Preparing Caribou Hides:
Repetition as the Basis of
Teaching and Learning Among the Naskapi

Allan C. Banks

A Monograph

Submitted to the Faculty of

Graduate Studies in Education as

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree Master of Education in

Curriculum and Instruction

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this monograph is to present the results of a qualitative study that used the classical tools of ethnography to examine the sociocultural communicative interaction in the primary context of socialization among the Naskapi of Kawawachikamach, Quebec. Having left their nomadic way of life as recently as the 1950's, many of the approximately 500 Naskapi exhibit values, attitudes, actions and communicative interaction predicated on their traditional way of life which focused on hunting caribou. The results from data collected by videotaping a younger generation family and the grandparents, interviewing six former or present Naskapi caregivers, and carrying out participant observations were used to help determine what indigenous methods of teaching and learning and ways of using words are currently practiced by the Naskapi. Repetition, visual/auditory learning and confronting or avoiding conflict are three specific areas reported in the text. Avenues for utilizing this information are supplied and some implications for society in general are also provided.

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Chapter 1

RATIONALE

Background

After receiving a degree in music education in 1984 I decided not to teach for the year immediately following my graduation. However, I was approached early in 1985 to go to northern Quebec and work with a young Naskapi Indian boy whose speech development was seriously delayed in both English and his aboriginal language. Since I had never been to the North and the position was only for four months I gladly accepted the challenge and made my first trip to Schefferville via Montreal and St. Justine's children's hospital, where I was briefed about my student.

I arrived in Schefferville at the beginning of March during the final stages of the Iron Ore Company of Canada's closure of its mining facilities, which had precipitated the collapse of the town's once prosperous financial infrastructure. Coinciding with the demise of Schefferville, the Naskapi were building a new Reserve 13 kilometres away through funds procured from signing the Northeastern Quebec Agreement.

The Naskapi had been receiving their formal education in the town of Schefferville, but in the fall of 1985 the entire school staff consisting of aboriginal and non-aboriginal teachers, moved to a brand new school facility at the new Naskapi reserve of Kawawachikamach. I was asked to remain in town and organize an

elementary (K-6) school classroom for students from the town of Schefferville who were eligible for instruction in English. For the next two years I organized and taught at the "town school", while still maintaining close ties with the Naskapi school and population.

In 1987 the town school was obliged to change school boards again. Since this was the third school board for the school I decided to remain under contract with the present board. This necessitated changing schools and I began teaching grade five and six Naskapi students at Jimmy Sandy Memorial School (JSMS), named in memory of a teenage Naskapi boy who died with his parents in a tragic house fire.

During my tenure at the school as an elementary and adult education teacher, I formed very good relationships with my students and with members of the Naskapi community. Nevertheless, I was often perplexed by the actions, attitudes, communicative interactions and values of the Naskapi. They were markedly different from my own, a white person from mainstream middle class Canadian society. Despite my perplexity with Naskapi ways, I never examined these differences in a systematic manner and therefore my questions remained unanswered. After three years of teaching for the Naskapi I took a one year leave of absence to attend graduate school. In graduate school, many of the questions that had perplexed me as a teacher with the Naskapi, resurfaced during a number of classes that focused on language and learning. Reading Shirley Brice Heath's book, Ways

with Words challenged me to examine how the Naskapi used language in their community. I also attended a lecture by Martha Borgman Crago of McGill University's Department of Human Communication Disorders. She presented significant parts of her research concerning the sociocultural communicative interaction of Inuit from two communities in northern Quebec. The results of her research with the Inuit inspired me to embark on my own research with the Naskapi. Thus, the seeds were sown that led me to my present monograph topic.

Introduction

For most communities there are two major contributing factors that affect the social upbringing of children. The primary source of socialization is the home and the secondary source is the school. In this study, I investigated the sociocultural communicative interaction among the Naskapi Indians of subarctic Quebec in the primary context of socialization. The results form a basis for determining what traditional methods of teaching and learning and specific ways of using words (Heath, 1983) are revealed in the Naskapi's present day sociocultural communicative interaction. For the purposes of this study, "traditional" refers to knowledge, customs and practices that are transmitted from one generation to the next. The central focus of this study can also act as a springboard for future research which examines the existence of incongruities that may exist between the present sociocultural communicative interactions of

the community and those of the local school. However, for the purposes of this study, the communicative interaction in the school context was not examined with the idea of determining how it differed from the communicative interaction in the context of primary socialization.

Besides enhancing the little that we know about Naskapi socialization, the immediate and practical outcome of this study may lie in its implications for the future education of the Naskapi people. By first uncovering a few of the tacit ways in which the Naskapi pass on information from one generation to the next, as revealed in the sociocultural communicative interactions of the community, I hope to engender further research that will identify some of the incongruities that exist between the primary and secondary sources of socialization. Having identified a few of the Naskapi methods of instruction I wish to make this information available to the Naskapi educational authorities through a series of recommendations. These recommendations will encompass four realms: Naskapi teacher education, hiring of non-Naskapi teachers, in-service training, and the development of Naskapi curricula. I hope that the information that I present in this study will help to initiate efforts to effect change within the school system in order to make it more congruent with the culture of the Naskapi and not vice versa. As a community school, the primary function of the Naskapi educational institution should focus on meeting the educational needs of the Naskapi people.

Recommendations that surface from this research will be subject to approval by the Naskapi educational authorities. Due to a variety of socio-political and economic forces within the community, any change that emanates from these recommendations may be negligible and only one small piece in an ongoing process of educational restructuring. A brief examination of the current educational hierarchy illustrates some of the constraints that may act upon any efforts to effect positive changes to the education of the Naskapi. The Naskapi people have chosen to elect an Education Committee to oversee the community's educational needs. Each Committee member receives a small monetary stipend for their services. Additionally, the Naskapi Education Committee (NEC) has a two year tenure and the frequent change in membership diminishes the likelihood that long-term educational goals will be set or attained. Theoretically, this committee has the power to make any educational decision that the community desires.

The Naskapi have decided that their school should remain as a member of a regional school board. No other schools under this particular board's authority are distinctly aboriginal, although one other school does have a significant aboriginal population. Therefore, the concerns of the school board are primarily focused on the needs of the mainstream schools, which represent the majority within the board's jurisdiction. The principal of the school (presently a non-aboriginal) makes recommendations to the Naskapi Education Committee and exercises a great deal of power

in the decision making process. The teaching staff at the school is predominantly non-aboriginal and all of the staff has been trained by non-aboriginal instructors. Therefore, teaching is conducted with few obvious differences from teaching in mainstream schools. Both the aboriginal and non-aboriginal teachers are dedicated to their jobs, but it is the non-aboriginal teachers who, for whatever reasons, are most likely to openly express what they perceive to be the needs of the Naskapi students, although this is beginning to change.

As is the case in many small communities, issues that exhibit potential for creating divisiveness are avoided if at all possible. Each Education Committee member is aware of the consequences of making a decision that does not guard the status quo, which is often seen as a "safe position" even though it may not reflect the true needs of the community. Evidently, the present system does not place great emphasis on developing an education that reflects the Naskapi culture.

Although the context for the study is politically difficult for implementing change, it is not insurmountable. Small, positive educational changes have been effected during the last two decades. Teachers and community members often acting on their own intuition have introduced projects that reflect more of the Naskapi culture.

To date, no studies have been conducted that examine how teaching and learning are enacted in the daily lives of the Naskapi. I hope that by capturing some of these events on video,

verifying their meaning with the participants and by consulting with other individuals, that the results of this study will be seen as politically safe.

The Problem

In the early 1950's the majority of the Naskapi settled in the Schefferville region of Quebec. Initially, they lived together with the Montagnais Indians in the community of Lac John and later at a newer Montagnais and Naskapi Reserve (Matimekosh), adjacent to the town of Schefferville. Through funds procured in the early 1980's under the terms of the Northeastern Quebec Agreement, the Naskapi have been able to build their own Reserve called Kawawachikamach (long and twisting lake or system of lakes).

Since their initial contact with Europeans, their life has undergone a number of dramatic changes. Nevertheless, some constants have remained. Among these are: the central position of the caribou in their life, the return to the land necessitated by the hunt, and their continuing relationship with their Montagnais neighbours. Their relationship with the Montagnais has undergone changes resulting from disparate relationships with two different dominant societies. The Naskapi have been influenced primarily by English Protestant institutions, whereas the Montagnais have traditionally allied themselves with French Catholics. In recent years, each group has received an education in the language of the group with whom they traditionally

associated the most.

The greatest contributing factor to the early alteration of Naskapi life, and consequently their language, was the economic dependence created chiefly by the Hudson Bay Company, but also by other early traders. Since they showed minimal interest in trapping, and thus securing furs for the Hudson Bay Company, the company traders went to great lengths to make the Naskapi dependent upon the trade goods which they supplied. This is efficiently demonstrated in W. S. Wallace's book John McLean's notes of a twenty-five years' service in the Hudson's Bay territory (cited in Cooke, 1976) in which McLean (a Hudson Bay Company trader) penned the following concerning the Naskapi,

> As trading posts, however, are now established on their lands, I doubt not but artificial wants will, in time, be created, that may become as indispensable to their comfort as their present real wants. All the arts of the trader are exercised to produce such a result, and those arts never fail of ultimate success. Even during the last two years of my management [1841-1842] the demand for certain articles of European manufacture had greatly increased (p. 21).

This forced dependence caused great hardship for the Naskapi as they left their traditional subsistence lifestyle and became dependent on supplies from traders (Weiler, 1992). When these supplies failed or were withheld it resulted in periods of devastating starvation for the Naskapi, a situation not uncommon among many other aboriginal groups (McMillan, 1988).

By the end of the glory years of the fur trade the Naskapi lifestyle and language had been irreversibly modified. Although the Naskapi language was at first remarkably resilient in adapting to the influx of new terminology associated with the new

goods that became available to them through trade with the Europeans it has since been altered by a variety of sources.

Educational, religious and economic factors have all continued to modify the Naskapi language and culture. Nevertheless, despite these modifications significant differences may still exist between the communicative interaction of the Naskapi community and the communicative interaction experienced by Naskapi students in their schooling. Communicative discontinuities which may impede the academic achievement of many aboriginal students have been identified in various aboriginal communities (Crago, 1988; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; John, 1972; Philips, 1982). Since teaching and learning are predicated on communicative interaction, research that seeks to determine how community members carry out these activities needs to focus on the sociocultural communicative interaction within that community. In order to identify any incongruities that may exist between the communicative interaction in the Naskapi community and the communicative interaction in the local school it is essential that indigenous communicative forms first be documented. Thus, the question addressed is, What methods of teaching and learning and specific ways of using words are revealed in the Naskapi's present day sociocultural communicative interaction in their primary context of socialization?

Since teaching and learning are intrinsically intertwined in sociocultural communicative interaction, I chose to do a qualitative study utilizing the classical tools of ethnography as

the research approach for this study. Ethnography is a research approach with a strong capacity and utility for examining behavioural conduct as it is manifested in the daily interactions of community members. Using this approach satisfied the primary aims of my research which were to record and analyze examples of teaching and learning as they were revealed in the Naskapi communicative interaction as a reflection of the cultural life and norms of their community.

I begin the monograph with an historical and demographic synopsis of the Naskapi people. This synopsis provides relevant descriptive details for understanding the context of the study. Information in this section was obtained from a variety of historical sources as well as from my own experiences before and during the study. It is followed by an examination and discussion of literature relating to language in the context of aboriginal education. The discussion focuses on the rationale for implementation of bilingual education in aboriginal communities and introduces literature that suggests that the way language is used at school is discontinuous with language use at home in the students' respective communities. This concept is expanded in chapters three and four. Chapter three contains information about sociolinguistics and the study of language in divergent sociocultural contexts and chapter four is a review of the literature concerning sociocultural, school and generational differences in communication.

Chapter five presents the methods that I used to carry out

the research. It is followed by chapter six explaining the methodology of data analysis. The results of the research are presented in chapters seven, eight and nine. The concluding chapter discusses the implications of this research and suggests possible avenues for future study.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN ABORIGINAL SOCIETY

An Historical and Demographic Synopsis of the Naskapi People

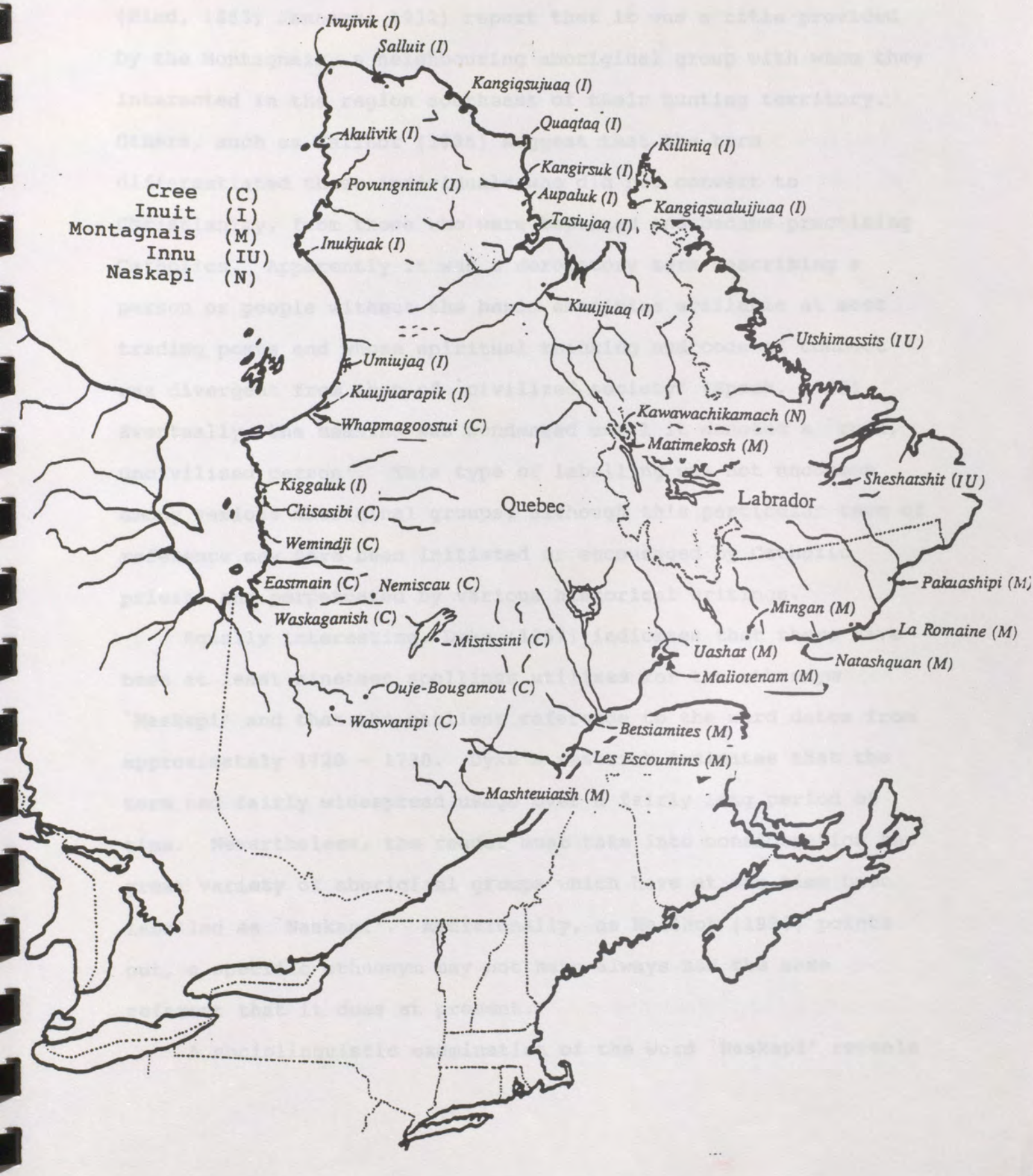
Traditionally, the Naskapi occupied the north-central region of the Ungava Peninsula. Their culture developed from their close relationship with the land and the type of subsistence livelihood that they engaged in, which was directly related to the variety of game available within the territory that they claimed as their own. For the Naskapi this included the Canada goose, ptarmigan, rabbit, trout, and the caribou. Although many more animals were utilized to supply their needs, these were the principal ones that helped to shape their lives. By far the most influential among these was the caribou. It was around the caribou that a whole way of being and a richness of language developed (Cooke, 1976; Henrikson, 1973; Hodge, 1913; Speck, 1935). Before contact with Europeans their nomadic life was conditioned by the cyclic migration of the caribou herds. Their clothes were fashioned from the hides and hair; a variety of implements for their work, for pleasure, and their spiritual life were constructed from the caribou bones, antlers, and skin; caribou meat was their major source of sustenance, and the caribou skins formed coverings for their lodgings. The Naskapi took great pride in using the entire caribou to meet their needs.

More than any other animal it was the focal point of their spiritual life and a central character in the telling of stories and the recounting of legends.

The Naskapi language is part of the large family of aboriginal languages identified as the Algonkian language family. Within their traditional territory before contact with Europeans, the Naskapi were surrounded by three other aboriginal groups: The Inuit on the northern peripheries of their territory, the Cree to the south and west, and the Montagnais along the eastern and south-eastern limits (Figure 1). The Cree and Montagnais speak related languages from the same language family as Naskapi but they are not mutually intelligible. However, because they are very similar languages they are relatively easy for most Naskapi speakers to learn. The Inuit speak Inuktitut, a completely different language. Early sociocultural changes emanated from interaction with these three groups through war, intertribal marriage and trade (Jenness, 1932 ; Matthews, 1987). Even now, a few of the older Naskapi have some knowledge of Inuktitut, and all are able to converse with the Cree and Montagnais.

Although linguists and anthropologists are not in agreement about the nature of communicative and cultural change, they do agree that all languages and cultures are in a constant state of modification (Yates, 1987). Evidence of modification in the Naskapi language can be demonstrated by an examination of the word `Naskapi'. It was not the original ethnonym used by the Naskapi in reference to themselves. Some historical writings

Figure 1 Aboriginal Linguistic and Territorial Map



(Hind, 1863; Jenness, 1932) report that it was a title provided by the Montagnais, a neighbouring aboriginal group with whom they interacted in the region southeast of their hunting territory. Others, such as Mailhot (1986) suggest that the term differentiated those individuals who did not convert to Christianity, from those who were baptized and became practising Catholics. Apparently it was a derogatory term describing a person or people without the basic amenities available at most trading posts and whose spiritual thinking and code of conduct was divergent from that of `civilized society' (Speck, 1935). Eventually, the meaning was condensed until it denoted a `rude, uncivilized person'. This type of labelling was not uncommon among various aboriginal groups, although this particular term of reference may have been initiated or encouraged by Catholic priests and perpetuated by various historical writings.

Equally interesting, Dyke (1967) indicates that there have been at least nineteen spellings utilized for the ethnonym `Naskapi' and that the earliest reference to the word dates from approximately 1720 - 1730. Dyke's research indicates that the term had fairly widespread usage over a fairly long period of time. Nevertheless, the reader must take into consideration the great variety of aboriginal groups which have at one time been labelled as `Naskapi'. Additionally, as Mailhot (1986) points out, a specific ethnonym may not have always had the same referent that it does at present.

A sociolinguistic examination of the word `Naskapi' reveals

that it had widespread usage among the people who we now identify variously as James Bay Cree, Montagnais, Innu, and the present day Naskapi (Dyke, 1967; Lips, 1947; Mailhot, 1986; Speck, 1935). Its earliest usage most likely designated a few individuals or small groups. During the nineteenth century (Mailhot, 1986) it became a common referent for those aboriginal people having little contact with Europeans and their culture. In this function it seems reasonable that initially many groups or bands of aboriginal people were designated as Naskapi. However, as European influence progressed to more remote areas and aboriginal people in these areas modified their lifestyles, fewer and fewer groups were labelled as Naskapi.

Hodge (1913) maintained that the Naskapi referred to "themselves [as] Nanenot, `true, real men'" (p. 335). The usage of ethnonyms like this one is not dissimilar from those of other aboriginal groups. For example, Inuit (the people) prefer this term over the former word `Eskimo' (eaters of raw flesh) which was originally supplied by other aboriginal groups. Even as recently as the late 1960's the word `Naskapi' was still a derogatory term and many of the Naskapi in the Schefferville region did not habitually refer to themselves as Naskapi but as Chimo Indians (Dyke, 1967). Nevertheless, the term `Naskapi' is now the preferred title of reference by this group of aboriginal people. Only a few Naskapi are currently aware of the derivation and meaning of their title. This underscores modifications which have affected their language over time.

Early religious and educational endeavours to alter the traditional lifestyle of the Naskapi were initially less intense than those experienced by most aboriginal groups in southern Canada (Helm & Leacock, 1971; Speck, 1935). This had much to do with the geography of the region and the dispersal of the collective group into separate hunting bands for much of the year. For many decades the only contact that priests and traders had with the Naskapi was during brief periods in the summer when they met along the northern shores of the St. Lawrence and possibly as far south as the Saguenay River. The present day Naskapi remain relatively isolated in comparison to many other aboriginal groups in Canada. However, formal education, greater mobility, and modern telecommunications has brought their culture into collision with the mainstream culture of North America.

