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The Role of Language Attitudes in Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo's Language Revitalization Efforts

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THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO'S
LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION EFFORTS

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Dedication

To my Ancestors who against tremendous odds kept our language alive, and to the youth of Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo to whom is entrusted the sacred duty of passing it on to future generations.

And especially to my beloved Grandchildren, Atticus and Naomi.

Theube men T̄iwahu t'aiki shiehi.

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by

ARMIDA CARMEN HERNANDEZ, B.A.

THESIS

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Chapter 1: Introduction

OVERVIEW OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE LOSS

It is currently estimated that among the world's six thousand living languages, 43% are in an endangered status (UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger). As noted by James Crawford (2000:52), '90 percent of existing languages today are likely to die or become seriously embattled within the next century. That leaves only about 600 languages, 10 percent of the world's total, that remain relatively secure – for now.' The casual observer may remark that the demise of these languages is somehow inevitable and may even be viewed as a positive. The more cynical may even go as far as to say that their loss should not be mourned but rather celebrated as a step forward in the ongoing march of so-called progress. Still others view language loss as a price worth paying in order for humans to adapt to a shrinking world in which unity of language they would argue promotes commerce, political understanding, and ultimately harmony among the family of humankind. All of these perspectives hold in common the notion that hanging on to the use of ancestral languages somehow stunts the speakers' individual and collective development – socially, economically, and politically. With reference to indigenous communities, the argument goes that the sooner they either voluntarily abandon their native languages or succumb to outside pressures and/or coercion to abandon them and shift to the dominant society's language, the sooner they will be able to be fully integrated into their respective nation's socio-economic and socio-political spheres. This view was summarized by the celebrated Latin-American writer, Mario Vargas Llosa (1990:52-3) when he famously wrote:

the preservation of the primitive cultures of America – is a utopia incompatible with the other and more urgent goal – the establishment of societies in which social and economic inequalities among citizens be reduced to human, reasonable limits ... [W]here there is such an economic and social gap [between traditional indigenous societies and modern societies], modernization is possible only with the sacrifice of the Indian cultures.

Presumably, since language is a vital component of any culture, those who share Vargas Llosa's viewpoint would also see the loss of ancestral languages as a desirable outcome for Native American communities.

Language preservationists counter that a people's language is much more than simply a mode of communication which can easily and harmlessly be exchanged for another. Language encapsulates a people's world view, providing a medium for memorializing, expressing, and imparting invaluable knowledge about the natural world. Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine (2002: 14) in their book 'Vanishing Voices' explain that:

While one technology may be substituted for another, this is not true of languages. Each language has its own window on the world. Each language is a living museum, a monument to every culture it has been vehicle to. It is a loss to every one of us if a fraction of that diversity disappears when there is something that can have been done to prevent it. Moreover, every people has a right to their own language, to preserve it as a cultural resource and to transmit it to their children.

Seen in this light, all human languages take on an inherent value which makes them intrinsically worthy of preservation. But these linguists go even further, using the term bio-linguistic diversity to describe the relationship between biological and linguistic diversity as mutually dependent. They note that, 'the greatest bio-linguistic diversity is found in areas inhabited by indigenous peoples, who represent around 4 percent of the world's population, but speak at least 60 percent of its languages and control or manage some of the ecosystems richest in biodiversity' (2000: 13). Finally, they assert that, 'Languages are like the miner's canary: where languages are in danger, it is a sign of environmental distress' (2000: 14).

Turning to the situation of North American indigenous languages, Nettle and Romaine (2000: 5) wrote that, 'Of an estimated 300 languages spoken in the area of the present-day U.S. when Columbus arrived in 1492, only 175 are spoken today. Most however, are barely hanging on, possibly only a generation away from extinction'. This can be seen as a direct result of deliberate genocide and the massive die-offs from disease associated with European encroachment on tribal lands which decimated the number of speakers of any number of indigenous languages. However, it must be noted that subsequent U.S. government policies, laws, and educational initiatives such as the infamous boarding school system of the late 19th through the mid-20th centuries also contributed greatly to the decline in the use of indigenous

languages. Under the latter, Native American students were routinely punished, sometimes with physical brutality, for speaking their native languages. In the infamous words of General Pratt, the key architect and promoter of the U.S. Indian boarding school system, the goal of education was to ‘kill the Indian to save the man’. Similarly, in all areas of public life, indigenous languages have historically been devalued and their speakers marginalized. The net result is that, ‘A survey of the North American continent done some time ago in 1962 revealed that there were 79 American Indian languages, most of whose speakers were over 50. There were 51 languages with fewer than 10 speakers ... Only six languages – among them Navajo, Cherokee, and Mohawk – had more than 10,000 speakers’ (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 8).

Perhaps nowhere is the loss of indigenous languages felt more sharply than in their communities of origin. But thanks to the civil rights movement of the 1960’s to the present, native communities have experienced a resurgence of cultural pride. Tightly bound up with cultural pride is the recognition of the vital role that language plays as a part of cultural identity. Much of indigenous identity relates to not only the material world, but to the spiritual realm as well. Dominant European languages such as English or Spanish simply cannot fulfill the role that the community’s indigenous language plays in traditional ceremonies, prayers, dances, and lifeways in general. In order for indigenous communities to survive as cohesive ethno-cultural entities their languages must somehow be rescued from imminent extinction. Here in the United States, language preservation and revitalization efforts have taken on greater urgency as tribes spanning all across Indian Country, from Alaska to Florida, are collaborating with linguists, Native and non-Native, in a pitched fight to save their languages from decline and/or extinction.

Returning to the causes of indigenous language loss, however, it is important to recognize that blame cannot be assigned exclusively to external pressures. James Crawford (2000: 68) states succinctly, ‘Repression alone, however, cannot fully explain the decline of minority tongues, for the simple reason that people resist. Language is the ultimate consensual institution’. Furthermore, speaking directly to the role of attitudes and values in indigenous language loss, Crawford (2000: 57) wrote:

On the one hand, the process reflects forces beyond its speakers’ control: repression, discrimination, or exploitation by other groups (and in many situations, all three). On the other hand, except in the case of physical genocide,

languages never succumb to outside pressures alone. There must be complicity on the part of speech community itself, changes in attitudes and values that discourage teaching its vernacular to children and encourage loyalty to the dominant tongue.

Recognizing the strong interplay between language attitudes and language maintenance or loss, this study focuses on the role of language attitude in one particular Native American tribe's language revitalization efforts, that of Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo.

