEW—The ways that I have learned SENĆOFEN**

There are many ways that I have come to learn SENĆOFEN. I cannot say that there is one definitive way, rather, I encourage many different ways. Having said that, determination is a quality that I believe to be absolutely vital to my learning and speaking SENĆOFEN. Mind you, I am determined because I am interested. I have realized that interest and determination complement each other well, somewhat like a good conductor is necessary for the transmission of an electrical current. Interest and determination have, together, provided the main catalyst for my language acquisition—among the many sources from which I have drawn to support my acquisition.

Hale and Hinton (2001) emphasize that “successful language revitalization programs have a number of key characteristics, among them persistence, sustainability, and honesty with oneself” (p. 16). Similarly, Krashen (1982) identifies the “affective filter,” which determines that a good learner has self-confidence, motivation and low anxiety (on the premise that higher levels of anxiety deter, or prevent effective learning.

In the following passages I will describe the ways that I have learned SENĆOFEN.

#### **STOLES SEN CE TFE SCÁ, LTE SXÁLEL— I read what we have written**

I read SENĆOFEN often. I read from the lists that were compiled by my late SILE LE, notes that I have taken from evening classes and meetings with the elders, published books, databases that

have been created with our elders, as well as draft versions of our soon-to-appear dictionary developed by Timothy Montler (1991), linguist and friend to our SENĆOŦEN team; Timothy has worked with a number of L1 SENĆOŦEN elders since the summer of 1980 through to today. I read anything and everything that I can get my hands on. I appreciate our orthography. I appreciate that it was created by my late SILE LE, and that it was created by one of our L1 speakers. I look at the stories and analyze them for all that I can get from them. If I cannot get past a phrase that I do not understand, then I get hung up on it. I work on that phrase until it is understood. I have made errors time and time again as I work to comprehend—realizing that it is okay if I do not understand, without becoming complacent about not being able to understand. I have realized that, as I continue my search for understanding, I will invariably find the meaning of a phrase or word.

As a learner, I do not discount reading, especially given that our orthography was developed by my SILE LE. We carry with us, after all, the belief that the orthography was a gift to our people. Some members of our extended language revitalization community say that, in learning a language, so much emphasis should not be placed on the orthography, particularly in the early stages of learning a second language (L2). Similarly, Greymorning (2016), and Hinton (2001, 2002) also emphasize the necessity to develop the oral language at the outset. However, I believe—along with other scholars who have studied the processes by which a second language is learned—that a legible and comprehensible input-based approach (such as that which comes with reading and writing for pleasure) will have significant benefit to developing proficiency once a basic mastery of our orthography is achieved (Krashen, 1981, p.102; Krashen, 1982, p. 22, p. 164; Piske & Young-Scholten, 2009, p.81)

Creating a speaking environment is undoubtedly important—as a bottom line—if language revitalization is to achieve a securely socialized language. Nonetheless, our SENĆOŦEN orthography is a great tool, available to be used to its greatest potential, such as allowing the creation of academic and literary writings in our own right. When I feel doubt, I am reassured when I look to the successes experienced by the Hawaiian language revitalization efforts. Here, orthography is an important hallmark in the development of language resources used to revitalize the Hawaiian language. Among other things, it has allowed an Indigenous language to have a significant presence in both the mainstream academic milieu as well as the media. Wilson and Kamana point out that, “academic knowledge is seen as an important tool in strengthening the maui and providing new domains in which it can flourish” (Hale & Hinton, 2001, p. 150).

**SDIWIEĒ: NIĒ NE SĀÁ, NE S,ĶEL,NEĀEL ET XÁLS I, ĀSE MEQ STÁN**—Prayer: This is my communion with the sacred creator and all things

One of the ways to continue learning a language is through our cultural practices, the most notable of which is in prayer: DIWIEĒ.<sup>6</sup> Our elders agree that we should “not forget about it.” When we were all simply apprentices, STÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN, focused on learning SENĆOŦEN, we always began our day with prayer; every apprentice would get a turn to lead the prayer. Every now and then our elders would open the session for us with a prayer, and we would take note of some of the key terms that they would use. I began to notice a certain richness in the way this one form of speech varied, and the way that different subjects were addressed. My

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<sup>6</sup> Although it is generally agreed that DIWIEĒ translates as prayer, context can shift the meaning so that it is not easily translatable to English.

SÁCS STOLČEE eventually recommended that I use prayer to learn—a significant idea that I have incorporated it into my “process” of learning SENĆOŦEN.

Our cohort in the SĪÁSEN TŦE SENĆOŦEN has been very privileged to be able to learn many cultural practices and teachings—not least that there are many ways to pray, be it through song, ceremony, or direct communion. Our communion is not necessarily with “god,” or the “creator,” but it can be with animals, plants, or even inanimate forms, events, or, basically, with any phenomenon. When one considers the presence of such a diverse range of things to commune with, there is no shortage of opportunity to practice speaking. Once I came to appreciate that I could commune with anything, I felt a sense of liberation.

To provide a better sense of what I mean here, I will speak to some of the ways that I either learned or practiced speaking SENĆOŦEN on my own. Some of the things that we traditionally address have prayer names, allowing us to commune with directly—for example, the morning spirit, or day break, both of which the WSÁNEĆ people consider to be sacred. We believe the morning spirit to be the keeper of day, and that it is of these beings that we ask for things throughout the course of our day. Plants and animals also have prayer names that we use to commune directly with them, for example, when hunting, fishing, gathering or harvesting medicines and foods. We ask them for their help, thank them, and let them know of our intentions, or we acknowledge their relationship with us and their gifts to us. These ways of speaking to sacred beings are not exclusively relegated to prayer: as our elders have often told us, there is not one single way to pray, there can be a prayer in everything. I have had the privilege of noticing this whenever they offered up their own prayers.