Many other aboriginal groups have experienced similar difficulties and some have made an effort to prevent the loss of their languages and cultures. Research about some of these efforts provides a basis for other aboriginal groups to make informed decisions concerning the future of education within their community. Much of this research has focused on language education programs.

Language in the Context of Aboriginal Education

Speaking with regard to the youth of his day, John Dewey posed the question, "How shall the young become acquainted with the past in such a way that the acquaintance is a potent agent in

appreciation of the living present" (1938, p. 23)? His words delineate part of the present dilemma facing the education of aboriginal people in Canada. Aboriginal cultures have strong roots in the traditions of the past, however, their cultures, like all cultures, are also dynamic. Presently, great emphasis is placed on preserving the `Old Way of Life', and thus setting aboriginal people up as living museum pieces to be viewed by the rest of society. For aboriginal people, a resulting sociocultural dilemma has focused on ascertaining how their young people can receive an education from a school system that replicates the values of mainstream society, while concurrently developing an appreciation and maintenance of their own culture, language and values. Many aboriginal groups are initiating bilingual or bilingual and bicultural education, both as a means of preserving their language and culture and to improve academic achievement (Barman et al., 1987; Rosier & Farella, 1976; Taylor, 1990; Wilman, 1988).

In the past, scholastic achievement among the majority of aboriginal students and other students of limited dominant language proficiency (LDLP) was much lower than that of students from mainstream society (Barman et al., 1986; Cardenas, 1984; Colbourne, 1987; Cummins, 1981, 1989, 1990; Rosier & Farella, 1976; Troike, 1981; Wilman, 1988). Recent literature and research (Cardenas, 1984; Cram, 1983; Cummins, 1989; Rosier & Holm, 1980; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979; Troike, 1981; Wilman, 1988) suggests that late immersion bilingual education can reverse

these past statistics and enable speakers with LDLP to attain high levels of proficiency in the second language (L2) as well as their first language (L1). Overcoming LDLP will then lead to higher school achievement. Therefore, initiating a late immersion model of bilingual education for students whose L1 is an aboriginal language, and an early immersion model for students whose L1 is not an aboriginal language, may serve as a means of language maintenance for the aboriginal community and a source of empowerment for aboriginal students through higher academic achievement.

Formerly, many educators of aboriginal students maintained that the students needed more and earlier instruction in their L2 in order to achieve as well as native speakers of that language. Additionally, it was held as a truism by most educators of aboriginal students and language researchers that allowing aboriginal students to speak their L1 or enhancing it in any way, would result in decreased academic achievement in L2, the primary language of instruction. Research among the Navajo of Rock Point, New Mexico in particular, has supplied proof to refute this previously held position (Rosier & Farella, 1976; Rosier & Holm, 1980). Before implementation of a late immersion model of bilingual education the standardized test scores of students in the sixth grade were consistently below the national average. After implementing bilingual education, standardized test scores revealed that all the students had scored above the national average despite initial instruction almost entirely in Navajo for

the first years of school.

Similarly, literacy evaluation of Inuit students after the introduction of primary instruction in Inuktitut at schools in the Eastern Arctic revealed that those students who demonstrated superior skills in writing and reading Inuktitut, were also those who performed the best in L2 reading and writing (D. Wilman, personal communication, November 7, 1990). Additionally, the majority of the schools which had the best overall results from language arts evaluation in Inuktitut also had the highest results in L2 evaluation. These results indicate that initial instruction in the aboriginal language for the first years of school does not necessarily act as an impediment to academic achievement, but can actually enhance it, and contribute to the learning of an L2.

For numerous aboriginal groups bilingual education is replacing the former language education practices which did not encourage aboriginal students to speak or learn in their own language. These former practices were characterized by years of failure and underachievement for the majority of aboriginal students who experienced formal education (Barman et al. 1986; Colbourne, 1987; Cummins, 1990; Rosier & Farella, 1976; Wilman, 1988). In the past, formal education for aboriginal peoples accorded little credence to instruction through the use of the language spoken at home and in the community. On the surface, the implementation of bilingual education appears to be a valuable means of preserving aboriginal languages and cultures.

From a strictly linguistic point of view this may be true. Nevertheless, further research (Crago, 1988; John, 1972; Philips, 1972, 1982) indicates that there are also cultural differences in the implicit and explicit ways in which language is used from one community to another (Crago, 1988; John, 1972; Philips, 1972, 1982) and that the way in which individuals position themselves in relation to learning and using additional languages, is a key factor influencing communicative competence (Maguire, in press; Miller, 1983).

Dissimilarities between the way language is used in aboriginal homes and communities and the way it is used in the "school community" could be an additional factor that has negatively affected the achievement and empowerment of aboriginal students. For example, Crago (1988) pointed out that Inuit caregivers, especially older more traditional Inuit, expected their children to learn by listening, not by asking questions and not by participating in adult conversations. In contrast, the teaching styles maintained in most mainstream schooling experiences encouraged students to ask questions and engage in discussions with adults (Barnes, 1976; Britton, 1970). Philips (1982) supplied evidence that classroom turn-taking and interjections were more evenly distributed among the Indian children on the Warm Springs Reservation than they were for "Anglo" students. Also, the Indian students express their uncertainty on a one-to-one basis with the teacher and with their peers and not to the entire class. By engaging in this type of

communicative interaction "the students [were] in violation of the rules for talk regulation within official classroom interaction" (p. 99). Vera John (1972) suggests that if the Navajo child learns visually by "quiet, persistent exploration, then a style of teaching stressing overt verbal performance is alien to such a child" (p. 338). Other writers (Dumont, 1972; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Heath, 1983; Macias, 1987; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), have indicated additional variations in the communicative interaction in a variety of communities. These disparities between communities of learners indicate that student academic achievement is not only dependent on the language of instruction, but is also contingent upon the way language is used all across the curriculum and in direct relation to the sociocultural communicative interaction within the community.

Research that examines the sociocultural communicative interaction in specific contexts has helped our understanding about the inner functioning of those communities. Sociolinguistic research in particular has added greatly to our knowledge and understanding about language and culture within a variety of contexts.

Chapter 3

SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND THE STUDY OF DIVERGENT CULTURES

Sociolinguistic Contributions

The study of language has captivated human kind for thousands of years. Over those years many transformations have taken place with regard to the study of language and speech communities. Successive generations have built upon the work of preceding scholars. The 19th century linguistic achievements of Malinowski, Haas, Boas, Sapir, Whorf and numerous other linguistic anthropologists have provided a strong framework upon which theories of communication and culture can be constructed.

These issues have been the foci of countless individuals who have studied language in one way or another. Several people from the past stand out for their accomplishments throughout their lifetime with regard to the significant contributions they have made to our present knowledge about language and social identity. Among these names were Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941), two great scholars who worked extensively with aboriginal languages.

Significant contributions have been made by individual scholars to the development of the study of language and culture, as well as the cooperative efforts of scholars from specific disciplines. Anthropologists and their involvement in the field of ethnolinguistics, psychologists and their accomplishments in

psycholinguistics, sociologists with their contribution to the field of sociolinguistics and Vygotsky's work as a sociocultural developmental psychologist have all added to the vast body of knowledge concerning the study of language. It is the field of sociolinguistics that is now recognized as "the linguistics that can contribute to the ethnography of communication" (Hymes, 1974, p. 8).

The Study of Communication in Divergent Sociocultural Contexts

The application of linguistics and in particular sociolinguistics to the study of various societies, cultures and languages has received considerable attention in the past three decades (Crystal, 1968; Hudson, 1980; Hymes, 1974; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1984). The specific ways in which disparate groups teach and learn language and their use of words based on their sociocultural backgrounds has also been identified in numerous studies by anthropologists and linguistic anthropologists (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Heath, 1983; Kleinfeld, 1975; Macias, 1987; Philips, 1982; Schieffelin, 1979). Language educators like Goodman and Barnes have also made significant contributions to our knowledge about language learning. Goodman (1986) maintains that "children are literally drawn to learn language by their need to communicate" (p. 15). Barnes (1976) goes beyond this idea when he states that "the shaping of language is a means by which pupils reach deeper understanding of what they have already partly grasped" (p. 41). All of these studies reveal that

language use varies from one community to another; some features are shared with mainstream society and other features are context or community specific.

In any given community a variety of ways of informal teaching and learning exist. In many cases, the methods of instruction used in formal education have had a negative impact on the implicit and explicit teaching and learning practises that are revealed in the informal communicative interaction of specific communities (Heath, 1983). Despite the influence of formal education, many aboriginal communities still employ certain indigenous educational practises. For example, Crago, Annahatak and Ningiuruvik (1989) show how Inuit children are "socialized to the idea that older people are shown respect for their knowledge by giving them the role of performer and talker" (p. 29). Identifying the teaching and learning practises in non-mainstream communities as they are disclosed in the sociocultural communicative interaction of its members could be a way of understanding the gap between the way formal education is provided and how culture is transmitted in the community. Using the concept of building a "scaffold" (Clay & Cazden, 1990) for formal education based on the inherent educational practises of the community could be one means of making formal education more culturally relevant. In order to provide this scaffold or framework, the educational practises of the community need to be identified since "instruction, after all, does not begin in school" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 208).

An additional factor for consideration when examining communicative interaction of specific communities is the existence of social networks in the community which do not necessitate the acquisition of all skills and all knowledge by each individual. Moll and Greenberg (1990) have termed these skills and information as "funds of knowledge" (p. 322). Specific individuals within the community have acquired expertise or possess information which other members of the community do not possess or at least have not developed to the same degree. Through the existing social networks individuals may be called upon to utilize their skill or knowledge to help another individual. The function of each skill is to provide a service or product for the other individual and not necessarily to impart knowledge. The recipient will normally make payment for the service or product by any number of means which could include financial compensation, divulging autogenous knowledge, or the performance of some service to meet the needs of the other individual.

Although these funds of knowledge were originally isolated among Mexican families in the southern United States their existence can also be identified in Julius Lips' (1942) account of traditional life among the aboriginal people of north-central Quebec. Basic skills such as hunting and trapping were essential to all hunters but specific skills such as carving, building canoes, leather work, and the production of birch bark utensils were mastered only by certain individuals. To provide an overall

image of life in any given culture, the researcher must be aware of the social relationships and the context that exists in the community. These social relationships will influence the communicative interaction and vice versa. It is essential that researchers be aware of the multitude of factors affecting communicative interaction within divergent communities and contexts. Sociolinguistics has already made a significant contribution to our knowledge of complex, stratified communities. It can continue to provide further data which will enable the construction of culturally relevant educational scaffolds to meet the needs of diverse communities.

Chapter 4

SOURCES OF DISCONTINUITIES IN COMMUNICATIVE INTERACTION

Sociocultural Differences in Communication

Although smaller in its scope than the works of Crago (1988), Erickson and Mohatt (1982), Heath (1983), and Philips (1982), this study will build upon their work. Their work has already established that implicit and explicit differences exist between the way language is learned, the way beliefs, values and knowledge are passed on, how teaching is carried out, the ways with words of disparate communities, and how each aspect is revealed in the communicative interactions of the community members.

Shirley Brice Heath's (1983) extensive study of the use of language in two working-class communities in the Piedmont region of the Carolinas indicated that the use of language at home was incongruent with the use of language at school. She attributed this to the sociocultural and economic factors that shaped the contexts of each community: one community comprised blacks, and the other whites. Heath showed that the use of language by both communities differed radically from each other and that neither community used language in the same way that the school did. Therefore, a discontinuity between home and school was created.

Crago, Annahatak and Ningiuruvik (1989) identified differences in the use of language between older Inuit and the

younger generation in two northern Quebec communities. The language use of younger Inuit caregivers who had experienced formal education, exhibited more congruence with the use of language in school than did the language used by older, more traditional Inuit. For example,

> A visiting Qallunak [non-Inuk] pediatric specialist said that on her first trips to Northern Quebec she asked children questions like, `Where's your nose, your mouth, etc.?' to test their comprehension. She said the children just looked at her and often did not answer. Her Inuk colleague, a young mother, said that she noticed children needed to be able to answer questions like that in school so she had begun teaching her child to reply to such test questions. She told us that, ` the younger women talk more like that to their children.' (p. 25)

Additionally, Crago (1988) showed that the older more traditional Inuit taught and learned in ways that differed from the methods used in formal education which has its basis in the culture of mainstream North Americans. The results of Heath's and Crago's studies are similar to my initial experiences with older Naskapi in the bush. For example, one elder instructed me verbally while demonstrating how to set an otter trap but he did not ask me questions to test my knowledge of what he was teaching. Explicit questioning techniques meant to elicit a single correct answer have become routine in the educational institutions of mainstream society and in the child rearing practises of many who have experienced an education based on mainstream societal values (Heath, 1982). Observe what Annie Mae in Heath's (1983) book, Ways With Words says about language learning.

> White folks uh hear dey kids say sump'n, dey say it back to 'em, dey aks 'em 'gain 'n 'gain 'bout things, like they 'posed to be born knowin'. You think I kin tell Tiggie all

> he gotta know to get along? . . . Ain't no use me tellin' `im: Learn dis, learn dat. What's dis? What's dat?' . . . He hafta try it out . . . . Gotta keep yo' eyes open, gotta feel to know. (1983, p. 84)

Most students in Heath's study were unable to achieve high academic standing due to the disparity between the communicative interaction expected at school and the sociocultural communicative interaction they experienced in their homes and communities. In order to ensure greater academic success students from these communities had to internalize the language of their educational institutions. For the students in Heath's study, learning the specific questioning techniques and knowing the explicit nuances of the language of school [learning how to do school] (Maguire, in press) was an added advantage in achieving optimal academic performance in the initial years of their schooling. Although definite value was placed on validating the way language was used at home, a high priority was placed on learning how to achieve in school.

School Differences in Communication

Barnes maintains that, "classroom learning can best be seen as an interaction between the teacher's meanings, and those of his pupils, so that what they take away is partly shared and partly unique to both of them" (p. 22). Dillon and Searle's (1981) study examines the language and learning of children in the classroom and the control that teachers exercise over classroom talk. They conclude that, "all children, regardless of

background, face the task of learning a new language code just for school and that their success (or lack of success) may well depend in large part on their ability to learn to use that code" (p. 327). If differences in culture are taken into consideration, an even greater potential for a mismatch between the use of language by the child and the use of language at school emerges. This is reiterated by Commins (1989) who states that,

> students who come from homes where a language other than English is spoken must struggle not only with the difficulties of learning a second language, but also with all of the affective dilemmas posed by becoming acquainted with and pressured to adopt the values and customs of another culture (p. 29).

Academic success is contingent upon knowing and being able to use the communicative patterns employed at school. Middle class mainstream children's home interactions are closest to school communication patterns (Heath, 1982). Therefore, they often experience less difficulty at school in comparison with non-mainstream communities such as the aboriginal population.

Kleinfeld's (1975) study identified the fact that aboriginal students achieved best in school with teachers who displayed specific characteristics. She identified these traits as "personal warmth" and "active demandingness". Although these characteristics were equally valuable for teachers in mainstream society schools, those who didn't possess these characteristics were often successful in non-aboriginal situations, whereas with aboriginal students they proved to be less effective. Although this study was initiated to identify effective teachers of

aboriginal students, it set the stage for the future identification of implicit and explicit differences in the ways that aboriginal people used language.

Further research by Philips (1982) investigated the communicative interactions in the classroom and the community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. She identified several categories where the aboriginal students communicated differently than Anglo students. Easily recognizable was the fact that they comprehended less of what the teacher spoke in the classroom and this impacted on their own classroom communicative interaction. Additionally, she identified attention patterns that were distinctive from those of the Anglo students and special listening habits evident especially during teacher discourse. The aboriginal children engaged in communicative interaction with their peers more than the Anglo students but displayed less effort to engage in class related discussion and violated class discourse rules less often than their Anglo counterparts. Turn taking for classroom talk among the aboriginal students tended to be more equally distributed than it was among Anglo students. Philips outlined specific characteristics of socially appropriate behaviour for the organization and participation in discussions by both Anglo and aboriginal speakers. Significant differences in the specific ways in which aboriginal and Anglo students communicated were undeniably identified in Philip's study. Out of her research came the theoretical construct "participant structures", which identifies and describes four patterns of

teacher-student classroom interaction. These include; teacher interaction with all of the students, teacher interaction with some of the students, students working independently at their desks and students working in small autonomously run groups.

In their investigation, Erickson and Mohatt (1982) test a hypothesis taken from Philip's study. They examine the participation structures of two communities of aboriginal students in Northern Ontario and present persuasive evidence that unique differences exist between the aboriginal culture and that of teachers from mainstream society. Additionally, they present evidence that teachers can adapt at least partially to cultures that differ from their own. Their evidence is indicative that the results of this study of Naskapi communicative interaction could be beneficial to individuals involved in Naskapi education.

Generational Differences in Communication

In many communities that have been exposed to formal education through the educational institutions of mainstream society, significant differences exist between the communicative interactions of the older generation and the younger generation. Crago's (1988) study of the Inuit in Northern Quebec details differences in the language use for child rearing practices. While the older generation used a special vocabulary when talking to babies, most younger Inuit mothers were less inclined to employ this vocabulary. Additionally, older and younger Inuit women differed in their views about children interfering in adult

conversations. She also identified differences between how older Inuit men and the younger generation perceived that they learned hunting skills. Older Inuit hunters maintained that they learned by watching whereas younger hunters said that they were told how to master certain hunting skills. Throughout her work she demonstrates both the differences that exist between the language of the Inuit and that of mainstream society and the changes that have taken place between the older and younger generation.

Chapter 5

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The motivation for conducting research can stem from a concept, theory, or simply out of curiosity. The choice of a research paradigm is often contingent upon the context of the study, the motivation for the study and the expectations of the researcher.

Erickson (1986b) outlines five reasons for the use of a qualitative method of research when investigating educational aspects of communities. To begin with, he suggests that the invisibility of everyday life (the familiar) needs to be made strange and interesting again. Another reason "is the need for specific understanding through documentation of concrete details of practice" (p. 121). A third reason for its use is that the happenings need to be explained in terms of the "local meanings" suggested by the people of the study. The fourth reason he provides is that different social settings need to be understood in terms of what factors influence the context. For example, appropriate or inappropriate behaviour may be attached to specific contexts and therefore, two separate interpretations of the behaviour would be necessary for a more complete understanding. The final reason given is "the need for comparative understanding beyond the immediate circumstances of

the local setting" (p. 122). In other words, the researcher must regularly examine how the events or circumstances being observed relate to other settings.

In order to recognize the distinctive Naskapi methods of teaching and learning, a two year qualitative study using the classical tools of ethnography was conducted. Ethnographic research and the tools of ethnography have been increasingly recognized as one of the most appropriate methods to employ in the study of sociolinguistic aspects of diverse communities (Crago, 1988; Erickson, 1986a; Heath, 1983; Rothe, 1982; Schieffelin, 1979; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986; Spindler & Spindler, 1987). Although ethnographic research does not focus solely on talk, the tools of ethnography are valuable as Erickson (1986a) states that,

> The central aims of ethnographic description in sociolinguistic research are to document and to analyze specific aspects of the practices of talk as those practices are situated in the society in which they occur. The focus, then, is at once on social situations of use, on the ordinary and persistent habits of use, and on the specific linguistic and behavioral organization of the usage itself. (p. 1081)

This is further supported by Smith and Glass (1987) as they demonstrate the effectiveness of ethnographic research in a wide variety of situations that involve the examination of specific aspects of culture. They suggest that anthropologists like Margaret Mead carried out extensive and long-term studies of specific cultural groups by describing and analyzing the activities and languages in an effort to learn to think like a native (Geertz, 1976).

In this investigation the emphasis was on identifying the tacit and overt informal educational practices of the Naskapi as they were revealed in their communicative interaction in the primary context of socialization. Another statement by Erickson demonstrates the appropriateness of ethnographic research for the purposes of this study. "For the ethnographer of communication the emphasis has been on seeing patterns in ways of speaking as evidence of prior learning by the speaker - the acquisition of culturally shared communicative knowledge and skill" (1986a, p. 1086).

This study is similar to Crago's (1988) study, therefore, it follows the basic structure of her methodology. In this chapter I report on the explicit procedure and plan of data collection, provide information about the participants of the study and briefly describe the apparatus that I employed.

Procedure

Data Collection

Erickson (1986a) maintains that videotaping, interviewing, and participant observation are the usual avenues of data collection for ethnographic studies. These are the three methods that I used for this study. Any examples of data that are reported in the monograph have their sources identified as follows: videotape, interviews, notes.

Data Collection Itinerary

Data was collected during a two year period from August, 1991 to April 1993 (see Table 1). Videotaping took place during two major phases of primary data collection. The first in the fall of 1991 and the second during the winter of 1992. I also conducted participant observation generally once a month with the primary participants and their children or grandchildren. The primary participants and four additional couples were interviewed between February, 1992 and April, 1993 (details about all participants are presented in the next section of this chapter).

An additional body of data was collected in the form of observation notes during my work as an educational consultant in the elementary classrooms during the 1991-93 school years. I also took notes at a variety of meetings in the Naskapi community.