BRIEF LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO

The arrival of the Spaniards in the 1600's brought massive changes to the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico. Under Spanish rule, all elements of Pueblo Indian lifeways were suppressed, including the use of their indigenous languages. For the Tigua living at Isleta Pueblo, this was the beginning of a centuries' long shift from Tiwa to Spanish. The ancestors of the Tigua of Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo were among several hundred Tiwa-speaking Indians who migrated southward to El Paso Del Norte with the Spaniards following the Pueblo revolt of 1680. Following this migration, these Tiwa-speakers established Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo in what is now referred to as the South Valley of El Paso, Texas. Remarkably, although the process of language shift from Tiwa to Spanish had already begun, the Tigua still managed to retain the use of Tiwa as a home language and for ceremonial use for another two centuries. However, the geographic distance between Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo and their nearest Southern Tiwa speaking neighbors at Sandia and Isleta Pueblo in central New Mexico made Tiwa language maintenance difficult. Thus, Tiwa language use continued to diminish in succeeding years, although never disappearing entirely.

The state of Texas's entry into the Union in 1845 ushered in an entirely new era for the Tiguas of Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo. The subsequent influx of English-speaking Americans into the El Paso region imposed yet another pressure towards language shift, but now it was English that swiftly became the dominant language in nearly all domains of daily life that had previously been dominated by Spanish. Over time the Tigua found their land and their lives literally swallowed up by the growth of the city of El Paso. By the 1930's the tribal community had ended up squeezed into a small section of the town of Ysleta referred to as 'El Barrio del los Indios'. It wasn't until federal recognition in 1987 that the tribe was given an area of Ysleta

designated as federal trust land. Beginning with just 23 acres, the Tiguas' modern day reservation was only a tiny fraction of the original 36 square mile land grant they had received under Spanish colonial rule. However, through purchases of additional land later passed into federal trust, the reservation grew to its current size. Federal recognition as a sovereign Indian nation brought government funding and assistance which helped pave the way for economic development and vastly improved socioeconomic circumstances for tribal members and their families. Economic revival was accompanied by a revival of tribal culture with a renaissance in traditional arts which had nearly disappeared such as pottery, jewelry making and basket making. This renewed sense of cultural pride among tribal members led to an interest in reviving the use of the Tigua's ancestral language, Southern Tiwa, eventually culminating in the establishment of YDSP's current Tiwa Language Program.

STUDY BACKGROUND:

As described on its tribal website, Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo is a federally recognized sovereign Indian tribal nation located in the south valley of El Paso, TX near the towns of Ysleta and Socorro, TX. The Pueblo (for the sake of simplicity referred to as YDSP through the remainder of this document), is comprised of 3,462 enrolled members with a total of 2,698 acres of land held in federal trust. The tribe also owns Chilicote Ranch in Presidio and Jeff Davis counties, comprising an additional 70,461 acres (see Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo website, screen 1). The ancestral language of YDSP is Southern Tiwa, a language from the Kiowa-Tanoan family. Southern Tiwa is also spoken at Isleta Pueblo and Sandia Pueblo, both federally recognized Indian tribes located near Albuquerque, New Mexico in the Southwestern United States. According to the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Mosely (ed.) 2010), Isleta and Sandia Pueblos have a combined total of 1600 speakers. The atlas lists Southern Tiwa's degree of endangerment as 'definitely endangered'. As used in the atlas, 'definitely endangered' status is assigned to languages with an intergenerational transmission described as 'children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home'. The atlas does not have a separate listing for the variant of Southern Tiwa spoken at Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo. However, according to an unpublished internal language survey which was conducted at YDSP in 2012 with a survey sample of only 171, only 22% of the respondents indicated that they speak any Tiwa with their families. In response to the question, 'how would you best describe your Tiwa

speaking ability?', 58% answered 'no knowledge'. More encouragingly, 36% answered the same question with 'emerging', which is to say they know a few words and phrases such as numbers, colors, animals, and basic greetings. The survey also revealed that 95% of the respondents would be willing to spend time learning Tiwa. In response to growing concern about the loss of Tiwa at YDSP and a marked increase in interest in reviving its use at YDSP, tribal leaders have established a comprehensive Tiwa Language Program. Instrumental in the initial effort to launch the program was the work of a Tiwa Language Revitalization Project Committee which convened to set out goals/objectives and a strategy for tackling the task of reviving Tiwa language use in the Pueblo.

Focus groups drawn from the YDSP community discussed the many difficulties associated with reviving Tiwa in the Pueblo. As evidenced by the results of the earlier internal survey cited above, transitory bilingualism (towards English and/or Spanish) has devastated Tiwa language vitality at YDSP. It was also suggested that any actual substantive reverse-shift back to Tiwa must be preceded by a shift in individual and collective language attitudes. The latest incarnation of a Tiwa language program is not the Pueblo's first effort towards preserving/promoting Tiwa language use. However, past efforts have been erratic, short-lived and lacking in coherent planning and sufficient funding. The current program director and tribal leaders agree that throwing random efforts at a nebulous target will only result in repeated failure. Hence, a consensus was reached that in order to best achieve the program's established goals, efforts are necessary to correctly and thoroughly identify those factors which have contributed both to the historic decline in Tiwa language use and the continued impediments to its use. One of these identified factors is language attitude. Until now no research based study had been done on current language attitudes at YDSP. To meet that need, this researcher conducted a comprehensive language survey focusing on YDSP tribal community members' language attitudes.

Chapter 2: Language Survey

PROCEDURE:

In an effort to uncover the role, significance, and effects that language attitudes have in YDSP's Tiwa language revitalization efforts, a comprehensive language survey was devised, focusing on the three principal languages currently spoken in the tribal community, English, Spanish, and Southern Tiwa. This survey was modeled after a previous language survey entitled 'Language Maintenance and Shift in the Paso del Norte Region' which was done in the spring of 2014 at the University of Texas at El Paso under the direction of UTEP Professor, Dr. Jon Amastae, as Principal Investigator, assisted by a team of student co-investigators which included the current researcher, Armida Hernandez. The survey used in the present study consisted of a total of 256 possible questions divided into six sections: demographics, family background, language background, language use, language proficiency, and language attitudes. The data collected was intended to be used to draw conclusions about who speaks which language, when, where, with whom, and how, all of which are indicative of language attitudes. In the context of this study, 'language attitudes' refers to attitudinal behaviors, namely, observable behaviors shaped by people's internal thoughts and feelings. In addition, the data collected would be an aid to understanding the mechanisms of language maintenance and shift. Finally, it was hoped that the information gathered would prove useful for identifying ways in which YDSP's current Tiwa Language Program can be improved so as to increase its effectiveness in reversing the effects of language shift and promoting greater use of the Tiwa language among tribal community members.