An example of this can be found in a conversation I had with my SÁCS about my ŚDEMČES [car]. He directed me to be sure to acknowledge even my car because it is a vessel that carries one’s life—that it will care for you if you care for it. Our belief is that all things like to be acknowledged, and that there is a sacredness in doing so. And so, I have adopted this practice, integrating it with my many routines. I now refer to my ŚDEMČES as my KE,ĶOUEŚEN [companion/travelling buddy] just as my SÁCS did when referring to his own car. “ISTÁ, YÁ SCUL KE,ĶOUEŚEN [Let’s go to school]” I say to my car as I pat the dashboard, or “YÁ, ĽTE ČENET TFE ĶESELIN [We’re going to grab some gasoline].”

Despite the extravagant goings-on of contemporary society, which can interfere with this frame of thought from time to time, I make sure to return to acknowledging and endearing to me all manners of things that may otherwise be overlooked or taken for granted.

**NE SČA ČNES ÍY, SOT TW NE S, TEL, FIN I, WTÁLKĒN—Some exercises that have helped me develop comprehension and speech response time**

In 2007, when I was attending evening classes for SENČOFEN at the Saanich Adult Education Centre, we—that is, community members, some of whom would later become STÁSEN TFE SENČOFEN and LENONČET SCUL, ÁUTW staff—would begin each class with a counting exercise, counting from one to one hundred, part of the self-talk to which Swain et al. (2011) refer. The purpose of this exercise was to mediate the development of the various complex sounds that SENČOFEN comprises. The phrase that arose in this process, which best sums up the purpose of the counting exercise with its built-in pronunciation challenges for a beginning learner is “QOM, QEMT TFE SENČOFEN FOČEN [Strengthen your SENČOFEN tongue]”<sup>7</sup> This SENČOFEN

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<sup>7</sup> This arose from my mother ČOSINIYE, during SENČOFEN evening classes in 2007.

phrase is a good example of what Swain et al. (2011) identify as “other regulation” (p. 34). It became a motto, standing for a tactic to promote both learning the SENĆOŦEN enunciation as well as language self-improvement in general. As I considered my own lack of fluency in light of how appealing the sound of the fluent spoken language is, I was compelled to push myself to learn faster, to strengthen my SENĆOŦEN ƧOŦEN through the counting exercise—to “self-regulate” in the way Swain et al. (2011) describe it (p. 34). Thereafter, I counted to myself while in the car, to and from classes at Camosun College and then later the University of Victoria.

During this time, driving and counting, two things occurred to me: response time and numerical order. When speaking to our elders, I often found that I needed to increase my response time. My pauses between words and phrases were perhaps longer than anyone was comfortable with as they waited while I considered their questions or my responses. More often than not, after a long pause, our elders would just repeat what they said in WENITEM, KEN [English]. I know that increasing my response time was essential, and it dawned on me that one way of developing a faster response time could be by using a standard deck of playing cards. This idea came from computer games that I used to play which were geared toward challenging response times, memory, and hand-eye co-ordination.

The first thing I did with the cards was to shuffle them, then go through the deck identifying each card (either by number, face card, suit, or all of the above) until the deck was used up, and then I would repeat the process. After excelling at single denominations, I moved on to tens and so on. These days I use the cards to memorize the numerous different ways that numbers are used in language. For example, there is a numerical form for most nouns in the SENĆOŦEN language, such as NEŦE [one], NEŦÁW [once], NEŦ,OMET [one unit], NEŦ,NEŦE [one

at a time], NEŦÁUTW,MEW [one village], and so on. A lot of language can be learned by alternating the number forms with such suffixes as the above, or other morphological infix changes (e.g. NOŦE [one person], NE,NOUEŦE [the only one]). This example provides some insight into some of the complexities of the SENĆOŦEN language where the root words form the basis of numerous other words.

Once I got the hang of a number without having to refer to a written source, the next thing I tried to improve on was my response time. I did this by setting a timer, tracking the time it takes to go through the deck, and trying to beat that time. Eventually, I shifted my emphasis on increasing my response time in order to better sustain conversations with our L1 speakers. It was important, then, to develop the ability to better hear language. Where learning to name the cards quickly helped me develop a better verbal response time, I wondered how a better audio response might be developed. I figured that there must be a way that hearing (or grasping) the language more quickly as it was being spoken could be developed in a similar fashion using the cards. The activity that came to mind was to partner with someone else for the same exercise, but acting as a listener instead, and writing the numbers down as the other participant was speaking while working with the deck of cards.

In the absence of having SENĆOŦEN speakers nearby to help us, it becomes our duty as language revivalists to take the time to learn on our own. Because we do not have the luxury of having many SENĆOŦEN speakers, we must simply become responsible for the betterment of ourselves, perhaps like professional athletes: perfecting our fundamentals and target skills in preparation for the big game, which is ÍY OL S,ĶEL,NEUEL [a good conversation].

## **HE,HOI SEN OL ČNES ŠDEMČES,OĽ NE SU LELÁNEN I, KÁL,KÁLSET— I am driving in my car alone, listening and speaking to myself**

Driving alone in my car became a good place to push myself to better my pronunciation and comprehension—it became a great way to enact what Swain et al. (2011) identify as “object regulation” and “self-regulation” (p. 38). In other words, I had a means of language self-improvement as I routinely drove to and from my destinations (such as the University); the time in the car allowed me to be self-directed, and the enclosed space was well-suited to speaking privately. Hale and Hinton (2001) refer to this kind of an arrangement as active learning (p. 220), which I understand as taking a leadership role in my own learning (Hinton 2002, p. 18).