Videotaping

The two couples selected as the primary participants were videotaped during interaction with their children/grandchildren. The first phase of videotaping occurred predominately in a more traditional context, the primary family's cabin, during the caribou hunting season. The second phase focused on the homes of the primary participants. In both contexts during the two different phases of videotaping each couple from the primary participants was taped for approximately 2 to 4 hours. This made a total of approximately 10 to 15 hours of videotape footage

Table One - Data Collection Schedule

Time	People	Purpose	Data Collection
			Videotaping
Tape #1 Sept 21/91	Primary family (PF) & visitors	Document communicative interaction (CI) of PF in two contexts.	Kawawachikamach & Kaachikayach
Tape #2 Sept 22/91	PF & visitors	Document CI of PF in the bush.	Kaachikayach
Tape #3 Oct 12/91	PF & grandparents (GP)	Document CI of PF & GP in the bush.	Kaachikayach
Tape #4 Oct 13/91	PF & GP	Document CI of PF & GP in the bush.	Kaachikayach
Tape #5 Feb 16/92	Primary Family	Document CI of PF at home.	Kawawachikamach
Tape #6 Mar 7/92	GP & PF children	Document CI of GP with children	Kawawachikamach
			Participant Observation Notes
Oct 20 91	PF, GP & visitors	Document CI of PF & GP and verify sensitizing concepts for initial categories in data analysis.	Kaachikayach
Nov 10 91	PF, GP & visitors		Kawawachikamach & Kaachikayach
Nov 23 & 24 91	PF, GP & visitors		Kaachikayach
Jan 30 92	Primary Family		Kawawachikamach
Feb 8 92	GP & children		Kawawachikamach

Table One - Data Collection Schedule			
Time	People	Purpose	Data Collection
			Interviews
Feb 4 92	Younger Generation Couple #1	Data collection focusing on the Naskapi perceptions about teaching and learning. Verifying sensitizing concepts and the initial categories.	Kawawachikamach
Feb 8 92	PF Grandparents		Kawawachikamach
Feb 8 92	Younger Generation Couple #2		Kawawachikamach
Feb 9 92	Older Generation Couple #1		Kawawachikamach
Apr 22 92	Older Generation Couple # 2		Kawawachikamach
Apr 19 93	PF Parents		Schefferville

recording the communicative interaction of the children with their parents and their grandparents. To decide when and where the tapings would occur the specific details were worked out through consultation with the families. The purpose of the taping was to capture a broad scope of spontaneous interaction in which overt and tacit instances of teaching and learning were taking place. Although videotaping can be highly intrusive, it became obvious to me even during the very first taping that the children especially acted very naturally. Their initial interest in the camera declined and even on the first day of taping the

son was outside playing and he urinated, oblivious to the camera.

I gave a small financial compensation to the participants for any inconvenience the taping may have caused. I was unable to give more because my financial resources were limited. I did not receive any funding and I needed to pay for the translation of data that I collected on video and audio tapes.

Tape logs were kept to provide relevant information about activities before, during and after the taping. Any difficulties encountered are provided. A sample tape log is provided at the beginning of the sample videotape transcript in Appendix A.

For the purposes of this monograph, the tapes from the first phase of data collection were viewed in their entirety. Specific sequences which appeared to match the sensitizing concepts derived from the literature or from informal observation, were bracketed for transcription so that they could be analyzed and interpreted. Naskapi from the community assisted with the transcription and translation of the verbal portions of the tapes. Accompanying details that describe the scene are provided to enhance the description. Some nonverbal details are also provided throughout the text.

Tapes from the second phase of data collection were also viewed in their entirety and then viewed again with the assistance of a Naskapi translator. During these viewings I asked about specific segments that seemed to support the data I had already collected or contradicted it. With the help of the translator I made notes about these tapes and translated parts

which we determined were relevant to this study.

Interviewing

I selected a Naskapi assistant to conduct the semi-structured interviews with the six Naskapi couples. The term "semistructured interview" is used to distinguish between the data from interviews carried out by the Naskapi assistant and data elicited during informal conversations throughout the period of the study. The latter are referred to as informal interviews.

A basic set of interview questions was formulated from the literature review and with the help of the Naskapi assistant. They are provided in their entirety in Appendix B. We both read sections of Learning How to Ask (Briggs, 1986) as a guide for conducting the interviews. We then practised interviewing each other before commencing the interviews with the participants. The interviews were tape-recorded using two tape-recorders, then translated and transcribed in their entirety. A sample transcript of an interview is provided in Appendix C. Wherever possible any words communicated originally in English by the participants have been underlined in the translated transcripts.

The focus of the interviews was to determine how teaching and learning occurred in the past in the Naskapi community as well as its present forms within the community. The informal interviews also centred on teaching and learning in the Naskapi community as well as comments and reactions to segments of the videotapes and accounts from observation notes. These include a

cross section of Naskapi and non-Naskapi individuals.

All of the interviews except the last one were conducted by the same Naskapi assistant. Due to a number of circumstances we experienced great difficulty in scheduling this final interview. At last, when I was able to schedule it my research assistant was unable to attend. I then asked the person who had translated the majority of the interviews if she would conduct the final interview. She agreed and since she was already familiar with the questions and routines from translating the other interviews, I felt that the reliability of the study was not affected. The couple being interviewed asked if the interview could be conducted at my house since we would be less likely to be disturbed than if we had done it at their house. Since I already had a vast amount of data from videotaping and participant observation in their home context I agreed that we could conduct the interview at my house. However, neither of the two tape-recorders recorded the interview even though they had appeared to be functioning properly during the interview. I was unable to reschedule the interview so I reconstructed it with the help of the Naskapi interviewer. I then copied out the reconstructed text and had the participants verify the accuracy of the text and make any additional changes.

Participant Observation Notes

Participant observation notes were maintained in three contexts. These include: (a) the primary context of

socialization with the primary participants (in their homes or in the bush), (b) settings in which contact with the Naskapi was engendered by the routines of our daily lives (church services, shopping, etc.), (c) the local school setting (comments by teachers and students).

Observation notes concerning the primary participants. Data from the videotapes was supplemented with observational notes that I collected in a variety of settings with the primary participants (see Appendix D). These observations took place generally once a month, excepting months in which videotaping occurred. In all, five participant observations with the primary participants were conducted. The aim of this additional data collection was to add to the quantity of data gathered during the videotaping, and to interact in a less intrusive manner so that the additional data might more naturally depict the happenings of everyday life.

The notes were written as the communicative interaction occurred during visits or excursions with the families. I attempted to position myself as unobtrusively as possible and participate in events only when I was called upon to do so by the participants. As a guideline I made a note of certain categories of behaviour that were of interest to me before I began the observations. For example, one category that emerged very early was the occurrence of repetition in the speech of the Naskapi. Other categories were adopted as they evolved during the observations.

Observation notes concerning routine contact with the Naskapi. Throughout the course of the study I took notes on my observations of the Naskapi during the circumstances of daily life in the community. These include organized sports events, community feasts, church services, grocery shopping, visits to the restaurant, post office, garage, etc. They include personal invitations for meals in their homes and visits by Naskapi friends to my own home. These notes also include the reactions of other non-Native community members to the Naskapi. Any information pertaining to teaching or learning as it occurred in the daily communicative interactions of the community members was highlighted as well as a general description of the circumstances surrounding the communicative interaction in these contexts. A sample of these observation notes is provided in Appendix E.

Observation notes concerning the communicative interaction at the community school. I took notes about the communicative interaction among students and teachers at school. Additionally, I took notes about comments that Naskapi and non-Naskapi teachers made about the Naskapi students and teaching and learning in the school setting.

People of the Study

Primary Participants

This study was conducted among the members of the Naskapi Indian community at Kawawachikamach, Quebec. The community has a

population of approximately 500 with a large percentage of the population under 20 years of age. Two couples, one older and one younger were needed for data collection purposes as a means of achieving the basic aim of the study. A diagram of the community in Figure 2 shows the homes of the primary participants.

A number of other criteria were also used to determine the selection of the participants. The younger generation couple had to have a family of at least three children so that a variety of communication could be recorded. The children had to include both genders with at least two of school age and at least one of preschool age so that various levels of teaching and learning could be observed. Non-Naskapis participants were ruled out as this would have affected the internal validity of the study.

Since the population base of the community is small, the possible number of candidates that fit the criteria for primary participants was limited. Using the preceding criteria as guidelines I examined each Naskapi family from a band council list. From this list I determined that there were four couples who fit all of the criteria. In selecting from these four couples I tried to choose a couple where at least one set of parents were still living and who also fit the criteria for primary participants. Using seven different Naskapi informants to guide me I chose the primary participants as illustrated in Table Two.

The older generation couple had raised their own children consisting of four boys and four girls and one boy who they

Figure Two

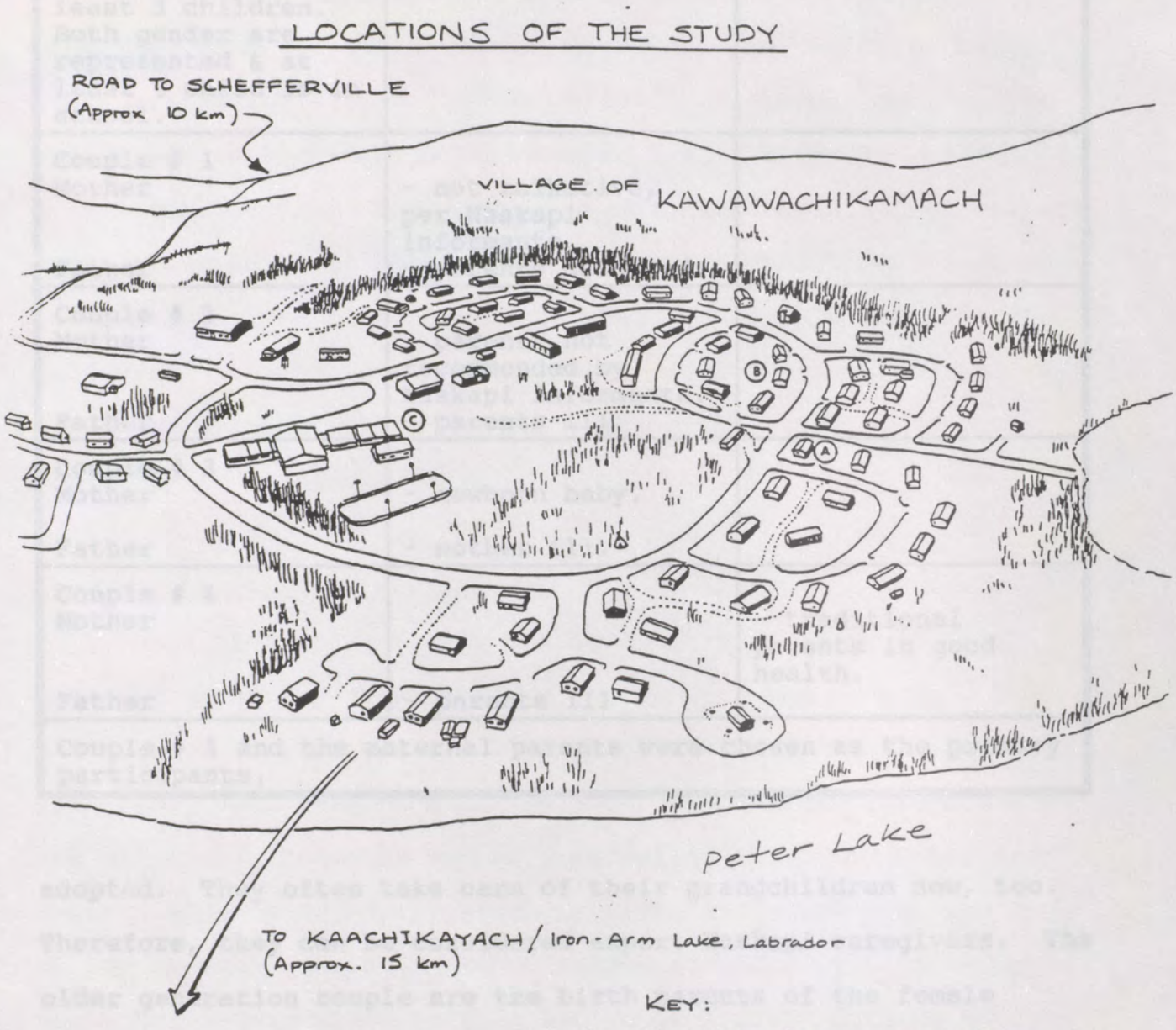

LOCATIONS OF THE STUDY
ROAD TO SCHEFFERVILLE
(Approx 10 km)
VILLAGE OF KAWAWACHIKAMACH
B
C
A
Peter Lake
TO KAACHIKAYACH / Iron-Arm Lake, Labrador
(Approx. 15 km)
KEY:
A. YOUNGER GENERATION CAREGIVERS
B. OLDER GENERATION CAREGIVERS
C. JIMMY SANDY MEMORIAL SCHOOL

Table Two - Selection of Primary Participants		
Younger generation couples with at least 3 children. Both gender are represented & at least 1 child is in school.	Reason for Exclusion	Reason for Inclusion
Couple # 1 Mother Father	- not talkative, per Naskapi informants. - parents deceased.	
Couple # 2 Mother Father	- parents not recommended by Naskapi informants. - parents ill.	
Couple # 3 Mother Father	- newborn baby. - mother ill.	
Couple # 4 Mother Father	 - parents ill	- traditional parents in good health.
Couple # 4 and the maternal parents were chosen as the primary participants.		

adopted. They often take care of their grandchildren now, too. Therefore, they can be considered expert Naskapi caregivers. The older generation couple are the birth parents of the female primary participant. However, she was taken care of for most of her childhood by another couple in the Naskapi community, although she was not adopted and maintained close contact with her birth parents. I hoped that by choosing a parent and

grandparents from the same lineage that specific differences and similarities in the use of language and teaching and learning between the older and younger generation could be identified. I consulted with the seven Naskapi informants to verify if this older generation couple fit the criteria of "traditional". The informants were unanimous in agreeing that the couple was a traditional couple. The younger generation couple signed consent forms allowing me to gather data concerning their communicative interaction. The older generation couple who were not literate in English gave their verbal consent. Table Three shows the characteristics of the primary participants at the beginning of the study in September 1991.

Secondary Participants

Four other couples were selected to be interviewed as a means of gathering more data for the study. Two older, traditional couples and two younger generation couples were selected. By utilizing both the older and younger generation I had originally hoped to gather information about the traditional Naskapi aspects of teaching and learning and those employed now by the younger generation to determine if there is a difference. The younger generation couples had to be Naskapi parents who had experienced formal schooling. The older couples had to be Naskapi who had raised children. They also were not to have experienced formal schooling and had to be considered "traditional" by my Naskapi informants. I did not feel it was

Table Three
Characteristics of the People of the Study - September 1991

Person	Age	Language(s)
Father	36 yrs. 3 mos	Naskapi (L1) English (L2) Montagnais (L3) French (L4)
Mother	29 yrs. 9 mos.	Naskapi (L1) English (L2) French (L3)
Daughter	7 yrs. 3 mos.	Naskapi (L1) Some English
Son	6 yrs. 4 mos.	Naskapi (L1) Some English
Baby	2 mos.	Baby Talk
Grandmother	53 yrs. 6 mos.	Naskapi (unilingual)
Grandfather	57 yrs. 10 mos.	Naskapi (L1) Some English

necessary to choose the secondary participant couples from the same lineage as was the case with the primary participants since the data collected from these interviews was intended to help generalize the results across the Naskapi population. 20 younger generation couples and 21 older generation couples that matched the criteria were identified. After consulting with the seven Naskapi informants I chose the paternal parents of the younger primary participants. I also chose couple number 3 (see Table Two) since they matched all of the criteria for primary participants but were not able to participate due to a newborn baby. After explaining the purpose of the study to the seven

Naskapi informants I gave them lists of the couples that matched the criteria and asked them to choose one from each generation. One couple from the older generation list and another from the younger generation were picked more than once so I chose these two couples for the interviews as well. Selection of the secondary participants is illustrated in Table Four.

Table Four - Selection of Secondary Participants

Participants	Criteria	Outcome
Younger Generation Couples	- parents - Naskapi - experienced formal schooling	- 20 couples identified, including the PF couple.
PF couple and two other younger generation couples were chosen by informed selection with the help of seven Naskapi informants.		
Older Generation Couples	- raised children - Naskapi - seen as traditional by Naskapi informants - did not experience formal schooling	- 21 couples identified, including the PF grandparents.
PF grandparents and one other older generation couple was chosen by informed selection with the help of seven Naskapi informants.		

Additional Community Participants

I wrote observation notes about a broad cross section of

Naskapi community members during the study. Additional notes were taken about my observations of students and teachers comments at school. Further notes were recorded concerning comments from Naskapi and non-Naskapi teachers. These notes were used as an additional layer of data to corroborate the other data sources.

Researcher

I was the primary researcher for the study. My relationship with the community has been established over the past 8 years as an educator for elementary and adult students, first in the community of Schefferville and then at the new Naskapi school located on the Reserve at Kawawachikamach. I have been actively involved with members of the community, invited to their homes, gone on camping/hunting trips in the bush, participated in community activities and established good relationships within the community. I speak and understand some Naskapi although I am not fluent in the language. Members of the community have encouraged me to learn more as my accent is reportedly (pikutaaw) good. Others have commented about how I have learned some of the Naskapi language even though I was directly involved with the Naskapi for a shorter period of time than other non-Naskapis employed in the community. I have become known in the community as "Napow" (man) ever since I figured out from my students' conversations that whenever they said the word "Napow" they were talking about me. My role as participant/observer for the

purposes of the study, constitutes a change from my previous role as an invited friend to the Naskapi homes. However, the Naskapi by their own admission, have a tendency to be shy of strangers and the positive relationships which I have already established can be regarded more as an asset than a hindrance to the effectiveness of this study.

To help overcome weaknesses from the insider/outsider perspective I kept a written record of what surprised me and what I thought would be different. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) maintain that it is difficult to effectively carry out a study in an atmosphere with which the researcher has had previous experience. In this situation my previous experience has built a level of trust and a sense of belonging that could not be brought in by an outsider. My knowledge of the functioning of their culture helped to avoid the majority of misunderstandings which could have arisen for a researcher unfamiliar with the Naskapi people. My experience in observing aspects of life in the bush, enabled me to easily engage in their activities as a participant observer and thus have a first hand glimpse into the intricacies of Naskapi life.

I showed segments of the videotape to individuals not familiar with the Naskapi culture in order to elicit their uninformed comments about what they saw happening. I hoped that their perceptions might initiate additional themes or categories. However, this process was only minimally beneficial. Aguilar (1981) points out the positive and negative aspects of both

insider and outsider participation in ethnographic research and concludes that much is dependent on the individual researcher. Erickson (1986a) notes that it is important that the participant observer not influence the direction of incidents and thus create observer bias in the results of the study. However, participant observers do influence the direction of events and this cannot really be helped. I have tried to account for this and acknowledge where it has taken place throughout the study.

Research Assistant

I chose a Naskapi assistant to conduct the semistructured interviews with the primary and secondary participants. I made this choice based on a number of factors. Her father had often been a chief informant for other researchers. Therefore, she was somewhat familiar with research and researchers and she knew the general intent of my research. She has a very good command of Naskapi and English and she was relatively free from familial responsibilities and other activities besides her job. This meant that I could generally count on her to be available to conduct the interviews at a time mutually agreed upon with the participants. She is a close personal friend and colleague who is well respected in the community as a dedicated teacher.

Apparatus

A Panasonic AG-70 Pro-line videocamera, model #AG-170,

available from the community school was used for videotaping the primary participants. I purchased a Sanyo VCR unit, # VHR 9280, to copy and analyze the videotapes. A Realistic stereo cassette tape recorder, model # SCP-29 was used to make all audiotapes. It is a compact, battery operated model with a built-in microphone. I purchased it specifically because I felt it would not be highly intrusive. I also used a Bell & Howell cassette recorder, # 3091C as a back-up in case of malfunction of the other tape recorder during the interviews.

Video and audiotapes were translated and then transcribed onto an IBM-compatible personal computer using an ordinary WordPerfect program.

Chapter 6

DATA ANALYSIS: PREPARING A CARIBOU HIDE

This chapter is an account of how I analyzed the layers of data. It begins with an explanation of how the information from the data sources is reported and depicted. Next, data collection is discussed briefly. In the following section the manipulation of the various levels of data is delineated. After this, an explanation is provided about how the categories were derived. Then, the development of themes is described. The concluding section details how reliability and validity were established.

Portrayal of Data Analysis

I have reported the data by means of descriptive analysis. Unlike quantitative data analyses where the data is collected and then analyzed at the end of the study, ethnographic data analysis is ongoing throughout the study. Descriptive analysis involves a written account that employs specific instances and examples that have been collected throughout the study and support its aim. An accompanying explanation of these examples is also regularly supplied in ethnographic description. However, the description must go beyond the initial reporting and explanation of details and also include an interpretation of the events and details within the data. All three data sources were examined in an

effort to accurately report and interpret the data. I consulted several Naskapi people for their concurrence with the data interpretations that I have supplied.

The process of data collection, translation and analysis took much longer than I had initially anticipated. During this passage of time an additional Naskapi teacher was added to the staff of the Naskapi school where I teach. She had a strong interest in carrying on many of the traditional aspects of Naskapi society. Therefore, she began to learn the traditional methods utilized to prepare furs and skins, especially caribou hides. Her parents were very capable teachers and she learned very quickly. Additionally, she was generous in taking the time to show me the process used and guiding me in preparing a hide from one of the caribou which I had shot. During this lengthy process I realized that it was very similar to the one which I utilized to analyze the data which I had collected. Therefore, I am making use of this traditional aspect of Naskapi culture to explain how I carried out data analysis.