As originally proposed, the survey was to be administered to three age groups: tribal youth (ages 14-17), adults (ages 18-54), and elders (ages 55+). It should be noted that the inclusion of tribal youth (ages 14-17) as study participants was seen as important as they are viewed by other community members as the future of the tribe. Indeed, with respect to language maintenance/revitalization, 'The pulse of a language clearly lies in the youngest generation' (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 8). Similarly, the opinions and desires of tribal elders (ages 55+) are also given special weight since they are seen as the keepers of tribal knowledge and traditions. Unfortunately, due to problems with access and difficulties in securing parental consent, the study had to proceed without the inclusion of tribal youth.

The survey was designed and administered utilizing the REDCap™ (Research Electronic Data Capture) web application. Users of REDCap™ are able to build and manage online surveys and data bases in a secure, password protected environment. Since it is web based, no paper materials other than signed consent forms were needed. The survey was administered during the months of September and October of 2016. Participants were asked to complete the survey by using an iPad handheld computer provided by the researcher. Their responses to survey questions were simultaneously uploaded automatically into the survey database.

Recruitment of participants began with an announcement by the researcher about the planned language survey and interviews via the tribe's email list serve of all tribal member households. All contacting of potential participants and the administration of the survey itself were done by the researcher alone. Survey taking took place in areas of the reservation commonly accessed by tribal members, for example, the tribal library and community health services building. In addition, the researcher was able to recruit some participants in attendance at the tribe's annual Pow Wow, Pumpkin Festival, and Red Ribbon Block Party events. While the majority of the participants live on or very near the reservation, a small number were drawn from enrolled tribal members living in the neighboring city of Las Cruces, New Mexico who maintain strong ties with the tribe. Survey taking of members living in Las Cruces took place in private homes. Initial reticence of participants was easily overcome by explaining that their participation was completely voluntary and that their responses would be anonymous and confidential. The consent forms also reiterated this fact. The most frequent concern expressed was the length of time required to complete the survey. Once informed that it would take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete, the majority of prospective survey takers acquiesced. Securing the participation of elders did require extra effort as they appeared to be wary of the process itself and what its eventual use would be. However, through repeat visits to the Elder's Center and friendly interaction with elders, the researcher was able to gain their trust sufficiently to obtain their consent and participation. There was no duplication of participants and all answered the survey completely without skipping or leaving any of the questions blank.

It must be noted that language shift at YDSP has involved not only English, but perhaps to an even greater extent Spanish due to the Pueblo's proximity to the U.S./Mexico border and its historical relationship with first Spain under colonial rule and later Mexico. For that reason in all sections other than demographics, the survey included questions concerning all three languages –

English, Spanish, and Tiwa. Due to the small size of the sample, and bearing in mind that this is a pilot study, any quantitative or statistical analysis of the data is descriptive in nature and is meant to provide a ‘snapshot’ view of existing language attitudes at YDSP.

BACKGROUND OF THE SAMPLE:

Study participants were members of Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo drawn from two age groups: adults (ages 18-54) and elders (ages 55+). Using this criterion, of the 65 surveyed, 50 were classified as adults, and 15 as elders. 35.4% were male, and 64.6% female. The combined total of respondents born either in Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo or El Paso was 81.6%. The remaining 18.5% were born elsewhere in the U.S., namely the Las Cruces, NM area which due to its proximity to El Paso is home to a number of enrolled tribal members. None were born outside of the U.S. Currently, 55.4% of those surveyed live on the YDSP reservation and 26.2% live off the reservation but within El Paso County. Only one respondent lives elsewhere in Texas and the remaining 16.9% live in Doña Ana County, New Mexico where the city of Las Cruces is located. Place of residence is largely stable as a full 75.4% of those surveyed have lived 6 or more years in their current place of residence.

In terms of level of education, the data gathered provided evidence of upward mobility. Notably, of those surveyed, a total of 49.3% obtained a college degree, with 30.8% having received an Associate degree, 15.4% a Bachelor’s degree, and 3.1% a Master’s degree. As shown in Table 1, there did not appear to be a significant difference in levels of education between males and females as the combined totals for college degree recipients was 52.17% for males versus 47.61% females, which is only a 4.56% difference. It was noted, though, that the two lone Master’s degree recipients were both fifty-five year old females. However, Table 2 shows that a significant difference did emerge when examining the education data in terms of adults versus elders with the combined total of college degree recipients for adults being 54% and only 33% for elders. Additionally, had the two 55 year old female Master’s degree recipients been counted as adults instead of elders, the difference would have been even more striking – 58% of adults vs. 20% of elders. This difference in education levels between adults and elders can be attributed at least in part to the fact that the socioeconomic benefits that federal recognition has brought the tribe have been more accessible to the respondents in the adult age group rather than elders. That is, at the time federal recognition was granted in 1987, even the

eldest among the adults currently ages 18-54 were still in their early twenties. In turn, the increase in educational opportunities has led to greater employment opportunities with a significant number of tribal members being employed by the tribe itself in its various business enterprises as well as in the areas of administration, education, and social services.

Table 1: College degree recipients by gender

Type of degree	Male	Female	Difference in %
Associate	34.78%	28.57%	6.21%
Bachelor's	17.39	14.28	3.11
Master's	0	4.76	4.76

Table 2: College degree recipients by age group

Type of degree	Adults	Elders	Difference in %
Associate	34%	6%	28%
Bachelor's	20	0	20
Master's		4.76	4.76

Chapter 3: Evidence of Language Shift

The following is a descriptive analysis of the survey data on language use and language proficiency as evidence of language shift at YDSP. This analysis is important as language use is indicative of language attitudes towards the language or languages spoken by individuals and communities. Where there is evidence of language shift, it points to changes in those language attitudes. Ultimately, this analysis will shed light on how changing attitudes of tribal members towards the Tiwa language over time have influenced their level of Tiwa language use, both positively and negatively. In addition, it will reveal how these changing attitudes have motivated shifts both historically away from Tiwa and first towards Spanish, later towards English, and recently to a lesser degree back towards Tiwa language use. Most importantly, understanding the role of language attitudes in language shift opens up the possibility of re-shaping these attitudes as a means of effectuating a reverse shift, that is to say, to revitalize Tiwa language use at YDSP.