The solitude of driving allowed me the freedom to practice speaking SENČOFEN in an “unhinged” way. I got satisfaction from doing something that occupied the time that it took to get to my destination, as well as having a purpose and sense of accomplishment. During these times, I began to develop what Swain et al. (2011) refer to as a “higher mental process” (p. 37); I realized, during one of my drives to the university, that developing a quicker response time can be important to communication. The solitary drives were ideal for the tediousness of practice because I could count continuously without interruption. Early on, a single count to one hundred would take up the entire trip to the university, which took anywhere from fifteen minutes to half an hour. I began to wonder about time, specifically, whether I could count out one hundred seconds in SENČOFEN *in* one hundred seconds. I practiced the numbers diligently and began to progress. Where it had initially taken me twenty to thirty minutes to count to a hundred, I was eventually able to count to one hundred several times while driving; and, at some point I was no longer able to keep track of the number of times that I could count to one

hundred during a drive. Meanwhile, I doubt that anyone would be able count to one hundred in one hundred seconds because the SENĆOŦEN numbers get to be a mouthful after the number ten—Let this stand as a challenge!

I then decided that it was time to move onto another form of language practice. At this time, a number of audio recordings had been produced by our language teachers. These focused on vocabulary that had to do with telling time, kinship terms, and common phrases. I practiced with these until additional recordings of stories became available, stories told entirely in SENĆOŦEN by some of our L1 elders. Despite my having little comprehension of what I heard, I would nonetheless try to imitate their words. If I was unable to exactly imitate what they were saying, I would simply mimic what I thought the sounds were, approximating the intonation and rhythm. I found myself saying words randomly, essentially babbling the intonations and rhythms that I recognized.

Engaging in this form of mimicry has given me a different sense of the grammatical structure of SENĆOŦEN—through a sense of variation in rhythm and sound. By switching back and forth between nonsensical bantering and careful attention to the grammatical structure, I eventually began to form phrases that were inspired by the sound of those rhythms and intonations. I also used phrases that I was already familiar with, and I applied the rhythms and intonations to these. I eventually began stringing together my own sentences and phrases, and I became able to determine the grammatical nuances on the basis of a general order that the rhythm of the language seemed to set out. This phase in my language learning was, in the terms set out by Swain et al. (2011) my “micro-genesis” (p. 34). I saw this as a process where I unravelled truths about the language—somewhat like teaching myself to play the piano purely

because I liked a song. I was seeing, in my own way, what the elders often spoke of when talking about the language, namely that, speaking SENĆOŦEN felt like singing: I was beginning to hear the song of spoken SENĆOŦEN.

I find driving to be a great opportunity to practice SENĆOŦEN with the help of those recordings. The language proficiency so apparent in the stories often still exceeds my own, yet I continue to listen and mimic the way they speak, fumbling with the words until I eventually make sense of them. I have gained many insights about the structure of SENĆOŦEN through this come-by-chance method and I have also gained the confidence to experiment with the language. However, I also see the possibility of a dead-end with this solitary method; I find there is a the need to apply it to conversation, and perhaps to apply our orthography to test and confirm of my theories and perceptions.

### **ŦEMLEW<sub>s</sub> TŦE SKÁL I, U, ŚW, HÍ<sub>s</sub> ŦSU NIĒ SŦÁ<sub>s</sub> ET SENĆOŦEN NE S, QEN, NEW—SENĆOŦEN root words and suffixes that I have noticed**

During one of our sessions with WIJELEK, we sat at the dining room table of his home, like so many times before, asking him about words for this and that, to which he would obligingly respond. After many times of us asking and his answering, perhaps noticing that we did not really comprehend SENĆOŦEN grammar and word structure, he told us that we should familiarize ourselves with root words. He added that, if we knew the root words, we would “have it made” with the language, and we would then basically be able to say anything we wanted should we put our minds to it. I was only partially responsive to his proposal; in fact, I was a little dismissive of it because I was fixated on my own (narrower) methods at that time. I

eventually came to understand the significance of root words when I finally saw what a root word looked like in SENĆOŦEN: This was another revelation to me.

After this, I had a renewed interest in the word lists that had been compiled for SENĆOŦEN over time. I thought of many of the lists that my SILE LE developed which showed how a number of words stemmed from the same root word. I had never formally studied linguistics, but I found myself interested in SENĆOŦEN's morphology before I knew what morphology was. I found myself beginning to explore the extent of the words that were available on the word lists. The word lists that my SILE LE developed proved to be a great place to start because they do—without any formal analysis of word structure—inherently consider the morphology of SENĆOŦEN. As I read word list after word list, I began to see word forms that I already knew by speaking and writing them, but this time I found myself thinking about “how” it is that they mean what they mean. It was at this point that perhaps the most crucial question emerged with respect to the way I was learning SENĆOŦEN, and how I should proceed: How do words mean what they mean in SENĆOŦEN—in the context of SENĆOŦEN culture? As I considered this question, I realized that I needed to be able to think of about the language in such a way as to be empty of WENITEM, KEN [English]: The goal is to think of SENĆOŦEN in SENĆOŦEN.

As a result of my exploration of root words, I have developed a more acute sense of hearing and comprehending SENĆOŦEN. As I have come to understand many roots and how they inform other words, I have been able to recognize words and meanings more quickly just by listening and hearing the individual parts of a word. In the absence of being able to hear the root of the word, I would merely be writing the words out to provide myself with a visual to

which I could then refer. This is where the SENĆOFEN orthography is a godsend—because it has provided me with the means by which I can physically manipulate (or break down) a word if I am unable to understand it in any other way, by sound, in social context, or conceptually.