Data Collection: Hunting for Caribou

In order to begin the process of preparing a caribou hide, I had to have a hide to work with. This I secured during the annual Autumn hunt which is open to residents of the Schefferville region.

Parellel to the process of procuring a caribou hide to work

with was the necessity of collecting data to work with as a means of examining the sociocultural communicative interaction among the Naskapi. This collection process I explained previously under the data collection section (see Chapter 5).

Manipulating the Levels of Data: Skinning the Caribou

After killing the caribou, I had to register the kill and then proceed to skin it. The skin is easier to remove while the game is still warm. Therefore, it is essential to begin skinning as soon as possible, usually less than four hours after the kill. By skinning the caribou while it is still warm, the skin can be removed with little difficulty. When it is allowed to cool before the skin is removed, large chunks of meat stick to the inner surface of the hide and increase the possibility of cutting it and also of making more work later during the "de-fleshing" process.

Just as it is important to begin removing the hide as soon as possible after killing the caribou, it is also important to begin manipulating the data as soon as possible after data collection begins. The collection and use of three sources of data (videotapes, interviews, and observation notes) provided a wide spectrum of data that often overlapped and permitted triangulation. When viewed collectively each source augmented the other and served to verify or deny data from any of the individual sources. Videotapes served to capture communicative

interaction in a form that could be reviewed repeatedly in order to guide the initial formation of sensitizing concepts. Observation notes added to the bulk of the material and served as a method of verifying the naturalness of data collected during videotaping. The initial development of categories was based primarily on data from videotapes and observation notes. Data from formal and informal interviews constituted another source of primary data. Together with the two other sources, all of the data was examined repeatedly to break the categories down further into thematic units. All three sources of data have been integrated together for reporting the findings. The most significant findings are reported in the three results chapters.

Sensitizing Concepts: Removing the Flesh from the Caribou Hide

Once the caribou had been skinned there were numerous small pieces of flesh still attached to the inner surface of the hide. It is imperative that the flesh be removed from the hide within a week after the kill or that the hide be frozen until the flesh can be removed at a convenient later date. The pieces of flesh are removed with a special handmade tool called a miichiihkun. The hide is draped over a post with the flesh side exposed. The miichiihkun, which remotely resembles a chisel in shape, is used to remove the flesh by a repetitive forward motion dragging the blade downward over the hide. For someone experienced in this art, a hide can be cleaned within an hour. It took me several hours.

If we pause to think about the Naskapi past when all clothes for entire families were fashioned from caribou hides, we begin to see how often this same action was repeated in the lives of those whose responsibility it was to prepare the caribou skin. Removing the flesh from the hide is only one element in the whole process of preparing the hide for a suitable finished product. However, it could not be omitted from the whole process if a suitable end-product was desired.

Initiating data analysis is comparable to removing the flesh from the caribou hide. I based this initial analysis on the review of the literature and preliminary viewing of the first videotapes. I made a written record of a number of very general areas about teaching and learning that seemed to be present in the sociocultural communicative interaction of the Naskapi. These general areas or sensitizing concepts guided future analysis. Following is a list of the sensitizing concepts and their sources.

Independent/Autonomous Children - Literature

Literacy Events - Literature/researcher

Teasing/Joking - Literature

Danger - Researcher

Repetition - Researcher

Visual Learning - Literature

Hands-on Manipulation - Naskapi

Playing and Messing Up - Naskapi

By beginning this initial analysis early in the research

process it prevented me from becoming overwhelmed by the large amount of data that I had collected by the end of the study. Additionally, it helped to provide a basic framework of what to look for, especially during participant observations. However, the sensitizing concepts are only intended as a guide for initiating analysis. Not all of the initial concepts that were generated developed into categories. Equally important, they did not prevent the development of categories that had not emerged from the sensitizing concepts.

Categories: Removing the Hair and Drying the Caribou Hide

Once all of the flesh has been removed from the inside of the caribou skin it is ready for the next step of preparation. This entails the use of a caribou leg bone which has been fashioned into a scraping tool called a piskuchikin. The caribou skin which has soaked over night in water is then laid over a smooth pole with the hair facing up. In a seated position the pole is placed between the legs with one end touching the ground and the other touching in the stomach area. The piskuchikin is then used to scrape the hair off the skin. Like the removal of the flesh, removing the hair is also a repetitive process which took me several hours to complete. This step requires skills which can be achieved with proper practice and instruction. In addition to the removal of the hair it is especially important that a semi-transparent layer of skin also be removed from the

hide during this phase.

The next stage of data analysis is comparable to the repetitive process involved in removing the hair from the caribou hide. During this stage I reviewed the primary data in an effort to construct meaningful categories. These categories arose from the sensitizing concepts. The sensitizing concepts acted as broad guidelines to create an awareness of what features to look for in the data. More precise categories were then formulated after initial use of the sensitizing concepts. I made a systematic effort to reduce the data to manageable segments for analysis and interpretation. This was accomplished in stages where I examined the various layers of data. In stage one the initial analysis began by examining the primary data from the three data sources. The primary data was reviewed several times to generate and revise categories for a second stage of analysis. During the second stage of analysis another layer of data was formulated consisting of the "reactions and reflections" (Crago, 1988, p. 125) of the primary participants to parts of the primary data and to the categories. This second layer of data became part of the participant observation data and was also examined. All categories were verified by Naskapi. The third stage of data analysis was a further refining of the accumulated data during which ordered themes were derived.

Themes: Applying Brains, Washing and Stretching the Caribou Hide

Once the hide has dried it becomes stiff and relatively inflexible. Flexibility is restored to the hide by heating a mixture of lard, caribou brains, and oatmeal which is then applied to both sides of the hide. The hide is then folded over several times on itself and wrapped in an old blanket over night. The next day the hide is soaked briefly in cold water and most of the oatmeal mixture is removed. Once it has soaked for approximately 15 to 30 minutes it is ready to be washed with a bar of sunlight soap and clean, cold water. Immediately after it has been washed it is hung in a hot area next to a heater, or a stove in tent. The next step, stretching the hide, is accomplished more easily with two people although it can be done by one person. Stretching involves pulling the hide from opposite sides and working all around the edges so that the full surface is stretched. It is a time consuming process which must be repeated every five minutes, alternating between hanging the hide to let it dry and then stretching it over and over until it is completely dry and flexible like leather.

A third stage of data analysis can be compared to the repetitive activity involved in stretching the hide. Cleaning the categories and stretching them like the hide, further reduced them into themes or patterns as a means of representing and reporting significant aspects of the study. The final cleaning was accomplished by isolating each category from the three data

sources. Then, as I analyzed each category individually, themes began to emerge. I noted all of these themes and began to write about them. During the writing process which I equate with stretching the hide, some of the themes collapsed and became sub-themes of other themes. After the successive layers of analyses and the writing were completed each category was divided into a number of themes which were then verified again by the Naskapi.

Substantiation of Reliability and Validity: Plugging the Holes and Smoking the Caribou Hide

The final stage in preparing the caribou hide involves sewing any holes in the hide closed, then sewing the edges of the hide together in a cone shape in preparation for smoking it. Any remaining holes are plugged with a paste made out of water and flour. A piece of canvas is then placed over the hide, maintaining the cone shape. A number of rocks are heated in a fire until they are very hot and then they are placed in a metal pail. Small pieces of rotten wood which have been dried are then placed over the rocks to produce the smoke. The cone-shaped caribou hide and canvas cover are then suspended over the bucket in an enclosed area such as a tent. The smoking process must be watched carefully so that the hide is not burned. If it is permitted to burn, the person who does so is regarded with shame among the Naskapi for breaking the most "sacred" of the stages in the preparation of a caribou hide.

I equate the substantiation of reliabilty and validity to

the final actions in preparing a caribou hide. The final actions in caribou hide preparation are the finishing touches which assure a valid and reliable product which serves a very worthwhile function in Naskapi society. Equally so, the substantiation of reliability and validity serves to plug the holes in the caribou hide, or account for any difficulties or complications in the research process. By stating all of these recognized difficulties I hope that the end product which comes out of the research will serve a very worthwhile function for both the Naskapi society and society in general.

External reliability has been accounted for by establishing my position as a participant-observer researcher, demonstrating the status of the participants, and by specifying the derivation of all data. Internal reliability is clarified by audio and video recording, triangulation of data from a variety of sources, and support from the Naskapi and other colleagues. Internal validity was established by triangulation of the data, consultation with the participants to validate the interpretation of the data and by creating a full picture through the use of a variety of situations observed over the two year period. External validity was maintained by the use of multiple observation settings and interviews from a variety of participants.

Chapter 7

REPETITION

One of the patterns that arose early in the study centred on the basis for the widespread use of repetition in the sociocultural communicative interaction of the Naskapi. Having noticed the frequent use of communicative repetition, I began asking some of the Naskapi if they had noticed how often they repeated words, phrases, and sentences and why they thought that phenomenon occurred. Many acknowledged that they were aware of the use of repetition, but the majority were unable to explain its origin or the reason for its extensive use. Repetition therefore, became one of the early sensitizing concepts that later developed into a category.

I tried to gather more information about repetition by working it into the semi-structured interviews (see Appendix B). This proved to be only minimally successful. In fact, many of the elders who were able to supply immediate responses to the majority of other questions were completely baffled by this question and even unaware of the use of repetition among the Naskapi. Two typical responses from male older generation caregivers (OGC) follow:

> OGC - What are you trying to say? Like repeating?
> Interviewer (ITV) - Yes repeating, like someone is standing, "Come here, come here," you say. You say it two times, sometimes three times. It is repeated. Why do you think they do this?
> OGC - Repeating two times, eh? Of course they don't say the

words clearly. There is someone who does not call someone by his name clearly. And someone who talks clearly is understood right away. . . .

(Interview # 4 - Older Generation Caregivers)

OGC - Oh yeah...
ITV - Why is this, do you think?
OGC - Naskapi people?
ITV - Yes.
OGC - . . . And they asked why they do this eh...?
ITV - Repeating themselves eh?
OGC - Yes, maybe they have a problem because of these people. Maybe they have short ones.
OGC - Yes, yes.
ITV - Yes, like when they want to say something they repeat themselves.
OGC - Yes, yes.
ITV - Like when they say someone's name and when they want to say something they repeat it two times.
OGC - Yes, yes it's like that.

(Interview # 5 - Older Generation Caregivers)

Interestingly enough, although they could not explain the use of repetition or were unaware of it, they both used it extensively in their responses to many of the interview questions as is demonstrated in the above exerpt from Interview # 5.

The younger generation caregivers had similar problems explaining repetition. I have included an example from one interview. The interviewer has just asked them why the Naskapi repeat names, words, phrases or sentences. (Father - FYGC, Mother - MYGC)

MYGC - No.
FYGC - No.
ITV - For example, you call your child and you repeat his name twice.
MYGC - Yes.
ITV - And when you talk to him, you sometimes say it twice. Why do you think they do that?
FYGC - No.
ITV - You don't know? But you notice them. Sometimes when someone says something he repeats himself twice.

FYGC - Yes.
MYGC - Yes.
ITV - When you say, "Come, come" you know or "Don't do it, don't do it". Do you know why they repeat themselves?
(No response)

(Interview # 3 - Younger Generation Caregivers)

Although Naskapi communicative repetition in its entirety is not limited to specific occasions, it can, however, be subdivided into thematic units which are often context specific. Some of these themes are not unusual when compared to many other contexts, even among the mainstream population. Nevertheless, I have mentioned them briefly here because they are present in Naskapi communicative interaction. Other themes are more or less unique to the communicative interaction of the Naskapi. In the remainder of this chapter I provide an examination of the themes that were identified concerning communicative repetition. First, I discuss "Repetitive Routines with Babies". This is followed by a theme entitled "Clarification". Next, "Iterative Requests" are discussed. Then, "Teasing and Repetition" is examined. Finally, "Repetition as a Teaching Method" is explored.

Whenever I have used quotations from the data the participants are identified by the following abbreviations:

Grandmother - Gmth Mother - M Son - S
Grandfather - Gfth Father - F Baby - B
Daughter - D

Other speakers are identified by their full name or I have explained the abbreviation in the text. Words that were originally spoken in English have been underlined.

Repetitive Routines with Babies

Repetitive Baby Talk

For the most part the Naskapi parents and grandparents maintain a limited verbal communication directed towards newborn babies until they are three or four months old. Often they talk to each other about the child but do not address questions or comments directly to the baby. They do however, kiss the baby repeatedly and call his or her name often. They use baby talk on occasion, usually when the baby vocalizes. In lieu of regular words from the Naskapi vocabulary they would often repeat the baby's name over and over while leaning close to his or her face. On other occasions they repeated the name as they passed by where the baby was seated or lying. For example, the father passed by as the mother was bathing their two month old baby and said, "Jonah! My what a big mouth he has." While the baby was lying on his bed looking around the mother passed by and called his name and then went out of the room (Videotape # 1). On another occasion at a cabin in the bush the mother passed the baby to the grandmother who kissed him repeatedly, rocked him, held him tight and called his name softly. While she continued to converse with other people she made no other verbal communication with the baby except to repeat his name occasionally (Participant Observation # 3).

I also observed young, school age children using the same verbal communicative repetition as the parents and grandparents

but with added speech addressed specifically to the baby. A seven year old girl communicated with her baby brother (2 mos) in the following way: "Jonah, Jonah! Oh, oh his eyes. Watch him Mama. Okay do it again (addressed to the baby). Oh, oh... (Videotape # 1). His six year old brother carried out the following dialogue: "Dad, can I drive the car? Then I drive away, sneakily. I'll tell Jonah to come along with me. `Come here Jonah, let's get in the car.'" (Videotape # 1)

While bathing the baby his mother made no verbal communicative interaction with him other than to call his name, although she talked freely with his father and the other children. During the six sessions of videotaping and five participant observations I observed the mother engage in lengthy verbal communication with the baby on very few occasions. On one occasion she lay on the sofa with the baby positioned facing her in a small baby seat on the floor. The baby vocalized and the mother repeatedly called his name, engaged in baby talk and asked, "What are you doing?" several times (Participant Observation # 3). A second occurred during the same observation when the mother, her adoptive mother and the baby drove with me to the bush. The trip lasted for about one hour. Occasionally, they talked to the baby briefly.

On more than one occasion I observed close personal encounters such as feeding and bathing. Very few questions or comments were directed to the baby by adults other than to repeat his name (Participant Observation # 3). This is in stark

contrast to the child rearing practices of many mainstream families (Britton, 1972) where parents address questions to infants and respond for them and carry out extensive monologues with their babies.

As Naskapi children mature, adults increase their verbal communication with them. On one occasion I observed the grandmother with a young toddler. She used directives but only posed questions when the child seemed in distress of some kind. However, verbally repeating the name of the child was still practised. In the following instance the grandmother used this structure but instead of using the child's name she changed the name to that of the child's grandmother and uses the diminutive "Moniqueas".

> Gmth - ". . . Stop that, stop that, Monique. Call her Moniqueas okay. Her grandmother is called Monique. Moniqueas, Moniqueas!
> S - (Speaking in the background) inaudible. . . the small road leading there, the small part.
> Gmth - Moniqueas, Moniqueas.
>
> (Videotape # 3)

I also observed the mother and father directing questions to their baby when he was six and seven months old. Like the grandmother, they normally posed these questions when the baby was exhibiting some distress such as crying or coughing. They asked, "What do you want?" or "What are you doing?" (Participant Observation # 4) but did not supply a response. If the baby responded with baby talk they were more likely to repeat the question or to imitate the baby with their own baby talk.

Repetitive Affection

Naskapi socialization includes displaying affection for babies and young children. The most frequent display of affection is kissing. Children are socialized early in life to show their love for other children. While visiting at a cabin the grandmother held her four month old grandson for a young Naskapi girl (2 yrs) to kiss. The girl and the baby's grandmother kissed him repeatedly (Participant Observation # 3). The baby's brother and sister often kissed him whenever his parents got him out of bed or on other occasions when they had not seen him for awhile. The parents rarely kissed him just once but usually repeatedly. These displays of affection continue throughout the child's first year of life. After the first year repetitive kissing becomes less frequently used as a method of expressing affection. However, like the Naskapi of Davis Inlet (Henrikson, 1973) there are strong kinship ties that exist among the Naskapi of Kawawachikamach. These emotional links between relatives are evident whenever adult Naskapi greet their younger kin whom they have not seen for awhile. On these occasions adults will use repetitive kissing with children who are usually under ten years of age.

Another display of affection is demonstrated by repeating a baby's name. Parents often call the name of the baby repetitively in lieu of any other baby talk. Young children are more likely to call the name of the baby repetitively in combination with baby talk. Like repetitive kissing this

communicative feature usually disappears during the baby's first year of life.

Repetitive Baby Games

I videotaped a lengthy segment involving the mother and her baby (7 mos). It is included in its entirety to illustrate an affectionate repetitive verbal game that the mother played with him. The only words addressed to him during the entire episode were his name, which the mother used twice, and the question, "Are you scared?" which was stated twice in sequence. During the rest of the transaction she either used baby talk or talked to other individuals.

D - (Leaves the baby on the floor and goes to another room. The baby starts to cry.)
M - Ahhhohh (Picks up the baby and sits on the sofa with him seated on her lap facing her. She kisses him repeatedly.) (Says softly) Jonah.
M - (Takes a hat made from a fox fur which has the face of the fox on one side and the tail hanging down the back of it. This she uses for a repetitive routine with the baby.)
M - (Shakes the hat a few centimetres from the baby's face and then touches the baby's face with the fox face and says "Hoh". She starts to repeat the same action and is interrupted by her daughter and responds to her.)
D - Mommy, eight....
M - Seven, Rena.
M - (Touches baby's face again with the hat and the baby pulls his head away. Mother pulls the hat back and shakes it in front of his face again. Baby waves arms excitedly.)
Visitor - inaudible....
M - (Responds to visitor) Chiyo. . . inaudible. (Looks out the window and says something about Chiyo ...inaudible.
M - (Shakes the fox hat again in front of the baby's face for several seconds and then touches his face saying, "Hoh" very softly. Then touches the baby's face again with the hat and pulls it back. She repeats this action again ten times but says "hoh" only with some of the repetitive actions. The baby waves his arms excitedly in response. She then changes her approach to the activity and touches the baby for longer periods of time as if the fox is

nibbling the baby's neck. While she does this the vocalization changes to a soft "kee" and becomes louder. The vocalization is at first in sets of three, kee, kee, kee and then changes to five, kee, kee, kee, kee, kee. Each time that she touches the baby with the fox hat she vocalizes one set. In all she repeated the vocalization "kee" 24 times. During the routine she paused once to look at someone who came in the kitchen and then to laugh at the baby's reaction. Next, she changed the vocalization to ho, ho, ho and touched the baby with the hat, once for each syllable.
M - Mama... inaudible.
B - (Shakes his head sideways and bounces up and down.)
M - Oh, are you scared? Are you scared? What? Jonah. (Baby bounces up and down and vocalizes).
M - Laughs.
M - Changes vocalization again to "Chika, chika, chika."
D - Comes and takes the hat from her mother to play with the baby.

(Videotape # 5B)

This exchange is significant both for demonstrating the existence of repetition and the absence of meaningful words during adult verbal communicative interaction with young babies.

Clarification

Clarification is a type of verbal communication which is also found in the speech of many mainstream individuals. However, some slight differences in its use among the Naskapi are evident. While the Naskapi gather information by asking questions just as individuals from mainstream society do, they also repeat questions or statements as a means of satisfying their curiosity and gaining knowledge. Additionally, communicative repetition is used to clarify information deemed necessary for another individual.

Basically, there are three types of repetitive communicative clarification used by the Naskapi. They are: questions, statements, and a mixture of questions and statements.

Questions and Statements

One type of clarification frequently used by the Naskapi includes a mixture of questions and statements. While smoking a goose to cook over a fire outside, the father used the following repetitive clarification: "Rebecca, Can you scrape it on the back, on the back and the underarms? (Videotape # 2). His request is clarified by the repetition of the phrase, On the back" to indicate where the goose needed to be scraped.

An additional example is provided by the mother and her son. She has been looking for her daughter unsuccessfully and stops instead to pick up her son at her mother's house.

M - I'm going there again.
S - What?
M - I'm going there again. I'm looking for...inaudible.
S - Where are you going?
M - Hurry, hurry, go get your coat. Your coat.
M - I don't like Rena.
S - Where is she?

(Videotape # 6)

The mother's statement is punctuated here by a question asking for clarification by her son. The statement is then repeated exactly as it was given the first time. Note the other forms of repetition in the conversation.

Another example involves the father, mother, and their son. Their son was eating bread but taking off the crusts and leaving

them on his plate to be thrown away.

F - Luke you are throwing away about <u>two slices</u> of bread. Right Rebecca, right Rebecca?

(Videotape # 2)

In this instance the father makes a statement and then seeks his spouse's clarification and support that the amount of bread that would potentially be thrown away was in fact equal to two slices.