DATA ON LANGUAGE USE

The survey’s section on language use was designed to elicit more detailed information on the actual domains or contexts in which the respondents speak each of the three languages spoken at YDSP. This information was useful for uncovering underlying language attitudes towards each of these languages. The data collected in this section as shown in Tables 3 and 4 provide a more nuanced view of the survey takers’ actual language use.

Table 3: Active language use by domain

	Only Spanish	Mostly Spanish	1/2 and 1/2 Eng./Span.	Only/mostly English	Any Tiwa	Not applicable
With fellow tribal members	0%	4.6%	44.6%	55.3%	32.3%	1.5%
Among neighbors	0	7.7	47.7	50.7	12.3	1.5
With close friends at YDSP	1.5	3.1	33.8	64.6	30.8	1.5
With close friends off YDSP	0	6.2	35.4	64.7	9.2	0
With strangers at YDSP	0	0	33.8	72.3	4.6	1.5
With strangers off YDSP	0	3.1	40	63.1	3.1	0
Speaking with co-workers	0	6.2	27.7	66.2	15.4	10.8
Shopping at local stores	0	1.5	32.3	75.4	3.1	0
Shopping at the mall	0	0	26.2	73.9	3.1	6.2
At Mass/religious services	4.6	4.6	29.2	63	7.7	7.7
At tribal ceremonies/events	0	6.2	43.1	53.8	41.5	0

When praying	1.5	4.6	24.6	67.7	23.1	4.6
Using social media	0	1.5	18.5	76.9	6.2	9.2

Table 4: Passive language use by domain

	Only Spanish	Mostly Spanish	1/2 and 1/2 Eng./Span.	Only/mostly English	Any Tiwa	Not applicable
Watching T.V.	0%	0%	15.4%	86.2%	0%	3%
Listening to the radio	1.5	1.5	30.8	75.4	0	0
Watching movies	0	0	6.2	93.9	0	3.1
Reading news online/papers	0		3.1	98.5	0	0
Watching news on T.V.	0	0	9.2	90.7	0	1.5
Reading books	0	0	4.6	92.3	0	4.6
Reading magazines	0	0	4.6	96.9	0	0
Surfing the internet	0	0	1.5	89.2	0	12.3
Cellphone setting	0	0	0	98.5	0	1.5
Voicemail message	0	0	1.5	95.4	0	3.1

DATA ON LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

In answer to the question, ‘What languages do you speak?’, fully 83.1 % of those surveyed responded that they speak both English and Spanish. Tiwa was not included as an option in that question, however, a separate question was posed asking, ‘Do you speak any Tiwa?’ To that question, a total of 81% answered in the affirmative, although in degrees varying from very little to moderately proficiently. Just 16.9% of those surveyed are monolingual English-speakers and none are monolingual Spanish-speakers. This would seem to indicate that English/Spanish bilingualism is very common among tribal members at YDSP. In fact, of respondents who have a spouse or partner, 86.1% reported that their spouse/partner is also English/Spanish bilingual. However, it should be remembered that being bilingual and being bi-literate are two very different things as borne out by the fact that 93.8% of the self-reported bilingual respondents indicated English as the language in which they first learned to both read and write. More surprisingly, nearly half (47.7%) of the self-described bilinguals stated that they actually learned English first, meaning that Spanish is their second language. When asked the question, ‘Which language do you speak most proficiently?’, 73.8% of the respondents answered ‘English’. The breakdown by age group for this response with respect to English and Spanish is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Language spoken most proficiently by age group

	Adults	Elders
English	74%	73.3%
Spanish	0	0
Both English and Spanish equally	26	26.7
Other	0	0

This breakdown showed no real difference between the two age groups as 74% of adults and 73.3% of elders claimed greater proficiency in English. Only 26.2% of both groups combined felt that they were able to speak both English and Spanish with equal proficiency. In fact, none of the respondents from either age group believed that they speak Spanish more proficiently.

Given the extreme negative pressures that Tiwa language use has been subjected to both in the past and in the present, it might be expected that tribal members would simply abandon Tiwa altogether. But the data gathered clearly demonstrates that this not the case. Table 6 displays data on Tiwa language proficiency gathered through a survey administered by the tribe in 2012 with a sample of 171 and the current survey which had a sample of 65. The question posed in both surveys was, ‘How would you describe your Tiwa language speaking ability?’ In the 2012 survey, the question was left unanswered by 7 of the respondents.

Table 6: Tiwa language speaking ability

	No knowledge	Emerging	Intermediate	Fluent
2012 tribal survey	58.5%	36%	4.9%	.6%
2016 current survey	21.5	66.2	9.2	3.1

Comparing the two survey results, the data would seem to indicate a significant increase in Tiwa language speaking ability. Assuming this is true, the increase could be seen as a signal of positive shifts in language attitude specifically towards Tiwa which may be linked to the positive influence and effectiveness of the current Tiwa Language Program. On the other hand, it might just be a consequence of more favorable societal attitudes towards other languages in general. However, another possibility, and one which cannot be ruled out, is that the 2012 figures may

simply have been under-reports by the participants in that survey due to perceived social prejudice towards speaking Tiwa, in which case there may not be a change at all in levels of Tiwa language proficiency between the two surveys. In order to more accurately determine whether actual changes in Tiwa language proficiency are occurring and the cause behind such changes, it would be helpful to re-administer the current survey in a few years. This should ideally take place with a larger sample and with the addition of questions asking the participants things such as whether their proficiency levels have changed, and if so, in what way. It would also be helpful to ask the participants to identify the factor or factors that contributed to that change, for example, having taken a Tiwa language class or increased exposure to Tiwa. At this point, however, we can safely conclude from the data thus far that although English/Spanish bilingualism is prevalent at YDSP, English is clearly more dominant than either Spanish or Tiwa in terms of use and proficiency.