Given the resource of the SENĆOFEN orthography, and working out how to physically manipulate a word, I have learned to reframe my thinking in terms of isolating “root” from “suffix”. This allows me to hear a word—hear both the root and the suffix—from which I can work out the meanings in SENĆOFEN. I remember that, at some point, I told one of my relatives (who currently studies in our WSENĆOFEN,IST Program) about root words and suffix words. I found myself explaining how to interchange them using the following example: I used the root **QEN-** [see, look], and the corresponding suffix **-ETEN** [did, caused to, did to], which forms the word **QENETEN** [looked at]. I then introduced several of the corresponding suffixes on a language wheel, pivoting the next suffix on the wheel to align with the stationary root, **QENSET** [take care, watch over the self], then pivoted it the wheel again to form **QENONE** [to see you].

Just before this demonstration my for my relative, around the time that I was apprenticing with **WIJELEK** in MAP, my interest in SENĆOFEN root words—prefixes, suffixes and SENĆOFEN morphology in general—was intensified by the PBS NOVA documentary *Cracking the Maya Code* (2008) which looked at how scholars and anthropologists worked out, over many years of intensive study, how to decode the hieroglyphic writing developed by the Mayan people, a form of communication that was eradicated through a process of persecution at the hands of colonists. The documentary showed how word particles, roots, and suffixes could be revealed. The presentation rendered not only beautiful hieroglyphic imagery, but physical representations of language morphology that I immediately identified with. These images gave

me a perspective from which to imagine the deconstruction and reconstruction of SENĆOŦEN: O NE S,TWE XÁLE,NEW TÁ, [Thus, my interest was sparked again].

The PBS documentary expanded my interest in morphology, and drew me to our own word lists and resources—to look at them more closely, and to study them in a renewed light. Our BEDILR (Bachelor of Education in Indigenous Language Revitalization) students were also being exposed to the study of linguistics, which led to conversations about the theory and application of language morphology. I had some conversations with Janet Leonard (a graduate student at UVIC), who not only explained some key aspects of morphology but who also referred me to ongoing work in the Linguistics Department at UVic, such as Claire Turner's (2006) work with SENĆOŦEN morphology, and Timothy Montler's (1991) work with some of our late elders. Currently, Montler is working on our dictionary and we have had the benefit of collaborating with him on its draft form. I have referred to these resources as I consider how to deconstruct words and think about how to reconstruct other words using the prefixes, infixes, and suffixes that I have become familiar with. I write the word parts out on loose leaf paper or white board in the following way:

QEN [see, look]  
QENET [to see, look at she/he/it]  
QENETEN [looked at she/he/it]  
QENEW [seen, saw]  
QENSET [to watch oneself]  
QENONE [to manage to see you]  
QENONES [to manage to see me]

This process of observing, deconstructing, and reconstructing words has become routine to me, and it is often the subject of conversation among my LENONET SCUL,ÁUTW and STÁSEN TFE SENĆOFEN colleagues, as well as with my SÁCS and my TÁN.

### **ĶEL,NEUOL TW OL. KÁL TW OL TIÁ SKÁL—Just converse, just speak this language**

I speak with my colleagues and relatives in SENĆOFEN at any and all the opportunities that I am given. We all speak in our own characteristic way, with varying levels of proficiency and, perhaps intuitively, consider what Swain et al. (2011) identify as our “zone(s) of proximal development (ZPD)” and described as “an opportunity for learning...the distance between being and becoming...and a dialectical [balanced tension] unity of learning and development” (p. 20).

We also consider—more consciously perhaps than ZPD— our “community of practice” (COP), which Swain et al. (2011) described as “learning [which] involves a gradual and deepening process of participation in a community of practice” (p. 27).

Our conversations are often framed in the following ways: (a) ĶEL,NEUOL [simply/just conversation, casual]; (b) ČTÁTEL [asking each other]; (c) SKEL,ĶEL [news, updates, informing]; (d) XIÁM [story telling]; (e) WIKÁČE,NEUOL [joking around with each other]; and (f)

ĆAI,NEUEL [working together], either by way of teaching children, adults, or collaborating on curriculum/resources.

There are so many things for which my colleagues and I like to give NE TÁN, ĆOSINIYE and NE SÁĆS, STOLĆEĒ praise and acknowledgement. Apart from their years of dedication to the preservation of our language, we have all had the benefit of learning directly from them—at the tribal school, in evening classes, MAP, and as we worked together. I am inspired and filled with pride to think that we have come to this place where we are not only able to work together in such a successful setting, the language immersion school, but that we ĶEL,NEUEL OL TFE SKÁL ĒTE [we just converse in our language]. When I speak with my cousins PENÁWEN and SDEMOXELTEN we always joke and tell stories if we are not discussing language composition, or morphological and grammatical structures. There is a great freedom in our conversations, which I believe to be a vital component in the revitalization of a language. I am also equally free to joke with all my colleagues and SENĆOFEN speaking relatives: SXEDFELISIYE, MENEFIYE, NENSIMU, STIWET, XEDXELMEĒLOT, ĆULÁŪE, ĆELIXELWET, WIYAKSEMKE, KÁNTENOT (there are two who share the same name and work with us), and Jacqueline Jim (Miss Jim)—or, as the WSENĆOFEN,IST students have come to refer to her—MISĆIMIYE, a SENĆOFEN-ized form of Miss Jim.