Further evidence of the use of this type of repetitive clarification is available in the following conversation between the children and their mother at their cabin.

M - Pick it up and put it back where you found it.
S - Rena found it.
D - Don't lie. It was him last, it was him last, right? It was him last, right?
S - You said it was you Rena . . . , you said it was you.

(Videotape # 1)

The daughter sought confirmation from the researcher for her position when she asked the question "Cha," meaning right, however, I did not respond.

<u>Echoing</u>. A subtheme which follows a basic repetitive model I have labelled as "Echoing". It is a feature of clarification that involves statements and questions. The pattern that is usually followed involves a statement by one individual being echoed identically as a statement or question by another individual. This occurred often during the interviews but I have not included examples here since they may have surfaced based on the nature of interviewing. However, other examples are available from the routine conversations which I observed and recorded.

One of the best examples is provided in a conversation between the parents and their daughter. The parents were attaching a fishing line to cans for the children to play with beside the lake. (These were often used in the past instead of fishing rods and required a certain degree of skill to manipulate.) In the example they are reeling out the line to put on the can and getting ready to cut off the right amount.

D - That's enough.
F - That's enough?
F - Is it cold?
D - Wait, wait.
F - You could have worn my pants, green.
M - It's smoky.
F - Is it enough?
M - That's enough. That's enough, Rena.
D - That's enough. That's enough.

The initial echo occurs when the father repeats his daughter's statement. His echo is a clarification of her statement. There is a brief interlude in the conversation and then the same theme is taken up in a repetitive fashion again and in this recapitulation it becomes slightly altered from the usual statement followed by question sequence. Other examples that follow the basic echo model are provided below. In the next example the parents are working outside their cabin while the children are playing.

(The son looks in a large barrel that is sometimes used for garbage.
S - It's smelly in here.
D - Never mind.
M - It's smelly?
F - It's smelly?
(D counts to 20 as she starts a game of hide and seek with Luke.)

S - Yes, it's the garbage.
D - Where? Oh there.

(Videotape # 1)

Another example occurs when the parents are trying to reach a consensus about who will stay at the cabin overnight.

F - Who is going to sleep here?
Shannon (Sh) - Me.
S - Me.
M - Luke wants to sleep here. I said, "No".
F - You said, "No"?
M - He wants to sleep here.
F - He wants to sleep here.
S - I want to sleep here.
F - It's up to you.

In this instance the first echo is slightly modified when the speaker changes the pronoun from I to you but the other words remain identical. In the second echo in the same example the father repeats the mother's statement which is then repeated by the son who changes the pronoun from second person to first.

Statements

A second type of clarification often employed by the Naskapi is statements supplying information to clarify an issue or situation for someone else. This particular variety occur less often than clarification which includes both questions and statements. An example of clarification by statement occurred when the grandmother returned from shopping one Saturday. Her granddaughter had asked her to get a small cake and started to look for it in the bags. In order to clarify the issue the grandmother used the following repetitive statement:

Gmth - There are only two I bought. I bought two.

Sh (7 yrs) - This is not the right one.
Gmth - I bought cake. (Puts small cakes on the counter).
Look these are the cakes.
Sh - (Takes two bags of chips instead.)
Gmth - Those are Solomon's, those are Solomon's, those are Solomon's" (Takes chips away from Sh.) .

(Videotape # 6)

This example provides two instances of repetitive clarification statements. The use of repetition appears to embody a tacit and additional meaning in many instances of use. The same words are used repetitively here in lieu of an elaborate explanation justifying the grandmother's action. She had bought cake as requested by her granddaughter. Additionally, the chips belonged to someone else and the grandmother's repetitive statement tacitly acknowledges this.

This particular type of clarification is also evident in the communicative interaction of Naskapi children. Upon arrival at the family's cabin the six year old boy spoke to his grandparents. "Caribou, you saw <u>two</u> caribou" (Videotape # 3). Repetition is used here in his statement which is by no means intended as a question. He clarifies how many caribou his grandparents had seen. On another occasion he and his sister were eating supper while maintaining a conversation about the appropriate way in which bread should be eaten. His sister was insistent that he finish eating the slice that he had already taken before taking another. In his repetitive response he clarifies his position that once the bread is gone she will ask her mother for more anyway.

S - If it's not there <u>bread</u>, you'll say to give you some.

If it's not there you'll say to give you some.

(Videotape # 1)

During a participant observation at the older generation caregivers' home a significant amount of time was spent looking at the catalogue from the Northern store. One of the boys (26 yrs) who still lived with his parents showed me a picture of a gun that he wished to buy. He stated that he wanted to use it for goose hunting. A little later during the same morning he showed it to me again and asked some questions. He then repeated that he wanted to use it for goose hunting (Participant Observation # 5). Justifying his need for this particular gun appeared to be the rationale for clarifying repetitively its intended use for goose hunting.

Questions

The third type of clarification consists of repeated questions aimed at eliciting specific information. This type of clarification has the most frequent occurrence. It can be divided into two sub-themes which I have labelled: Duplicate Interrogation and Rewording.

Duplicate interrogation. This type of repetitive speech is used extensively by all age groups of the Naskapi. It consists of questions that are repeated by the speaker exactly as they were originally stated. An overview of examples are provided and are easily understandable even though they are taken out of context.

Gmth - Is it cold? Is it cold? (Participant Observation #5)

F - Is it cold? Is it cold? (Videotape # 2)

S - Where is the garbage? Where is the garbage? (Videotape # 3)

D - Are you jumping? Are you jumping? (Videotape # 1)

Mary (31 yrs) - Where is Annie? Where is Annie? (Videotape # 3)

Although Naskapi do not repeat every question that they pose, this phenomenon does occur frequently as is evidenced by the examples throughout the data. There appears to be conclusive evidence that it is a socioculturally engrained feature of Naskapi discourse since all age groups habitually use duplicate interrogation in a variety of contexts.

Rewording. An additional feature of Naskapi discourse consists of an initial statement or inquiry which is repeated in a reworded form by the original speaker. Rewording serves the purpose of clarifying information for another speaker or group of speakers. It is less of an habitual act than some of the other features of Naskapi discourse.

Several examples provide a survey of the use of "Rewording" by the Naskapi. In the following example the grandmother is clarifying that her granddaughter is not used to walking around in the cabin because they had passed much of their time outside during the week.

Gmth - My goodness my grandchild is going to fall down head first. Come here, come here. It is true, we are never inside during the day. It is about time.
D - What?

Gmth - We never go inside during the day. It's about time.

(Videotape # 3)

The next example takes place at the family cabin. In this instance the mother's words illustrate the use of "Rewording".

D - Luke wasting bread. (Corrects herself) Luke is wasting bread.
M - What am I going to do with this? Am I going to throw it away?

(Videotape # 1)

On another occasion at the cabin, the son provided the following example of "Rewording". Mom, if there were six rooms would you like it? (Speaking about the cabin) Jonah would sleep in one, eh? This would have to be big. Would you like it if the cabin was big (Videotape # 2)? Another example is provided by the father. He asks, "Could this be given to Luke? Did you give this to Luke?" (Videotape # 3). An additional example is illustrated by the grandmother as she speaks to her grandson.

Gmth - What are you looking for in there?
Solomon (5 yrs) - Nothing.
Gmth - What do you want to look at in there?
Solomon - She is funny, I'm just holding it.

(Videotape # 3)

"Rewording," as seen by the preceding examples, can be used in a variety of different contexts. For the Naskapi community it is actively used by all generational levels. The primary function of "Rewording" is to focus the audience on the meaning that the speaker's words are intended to convey.

A secondary use is to be heard, or more specifically, to be listened to. Support for this position is provided by a Naskapi

woman in her 50's when she explains the use of repetition in Naskapi communication.

> OGC - Of course they really want to be heard, that's why they do this eh. . . .
> ITV - Really want to be heard, eh?
> OGC - Yes, when they keep repeating the same thing, it's because they really want to be heard.
>
> (Interview # 2)

Evidence for this position is available in the conversation between the grandmother and her grandson. The grandmother wanted him to stay out of his bag of clothes while they were in the bush, unless he really needed something. Her grandson's response that he was looking for "Nothing" was unacceptable. Therefore, she reworded her question and he stopped looking in the bag and replied that he was just holding it.

Iterative Requests

An additional feature of repetition I have titled "Iterative Requests". Iterative Requests are differentiated from the subtheme "Duplicate Interrogation" in that interrogation infers that a question is asked. However, Iterative Requests require the intended audience either to perform some activity such as waiting, listening, coming, or to stop performing an activity. For the Naskapi, their requests are replete with repetition. It is a phenomenon that I observed informally at the local stores, in school, in their homes, and in their places of work. Furthermore, there is a wealth of evidence provided in the data.

I have divided Iterative Requests into three subthemes: Simple requests, negative requests, and repetitive negotiation.

In an effort to understand and explain repetition in Naskapi discourse I talked with many Naskapi and non-Naskapi. During a conversation with one Naskapi woman in her 40's she remarked that she would not use repetition with her husband. I asked if she thought that was true of most adults. She agreed that it was rarely used between adults. In the ensuing discussion we determined that the occurrence of repetitive Naskapi discourse could be classified in the following manner:

Speaker ---> Adult ----------> Child <--- Receiver
Child ----------> Adult
Child ----------> Child

Throughout the data there were numerous instances where Iterative Requests were used. However, in only two cases did an adult repeat a request to another adult. In both instances the speaker was the same. Therefore, it is safe to assume that Iterative Requests between two adults occur rarely during Naskapi communicative interaction.

Simple requests. During Participant Observation # 1 two children started to run around at the cabin. Their grandmother reacted by repeating the word Wiitimiihch (Outside) three times and then she gently pushed them out the door. On another occasion at the primary family's home the mother made toast for

the children for breakfast. When she set the plate on the table she said, "Chiyaam, chiyaam, chiyaam, chiyaam" (go easy) Participant Observation # 2). These two examples illustrate the use of Iterative Requests in two different contexts by two generations of Naskapi.

I also observed the use of Iterative Requests by Naskapi men as well as women. On one occasion at the cabin a grandchild (1 yr) put a mothball in her mouth. Her grandmother and aunt took it away from her and the following conversation immediately followed this event.

Gfth - Come here, come here, come here.
Gmth - Don't touch it.
Aunt - Here is your milk, milk.
Gfth - She doesn't even feel it when she falls. Come here, come here, come here, come here.

(Videotape # 3)

The grandfather's request is repeated initially three times and then four times. Overt use of repetitive requests was also evident in the father's speech. While at the cabin he made the following request, "Come on kids, eat, eat, eat, eat" (Videotape # 2). The preceding examples have been presented as evidence that Iterative Requests are used by older and younger generation caregivers of both gender and in more than one context. Additionally, I noted its use by children towards each other and in their requests to adults.

The son used it in a request to his father when he was getting ready to go outside their cabin.

F - Is it snowing?
S - No. Pass the <u>Warriors</u> things, dad. Pass the <u>Warriors</u>

things, dad.

(Videotape # 2)

The daughter used it towards her brother and he used it with her as is evidenced by the next two examples.

S - Look at me.
D - Bring, I'll start. . . bring, bring, bring.

(Videotape # 1)

S - You, over here, Mr. Banks. I'll fish here. It's a snag. It's a snag. It's a snag. I got a lake trout. Rena, hurry up. Rena, hurry up. My thing is coming in.

(Videotape # 2)

Negative requests. A feature of Iterative Requests that occurs as frequently as Simple Requests is Negative Requests. A Negative Request occurs when an interlocutor makes a request to limit or terminate the actions of the intended audience. Both the older and younger generation caregivers use it in their communicative interaction with children.

Gmth - Don't bother him, don't bother him, don't bother him. Here is yours. Machees, Machees (1 yr old girl's nickname).

S - Just a minute. I'm looking for my can.
Gfth - Don't take it outside, don't take it outside, don't take it outside, don't take it outside, don't take it outside.

M - Don't touch that.
D - I want to eat it.
M - Don't touch that, don't touch that. Eat it after.

(Videotape # 3)

F - Luke, don't climb up, don't climb up. You'll blow off the shed. Rena, get down from there.

(Videotape # 2)

Evidence is available in the data to illustrate that

children use requests that were intended to limit the actions of others. However, there is no support in the sections of data that I had translated to indicate that they repeated these requests with adults or with other children. While this evidence is not conclusive it suggests that children rarely use "Negative Iterative Requests".

Repetitive negotiation. On a number of occasions I became aware of a communicative feature which is primarily used between children and adults, although I have also noted its use on occasion by adults with other adults. This feature, which is actually a routine, involves a request or several requests which are reiterated over a period of time during a specific communicative interaction. This communicative interaction may take place in as little time as a minute or it may extend over the period of a couple days.

The negotiation usually centres on a specific desire of one of the interlocutors. The nature of adult-child relationships often predetermines that the child is usually the one who desires. One example of this took place in the local grocery store. A Naskapi mother in her 30's was shopping with her six year old daughter. The girl repeatedly asked her mother for "One dollar" over a period of fifteen minutes. The mother's response was always, "No" until finally she took a five dollar bill out of her wallet, gave it to her daughter and asked her not to bother her any more. In this socially negotiated interaction the repetitive verbal actions of the child helped to determine an

outcome which was decidedly in her favour.

One of the best examples of repetition that appeared in the data was provided by the grandmother with her granddaughter at the cabin. A grandson had been bothering this particular granddaughter. Therefore, she tried to constrain her from playing with the other children by having her sit beside her on the sofa. At one point the activity of the other children was too much and the girl got up and went into the bedroom with the other children. Over a period of 30 seconds the grandmother repeated the name of the granddaughter eight times in an attempt to have her return to the sofa. Finally, after the eighth time she made an additional statement and the granddaughter returned and asked what she wanted (Videotape # 4).

A Naskapi man in his 20's explained the use of repetition in terms of the listener. "They pretend they don't hear you and they don't listen well" (Interview # 1). While this statement has merit and may be partially true, the use of repetition in cases like the previous example, may be more fully explained as a negotiating device used equally by the receiver of the message and the interlocutor. In most cases the receiver hears and decodes the intended meaning from the interlocutor's message. Instead of acting immediately he or she chooses to negotiate with the interlocutor as a means of achieving a mutually satisfactory outcome.

In another incident the younger generation family were visiting the grandparents at Kaachikayach. The children and some

of their cousins were also present. As we sat around I observed the following interaction.

(The son was running around the cabin.)
F - Luke, Luke. (S continued running.)
M & F - (simultaneously) Luke, Luke.
(S stopped running momentarily, then started again.)
M - Luke, Luke.
F - Luke, Luke.
(S stopped running but started again after 20 sec.)
F - Luke.
M - Luke.
(After a pause, S runs again)
F - Luke. (pause) Luke. (pause) Luke, Luke.

(Participant Observation # 2)

This exchange continued with the grandparents and the other children also becoming participants in this "Repetitive Negotiation". While no overt request was made by their son, his implicit desire was to be able to run around and enjoy himself. His parents' concern on the other hand was to protect him from danger should he fall and also to avoid disturbing the social well-being of the others in the cabin. Maintaining a status of well-being for everyone, involved negotiating the limits of the parents restricting power and the degree of freedom permissable for their son.

On another occasion the mother was at home with a visitor. Her son came home and she asked him to go on an errand for her. The ensuing "Repetitive Negotiation" lasted for approximately 30 seconds and follows:

M - Oooo, he wants to get paid for it.
S - Money. . . inaudible (holds out his hand).
M - When you come back you'll get paid.
S - Ahhh.
M - When you get back, you can go to the store. I'll set up something. Maybe your grandmother is going to the meeting.

S - 3.75, minimum.
M - Oooo.
S - Give it to me, yes.
M - No, (inaudible)... I can only give you two dollars.
S - Kiiyaw (euphemism for chalice).
M - I have no money.
S - What about 2.50?
M - I'll give it to you. Ask your grandmother, she'll probably go to the meeting.
S - Who?

(Videotape # 5B)

The child's "Iterative Request" is not so much contained in the words which he speaks as it is in the meaning behind those words. The idea, which is really what is being reiterated throughout the text is that the boy wants some money. Other examples of this type of repetitive negotiation are available in the data. I report on some of them in the chapter on Confrontation.

Teasing and Repetition

Another area where I have highlighted the use of repetition is in the teasing routines of the Naskapi. While teasing routines do not occupy a predominant place in the data, repetition is noticeable in the majority of cases where teasing takes place.

The grandmother was keeping a one year old grandchild at the cabin. A visiting Naskapi woman teased the girl about bringing her mother with them, which they had not done. (Speaking to 1 yr old girl) "You are going to go and see Caroline. Come here, come here." (Pulls the baby up onto her

lap. The baby resists and whines. The woman kisses the girl repeatedly.) "Your mother, your mother, your mother. We brought Caroline, we brought Caroline. Caroline is in the truck." (The girl continues to whine and the woman lets her go.)

(Videotape # 3 - Naskapi woman in her 40's)

In this instance the teasing routine appears to be a way in which the adult hardens the child for life and the teasing which will increase as she grows older.

On another occasion the father had made some small boats out of styrofoam for the children. They were all beside the lake watching them float and playing with them. He didn't want the children to go too far away so he made the following comments: "Don't go over there. Somebody will grab you, somebody will grab you. Stay around here, stay around here." (Videotape # 2) This example of teasing is the father's way of limiting the actions of his children for their own well-being. However, his restrictive words, "Don't go over there" and "Stay around here" are softened by teasing them about someone grabbing them. His verbal repetition may be due to a socioculturally engrained feature of Naskapi communication, or it may be employed as a means of emphasizing his requests.

Another example is provided by the son and his grandfather. The son came in the cabin and asked a question concerning someone. His grandfather replied, "You" and his eyes sparkled. The son repeated his question and the grandfather repeated the same response and laughed. The interchange is then interrupted

by the grandmother who calls the other children who are playing outside. The son then repeats his question and his grandfather laughed again without making a verbal response.

I observed similar exchanges involving repetition and teasing between the son and grandfather. They were usually initiated by the grandfather based on some request by the son. His rationale for using teasing may have been to avoid potentially contentious issues which could be dismissed merely by using a repetitive teasing routine.

An additional example is provided in the interaction between the parents and their two school age children while at their cabin. The children had been play fighting and the son pretended to cry. His father smiled and teased him by repeating the word, "Beebee" (baby) (Participant Observation # 1). While their interaction was of a playful nature, the father's repetition carried a serious message. A message intended to harden the child so that he would realize that crying was not an appropriate behaviour for a Naskapi boy of his age.

Repetition as a Teaching Method

In pre and early post-contact with Euro-Canadian society the Naskapi maintained their traditionally cyclical way of life. This distinctive way of life that centred on the hunt for caribou, was permeated by repetition. Repetition that followed the cycle of the seasons, repetition that followed the cycle of

the weather, and repetition that followed the cycle of the animals. It penetrated the indigenous tasks of their daily lives whose etiological basis stemmed from following those cycles.

Owing to the fact that the Naskapi left their nomadic way of life relatively recently in comparison with many aboriginal groups (Brockman, 1970), there are many elders in the community whose teaching skills are predicated on traditional knowledge and experiences. Despite the influence of formal schooling, there is significant evidence that many middle-aged and younger Naskapi continue to exemplify communicative features markedly different from the mainstream population.

Repetition has been identified as a communicative feature in other cultures that possess oral traditions (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). For the Naskapi, it is a tacit indigenous method of teaching. During the formal interviews, no Naskapi overtly identified repetition as a cultural feature of their teaching. However, during a formal interview (# 6) a Naskapi man in his 30's expressed his feeling that their present use of repetition derived from their oral tradition. This explanation was also corroborated during an informal interview with a Naskapi woman in her 40's. There are indications that repetition was, and still remains a significant factor in Naskapi teaching and learning. I identified three basic types of repetition in the teaching of the Naskapi. They are: "Copying", "Manual Repetition", and "Verbal Repetition".

Copying

One elder talked about how he used to make things that were needed when the Naskapi still lived nomadically. He stated that, "Sometimes someone can make things just by looking at it, not even by watching someone making it" (Interview # 4, Naskapi Man in his 50's). He explained how he made a copy of a toy just by taking it apart and looking at it. He further explained that,

> Everything could be like that, snowshoe. You could make it just by looking at it. . . . You find how the person weaved. You try it, you copy the way she or he weaved. . . . And see the writing of Naskapi, I wasn't taught. I used to go to church, and I asked the priest for a hymn book . . . and when the page was named for the hymn to be sung I tried to memorize it, the way it was pronounced. I knew what it was in speaking the way I understood it.
>
> (Interview # 4)

In another interview an elder spoke of the use of copying by young Naskapi today and how this aspect of learning could be used beneficially to teach about life in the bush. He explained, "They copy each other. . . they could copy from the people who are teaching them. And if one child already knows these things, he could then pass it on to his peers" (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's).

Other elders spoke of another different way of copying that was used frequently.

> I was never taught. All I did was watch how it was done, eh, furs..., all I did was watch someone do it.
>
> (Interview # 2 - Naskapi woman in her 50's)
>
> That's how we learned by just watching.
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi woman in her 50's)

> Women too used to go on ice fishing trips with the men, so they copied from the men.
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

The primary examples here are women. The possibility exists that gender specific work was taught in different ways. Older Naskapi men indicated that they learned both by watching and being told. Naskapi women indicated that they copied from others. However, this evidence is not conclusive. Nevertheless, copying formed an important part of the repetitive cycle of their lives.