Chapter 4: Language Attitudes

COMPARISON BETWEEN LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD SPANISH AND TIWA

The survey section focusing on language attitudes yielded some surprising, if not unexpected results. To begin with, in spite of YDSP's very close proximity to neighboring Ciudad Juarez, when asked the question, 'Do you visit Mexico?', 78.5% of survey respondents answered 'no', and only 21.5% answered 'yes'. More surprisingly, a higher percentage of respondents indicated that they visit other reservations or Pueblos than those who indicated that they visit Mexico. In comparison, 81.5% of those surveyed indicated that they visit Pueblos whereas only 21.5% ever visit Mexico. This is in spite of the fact that the nearest Pueblo is over 250 miles away near Albuquerque, New Mexico. The most common reason given for visiting other Pueblos was for family/friendships/traditional kinship ties at 37.7%, followed by 34% visiting for cultural/spiritual reasons and the remainder for recreation or for doctor visits. This indicates a strong self-identification as Indian and a sense of connection with fellow Pueblo Indians in spite of the significant geographic separation between YDSP and other Pueblo Indian communities. While Tiwa language use does remain very limited compared to the use of English and Spanish, looking back at Table 3 we can see that the domains where current Tiwa language use is strongest are 'speaking with fellow tribal members', 'speaking with close friends at YDSP', and 'at tribal ceremonies and events'.

Another surprising outcome is seen in the responses to the parallel questions, 'Do you think your generation or the younger generations are moving away from or toward the use of Spanish?', and 'Do you think your generation or the younger generations are moving away from or toward the use of Tiwa?'

Table 7: Shift in language use

	Spanish	Tiwa
Away from use	55.4%	23.1%
Toward use	16.9	70.8
Staying the same	27.7	6.2

Table 7 shows that although 27.7% of the survey respondents feel that Spanish use is remaining stable, 55.4% do feel that there is a shift occurring away from Spanish and only 16.9%

feel that there is a shift towards Spanish. This stands in contrast to the 70.8% of survey respondents who feel that there is actually an ongoing shift towards the use of Tiwa. Nevertheless, another set of parallel questions provided evidence that in some respects, language attitudes towards Spanish and Tiwa and their respective cultures are nearly equally strong, even in the face of English language dominance. Specifically, 83.1% of all respondents asserted that if they were to leave the border region they would continue speaking Spanish while 89.2% would continue speaking Tiwa or at least trying to learn to speak Tiwa. Furthermore, 89.2% declared that if they left the border region they would continue to use Hispanic customs/traditions, such as food, music, and dances. Even more impressively, a full 96.9% of respondents indicated that they would continue to use Tigua customs/traditions, such as food, music, and dances.

Other survey questions were geared towards measuring the survey takers' level of aesthetic appreciation of Tiwa and the value they place on it. When asked which languages(s) are more beautiful, 23.1% indicated Tiwa alone, 18.5% both English and Tiwa, and 44.6% indicated all three languages (English, Spanish, and Tiwa) are equally beautiful. A resounding 100% of those surveyed answered 'yes' to the question, 'Do you believe kids should learn Tiwa?' 95.4% would like to learn Tiwa/learn more Tiwa and 78.5% have already made an effort to learn Tiwa. A full 100% of those surveyed affirmed that they are willing to set aside time to learn Tiwa/learn more Tiwa. Lastly, 90.8% of those surveyed believe that it is possible to bring back the daily use of Tiwa at YDSP on a wide scale and a nearly unanimous 98.5% think that it's a good idea to do so.

Chapter 5: Free-form Interviews

When deciding on a methodology for this research, it was necessary to consider the pros and cons of conducting a closed survey vs conducting open-ended, free-form interviews. Closed surveys have the advantage of eliciting quantifiable responses which are easy to analyze and compare. Another advantage they have is that they can be completed more quickly and easily by the participants. Bearing these advantages in mind as well as the type and quantity of data desired, the decision was made that a closed survey was the best option for meeting the goals of the greater part of this research project. However, in order to obtain greater insight into current and past language attitudes among the two participating age groups as well as the role of those attitudes in the process of language shift at YDSP, free-form interviews were also conducted. The advantage of conducting the interviews was the ability to elicit more spontaneous, detailed responses from participants regarding their thoughts, feelings, and experiences as opposed to responses limited to a pre-determined set of answer options. In this way, the participants were able to freely express themselves, thus providing their own unique perspectives in their own voices – voices which deserve to be heard.

A total of 7 adults and 9 elders were interviewed. All interviews were digitally recorded and then later transcribed with the two following caveats regarding transcription. First, in order to preserve the anonymity of the interviewed subjects, no names are provided. Where a subject's recorded utterance included a name, the transcription substitutes a letter, for example, X or Y, in place of the name spoken. Secondly, although a few utterances of Tiwa words or phrases were recorded, these have been transcribed but left untranslated out of respect for Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo's wishes that they not be translated into English.

Although the interview questions did not follow a set script or order, a number of common themes did emerge during the conversations between the researcher and the individual subjects. While transcribing the interviews, a list of the most recurrent themes was compiled. After completing the transcription of all of the interviews, quotes from various interviewees were selected and grouped under the headings for each theme identified. The choice of themes and quotes was focused on selecting those with the most relevance to the issue of language attitudes and their interplay with language use and language shift. The quotes provided below are grouped and labeled according to each of the themes selected. The researcher has elected to refrain from commenting on quotes from individual respondents as these speak very well for themselves. Or

as Joshua Fishman (1996: 74) aptly put it, ‘People are positively conscious of their language, without having taken a course in linguistics to spoil it for them, to intellectualize it for them. When they are positively ethnolinguistically conscious, they tell you deeply meaningful things to them.’

SELECTED QUOTES FROM FREE-FORM INTERVIEWS

On hearing Tiwa spoken as a child:

‘My grandmother was very good>very fluent in speaking the language. She was very good and, uh, at one point my uh>my brother he recorded her and I don’t know what happened to the recording but, uh, he recorded her speaking the language and I-I think it was very impressive ...’

[Male Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘ ... my great-grandmother lived in the Pueblo and we would come visit her and my great-grandma would live in the Pueblo. We would come>sometimes there were visitors there, neighbors and they would talk in Tiwa ... ’

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘Well, when I was young I remember, like a teenager, I remember going to visit my cousins and then they would take me to meet their grandmas or whatever, and I would hear them talk, but I couldn’t understand what they were saying, you know?’

[Female Elder taking Tiwa language class at Elder Center]

‘When I got married, my dad sent me to live with my grandmother. You know, she lived out by the cemetery. And she was, uh, she knew Indian, you know, because she was the daughter of, uh, Cacique XX. And, uh, she knew Tiwa because when she went to feed the dogs and the pets and everything, she would talk to them in Indian, you know. I knew she was talking in Indian, you know, because I would hear.’

[Female Elder taking Tiwa language class at Elder Center]

On the question of why the previous generation didn't pass on Tiwa:

'You know that's>that's kind of a big question for me because they should have carried on from one generation to another but, uh, as you know either they just didn't think that we needed it or figured that everybody was speaking Spanish most of the time.'