My current job at our LENONĒET SCUL,ÁUTW is to assist the students in our classrooms by providing language support. Essentially, my role has become that of a language mentor, where I am able to offer language support for those language teachers who have recently taken on responsibility for the teaching and management of their own immersion classes. I help with the management of student behaviours and routines, while being on hand if students have

questions about how to say something in SENĆOŦEN. My presence helps to maintain the integrity of the immersion environment. I am often asked to help develop resources and curriculum but, in the absence of other resources, I am the resource.

HO ÇNEs KÉL,NEUEL ƦE NE TÁN [When I speak to my TÁN] we also laugh and joke, but we will have serious conversations about our SNEPENEK [traditional teachings]. In the same spirit, I converse with my SÁCS STOLÇEĒ. Currently, when I pass through the hallways of our ŁÁU,WELNĒW Tribal School (probably in the afternoons) I will see my TÁN along the way and will greet her, question her, or make a comment about the events of the day. In the mornings I get to work with NE SÁCS in the WSENĆOŦEN,IST Program. In the process of teaching our diploma students we converse in SENĆOŦEN in front of everyone, in this way demonstrating conversation and generally just having a good time joking and teasing each other. As our WSENĆOŦEN,IST students have themselves come to understand and speak SENĆOŦEN, they have become able to participate in the joking and teasing.

**ÇĒ,ÇE,OUES SEN ÇE NE S,ƦE,IWEN ÇNEs I,KÁL,TEL NE NENE—I am using my authentic feelings when I speak with my daughter**

In a similar vein to Krashen (1981, 1982) and Rosborough (2012), McIvor (2012) addresses the concept of “affect” in learning second language; she refers to the importance of “feelings, motives, needs, attitudes and emotional states” (p. 166). Similarly, Fishman (1991) discusses the importance of “overtness”, i.e., “having the necessary attitude/volition, competence and performance” (p. 44), and using and retaining “the affective intimacy of the family-neighborhood-community identity-and-society binding experience” (p. 373). Fishman emphasizes that it is through this language of affective intimacy—usually found in the family

setting—that the nexus of intergenerational mother tongue transmission is positioned (p. 67). I believe that speaking from a true emotional state, with authentic feelings, in the language of intimacy, to be a crucial aspect of SENĆOŦEN SKÁL [language] revitalization—because this is how we will achieve intergenerational language transmission. It will be the way by which I will ensure that the language lives on with my daughter: TW,YOŦ ŁTE OL U, KÉL,NEUEL ŁTE NE NENE I, ESE E ÇSE SÇÁ, ŁTE ŚW, KÁLEÇEN [my daughter and I are simply always speaking about our feelings].

When I was learning with WIJELEK (in MAP program), it seemed to me that he would check in with us to make sure that what we were doing was not going to be in vain. He was making sure our SENĆOŦEN learning was going to be for the better. At the outset, I always tiptoed around the notion of being a language teacher, where my colleagues were always clear that they would be language teachers. However, during the time that I was learn SENĆOŦEN with WIJELEK, my STOLES [wife, life partner] and I were expecting our daughter. It dawned on me that this would be an ideal opportunity for preserving SENĆOŦEN: WSÁNEĆ could have someone who would learn SENĆOŦEN as first language speaker again if I could commit myself to speaking to her only in SENĆOŦEN. Hale and Hinton (2001) refer to this situation as “one parent one language” (p. 13). WIJELEK would ask me what I was going to do with the language once I knew how to speak it, and I would reply, “I’m going to speak only SENĆOŦEN to my NENE.” Saying those words to WIJELEK felt like a promise, one that I relished with anticipation for the day when my daughter would be born.

I did get some practice while she was still in the womb, using particular phrases, sentimental things that I would like to say. I began to write some of these down; I would think

about the things that I would say to her when she was first born, such as, “NE SṬI ET NEŒE [I love you],” and “JÁN ÍY ŒENS TÁĆEL [welcome/it is good you have arrived].” What I did not anticipate was that my preconceived sentiments did not prepare me for the power of that great wave of emotions that would overtake me when she was born. Some of the phrases I recorded were in fact things that I would say, and were perhaps ideal, but it turned out that my emotional investment in those words seemed to me to be second-hand.

When my daughter was born, I was so overcome with the emotion that comes with becoming a parent that I wanted only to speak to her as authentically as I could—yet I did not want to betray the promise that I had made about only speaking to her only in SENĆOŦEN. Instinctively, I regretted having said that: even though I knew what I wanted to say and how to say it, I felt fearful that I would be disingenuous in my use of the words. So, I thought of the words that I wanted to say to her—for what may have been a long time (I am uncertain of how much time passed because we were alone together)—and I came to realize that what I wanted to say would be incorrect in any way, rather, it was that the emotions I was feeling seemed disconnected from the words themselves. And so, I took my time, considering each word carefully so as not to betray either the words themselves or my feelings. With each word that I spoke, I checked to make sure it properly represented my feeling, and in this way I invested my feelings into the words as I spoke them. Had I not done this I would probably be speaking English to ÍYĆÁŦIYE today. From that day forward I have only spoken to my daughter in SENĆOŦEN.

As time passed, new challenges emerged: questions of how to converse with my daughter, how to discipline her, how to play, or how to express traditional WŚÁNEĆ teachings.

It was from that first experience with her that I came to understand that matching emotions and feelings to words honestly and authentically is vital to the success of intergenerational language transmission. Joshua Fishman (1991) refers to this as the “language of intimacy” ( p. 5) I find it to be insufficient to simply learn the language for the sake of speaking token phrases—because doing so enables barriers that actually prevent speaking the language on a deeper and more personal level. Thinking back to when my daughter was born, I resisted speaking SENĆOŦEN from an emotional place because I did not want to betray what was in my heart by speaking what seemed like empty phrases. This was the first time that I had to speak about my feelings without the help of WĒNITEM,ĶĒN [English].