Manual Repetition

Several Naskapi indicated that the daily tasks of their lives were replete with repetition. Many of the Naskapi learned by copying, however, they perfected what they learned by manual repetition of these tasks. A Naskapi man in his 50's said, "You had to make it yourself, but you were never satisfied with it. You had to make it again and again" (Interview # 4). Another Naskapi man in his 50's spoke indirectly about the manual repetition involved in his wife's work of preparing the furs. "She was alone to clean and stretch all the furs we caught. Marten, there must have been over 200. I alone caught 126 marten, eh and 54 mink . . . she's good at it" (Interview # 5).

During a participant observation I noticed a six year old Naskapi girl using manual repetition. She was making designs with a string. Often she had difficulty and she went to her grandfather or grandmother to get help. They would show her how

to make the design. She then repeated it. Each time that she had difficulty, she went back to her grandparents and they showed her again how to make the design.

Verbal Repetition

I have already demonstrated that verbal repetition is a feature of Naskapi discourse. It is also employed as a direct teaching method by the Naskapi. One elder explained its use as follows:

> Elder - A child is told if you think he isn't doing it right.
> ITV - Yes, that's it.
> Elder - He doesn't understand what he was told, like you said now, eh, and you teach him again. This time you go with him to make him understand what you wanted him to know. You say, `I sent you, this is what you called. . . .'
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

Additionally, he explained that verbal repetition was used in combination with the assignment of more of the same tasks for children who did not listen to what they were taught. In this way children were helped to understand the importance of learning how to do things properly. In order to survive in the bush it was essential that the children achieve the objectives set for them by the elders. Some of the young Naskapi learned quickly, others learned after much repetition. Two phrases repeated throughout one of the interviews provide a fitting closing to this chapter. "There's a lot to be taught . . . there's a lot to be learned" (Interview # 4 Naskapi man in his 50's).

Chapter 8

CONFRONTATION

Unlike the category "Repetition", I did not overtly identify "Confrontation" as an initial sensitizing concept. It grew out of several sensitizing concepts until it emerged as a complete and separate category.

Confrontation in the Naskapi culture, as in any culture, is the result of the habitual contact of one human being with another, or of one human being attempting to come to terms with his conscience. Confrontation therefore, is a typical feature of every culture. However, differences in the way people from various communities have been socialized, result in procedures for dealing with confrontation which are atypical in relation to other communities. I identified several techniques which the Naskapi utilize in confrontational situations. These techniques consist of a variety of responses which I have classified under "Verbal" and "Nonverbal Responses".

Verbal Responses

Verbal responses employed by the Naskapi can be further subdivided into several distinct methods of dealing with confrontation. These are: Verbal Restraint, Raising the Voice, Threats, Repetition, Presenting Reasons, Distracting, Teasing,

and Legends or Stories.

Verbal Restraint

One method of dealing with confrontation that is used frequently by the Naskapi is a simple verbal request meant to restrain the actions of the intended audience. Verbal restraint is also often coupled with repetitive discourse as a means of emphasizing the desired action. The words used by the Naskapi frequently carry a hidden meaning which is usually inferred by the one who receives the request. For example, parents often repeat the name of their child with no other verbal command. The tacit message understood by the child is that the parent desires them to stop engaging in their present activity. However, this is not always the case and the message behind the request may just as often be straightforward as the following examples which have been taken out of context illustrate.

M - Be quiet, Luke (Videotape # 1).

Gfth - Stop, I said. (Participant Observation # 5)

F - Get down from there, Luke. (Videotape # 1)

Gmth - Get away. (Videotape # 3)

Each request was simple, direct, and addressed to a child. The purpose was to restrain the present activity of the child. These types of verbally restraining requests were used almost entirely by adults with children. Children did not use them with adults and adults rarely with other adults.

Raising the Voice

"Raising the Voice" refers to projecting the voice or speaking in which the decibel level of the voice is increased from that of the normal speaking voice. This verbal feature is used often among the Naskapi. To many outsiders it may seem like a very atypical type of behaviour. For the Naskapi it is considered typical as explained by one Naskapi woman in her 30's. "Naskapi women often talk loud. It may sound like we're mad, but we're not. That's just the way we talk a lot of the time. That's just our way" (Informal Interview). Her statement is corroborated by a Naskapi man in his 30's.

> Naskapi women like to talk a lot. They talk loudly too, especially when they get off the train. I have a Montagnais friend in Sept-Iles who says he likes to go to the train station just to hear the Naskapi women when they get off the train.
>
> (Informal Interview)

The father in the study used this particular feature very rarely. I only found one instance in the data where he raised his voice. This was towards his son who reacted in such a way that I was able to determine that his father raised his voice very rarely. The mother raised her voice often as did her mother and to a lesser degree her father. On one occasion the children were running around in the house. Their father restrained them verbally and they stopped. Their mother was in the basement and when she came upstairs she raised her voice and restrained them verbally even though they had already stopped running around (Videotape # 3). On another occasion the daughter spilled her

rice while eating. Her mother raised her voice and got after her for making a mess (Participant Observation # 1). Her father who was present, said nothing.

Raising the voice was used more rarely between adults. On one occasion the mother asked her mother for a cigarette. However, the grandmother had recently quit smoking and although I did not understand her response she did raise her voice. Her daughter then asked somebody else for a cigarette.

Threats

Verbal threats were used very rarely but they did occur. When the son and daughter were having an argument about a pencil the mother mentioned their father's belt and then they were both quiet. While we were at the family cabin the following example occurred.

> Gmth - Luke is tearing up the tar paper on top of the shed and throwing it away.
> M - (Goes to the door) Luke get down from there. (Gets son)
> Gmth - They took my bag. Who did this?
> Solomon - Luke comes out.
> M - There is no plastic bag.
> L - Look at me I want to eat.
> M - Smarten up or I'll hit you again.
>
> (Videotape # 3)

Another example is provided by another Naskapi woman in her 30's who visited at the cabin with her children. When her four year old boy came in from outside she said, "Sit down Padous or I'll spank you. Do you hear?" (Videotape # 3)

In no instances did I observe a threat of a physical nature being carried out. They appeared to serve as a discourse device aimed

at restraining the child.

Repetitive Responses

Although I discussed repetition in the previous chapter it is not a discreet entity but permeates Naskapi discourse in many ways. Repetitive responses is one way in which the Naskapi approach situations of conflict.

I have already presented several examples of this particular technique under the section "Repetitive Negotiation". However, I will present one more here. This particular incident took place over a period of approximately three hours. We went to the family's cabin at Kaachikayach. In the main living room area there was a large spool of new rope that the father was going to use during the week for setting his net. During the course of our time there the children each repeatedly asked for a piece of the rope. The children's requests continued even when visitors arrived. The adult visitors became involved in the confrontation repeating the parents' response of "No" and trying to take the rope away from the children. Other techniques of dealing with this confrontational issue were also used but the verbal response "No" was repeated throughout the three hour duration of our stay. The children's requests were not satisfied and they did not succeed in getting a piece of the rope although attempts were made to appease them in other ways by the adult visitors and parents.

Presenting Reasons

A technique for dealing with confrontation that is frequently used by the Naskapi is to present reasons why a particular behaviour cannot or should not be engaged in. This was especially evident in the father's discourse. The best example was provided during a two day stay in the bush at the family's cabin. During our stay the children gravitated towards a favourite play area outside on the roof of a shed. It became the centre of confrontation between the parents and the children. The children wished to play there but the parents were concerned about their safety. The following episode is typical of the interaction which took place between the father and the children concerning this conflict.

> F - (Comes out of the cabin & S is using a ladder to go up on the roof of the shed.) Luke, Luke, you're going to get hurt.
> D - I want to try too.
> F - Hospital is far away, dispensary, Luke you're going to get hurt. Luke, Luke, Luke, dangerous. (S gets on the roof)
> F - You little devil, you will get hurt.
>
> (Videotape # 1)

The father does not physically restrict them from engaging in their activity but presents several reasons why he feels they should cease their present activity. This same conflict was dealt with almost ten times during our stay. Additionally, it resurfaced a month later during a participant observation. On only one occasion when the wind was exceptionally strong were the children physically removed from the cabin. On all of the other occasions he presented reasons why they should not be on the

roof. His reasons from the segments which were translated are presented here.

1. The hospital is far away.
2. You are going to get hurt.
3. It's dangerous
4. There are nails on the roof. (ie. You'll get hurt.)
5. You are going to hook yourselves.
6. You'll get hurt.
7. It is going to be painful when you break a leg.
8. (Speaks to M) There's no bandage, right?
9. You'll blow off from there.
(A piece of plywood standing beside the shed blows over.)
10. See that blew down from the strong gust of wind.
11. I won't have time to take you to the hospital, right Rebecca?
12. You'll get hurt when you fall from there.
13. You'll get stuck there.
14. Hurry up Rena, get down. My goose will get burned. (F is trying to smoke a goose over a fire.)

(Videotape # 1)

15. (The parents hid the ladder on another occasion and the children used a large plank to try and get up on the roof. When F came out of the cabin the daughter was trying to go up the plank to get on the roof. He spoke to her and showed her his hands to demonstrate that she would get slivers in her hands if she didn't stop.)

(Participant Observation # 1)

The father often used this technique in other situations. When his daughter wanted to get some candy from the cupboard he asked her a question about the dentist and then confirmed it with his son who agreed with him that she would have to go to the dentist if she ate too much candy (Participant Observation # 3). One day his son wanted to drive the ski-doo but he said, "No" and explained that they just had $300 of repairs done.

Other Naskapi also provided reasons when limiting the activity of another individual as is illustrated in the following examples.

M - Those aren't yours, don't touch them.

(Videotape # 3)

S - Don't touch it, you'll dirty it up.

(Videotape # 3)

The grandfather used my videotaping as a reason to curtail the behaviour of his grandson.

Gfth - The boss (Researcher) is going to see it Luke.

One evening I took the children to the rink to go skating. When I arrived, I discovered that the skating was only for adults. I asked a Naskapi friend to explain this to the children and to tell them that I would take them some day after school. I was very surprised that neither one of them complained or even appeared disappointed at all. They got their things ready to go just as happily as when they had come. Their acceptance of this situation may be directly related to their socialization by their caregivers, especially their father who often stated reasons for restricting an activity.

Distracting

Another Naskapi technique uses frequently to avoid confrontation is to distract the other individual, usually a child. Distraction is used to turn the attention of the individual away from the confrontational issue. When the children were fighting over a piece of styrofoam which they both wanted to play with, their mother used an "Iterative Request" but

their father used a distractive discourse device which effectively solved the problem. The example follows:

> M - (To D) Give it back to him, give it back to him, give it back to him.
> F - Luke, the Whisky-jack took the bread you put there. It flew over there. Go check for more bread.
> S - Come on.
> D - I'll go play over there.
>
> (Videotape # 2)

Another example was provided while at the cabin. We were staying the weekend and the children were discussing where they were going to sleep. The daughter, baby and the parents were going to sleep in one bedroom and the son and myself in another. The son wanted to sleep in the same room as his parents and tried to persuade his mother to let him. She would not, so he turned to his father instead. "My dad and I will sleep with you, right? Right, dad? (Videotape # 1) The father responded by telling him to go play and his son changed his activity.

I observed a third example of adults using distraction as a means of alleviating a potential for conflict. During the sequence which I explained under "Repetitive Responses" in which the children repeatedly asked for a piece of the rope the father and another Naskapi man in his 40's used a distractive device. Outside the cabin they removed pieces of rope that were tied on the back of the ski-doo. These they gave to the children to play with in lieu of a piece of the new rope. This attempt worked momentarily but when the children returned inside the cabin they renewed their requests for a piece of the rope (Participant

Observation # 1).

Teasing

Teasing is a frequent discourse device utilized by many of the Naskapi. On one occasion it was used to lighten the mood in a potential confrontation. While visiting the grandparents at a cabin the mother told the children to go outside and play. Their grandfather told them that an owl would get them. The daughter replied, "I will kick it." and she showed the appropriate actions. Everyone laughed as the children went outside.

Another example was provided at the family's cabin when the son was washing his hands. After a series of instructions from his mother about how to wash, the following episode occurred.

M - Luke, dry your hands well.
L - I'm not going to die, if I don't dry them.
F - Say, you are going to be dirty when you die. (They all laugh.)

(Videotape # 1)

As demonstrated by the preceding examples, teasing in some circumstances is used as an effective discourse device to decrease the potential for heightening conflict.

Legends or Stories

Another discourse device used among the Naskapi in confrontational situations are "Legends" or "Stories". However, the Naskapi rationale for utilizing legends is not restricted to this specific purpose. Legends fill a much broader spectrum of uses from simple entertainment to general didactic functions.

While visiting early one evening at a cabin with the grandparents, the son began to whistle. His grandfather told him repeatedly not to whistle and recounted the following legend.

> One night many years ago there were some Inuit who whistled (fooling around) at the northern lights to make them move in the sky and they were killed. When they were found their faces were a bright yellow green colour, just like the northern lights. From then on the Naskapi did not whistle at night.

(Participant Observation # 2)

The son's immediate response to his grandfather was that he was lying (joking). However, two Naskapi men in their 20's corroborated grandfather's story. He refrained from whistling until later in the evening when he started to whistle and his grandfather immediately told him to stop.

One Naskapi man in his 50's recounted the following way of resolving a conflict if a Naskapi woman was lazy and didn't want to get up after her husband went hunting.

> And when you don't want to get up they'll ask, "Why won't you get up? And you ask, "Why?" They respond, "Don't you think about your husband?" And you say, "Of course I think of him, he's already gone." And they say, "You're holding what he's supposed to be hunting under you. He won't get anything if you don't get up." It's said long ago, a woman she was a late sleeper. She got up and pulled off her blanket and she acted like she was seeing animals of every kind. An old man said to her, "You see them, that's what your husband is hunting and you're sleeping on them." You see another thing, not to be lazy.

(Interview # 4)

Conflict resolution for the Naskapi takes many forms with some forms used more frequently than others and with varying results. The various verbal responses which I have identified concerning Naskapi discourse are not intended as stereotypes.

Therefore, it should be understood that these are the major components which I have identified in their speech patterns. Other techniques may exist and in any given communicative interaction a variety of verbal and nonverbal responses can be, and are utilized by the Naskapi. Nevertheless, beside the verbal techniques, several nonverbal techniques are utilized by the Naskapi in isolation or in combination with verbal responses in situations of conflict or potential confrontation.

Nonverbal Responses

I have classified nonverbal responses in two divisions. The first division is "Physical Action". The second I refer to as "Physical Provision". Physical Provision could also be classified under Verbal Responses but I chose not to, since it does contain a physical component.

Physical Action

In certain situations of conflict the Naskapi support the use of physical action to deter a child from engaging in specific behaviour. I had heard conflicting stories about the Naskapi belief system concerning physically punishing a child. These misconceptions came mainly from non-Naskapi who had worked with the Naskapi for a number of years and considered themselves authorities on issues relating to the Naskapi. However, conflicting views came from the Naskapi themselves as is

illustrated by the father's words. "It is a problem to know what to do about discipline" (Videotape # 1). He related how he had punished his son by not allowing him to go out of the house for a period of time. The paternal grandmother came looking for her grandson who had often visited her. When she asked why her grandson had not visited her the father explained that he had punished him.

> She didn't say anything she just looked at me and I knew what that look meant, we had discussed this issue before. The older people say punishment should not be used because the bond of love should not be broken. If the parents take good care of the children, then the children will take good care of the parents when they are older and need help. This is their thinking about this.

A Naskapi woman in her 40's shared a similar story. "I had a lot of problems when my parents first moved in with me, they didn't want me to spank my daughter." (Informal Interview)

With comments like these, I expected that the responses from the older generation caregivers during the formal interviews would clarify a position against physically punishing a child. However, they were unanimous in stating that children should be spanked and that presently children are not spanked but they used to be. When I went back to the father and told him the results of the interviews he expressed his continuing perplexity with this issue. "They tell us not to spank the children, but they spanked us" (Informal Interview). By looking more closely at the interaction in the daily lives of the Naskapi and by examining closely the responses of the elders and the younger generation, some of this confusion can be clarified.

I have divided the physical actions of the Naskapi into three specific areas. These include spanking, pushing, and removal of stimuli.

Spanking. Both generations of caregivers support the use of spanking. One younger generation couple maintained that they do not punish their children. The others were unanimous in supporting the use of spanking as evidenced by the responses below.

> It was like that for other children too, being spanked so he was afraid. . . and now kids are not being punished enough.
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

> I told them kids always get spanked for bad things and wrong they did.
>
> (Interview # 2 - Naskapi woman in her 50's)

> W - If he did that I would hit him. . . .
> ITV - Where would you hit him?
> W - I would spank his hand.
>
> (Interview # 1 - Naskapi woman in her 20's)

> And of course us too, we used to get spanked if we didn't do what we were told to do. . . . It used to be done like this, my shirt was pulled back and was hit directly with a branch.
>
> (Interview # 2 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

> I think they should get the belt sometimes.
>
> (Participant Observation # 4 - Naskapi woman in her 20's)

> A child was spanked for doing these things.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

All of these quotations support the use of spanking. However, they do not indicate the context for the use of spanking. One Naskapi man in particular (Interview # 4) was very

helpful in indicating the contexts in which spanking is and is not appropriate.

His explanation clarifies the seeming controversy between the older and younger generation beliefs about physical punishment of children. He maintained that small children were never spanked. Only when a child is old enough to understand and be accountable for his or her actions were they spanked. Additionally, a child was not to be spanked, punished or restrained in any way for messing up the tent or house. This was stipulated by the older women in the past. Even in the past the younger generation at first resisted this stipulation and wanted to spank the children for making a mess and getting into everything. The older women did not allow it but maintained that those children who were allowed to be active and make messes were already learning and they would not be lazy when they got older.

> And when a child is big, he drops something in the water let's say, or breaks some things. That's when to spank him because he destroyed it or ruined something that is important, a rifle let's say, or a chisel.
>
> (Interview # 4)

This elder also indicated that children were spanked if they stole something. The parents of the child were also obligated to make restitution for whatever was stolen. Spankings were also deemed justifiable when mockery occurred.

> It was forbidden for anyone to laugh at other people, to do wrong to them, to make a face to them, or even to spit at them. It was forbidden. . . . A parent seeing his child make a face to another child, and the child can be stopped. And the child can be stopped. He never repeats this again. That was why there wasn't much hatred.

(Interview # 4)

In situations where the Naskapi child endangers his or her life they are made to understand the meaning of the word dangerous. A non-Naskapi couple who have a cabin close to many other Naskapi cabins told me of the only occasion where they witnessed a Naskapi caregiver spank a child. It was early in the Spring when there is water gathering on the ice on the lake. A four year old Naskapi boy was told not to go on the ice especially near the hole where the family got its water. He didn't listen and when the grandmother found him playing near the water hole she hit him with her hand on his head, his face, and all over his body. Later, when another Naskapi man in his 50's came by the grandmother told him what had happened and he also hit the child repeatedly.

From the preceding information it is possible to determine that in the recent past the Naskapi practised spanking of children who were older. These spankings took place when there was immediate danger to the child or when he lost or broke something valuable or if they stole something. Additionally, children who made fun of others in any way were spanked. Although these practices are still maintained by some Naskapi, their belief system has been influenced by various internal and external influences, such as formal schooling, the media, social services and the church. Thus, the conflict between the older and younger generation concerning child discipline has been initiated and perpetuated.

Pushing. I recorded a few occasions when a child was pushed by a caregiver. These were not violent acts but simple procedures aimed at deterring a child from engaging in specific undesirable behaviour.

On one occasion the children were running around and making noise inside the cabin. The grandmother spoke to them telling them to go outside and gently but firmly pushed them out the door. The grandfather used the same procedure when the children were making noise and carrying on in the bedroom at the cabin. He spoke to them and gently but firmly pushed them out of the bedroom into the living room area of the cabin (Participant Observation # 1).

On another occasion the daughter was outside the cabin trying to start the ski-doo which she had been told not to do. Her father asked her mother to get the key. When the mother went outside the girl started to run away and the mother tried to push her down in the snow and narrowly missed her. The girl fell and the mother made no further attempt to punish her (Participant Observation # 3).

Pushing the Naskapi child can therefore be considered one of the Naskapi nonverbal techniques of dealing with conflict. Although it is rarely used, evidence from the data demonstrates it does exist.

Removal of stimuli. In the previous example the father asked the mother to get the key from the ski-doo. This is one instance where a stimulus was removed in an effort to avoid

potential confrontation. This technique is practised frequently among the Naskapi. Another example was provided when the children were arguing over eating a can of fruit. When the son drew it to his parents attention the mother took the can away from both of them (Videotape # 2). A similar example was provided when the son was blowing a toy whistle in the house. His mother told him to hurry and get ready. When he blew the whistle again she took it away from him (Participant Observation # 2).

When some visitors arrived at the family's cabin a young girl (4 yrs) went to the cooler where the family kept their food and took an orange. When a Naskapi woman in her 40's noticed, she took the orange away from the child and prevented her from going near the cooler again (Participant Observation # 1).

An additional example was provided by the mother. She told me that she always kept a nice cassette player at the cabin so the kids would not play with it and break it at their house (Participant Observation # 2).