[Male Elder taking class at Elder Center]

'Well, you know sometimes I hear things. I don't know if it's true or not but sometimes I hear people saying that some of them would be embarrassed at the fact that they were Tiguas.'

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

'Oh, probably cuz, uh, you know like right now everybody's talking English and at that time everybody had to talk Spanish so that they could get a job and all that. And >some>some Indians were ashamed and all that sort of stuff.'

[Male Elder at tribal event]

'I'm not sure how the language became, uh, less and less spoken. Maybe it's due to the dominant culture which around here is Hispanic, uh, plus in school they>they forced us to, uh, speak nothing but English. You know, I guess those>during the decade previous to mine, they>they were forbidden to speak Tiwa. You know, just like we were forbidden to speak Spanish, so, eventually little by little, they didn't speak it no more>the Tiwa language.'

[Male Elder at a tribal building]

On not having learned Tiwa during childhood:

'I never thought about picking up the language. That's what hurts me now. You know, my son, X, knows the language. My son, Y, knows the language. And, uh, I said, "how come I didn't pick up this language?" And I'm very, very>I'm sad. I'm sorry I didn't pick it up but I'm glad we're being taught the language now.'

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

On how it feels to be learning Tiwa now:

‘It makes you very proud. I’m>I’m proud>I’m proud to be Native American and I’m proud that I am here>not in any other place. And>and I feel that this is uh>this is the most important thing that ever happens to me.’

[Male Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘Oh, it makes me proud of myself! It-it makes me feel good, that it’s my>my language. You know, I always wondered, like, when are we going to speak, like, you know, the Tiwa language ... but now that we are, I’m>it’s good>it’s great!’

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘it makes me so proud that when we go out somewhere, uh, with other Pueblo Indians, and I try to talk to them and they just look at me like, ‘what?’, and we go, ‘well, I’m learning it’ and they go, ‘Oh, that’s nice! That’s nice that you know it!’ So, it makes me feel good.’

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘it feels real good when you can go up to the other Pueblos that speak Tiwa and you can greet them or they understand you. For that it just brings that much more respect to you>to you as a tribal member over here. It brings a lot of respect back to the Pueblo over here cuz they say, “oh, you guys do talk Tiwa”. That’s>that’s important.’

[Male adult at tribal event]

On speaking Tiwa with children and grandchildren:

‘I’m starting to talk to my grandkids and tell them just a few words or a sentence like, ‘good morning’ or ‘*Hinu kopoyum?*’>you know things like that and I’m doing that!’

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘Yes. I sure am! Not only am I passing it on to them, but, uh, they’re passing it back on to me. And, uh, it’s just amazing how like the>the influences of the school empowers the kids and our children to speak it to us. Because, umm, my wife comes to me>her being non-Native>being Hispanic>she cries to me, “Oh my gosh! She’s talking Tiwa! She’s talking Tiwa!” I told her, “What are you talking about?” Well, when we’re going camping and we’re telling our youngest

one, “Let’s go. Come on, X, let’s go.” And she didn’t want to move. “X, let’s go!” And she said, uh, “No, Mommy! It’s “*tu’whe!*” And oh, gosh! That brought tears to my wife.’
(laughter)

[Male adult at a tribal building]

‘It makes me feel proud, you know, and real, real happy to know. It’s, uh, it’s something worth looking forward to because, uh, I mean when I was two years old, I never spoke any Tiwa. I mean, it’s just amazing having my two year old and my five year old speaking it, you know. After they’re done eating, you know, the ‘*heurkem*’>it’s like, wow!’

[Male adult at a tribal building]

On why it’s important to bring back Tiwa:

‘It’s very important. I think it’s important to>for every, uh, every tribal person to be able to learn at least some of the language>not completely the whole thing but at least some of it.’

[Male Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘It’s very important because it’s part of us. It’s our heritage, you know. It’s tradition. It’s us! And we have to learn how to speak it.’

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘Tiwa, or the language, is what to me personally speaking is a vital component of what it is to be a-a Tigua citizen>Tigua native>Tigua individual. The ... without the language you have no connection to>to your spirituality because we pray in Tiwa and, uh, all these ceremonies are, uh, to be said in Tiwa, you know, in the>our kiva>our “*tuhla*”. So, it’s a vital connection that>that we must have or bring back for us to be, uh, what I say>to be Tigua>to be connected to our spirituality.’

[Male Elder at a tribal building]

On the relationship between Tiwa language and cultural identity:

‘ ... it gives you a sense of identity>I mean I think for the longest time I’ve been a member of this tribe and I’ve, uh, I know that I’ve been enrolled, but I think, uh, speaking the language or knowing a little bit of the language, it-it gives you more of an-an identity.’

[Male adult at a tribal building]

‘It’s the story of our people. It>it takes us back to>to the time when our grandmas were>were drawing water out of the river, the hunting, and just coming>coming full circle just with>with Mother Earth and-and> and being and knowing what being family is really about. You know, people>people think, oh, it’s just a language but it’s much more than that. It comes from your heart and your spirit. You know, without that what do you have? Really ... nothing.’

[Male adult at a tribal event]

‘it’s a part of us, deep, deep down in our soul.’

[Male adult – Tortugas area of Las Cruces, NM]

‘...well, it’s who I am as a Tigua. It makes me feel>it makes me feel good. That’s who I>that’s how>that’s one of the ways I would be able to identify myself, you know, is being able to speak the language.’

[Female adult – Tortugas area of Las Cruces, NM]

‘To me it’s just>it’s>it’s our identity. It-it-it identifies who you are. Who you tru-truly are as Pueblo people. You could>you could literally go anywhere and the biggest thing is you can’t go somewhere and say, uh, you’re Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo. You can’t go somewhere and say, “Oh, I’m a Tigua Indian.” And it takes a lot of courage to say where you come from, especially if you really don’t know who you are. And in saying who you say who you are, then you would speak it. “Oh, are you? Then speak it!” We’re taught, you know, you go to a meeting, conferences anywhere ... if you ever are asked to introduce yourself, you do it in your language. It identifies who you are. You know, you may go somewhere and, uh, you hear people stand up and, “Oh, my name is John Doe. I’m from Washington D.C.” and, “*Hola. Buenas tardes. Mi nombre es José y yo vengo de Juárez, México.*” You hear people speaking and that identifies them as who>who they are. And>and as Tigua people, you can’t just stand up and say, (in a mock monotone voice) “Oh, hi. My name is John Doe. I’m from Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo.” And like, no, no! That’s not who you truly are as a Pueblo people. You know, as Pueblo and Native people, we’re>we’re strong spiritually, culturally, and with a lot of customs and traditions that come with being who

you are is your language>identifying as to who you are as Tigua. ‘*K’uwey. Hinu>hinu mopoyum shimba? Te kham John Doe.*’ You know, and really letting the people know WHO you truly are.’