It also seems to me that being able to speak authentically about an emotional state will promote good mental health. Dr. Lee Brown (2004) talks about “emotional intelligence,” in terms of promoting a balance of wellness. Brown relates this to learning:

*Any undamaged human brain is capable of learning anything. All learning difficulties are the result of distress patterns. Distress interferes with and prevents learning....The learning process is accelerated by the learner feeling approved, respected, having success, and an aware closeness with other students. (p. 80)*

I do not, however, think of my daughter as a student—even though she will call me WŪĆISTENEĶ because I work in her Grade 1 class this year. I believe that our emotional competency—knowing about, and speaking to our authentic feelings—can be a source that allows us to bond with our language, in much the same way as the “language of intimacy.” Ideally, to abide by authenticity as a guiding value can only strengthen our resolve as we grow, learn, and speak together.

## **My two minds: Learning of the world all over again**

I have changed in the process of learning SENĆOŦEN. I am now an agent of SENĆOŦEN transmission, one who revitalizes the language. I would like to speak about a shift that has occurred in my thinking as I have come to see the world through the lens of language and the paradigmatic differences between English and SENĆOŦEN, i.e., the difference between the way we think and speak in English, and the way we think and speak in SENĆOŦEN. I often joke that SENĆOŦEN has become my alter ego, the other side of my split personality.

One of the barriers to my speaking SENĆOŦEN has been in constructing phrases that stem from an English thought I have, for example, a popular catch phrase such as “What goes around comes around.” The reality is that the thought is not formed first from SENĆOŦEN. More recently, I have come to think of certain things in SENĆOŦEN, and I have started to speak with relative ease once I figured out how to “think in SENĆOŦEN” using SENĆOŦEN grammatical structures.

Immersion learning, by way of the MAP setting, has enabled me to think and speak “from SENĆOŦEN.” It seems to me that being immersed in a language is like being in a language filter: the situations in this kind of a setting allowed me to form SENĆOŦEN thoughts, or, as Hinton (2002) emphasized: “using the language in context” allows one “to understand the meanings of words and phrases...never heard before” (p. 7). At first, I searched my memory and tried to create “speakable” moments, much as with the total physical response that comes with gameplay. Through mentors like WIJELEK, I began to filter my default English-thinking language through a SENĆOŦEN screen, which proved to be a major hindrance to the process of

communicating because I was preoccupied by the process of translating. David Abram (1996/1957) discusses the curious limitations of defining language. He says that:

*by paying attention to this mystery we may develop a conscious familiarity with it, a sense of its texture, its habits, its sources of sustenance... perception unfolds as a reciprocal exchange between the living body and the animate world that surrounds it. (p. 73)*

Eventually, I began to put together grammatically correct phrases through trial and error, following the example of my mentor who modelled proper grammatical structure.

I have also studied SENĆOŦEN on my own, away from the social milieu, which has enabled SENĆOŦEN thought to surface. I was able to do this with the help of word lists, and listening to stories in SENĆOŦEN, without the help of English translations, and where I could hear complete sentences. I also stopped taking translations of words on word lists for granted; and I stopped assuming that the translations provided a literal meaning. I learned to stop and try to process what is there on the page, and try to make out how it actually says what it says. WIJELEK̄ would randomly ask us if we knew the word for something, or we would ask him if a certain word actually meant what it appeared to mean in WENITEM, K̄EN—to which he usually replied, “I guess you could say that.” After hearing that so many times, I began to question the translations and whether I was really understanding what I saw on the page. What I eventually realized is that there is almost always something lost in translation. I now understand that, until the meaning of a words is understood in context, on its own terms—that is, to understand SENĆOŦEN in SENĆOŦEN—something of its meaning will usually be missing.

In the course of learning to think and speak SENĆOŦEN in SENĆOŦEN, I learned to monitor myself by way of a self-editing process, much like that described by Krashen (1982) as optimal, where I monitor myself but not at the expense of continuing with what I was trying to

say. For example, if I blurted out a phrase without worrying about making a mistake, I would make a mental note of it; if the phrase did not feel or sound right, then I corrected the phrasing either on the spot or afterwards.

Finally, in thinking about how I made the transition from English to SENĆOᑦEN, I remember stumbling across a simple technique as I considered how to master SENĆOᑦEN grammatical structure. I would think of how Yoda from Star Wars might say something. As it turns out, Yoda's phrasing often synchs up with SENĆOᑦEN grammar. For example, if I wanted to say, "I am happy," then I would imagine Yoda saying "happy I am"—reversing the parts much like SENĆOᑦEN: IYES (happy) SEN (I am). For an early learner, this is a great little method, especially for an avid "Star Wars geek."

It has become easier to speak from SENĆOᑦEN, in part because I engage in SENĆOᑦEN conversation frequently; the more I spend time with others who speak it, the more clear and easy it becomes. It will only come with time and practice. I recall working over and over on memorizing prepositions, only to get them mixed up again. Meanwhile, I have developed a sense for correct SENĆOᑦEN form, as well as quicker response time. I liken this sense of the acquiring the language, again, to the learning the tone and rhythm of the language, tuning in to its song, hitting the notes and harmonizing with what my guts know to be right. This, combined with my in-depth study of root words and morphology has helped to inspire my SENĆOᑦEN-based understanding.