Physical Provision

One feature of Naskapi life that is distinct from many other communities is their position about giving. Many young people still maintain these beliefs to a certain extent. For many Naskapi, if they have a certain possession and somebody asks for it, they are obligated to give it to the person. Like many other areas of their life and culture, this practice has been modified

due to a variety of influences. Nevertheless, it is still evident in the older generation and in a different way among the younger generation.

Typical responses from the formal interview question about giving are provided below.

> M - I would give it to him, of course . . . .
> ITV - And if he wants you to give something like your rifle.
> M - I would give it to him of course. He asked me for it, he really wanted it, let's say, rather than to let him down....
> ITV - Okay, let's say someone asks you for money and says I want to buy beer.
> M - For that, things that are dangerous I don't agree for someone to buy. I want to buy something if someone says who is an alcoholic. If he told me what it is, I would go to the store.

(Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

> M - If I had it, I would give it to them, eh. If I had it. I'm always anxious to give to someone. I don't feel right when I can't give. So many people have asked me for something or food from Sept-Iles. And I feel guilty when I can't give. I do give whatever bit I can and they're happy. But for us it's not enough, for giving or for helping someone. . . . It's not like giving anything. My thinking is like that.

(Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

> M - I would give it to them if I had two rifles. If I had two of the same kind, and if I knew he was poor and if he asked me for it. I would gladly give it to him, and if I had money that he wanted, if I had a little more to use later when I needed it, I would gladly give it to him. . . .
> W - Yes, I would give it to them. Of course, if he was going to use it wisely.
> ITV - For money yes, what about your...
> W - My property, no I wouldn't give it to him (Laughs).

(Interview # 2 - Naskapi couple in their 50's)

One younger generation couple (in their 30's) both said that they would give money and property if they did not really need it (Interview # 3).

Another couple said they would give money to children and tell them to spend it well. For their property they would talk about it with each other first and if they really liked it they would not give it away (Interview # 1).

The third younger generation couple said the following:

> M - (In his 30's) If they ask me for money and I know they're going to make good use of it, I'd give it. If a drunk asked me I wouldn't give it. For my property I would lend, not give.
> W - (in her 20's) Yes, we even lend the things we use around the house.
>
> (Interview # 6)

When asked about doing things for other people all of the responses from the interviews corroborated the others. Responses indicated that if they had the capacity to perform a specific request, they would do it. None of the respondents indicated that they would ask for reimbursement for their services. Throughout the study there was an indication that community members relied on the specific "funds of knowledge" (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) of other community members which they did not possess themselves. For example, a unilingual Naskapi woman asked her daughter to look at a letter she had received (Videotape # 3). A young Naskapi girl relied on her grandparents funds of knowledge to show her how to make string designs (Participant Observation # 5). A Naskapi man in his 50's relied on his wife to prepare the furs which he trapped (Participant Observation # 2). A Naskapi man in his 50's told how he is often called upon by other Naskapi to use his literacy skills in English to help them understand mail that they receive. The

possession and sharing of specific skills by individuals in the community helps to maintain many of the indigenous social relationships which existed in the past when the Naskapi lived a nomadic life in closely knit family groupings (Speck, 1935).

Chapter 9

VISUAL/AUDITORY LEARNING

Many educators of aboriginal peoples and much of the literature concerning Native or aboriginal learning styles overemphasize the fact that aboriginal people are visual learners (BC Ministry of Education, 1984; John, 1972; Tippeconnic, 1989). While it is true that aboriginal people learn visually, this does not mean that auditory skills were not an important requirement in traditional teaching and learning. Neither does it mean that educators should focus on the visual "strengths" of aboriginal students to the exclusion of auditory competence. Among the Naskapi, there is a strong emphasis placed on visual teaching and learning. However, it is clear from the data which I collected that a sometimes tacit but often overt emphasis is placed on the development and use of auditory teaching and learning.

In this chapter I document examples of the indigenous teaching and learning practices which emphasize visual/auditory learning in the lives of the Naskapi. To begin with, I demonstrate that seeing and listening are integral to Naskapi learning and are synthesized in the learning process. This is followed by an explanation of the process of teaching and learning as practised by the Naskapi. Next, I show examples of several ways in which visual/auditory teaching and learning are practised by the Naskapi. These include repetition, copying,

demonstrations, literacy, asking, play, visual/auditory cues and evaluation.

Importance of Seeing

> ITV - How do you know when a child has already learned?
> OGCW - Of course, he must have seen it done you know. That's how he must have learned, even if it wasn't me who taught him for what he does. He must have seen someone do it, and he does it.
>
> (Interview # 2 - Naskapi woman in her 50's)

This quotation underscores the importance placed on visual learning among the Naskapi. Throughout the formal interviews there are numerous references to watching and seeing what is being taught. The older generation caregivers especially, emphasized the necessity of visual learning as a means of attaining the necessary learning objectives. Additional examples below, lend further support to the significance of visual learning for the Naskapi.

> When they don't see it they can't learn.
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

> They don't believe in it if they don't see it with their own eyes. . . . And when he sees you doing it, he'll really believe you.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

> If a child doesn't see he will never learn.
>
> (Interview # 2 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

While the father cleaned his gun in the house the children sat quietly watching every move that he made. They did not ask any

questions but remained intently focused on what he was doing (Videotape # 3).

As I mentioned previously in Chapter Seven under the section dealing with "Copying", gender specific work may have been taught in different ways. Older Naskapi women emphasized watching over listening. One Naskapi woman in her 50's maintained that "It is only by watching what other people do" (Interview # 2). This statement is corroborated by another Naskapi woman also in her 50's. She stated, "Only by watching her is how I learned to do all those things that she was teaching me" (Interview # 5).

Some of the gender specific roles for women included setting up the tent, chopping wood, preparing furs and hides, keeping the tent clean, gathering berries and herbs, being midwives and preparing meals. Additionally, they learned roles traditionally held by men because the men would often be gone for more than a month. In these circumstances they often hunted small and large game and went ice fishing. Naskapi men spoke of the women learning these roles by watching or copying the men.

Importance of Listening

Younger generation caregivers and older Naskapi men indicated that there was a synthesis of visual and auditory instruction during the teaching/learning process. The importance of listening to the explanations supplied by Naskapi teachers is given high priority among Naskapi men. This is illustrated in

the following examples:

> My father taught us to hunt, trap and fish. He told us things about hunting, trapping and fishing.
>
> (Interview # 1 - Naskapi man in his 20's)
>
> And a child who doesn't listen doesn't get any where. Even if he does get it, he doesn't do it well because he didn't listen.
>
> What we were learning, I found it very difficult, about how my uncle told me to set my traps.
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)
>
> They tried to teach me, but I didn't listen well.
>
> Interview # 6 - Naskapi man in his 30's)
>
> And the one who doesn't want to listen was gradually let go and he was the one who didn't know very much.
>
> For those whose parents didn't really listen, their parents cannot really teach them.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

Given this evidence, as well as other references to the importance of listening it is indisputable that auditory learning is a key factor in Naskapi learning situations for males. No older Naskapi women spoke of the importance of listening or talking as part of teaching. Some Naskapi men spoke on behalf of their wives and said that their caregivers had talked to them about what they were going to teach them. However, even when men spoke on behalf of Naskapi women they placed greater importance on learning by watching.

Younger Naskapi women used a synthesis of auditory and visual skills when teaching their children. During one videotaping session the mother taught her daughter how to place

the blanket in the chair for the baby. Following is the lesson:

M - Blanket, go get it, blanket.
D - Blanket, blanket, this?
M - There it is daughter, and put it here. Do it like this. (Moving her hands like she is shaking a blanket.) (Then shows her daughter how to set the blanket on the baby's chair.)

(Videotape # 1)

The next example I refer to as "Doing School" (Maguire, 1989). It took place at the family cabin in the evening. When I came in from visiting at some other cabins the mother was seated on the sofa helping the children with school related work (not homework). Initially, I thought they had arranged this for the camera since the parents knew that I was interested in teaching and learning. However, they assured me that episodes like this often took place at their house. This particular episode lasted for approximately two hours. They talked quietly together and certain sections illustrate the same synthesis of auditory and visual skills as indicated previously by the Naskapi men.

S - Mama, what is this called?
M - Look at it, look at it.
S - Oh.

M - (to son) Look at your numbers carefully. Don't you see the way nine looks? That's the way you're supposed to make nine.

(Videotape # 1)

In both of the above examples the mother requested that her son use his visual skills. However, her request is verbal. Therefore, her son had to utilize visual and auditory skills.

Younger generation Naskapi men also demonstrated a synthesis

of auditory and visual skills as is shown by the father and son during this less formal teaching episode.

F - Luke, Luke.
S - What?
F - Come here.
S - Say, generator take it over there. (The son is speaking here the words which he supposes his father will say to him.)
F - Stand there. (points to the side of the generator)
S - Here?
D - Generator.
F - Hold this
S - Yes.
D - What's this? Luke, you gave me these. (referring to her sunglasses)
F - Get ready. (Gives funnel to son)
F - Be good at what you are doing. Hold it a little this way.
S - "...." [French expletive] (because the gas was spilling on his hands).
F - Wash your hands. (inferring once they had finished)
D - I know where it is. . . inaudible Mama where. . . .
F - A last bit more.
S - (When they are finished) I'm going to wash my hands.

(Videotape # 1)

Listening and watching were both necessary learning skills that had to be employed by the son as a means of mastering the task which his father provided for him. The equivalent teaching skills of talking and showing were demonstrated by the father.

Having demonstrated that auditory and visual skills are an essential component of Naskapi teaching and learning I would like to show that a repetitive teaching and learning process is employed by the Naskapi community.

Naskapi Learning Process

As I sought to delineate how the Naskapi learned and taught,

certain significant comments that specific Naskapi people had made, provided a framework on which I could construct a model of Naskapi teaching and learning. This model is illustrated as a flowchart in Figure 3. As depicted in the flowchart, the Naskapi learner must first attend Naskapi related activities and in due process the learner will observe and hear about those activities. Support for these three aspects in the process of Naskapi learning was provided by a Naskapi man in his 50's.

> It was talked about when I was going to be taught. Then it was shown to me. It began, I was to go along.
>
> Already . . . at the very young age she or he is in learning. . . . Even if he doesn't do it, which he will do when he is at age, let's say twelve years. You're supposed to take him along when you go for a walk (in the woods). Same thing for a girl, as she gets big enough she watches and does what you do, when you take her along and starts doing what you do. So you really start teaching them when you see them starting to do things. You tell them if they make mistakes.

(Interview # 4)

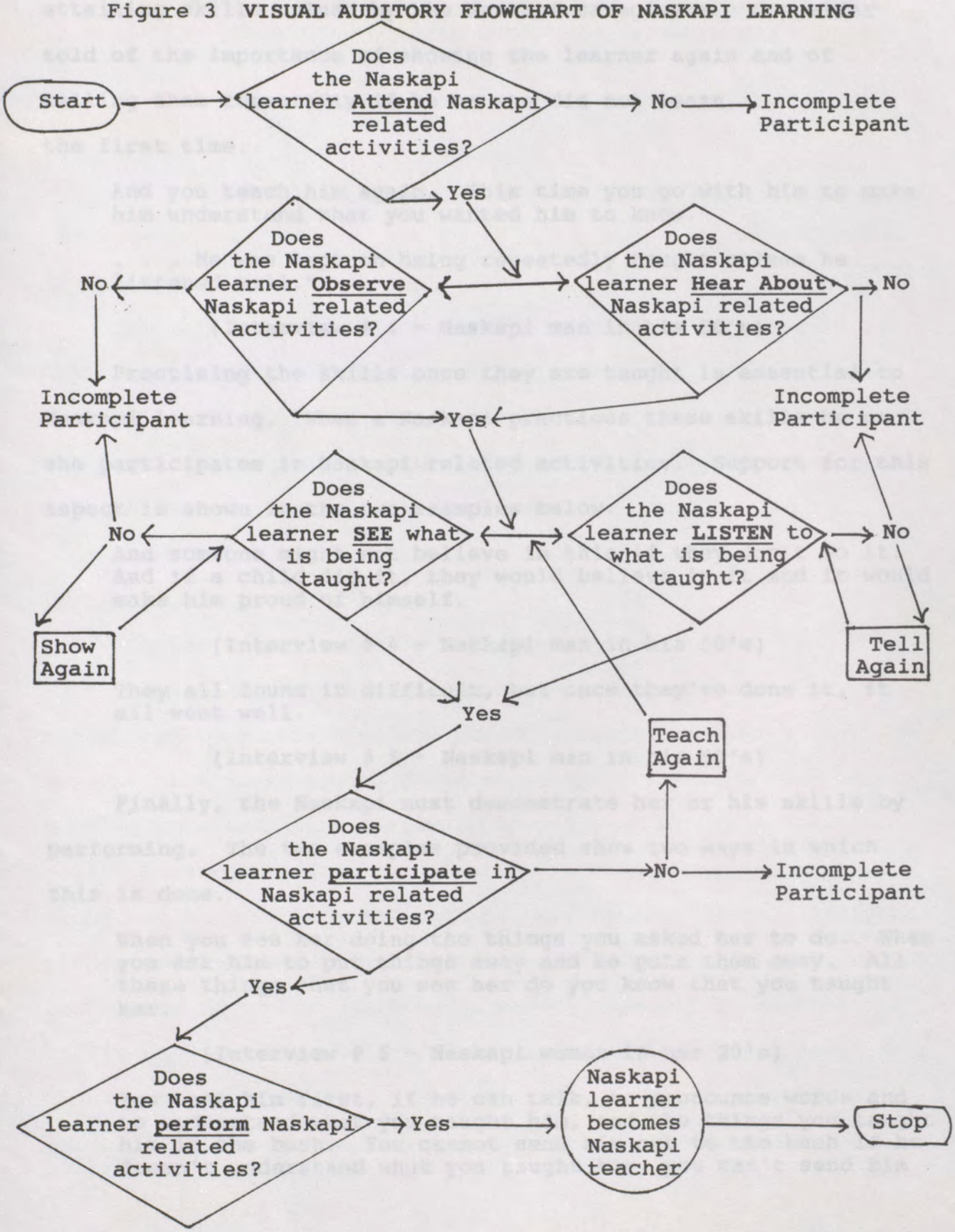
His final two comments in this narrative are the key to the next steps in the learning process where instruction synthesizes the auditory and visual learning skills. This is corroborated by a Naskapi man in his 30's.

> Repeating almost every day. You had no choice, you had to listen. You heard it every day. We learned because we saw them acting that way every day.

(Interview # 6 - Naskapi man in his 30's)

His comments demonstrate that auditory and visual skills are both employed as instructional tools by Naskapi caregivers. Learning resulted from repetitive instruction that focused the learner on listening and seeing as a means of acquiring knowledge or

Figure 3 VISUAL AUDITORY FLOWCHART OF NASKAPI LEARNING



attaining skills valued by the Naskapi caregivers. One elder told of the importance of showing the learner again and of telling them repeatedly if he or she did not learn.

the first time.

> And you teach him again. This time you go with him to make him understand what you wanted him to know.
>
> . . . He was kept on being repeatedly taught unless he listened well."
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

Practising the skills once they are taught is essential to Naskapi learning. When a Naskapi practices these skills he or she participates in Naskapi related activities. Support for this aspect is shown in the two examples below.

> And someone might not believe in this if they don't do it. And if a child did it, they would believe in it and it would make him proud of himself.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)
>
> They all found it difficult, but once they've done it, it all went well.
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

Finally, the Naskapi must demonstrate her or his skills by performing. The two examples provided show two ways in which this is done.

> When you see her doing the things you asked her to do. When you ask him to put things away and he puts them away. All these things that you see her do you know that you taught her.
>
> (Interview # 6 - Naskapi woman in her 20's)
>
> You test him first, if he can talk, to pronounce words and to understand what you taught him, and the things you taught him in the bush. You cannot send him out to the bush if he doesn't understand what you taught him, you can't send him

> out. Only when he can name and say in talking about the places. Only then can you send him out where you want him to go.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

Features of Visual Auditory Learning

Repetition

Since I have already dealt with repetition extensively in Chapter 7, I will only mention briefly that it also underlies a substantial amount of Naskapi teaching and learning that focuses on visual and auditory skills. Repetition is evident throughout Naskapi learning as depicted in Figure 3.

Copying

Previously, I discussed "copying" in the chapter on repetition. Copying is also a prominent feature in visual/auditory teaching and learning among the Naskapi. It is evident from their comments and communicative interaction that copying possessed both a visual and auditory status. Visual skills were employed in manual activities such as preparing hides, carving implements, hunting, and setting traps. Auditory skills were necessary for listening to directions to perform what the elders requested. Listening was also essential in order to orally copy the legends that were passed on from one generation to another. One Naskapi man in his 50's told of listening and watching as the way he learned how to read and write using

Naskapi syllabics (Interview # 4). Therefore, it is evident that copying has both visual and aural components.

Demonstrations

Showing and telling were important tools used by the Naskapi in demonstrations whose purpose was to instruct other Naskapi. This is evident from the examples below.

> An old man he talks to someone when he wants to teach them and women too, they talk to them first and tell them, `I'm going to show you what I'm going to teach you.' For them to see with their own eyes. And [my grandfather] did the same for me. I used to go with him when he went hunting. When he made things, I used to make small things. He showed me what he was teaching me.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

> We show them something first, then they eventually catch on to what they are learning.
>
> (Interview # 1 - Naskapi woman in her 20's)

> If he didn't give up at what he's doing at watching at what's going on and being shown by the old people. And of course he already knows about fishing. And if only he could see a trap setting done well.
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

On one occasion when I was staying in the bush with a group of Naskapi an elder demonstrated how an otter trap was set. His performance necessitated that I use my visual skills, however, he explained what he was doing and why he did it and asked his grandson to translate this explanation for me. Therefore, both auditory and visual skills were required.

Skills in gender specific roles for women, such as midwifery were also demonstrated. However, these were often more visually

oriented as evidenced in the following example.

> You'll sit with her while she waits for childbirth and learn how she does it. And she'll ask you, `Are you ready to take a child now?' You'll answer, `Yes' if you think you are ready or you'll say, `I'll sit and watch you more,' because you'll be afraid to harm the child during childbirth and taking it.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

Age appropriate tasks were demonstrated when a child reached an appropriate level of maturity.

> My crooked knife was made when I was ready to have it. But it was shown to me how to hold it so I wouldn't cut myself and the axe too. Everything was taught so I wouldn't hurt myself.
>
> (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

Naskapi often use demonstrations in teaching and learning situations as a means of obtaining the overall learning outcomes. These demonstrations were based largely on visual skills but also required the teachers and learners to employ speaking and listening skills.

Literacy

Throughout my research I observed the Naskapi using a variety of print media in their daily lives. Catalogues, Bibles, magazines, prayer books, school related work, calendars, signs, and letters were among the numerous examples of documents experienced by the Naskapi. These literacy events included literature in French, English and Naskapi syllabics. Comments by several elders indicated that Naskapi syllabics were learned by a combination of visual and auditory skills. Younger generation

Naskapi learned written English and French during their formal education and visual and auditory skills were both essential in the learning process.

Younger generation caregivers who have experienced formal education interact with their young children in literacy experiences that are primarily based on English. Older generation caregivers often engage in shared experiences using print media that is in English. The interaction in these circumstances is usually focused on photos or pictures that appear with the text and not on the words. Younger generation caregivers are often called upon by older Naskapi to read letters or other correspondence which they receive in English. Although Naskapi syllabics are taught in elementary school, few adult Naskapi are biliterate. That is, most unilingual Naskapi elders are literate in Naskapi syllabics and most Naskapi who have experienced a significant amount of formal education are literate in English. The way in which elders explain how they learned to read and write in Naskapi differs from the way Naskapi is taught today to students in school. Elders maintain that they learned by watching and listening to the use of syllabics during reading and singing in church related activities. As they experienced this use of language they became familiar with the syllabic characters until they were also able to begin using them to write their own messages with their friends. One Naskapi man in his 50's explained the process by which he learned to read and write in the following way.

Watching and listening to be literate.

> And see, the writing of Naskapi, I wasn't taught. I used to go to church and I asked the priest for a hymn book. . . . When the page was named for the hymn to be sung, I looked for it. And where it's going to begin when they start to sing, I tried to memorize it the way it was pronounced. I knew what it was in speaking the way I understood it. . . and when I was ready to write I wrote to [name of person]. I said to him, `I wrote this for you and I want to hear you read it out loud.
>
> (Interview # 4)

In this way the Naskapi listened to a text as well as watching in order to become literate . Watching as ameans of becoming literate is also emphasized by another Naskapi man in his 50's.

> And our book, the prayer and hymn book, nobody taught us. It was just by watching our peers, the ones who were older and who had learned to read and write. By working with them is how we learned.
>
> (Interview # 2)

Therefore, becoming literate in Naskapi was often a shared experience in which the learner focused primarily on the use of his or her visual skills to aid learning. Nevertheless, auditory skills were also important because reading and singing were the avenues by which the Naskapi became writers of the Naskapi language.

Being literate to watch. While elders emphasized the importance of watching and listening as the means by which they learned to read and write using Naskapi syllabics, a Naskapi woman in her 50's indicated a reciprocal value of being literate in order to watch.