[Young Male adult at tribal building]

On hindrances to taking Tiwa language classes:

‘Just a lot of, uh, work and, uh>just a lot on my plate right now...it’s pretty much a time issue.’

[Male adult at tribal event]

‘Because, uh, I can’t be driving back and forth, uh, to the rez for the Tiwa language. As far as, you know, gas, time.’

[Female adult – Tortugas area of Las Cruces, NM]

On what they like about the classes:

‘The involvement of all the group>that we’re all together and that the elders are all together and are all trying to learn the language which is important to everybody. I think that, uh, the more that>that the more that we know some of it, the better it is for the>for the whole community.’

[Male Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘I love everything about it! The language itself.’

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

On whether the current program is successful:

‘I think so. Oh, you know, they tried it over and over and over again, but I see something this time. I see that people are jumping on board a little more.’

[Female Elder taking class at Elder Center]

‘...now that they’re doing kind of like a curriculum for it, I’m not only just learning the-the language>the-the language itself>but I’m learning more of a little bit of the history of the language and the use of the language>how it was used back then and how we can use it now. So, yeah, it’s been very effective. You see not only in the work environment where we see , uh, uh, not only the tribal members that work and interact together, but even in the community like when

you have social events, you-you see greetings>or you hear the greetings by other tribal members and you recognize that, you know, the language is being, uh-uh, pushed.’

[Male adult at a tribal building]

On the need for greater participation:

‘I do believe it’s having an effect...individually on the person, but not an impact on the community. Because, uh, you may learn it, and you’re gonna learn the Tiwa you’re being taught. But, who are you going to speak it with? Who are you going to look forward to speak it with? And, uh, only those who>those certain people that know it won’t come across you on a daily>on a daily routine. If I spoke Tiwa to you today, I won’t see you until like a week, two months later. And we barely start speaking it again so it’s hard to adjust for the whole community.’

[Male adult at a tribal building]

On whether Tiwa should be taught to non-tribal members in the public schools:

‘I think it’s wrong. Be-because ... because we’re the Indians and we should know our language before anyone else. And>and, I mean, one thing is teaching them some of the culture but, I mean, that’s what makes it so special because we are who we are. And that’s what any>any Indian nation. That’s what>that’s what keeps their traditions alive. I mean if anybody could speak Tiwa then they might as well be Tigua, or>or any other Indian nation because now it’s not>it’s not special anymore. It’s not that I>that I feel selfish about it or-or don’t think that>that it should>it should be something that should be shared within the community as well. If we open those doors then we might as well open the doors to all of our traditional ceremonies. There’s a reason why we keep those things to ourselves. Umm, there’s a reason why>why we practice those things within the community only. And-and I-I-I feel very strong about that. Umm, I have no issue with the language being taught in the public school system, but just the fact that it’s being taught to those who are non-natives. And how embarrassing would that be to have someone who is non-native come back over here and speak that language better than our people? That’s what I’m afraid of.’

[Male adult at tribal event]

“I-I>at first I supported it then I, uh, I heard from Tigua students that there was only three of them>three Tigua students, uh, and the majority were non-Tigua. So, then I started to question,

you know, why are they teaching non-Tigua students the language when>when, uh, it first should be taught to our children>our kids>our students, you know. Then after that, uh, to these other students, but still, uh, I>I changed my attitude. It shouldn't be taught to other non-Native>non-Tigua students.'

[Male Elder at a tribal building]

'Well, you know, I think like any language, everybody has the opportunity to learn any language they want. They want to learn Spanish, go learn Spanish. They want to learn French, go learn French. You want to learn the language of this land? You should be able to learn the language of this land.'

[Male adult – Tortugas area of Las Cruces, NM]

'I'm opposed to that. Because it, uh>I mean, don't get me wrong! I would be all for it, (laughs) but what hurts me the most is that not even our own community members know it. That's what hurts. That's what hurts me personally the most. And it's like the>the outside influence will just look at us and just laugh at it. 'Like, wow, here I am in high school>fifteen, sixteen years old, and I speak better Tiwa than, uh, their community.' And that'll probably give them more>more things to say or be proud of. I mean, what if they run into a tribal leader? What if they start speaking to them in Tiwa, but our tribal leader can't speak back? But in a way like it's also>it can also be the wake-up call for our people. Where it's, look, if it bothers you so much that we're letting the outside community learn our language, then DO something about it! If it hurts you that someone who is not Native is learning the language, YOU take the time and effort to learn the language, learn Tiwa and make the difference that we need to make!'

[Male adult at a tribal building]

Suggestions for improving the current program:

'The forty year-olds>that's the generation where I think it's lacking. I think you really just got to go out there and basically force them to come to the class. Because on their own>I mean you really got to do like the grassroots and go to the door and knock on the door, leave the flier, and tell them, 'Hey, we're doing this. We really want you to come.''

[Male adult at tribal event]

‘My suggestion, honestly, is that we need to get our>our government more involved. I’d like to see, uh, the governmental entity of this Pueblo be more involved in that language program because I think that those people have a greater impact on the community and I think that if those people are the ones in that class learning the language along with the other community members, I think that the program will be more successful and we will have more people participating in those programs.’

[Male adult at tribal event]

‘I think it would have to do a lot more with>with-with Council. You know, I mean not pushing the issue, but making sure and showing that it is available and at>at any time of day. You know, even if it’s just in a>in a conversation perhaps. Maybe people get, uh-uh, not offended, but they get>they get, umm, what would the word be? They-they>they shy away from the classroom. But at least if it was, uh, on a one on one basis or just everyday conversation. You know, just saying hello and then tell them, “Hey, well, did you know the Tiwa word for hello is, you know, and then from there get them interested.’

[Male adult at a tribal event]

‘Uh, having a teacher here>uh, Las Cruces area. Uh, I think it’s easier if>if we can have someone teach us instead of it being online. I mean if it was online, I would do it, you know, either way.’