**My motivations: I, TW STI,TEM OL EN ŚW,ĆAI I, U, MELELK,EQ ĆLI, YEYO,SEN E TFE SKÁL ŁTE —Work hard and don't forget to play with our language: Work and leisure with SENĆOFEN**

Onowa Mclvor (2012) observes that, at least for adult learners, motivation is a key element and that if learners are not highly motivated it is unlikely that they will acquire the language (p. 159) Krashen (1982) points out that, along with immersion, motivation has been determined to be the most influential factor for language acquisition success, according to a survey of “good learners [optimal monitor users]” (p. 37). Krashen (1981) also points out that, as well as motivation, attitude is essential, saying that “the right attitudinal factors produce two effects: they encourage useful input for language acquisition and they allow the acquirer to be ‘open’ to this input so it can be utilized for acquisition (p. 5).

There are many layers to my motivations for learning SENĆOFEN. There is the pride that it gives me as WILNEW EŁTÁLNEW [Indigenous human being]; there is our SYESES [history]; and there is the ideal of intergenerational language transmission, and my commitment to speaking only SENĆOFEN to my NENE. My motives are tied to my beliefs, my values, my attitude, and my sentiments.

In the course of learning from our elders, I have always wanted to honour them. I cherished them and hoped to see them smile, knowing they were assured that we were carrying the language forward and that the language was going to be safe with us.

**ĆAI I, ÍY,TES OL TĚU NIŁ I,TOTELNEW I, KÁL—Work and leisure of language learning and speaking**

I learned SENĆOFEN at the outset because my job as a SENĆOFEN language learning apprentice had, in fact, required it, but a key to my success in becoming a speaker is that I have coupled

my notion of work ethic with leisure. I learn and speak SENĆOŦEN in my leisure while keeping myself in the “business” of it as well. In this way I am able to maintain an efficient relationship with my learning process, a professional standard with my workplace, and an endearing and personal relationship with SENĆOŦEN.

It is important to work hard on learning the language, but it is also important to remember to have fun with it. In the words of Speak’s (2008) *Dictionary of Proverbs* “All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. All play and no work makes Jack a mere toy.” EXÁ, NEN̄ OL ÇSU NIĒ O? [Is that not how it is said?]. Think not of *The Shining*,<sup>8</sup> and the Overlook Hotel, with Jack Torrance and his crazy shenanigans, but rather the truth of the matter—that hard work is a necessity in language revitalization, not only because it makes the work meaningful, but also because it is satisfying and entertaining. The work must be taken seriously, but if you are not enjoying learning the language, then you are doing it wrong. I find myself embellishing this idea at times, and may be guilty of overly romanticizing SENĆOŦEN ideas and concepts, perhaps even to the point of fantasy. Yet, were this not to be the case, I do not know if I could have had the success with learning the language that I have been allowed to achieve.

ÍY NE ŚW, KÁLEÇEN ÇNEs U, ÇE, OUES NE SKÁL ÇENTOL NE NENE [I feel good to be using my language with my daughter]. When I worked with our late elders I found value in enjoying the satisfaction that they got as we progressed with using our language. I was lucky enough that I thought ahead because of the conversations that I had with WIJELEK̄—especially

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<sup>8</sup> The Shining was an iconic film produced and directed by Stanley Kubrick (1980), based on a novel by the same name, written by Stephen King (1977). The iconic phrase (“All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy”) is used jokingly toward cinemaphile (persons who are passionate about cinema) colleagues of mine who understand the seriousness of language revitalization very well, but agree that fun is important.

when I told him that I was only going to speak to my NENE in SENĆOŦEN. I did not take the time to appreciate the fact that he was nearing the end of his life because I was only looking forward to introducing him to my daughter. His passing was a tremendous loss, one that reinforced my pledge to speak SENĆOŦEN to NE NENE—my elation for SENĆOŦEN revitalization was renewed as I anticipated her arrival. I hope to emanate the strength and proficiency that my elders demonstrated, and I hope that she will not only succeed which what I offer her, but that she will advance to another level. I do not simply strive to advance myself, but see it as my duty to set an example, to provide a good standard for speaking SENĆOŦEN so that she can raise the bar.

I have a strong belief about the need for “my hand” in the effort to revitalize our language and in determining what needs to be done. It is my hope that we promise SENĆOŦEN to the coming generation, and that it be engaged with at a high standard. Perhaps the most important thing I can do is simply choosing to speak. In the end, I believe that the life of SENĆOŦEN rests with whether or not we choose to speak it. I believe that for the language to truly live, it must be spoken. And so, I continue to be motivated to speak, using what I know and keeping alive the ambition to grow in my proficiency. I hold the harsh truth, the scarcity of our spoken language, at arm’s length. I find myself having romantic visions of what a revitalized SENĆOŦEN looks like, alive in the memories that were shared with us, encapsulated in FKOLEĆTEN’s story of being at the beach, hearing the chatter of SENĆOŦEN while people were visiting with each other, and the ÍY ŚW, KÁLEŦEN [good feelings] that were part of the back drop. Let it be part of the back drop of our communities again.

## Chapter 4: JÁN,NONET ŁTE—We managed to arrive home

I,ŦINEL SEN ÇE NE ŚW,O,EX. I,TES,NO,EW SEN ÇE NE SU ŁÁL (I am approaching my destination. I am nearing the shore).