[Female adult – Tortugas area of Las Cruces, NM]

‘Well, with not really having anybody that does speak it here, you know, it’s hard to>it’s hard to learn. And it’s disconcerting for the>for the next generation because you want them to be able to do that ... if we had our own>we had our own person to teach us, I would definitely be one to learn>one to want to learn.

[Male adult – Tortugas area of Las Cruces]

‘I think the teaching method can be improved, and, uh, if it were to have some type of a>nowadays with the technology that we have an online kind of a-a-a teaching method>I think it would>it would>it would help. You know, living and being raised on the reservation, uh, it would be nice to have a-a signage with the Tiwa language. I think that would promote>that

would help one learn the language even more and, uh, and even within-within the-the, uh ... the, uh, business sector, the different tribal government agencies. The-the>sometimes the sad thing about it is, you know, it's-it's for those tribal members that are here within the reservation, but we also need to consider those that live abroad, you know. We need to, uh, also make it accessible to them. So that's why I was saying that if there's a teaching method through-through the internet, or-or ways that they can, uh, learn the language in those ways, I think that'd be beneficial as well.

[Male adult at a tribal building]

On incorporating the use of digital methods/social media as teaching aids:

'Through our traditional teachings, we>we all know as Native people that it's just>it's a bad doing. We shouldn't do it. We have to stay away from electronics. It's bad! And it's just>it's not good at all. But through this new generation>this new century of living, it's like everything's at the palm of your hand. And, uh, if you break down somewhere, you look at the palm of your hand. You search it. You Google it, YouTube it and your answer's there. So, like for this younger generation>this new civilization that's upcoming>coming up, learning, it's like if it's not there in the palm of their hand, they won't look at it. If I'm going to communicate through text message, social media, it's at the palm of my hand. So, I think it's a>it would be a real high, important tool to use in trying to improvise the language with the community because of, I mean, like I said, if it's on paper, it's going to be put aside.'

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Admittedly, because the sample size for this study was relatively small, it cannot be stated with any scientific certainty whether the information gathered through the survey and interviews is truly representative of the tribe as a whole. Nevertheless, the high level of desire expressed by the subjects of this study to learn Tiwa as well as the importance they assigned to the language itself do seem to indicate that a real opportunity for reverse shift, even if only partial, does exist for Tiwa language use at YDSP. Both components of the study revealed language attitudes towards Tiwa among tribal members which are quite positive, providing some cause for measured optimism with respect to Tiwa language revitalization. This optimism must be deemed measured because the data gathered continues to point to a seriously endangered status for Tiwa at YDSP. Still, the study results did uncover some important positive factors which can be tapped into in furtherance of the objectives of the Tiwa Language Program. These include a strong cultural and spiritual attachment to the Tiwa language, a nearly universal desire to learn it, an expressed willingness to put time and effort in order to do so, and the desire to pass it on to future generations. Viewed as a whole, the YDSP community already enjoys multilingualism as a shared value with its high rate of English/Spanish bilingualism. On an individual level, this pre-existing bilingualism can act as a cognitive foundation for Tiwa language acquisition. Finally, as it is with any indigenous language revitalization effort, the success of YDSP's language revitalization rests on the efforts of the community as a whole. Time is of extreme essence and the momentum uncovered by this study should not be lost. If Southern Tiwa is to be rescued from the edge of imminent extinction in this tribal community, it is going to require far more participation and consistent effort than what has occurred heretofore.

While this study focused specifically on the YDSP tribal community and their language revitalization efforts, the study itself and its results may prove valuable as a contribution to understanding revitalization issues in general. This has particular relevance with respect to other indigenous populations who like YDSP have multiple linguistic layers as a result of having gone through more than one cycle of contact and language shift. These include communities such as the Kumeyaay whose traditional lands straddle the border between San Diego, California and Baja California, Mexico, or the Tohono O'odham who live in the Sonoran desert region of southern Arizona and northwestern Mexico. Like the Tigua of YDSP, the Kumeyaay and the Tohono O'odham peoples' linguistic environment includes their own tribal languages alongside

English and Spanish. Then there's also the Mohawk Nation whose members live along the border between New York and the Canadian provinces of Quebec and Ontario. There the English, French, and Mohawk (Kanien'kéha) languages are spoken. Similar situations can be found in many other places around the globe where original languages are competing for survival against the pressures of other more dominant languages. These are but a few examples of communities for whom the present study may have broader implications and applicability.

In closing, the following statement by James Crawford (2000: 78) can be said of not only Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo's language revitalization effort, but of all such efforts by tribal communities all across Indian Country:

... casual commitments are usually insufficient. Either individuals' lives change in radical ways, or they experience a spiritual conversion, or they are influenced by a social movement that speaks directly to long-suppressed needs and aspirations. In the case of language revitalization, I believe a social movement will be necessary, one that addresses questions that matter to Native Americans. This will most likely occur in the context of struggles for self-determination: cultural, economic, and perhaps political.

It's not too late for the Tiguas of Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo. Hopefully, many more tribal members will heed this impassioned plea of one of the Pueblo's elders, 'Let's get on board! Let's-let's do something about it because we're not only learning the Tiwa language. We're also learning our culture. That is being left behind>our culture. And we have to get on board with that!'

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Vita

Armida Carmen Hernandez was born in Los Angeles, California. She graduated magna cum laude from California State University, Los Angeles with a B.A. in Spanish and completed the Legal Interpretation and Translation Certificate program. She then became a California State Certified Court Interpreter and served for two years on the board of the California Federation of Interpreters. After relocating to New Mexico in 2004, she first became a New Mexico Certified Court Interpreter then achieved Federal Certification and served for five years as an Official Court Interpreter for the United States District Court, District of New Mexico.

Now in her 24th year as a court interpreter, Armida continues to provide interpreting services to the Federal Courts and the State Courts of New Mexico, as well as numerous private clients. Armida currently serves on the Remote Interpretation Subcommittee of the Language Access Advisory Committee to the New Mexico Administrative Office of the Courts, and is a member of the National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators Bench and Bar Committee. She also a member of Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo's Tiwa Language Revitalization Project Committee.

Armida is graduating at the end of the 2016 Fall term from University of Texas at El Paso with a M. A. in Applied Linguistics. She was inducted into the Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society and was selected this term as Outstanding Linguistics Graduate Student for the Department of Languages and Linguistics. Armida hopes to be of greater service to her Pueblo and that this thesis will serve as a resource for other linguists, Native and non-Native, engaged in the urgent work of indigenous language preservation and revitalization.

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This thesis/dissertation was typed by Armida Carmen Hernandez