### ESEB,T SEN SE—I will bring it to an end: Conclusion

None of this—my opportunity to learn SENĆOFEN , the way speaking SENĆOFEN has been enabled, and my current role as a language revivalist—would be possible were it not for our elders, our teachers, and all those who have had a hand in WİYELĶEN,ISTES TFE SENĆOFEN SĶÁL [bringing our language back]. I raise my hands I, JI,ÁŁ SEN ÇE [and give thanks]. Language revitalization, or what Fishman (1991) identifies as “Reversing Language Shift (RLS),” is a great undertaking. It can be a heavy one, but the willingness to undertake such a task sheds light on how invaluable the undertaking is—how tremendously important and meaningful it is to those who undertake it. This sense of value makes the task of language revitalization not only easier, but enjoyable. There is still so much work to do—keeping in mind that the first step of language revitalization is to learn something, the second step is to ČOCES ÇENS TOLNEW [use what you know], and the third is the imperative: EWES ŦEQ,T TFE SONUSE [don’t let the fire go out].

My learning and speaking journey has been one of relationality (Wilson, 2008), of family-community and sociocultural identity based action, to which I cannot assume exclusive credit for. I consider myself an Indigenous researcher and a language activist. I research SENĆOFEN so that I can become more proficient; I also converse with my SENĆOFEN colleagues in SENĆOFEN for the same reason, but also to promote language growth in general and, with it, a positive attitude. Fishman (1991) states that Indigenous languages are in decline, either because the number of speakers has decreased, or because the number of people who are

interested has decreased. He emphasizes that “it makes a difference with regard to which future RLS [Reversing Language Steps] are to be advocated” (p. 44). Fishman notes that these steps involve doing what is closest at hand, that it is important not to do anything greater than is reasonable, yet it is equally important to do no less than what is required. To this end, he sets out a Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), which attempts to measure varying scales of language disruption and proposes actions that can be taken to counter this disruption (p. 87).

I have been fortunate to have invaluable SENĆOŦEN resources that have been developed within the community, by my elders, my family and my friends. I am fortunate that our SENĆOŦEN orthography was created by my SILE LE—David PENÁĆ Elliott—because it has given me both a sense of pride and a deeper understanding of its relevance, and ultimately of my duty to SENĆOŦEN language revitalization. I am also fortunate that I have those around me with whom *KÉL,NEUEL SEN ØE TFE SENĆOŦEN* [I speak with in SENĆOŦEN]—not only my colleagues and friends, but my family.

*I, NETOMET TFE SÓÁ, LTE ŚW, KÁLEØEN ØSU NIÉ I, LEØSILEN EŦ SENĆOŦEN* [And we share one mind in our transitioning of SENĆOŦEN to the next generation].

I have used many strategies that have helped me become an active learner, to be affective, motivated, and persistent. According to my own GIDS scale, I find that it is important to think in terms of best practices and courses of action for learning and speaking, to find the optimal means of performance, for example, using cards to train me to have a better response time when it comes to responding in conversation, using self-talk to coach myself, studying root words, and practicing conversation, all of which have helped me develop my proficiency and

have increased my understanding of the SENĆOŦEN worldview). I take every opportunity to speak to those who can speak SENĆOŦEN, but if I do not have anyone to talk to, I will still speak. I will speak to myself, and I will speak to inanimate “things” and just let myself get ridiculous if I want to. I feel the freedom in all of these ways of speaking SENĆOŦEN. I have taken the initiative for learning and speaking my language because it is my responsibility as a “language revivalist.” It is important to strive to be better, not to be complacent after having achieved a minimal level of language proficiency. More must be offered if the language is to be revitalized. I learn because I want to learn, and being involved with SENĆOŦEN fills me with pride because it is such a meaningful pursuit.

For me, the meaning of this pursuit can be found in my vision of SENĆOŦEN as alive and well. I have had to come to terms with the fact that I am an L2 speaker of SENĆOŦEN. Nonetheless, I stubbornly persist in my fantasy, my day-dream of being a first language speaker of SENĆOŦEN, of speaking as eloquently as my elders who lived long ago and in a different world. However, the sad truth is that that opportunity was taken from us one-plus generations ago, in large part by the Canadian government and the residential schools, where it was forbidden to speak our language. And yet, for this next, new generation, which is afforded the opportunity, the possibility of being L1 speakers—therein lies a promise for the future. Fishman (1991) sets out the bottom line: “It is inescapably true that the bulk of language socialization, identity socialization and commitment socialization generally takes place ‘huddled together,’ through intergenerationally proximate, face-to-face interaction and generally takes place relatively early in life at that” (p. 398). Hinton (2013) summarizes the rewards of “huddling together” in *Bringing Our Languages Home*: “Best of all is when the generation who grew up

with their heritage language at home understand value of spreading it further and see it as a pleasurable activity” (p. 253).

Among our XEUES I,ŪSÁNEĆ [new ones emerging, rising] is NE NENE, who will do just fine so long as she TOLNES ČNEs ENÁN U, TI,IN ČE [knows that I love her] and EWES XENIN I, ENEW ČFE KĚL,NEUEL [never stop conversing]—for it is with the ones that we love who will carry the language forward.

Something is always happening with the SENĆOFEN language, whether by choice or not. The state of the language is determined by our action or inaction, whether we choose to concern ourselves with the revitalization of our language or not. I strive to help the language and increase my proficiency to that of an L1 speaker, even if that is an “impossibility” because I have come to know fluent second language speakers, both here in ŪSÁNEĆ and abroad. I have witnessed the potential and see that it is possible, and with each benchmark that I achieve and every step on the ladder I climb in pursuit of my proficiency, the lens through which I see the world through SENĆOFEN eyes becomes more focused, allowing me to see a bigger and clearer ŪSÁNEĆ.

ĚÁL SEN ČE NE SU JÁN,NONET. ÍY SČÁĆEL [I am ashore now. And so, I have finally managed to arrive home. Good day].

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