She expressed her view concerning the value of literacy as a

learning tool in maintaining the Naskapi culture.

> You see, a child should be able to write, so she or he could write about what's going on as he was learning. You see, . . . when we were in the bush goose hunting . . . [a grade six student] was writing about the things we did in the bush. He had a lot of papers. A child should do that so he or she would learn a lot about bush life.
>
> (Interview # 2)

Literacy in English or Naskapi is therefore seen as a valuable means by which the Naskapi can learn about and maintain traditional cultural activities.

Asking

Although children in some aboriginal cultures are expected to learn primarily by observation without asking questions (Crago, 1988) this is not the case for the Naskapi. Evidence was available from communicative interactions among the Naskapi to indicate that questioning formed a normal part of teaching and learning routines among all three generations. One Naskapi man in his 50's indicated that he asked questions to the elder who taught him how to hunt and trap and the elder responded to his inquiries (Interview # 4). Other elders corroborated with his statement and gave evidence in their interactions with their grandchildren that questioning was an expected aspect of the learning process. One 6 year old girl played string games during a participant observation. When she was unsure of a particular design she questioned her grandfather who responded verbally and visually by demonstrating how to manipulate the string (Participant Observation # 5).

The children in the study often asked their parents or grandparents questions and usually received answers to their inquiries. However, questions that manifested the potential for confrontation could be avoided by distracting the child in one way or another and teasing could also be used as demonstrated by the following example. The children and parents were at their cabin cooking a goose on a fire outside when the following interaction took place.

> D - Is that where you nursed it, Dad? (Everybody laughs) (He had poked a stick in the goose when preparing it to be cooked. His daughter had asked what he was doing and he had replied that he was giving it a needle.)
> E - She believed it.
>
> (Videotape # 2)

For the most part children's questions were taken seriously and responses supplied by their caregivers as a means of enhancing the child's knowledge.

Play

Play has been identified as an important aspect of communicative development in a variety of cultures (Heath, 1983; Rogoff, 1990; Schieffelin, 1990). Play routines can be seen as ways in which disparate groups of people socialize their children for a variety of learning experiences. I have already presented a communicative play routine in the chapter dealing with repetition. In the example that I provided the mother used both visual and auditory components as part of the play routine.

Examples are available that demonstrate the implementation

of auditory and visual learning in the play interactions between Naskapi children. In the following example the children are each playing with a fishing line that is wrapped around a pop can. These were prepared by the parents for the children who were then shown how to use them and left to play on their own beside the lake.

S - You have to turn it around, Rena.
D - Mine is far away.
S - inaudible
D - There it is. Look for it. Can you see it?
S - inaudible... What are you doing, Rena?
D - My thing is not there.
S - Auhh, mine is far away. There is mine. Over there, Mr. Banks. O.K., father?
D - I'll throw it far, O.K. Luke? I'm going to do it (reel it) a long time.
S - Mr. Banks, I want to go over there, come on.
S - I know what to do. Mine is always snagging. Or I could pull the line till it's broke off.

(Videotape # 2)

Their continuous verbal interaction necessitates the use of their individual auditory skills. However, the nature of their activity compels them to utilize their visual skills as is disclosed in the daughter's words "There it is. Look for it. Can you see it?" as they constantly monitor each other's activity and add to each other's learning experience.

Visual Cues

Throughout the communicative interaction of the Naskapi there are examples of nonverbal communication in the form of visual cues. These nonverbal cues could be used alone but were often used in conjunction with other verbal cues. They could be

simple actions such as when the father told his son to close the latch on the cooler and made a motion with his hand or when the son demonstrated with his hand the size of the nails he had found in the basement of their house (Participant Observation # 1). They could also be more elaborate like the time the son and daughter were climbing up on the roof of the shed.

D - Luke, how did you climb?
S - (Shows and tells his sister how he climbed up onto the roof of the cabin.)

S - Step on this.
D - (Steps on the top of the ladder and asks) Here?
S - Yes.

(Videotape # 1)

Another example is available from interaction between the mother and son. The son took the plastic rings from a six pack, sat on his mother's lap facing her and asked her, "How many?" At first she seemed confused by his question but then she replied, "Six". Then he folded two rings under and asked again. "Four," she replied. Again he asked her with only one ring showing and she answered (Participant Observation # 1).

Visual cues could be more elaborate or maintained throughout a lengthy conversation. During interviews elders often used their hands to demonstrate what they were talking about such as the patterns that ptarmigan would leave on the snow as they flew away and their wings beat on the snow (Interview # 4).

I observed the use of elaborate visual cues while visiting at the parents home. Their son was outside snowmobiling and the parents made an effort to get him to come back by the use of

visual cues. It was dark outside and they went to the livingroom window, flashed the outside light on and off and waved at some people across the street to get their attention. Then they pointed in the direction of where the snowmobile had gone. They showed the sign for time out and beckoning "Come here" they pointed in the direction of where the snomobile had gone.

When the son came back around on the snowmobile the people relayed the message that the parents wanted to see him. In this particular instance the cues were visual and not accompanied by verbal prompts of any kind. In the other examples, visual cues were almost always accompanied by verbal explanation.

While visual cues may serve as a means of making life easier for the Naskapi they are also used to enhance the meaning of a verbal message. In this way comprehension and therefore learning are facilitated and enhanced.

Evaluation

In mainstream North American culture or in any of the multiplicity of cultures from around the world, teachers want to be certain that what they have attempted to teach has been acquired by the learner. Formal education has an elaborate system of evaluation tools and methods. For the Naskapi, evaluation has a strong visual basis that also makes use of auditory skills.

One Naskapi elder emphasized that learners were always given time to assimilate what was being taught before they were

evaluated on what they had attempted to learn or perform (Interview # 4 - Naskapi man in his 50's). Once the learner has been given time to practice they are evaluated in order to determine if they needed further teaching or simply commendation for learning well what had been taught.

Evidence from the data shows that Naskapi evaluation can focus on negative learning behaviour. However, the primary purpose of evaluation for the Naskapi is to provide further positive learning experiences in which the learner ultimately becomes successful. In the following example a Naskapi man in his 50's makes an evaluative statement concerning negative behaviour or noncomprehension among Naskapi children. "Because he wasn't doing the right thing. This is how you knew when a child didn't listen or didn't understand what he was taught, by doing the wrong things (Interview # 4). In this instance the evaluator needed visual skills for the purpose of evaluating the learner.

Other Naskapi adults indicated that visual skills were employed to evaluate the learning of a child. Following is a cross section of responses disclosing their views about how to know when a child has learned something.

> Look at how they were raised and what they had seen and what they think.
>
> (Interview # 3 - Naskapi man in his 30's)

> They show us what they learned and we keep teaching them. They ask us if they did a good job.
>
> (Interview # 1 - Naskapi woman in her 20's)

> By seeing what he does in his work and living, working habits. That's how we know, eh? Like how he works and not being lazy doing things, eh?
>
> (Interview # 5 - Naskapi man in his 50's)

The majority of Naskapi responded that a child had learned when they demonstrated a specific skill or behaviour. The inverse of this is also true as pointed out by one Naskapi. That is, noncomprehension and the inability to perform a task properly are evidence that a child didn't listen to or didn't understand the instruction. This type of evaluation can be seen more as formative evaluation to aid the instructor in re-teaching the child. However, summative evaluation was also utilized by the teacher. As I indicated previously in this chapter under the Naskapi Learning Process, the teacher tested the child to verify if what was taught could also be performed.

Performance of Naskapi related skills is contingent upon a number of interrelated factors. Naskapi communicative interaction is replete with references to the importance of visual and auditory skills as essential elements in teaching and learning. Summative and formative evaluation are employed by the Naskapi teacher to help determine what teaching needs to be repeated in order to enable the learner to achieve the inherent sociocultural objectives of the Naskapi community.

Chapter 10

IMPLICATIONS

After having investigated the sociocultural communicative interaction of the Naskapi in their primary context of socialization I reported on three specific areas that illustrate how they manipulate language for the purposes of teaching and learning. The three chapters: Repetition, Confrontation, and Visual/Auditory Learning show specific ways of using words (Heath, 1983) employed by the Naskapi. In these chapters a few of the tacit ways in which the Naskapi pass on information from one generation to the next have been identified. Several implications arise from the identification of these indigenous Naskapi practices of teaching and learning; these implications concern the Naskapi community and avenues for future research.

In Chapter One I suggested that the results of this research could be useful in four specific areas. These included: Naskapi teacher education, hiring of non-Naskapi teachers, in-service training, and the development of Naskapi curricula. Since formal education for the Naskapi has its basis in mainstream educational practices and we already have a wealth of knowledge about the way in which mainstream schooling is carried out, it may be relatively safe to assume that formal education for the Naskapi could benefit from recommendations based on the results of this study. In this way, formal education for the Naskapi could be

made more congruent with the indigenous educational practices revealed in the community's sociocultural communicative interaction. A preliminary step could be an examination of the communicative interaction in the secondary context of Naskapi socialization as a means of determining specific inconguities between communicative interaction at home and at school.

Naskapi Teacher Education

To date, several Naskapi have been trained as teachers for the community school. Other Naskapi are presently involved in several teacher education programs. The main program is offered by a university with a Native studies centre. Professors from the university visit the community two or three times a year. Other students leave the community to attend colleges and universities across Canada. For those courses offered in the community it will be much easier to make the course material relevant to the needs of the Naskapi than for students attending individual colleges outside the community.

Professors who are teaching Naskapi students should have the results of this study made available to them while they are preparing for their courses. In this way they could be made aware of some of the indigenous Naskapi teaching and learning practices and adjust their course material and delivery so that it is more compatible with the Naskapi community.

Hiring Non-Naskapi Teachers

Presently, more than one half of the staff is non-Naskapi. Usually there is at least one new teacher hired each year to replace someone else who leaves. Candidates could be provided with information about the pedagogical practices in the Naskapi community and questioned as to how they might adjust their teaching to become more congruent to indigenous Naskapi teaching.

In-service Training

Teachers at the school are involved in a variety of avenues for professional improvement. Lectures and discussion groups about the results of this study could be an ideal way in which teachers at the Naskapi school become more aware of distinctive features of Naskapi discourse. In this way they could adjust their teaching style to take into consideration the way in which teaching and learning generally occur in the community. For example, using distractive techniques or negotiation might be tried in confrontational situations.

Developing Naskapi Curricula

Although Cram, (1983) demonstrated the Naskapi preference for what he termed linguistic education (education in L1), a variety of barriers have prevented the implementation of a late immersion model of bilingual education. Chiefly, the financial costs of developing a quality bilingual education program are beyond the present financial capabilities of the Naskapi. Additionally, few trained Naskapi are available to develop and

implement the program. Training Naskapi so that they possess the necessary skills for a bilingual education program necessitates expanding the existing social networks so that new "funds of knowledge" (Moll & Greenberg, 1990) are created. Also, few Naskapi are fluently biliterate in Naskapi syllabics and English, thus creating a need for additional training of Naskapi teachers from those whose "funds of knowledge" include literacy in Naskapi. Despite these difficulties, efforts are being made to make the present curriculum more culturally relevant for the Naskapi.

The development of Naskapi curricula has been ongoing during the past several years. Information from the results chapters might be incorporated into the new curricula. Repetitive formats of teaching could be developed and material that combine both visual and auditory skills could be produced.

Beyond this pragmatic utility, the results of this study help to call into question the role of the school as an agent in influencing communicative interaction in society, and thus limiting or making power accessible to the recipients of formal education. Undoubtedly, the advent of formal education and its emphasis on questioning and receiving one "right answer" has influenced the interactions of parents from mainstream society as well as Naskapi parents. Parents now use language as a means of preparing their children for school. What if the structure of school was changed so that it was more compatible with distinctive communicative features indigenous to the respective

communities? Language related to formal education, such as specific questioning techniques is not a significant communicative feature in some communities (Crago, 1988; Heath, 1983; Philips, 1982). Nevertheless, the students were able to function well within their own community and their language was only inadequate in terms of its relation to the educational institutions of mainstream society. It would be a formidable job to change the way in which language is used in schools. School is the one institution throughout the world that presents an almost ubiquitous aura of uniformity. Despite the differences in language, culture, religion and a variety of other factors, schooling exhibits remarkable analogousness. Although school buildings do vary in their architectural structure, they are constructed and organized following very similar patterns. While there are differences in basic styles, almost all classrooms have arrangements of desks or tables, a chalkboard, and a teacher with specific questioning techniques.

Educational research can play a vital role in constructing our knowledge about teaching and learning. Therefore, it is of primary importance that we recognize that:

> The overall function of educational research is to improve the educational process through the refinement and extension of knowledge. The refinement of existing knowledge or the acquisition of new knowledge is essentially an intermediate step toward the improvement of the educational process. (Wiersma, 1986, p. 20)

I hope that by making the results of this research available to the Naskapi educational authorities that it may serve as a

guide for improving the educational process for the Naskapi. To effect positive improvements to the Naskapi educational process, I have attempted to identify some distinctive Naskapi methods of teaching and learning as a means of making their formal education more culturally relevant.

Erickson states that, "ethnography's breadth of view is found in the perspective of holism and the focus on cross-cultural and cross-societal comparison" (1986a, p. 1093). The ethnographic research paradigm is a crucial tool for the investigation of sociocultural issues that may have great implications for all of society. In her ethnographic work, Brice Heath suggested ways to help the communities and schools ensure that their children succeeded. In doing this they adopted some of the questioning techniques that have become intrinsic to early childhood education in mainstream society. A different approach but more difficult to implement might be to identify the ways of learning language that are possibly more natural than those based on the world's schooling system and its emphasis on questioning. Perhaps, language learning that stresses understanding and meaning is a more natural way of learning language that has become unnatural for most people because of our emphasis upon "teacher talk" in twentieth century education.

In stating this, I am not only suggesting that teacher discourse style in North American education is unnatural and antithetical to aboriginal students but that mainstream North American society may be losing a way of learning that is

important and valuable. In a society that prides itself on recognizing and respecting individual differences, little regard is given to utilizing valuable aspects of other cultures within our own. This is not to say that the present system of schooling should be completely abandoned. What I am suggesting is that valuable differences in the ways that people learn and teach should be respected, maintained and utilized between various groups. While certain groups of educators, theorists, and language education movements place great emphasis on recognizing and respecting the individual differences that learners display, the methods of teaching and learning language being advanced by these groups often exhibit a high degree of uniformity despite the diverse backgrounds of the proponents. I see a great danger in pulling together ideas about language learning from a variety of sources, classifying them under a specific title and then promoting those ideas as the best and proper way that language learning should be carried out. Since our acquisition of knowledge is in constant transition we should consistently reevaluate what we already know as it relates to our acquisition of new knowledge.

Labov (1972) a sociolinguist, has demonstrated that much of the learning that is transmitted within various cultures is done from one youth to another and not from adult to child which has been a characteristic of formal education for generations. The degree and extent of these types of educational practises may vary from one culture to another and should not be excluded from

the formation of a culturally relevant educational framework. Future research could examine the communicative interaction among young Naskapi to help determine to what extent young people are responsible for teaching other young people. Research in this area will aid the assembling of a culturally relevant framework that is authentic and representative of the types of teaching and learning that are practised within the community.

I am not recommending that all schools should employ the methods of learning or teaching exhibited in culturally different communities. However, I do believe that we should guard against groups that would form a monopoly on educational practices. Educators all have valuable ways of teaching, learning and communicating that do not need to be labelled and promoted, just shared.

A final quotation from a respected Naskapi elder is an appropriate way of closing this chapter. It emphasizes the importance of using a diversity of teaching practices for the education of the Naskapi. "There are many ways of teaching" (Interview # 4). For the Naskapi, these many instructional practices must recognize, validate and utilize their unique discourse strategies as well as their indigenous educational practices.

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APPENDIX A

Sample Videotape Transcript

Younger Generation Family Taping - Session # 1 - Tape # 1

Sunday, September 21, 1991

PLACE: Family's home in Kawawachikamach, Quebec and their cabin at Iron Arm Lake (Kaachikayach), Newfoundland.

PHYSICAL LAYOUT: The first section of the tape takes place in the kitchen, living room, bedroom and hallways of the younger generation family's home. The second section is after our arrival at the family's cabin at Iron Arm. The taping occurs inside and immediately outside the cabin.

OVERALL ACTION AND SIGNIFICANT COMMENTS: I arrived at the Father's and Mother's home, approximately 2 p.m. We prepared to go to Iron Arm to the family's cabin. I went to the gas station to buy some gas for the generator. M and D went to the store to get groceries. F got the other things ready at the house. S played outside. A large shovel tractor went by in the street. F said something to S about the tractor going slow. S responded in Naskapi about the tractor. The children excitedly helped to carry in the groceries. They played with walkie-talkies and asked me to play while everyone was preparing the supplies. F asked where the sleeping bag was and M went to find it. S went outside in his sock feet and Reb got after him. S rarely spoke in English even when talking to me. However, once when speaking to the baby when it was crying he ran to it and said, "What do you want, you're under arrest, put your hands up."

F asked me if I wanted to take S with me when I went to the cabin. That way I could go first and start the fire. S didn't want to go but D decided to. I stopped at the Manikin store for some juice. Mark Einish asked me where I was going and what I was going to do. I told him about the purpose of my study and what I was planning to do. I told him that it concerned teaching/learning among the Naskapi. I think he attached these terms to their school functions and maybe didn't think about teaching and learning happening outside of a school setting because when I said "Maybe I'll come and film your children," he replied, "They are too young." One is over one year old and the other less than a year.

While at the cabin M told me that there are some words that S knows in Naskapi that she doesn't know because he spends a lot of time with his grandmother.

cont'd...

APPENDIX A (cont'd)

At the end of the taping there is a section where the children and their mother are "Doing school". I was interested to know if this happened regularly or if it was set up for the filming because they knew that I was interested in teaching and learning. F assured me that this often occurred at home and could often last for an hour or more at a time which it did at the cabin. I was also interested to know if the maternal caretaker was the sole adult participant in these activities. F said that he was also involved but that M was the primary participant.

S and D speak to me constantly in Naskapi and rarely allow me to speak English. I have to demonstrate an understanding of Naskapi and speak in Naskapi. Even if I ask about something in English they will respond in Naskapi. They constantly repeat questions in Naskapi if I say I don't understand.

The cassette player that provided music at the cabin was run by a generator. . . .

The family often used English words even when the Naskapi word was very common. F talked to M about "goose" instead of using the Naskapi word "noosk". Also I noticed lexical borrowing when he used the word "birds" when talking to the children, instead of the Naskapi word for birds or "whiskygen" the Naskapi word for Canada Jay.

Talking with F later at night, he started talking about discipline. He wanted to know how I found the kids. He mentioned that it was/is a Naskapi tradition not to punish the children. He said that it is a problem to know what to do about discipline. He told me how he had punished S and told him that he couldn't go out of the house (I think he meant after supper). S's grandmother (F's mother) came asking where S had been all week and F told her that he had punished him and that was why S had not been to visit her. She looked at F and he knew what that look meant. They had discussed this issue before. F said that the older people say punishment shouldn't be used because the bond of love should not be broken. If the parents take good care of the children, then the children will take care of the parents when they are aged and need help is their thinking on this line. Later, when I asked my Naskapi assistant about this she mentioned that she had had similar experiences while raising her daughter. When her parents first moved in, especially if she spanked her daughter it created tension.

<u>TAPE SECTIONS</u>:

000 - 150
200 - 400

cont'd...

APPENDIX A (cont'd)

550 - 665
700 - 1000
1080 - 1100
1300 - 1475
1510 - 1560
1625 - 1800

PEOPLE INCLUDED IN THE TAPING:

Father - F
Mother - M
Daughter -D
Son - S
Baby - B

Visitors
Michael Angelo (nickname)
Kitty Peastitute - 53
Ruby Nattawappio - 50
Joseph Peastitute - 10
Jimmy James Einish - 32
Lois Einish - 28
Shirley Einish - 7
Nigel Einish - 5
Researcher

Transcript

TRANSCRIPTOR: Lynn Einish

000 - 150

S - I want to look (referring to the video camera).
F - Luke, Luke. Don't fool around I'm going to buy the same thing for you.
S - Dad, it's a very nice thing.
F - inaudible
D - Where is your rifle?
S - Dad, our picture is taken.
M - Rena, put the disc away, compact disc.
D - What is a disc? Oh these.
F - inaudible
D - inaudible
S - I'll pee outside.
D - What is it? Are you looking at us? (speaking to the researcher)

cont'd...

APPENDIX A (cont'd)

200 - 400

F is looking for something.
F - inaudible
F - I don't really know what I did with it.
F - inaudible
D - Dad, this is where I saw them last.
S - The small ones.
D - Father.
D - (to L) Don't wear your outdoor shoes.
S - I'm looking for Dad's thing.
D - Is this it, this?
F - No, that's not it.
D - This is my bike.
F - Get down from there Luke.
S - I've seen it, it's a small box, dad.
D - Luke come down Luke, I'll hold you.
D - Michael Angelo is here.
F stirs the pot that is cooking on the stove.
D - What are you cooking?
F - It's your mom's cooking.
F - Where is my watch band?
Michael - Oh yes, I'll go and get it. It will be a minute.
F - Rebecca.
F - Rebecca, May I add rice.
D - Is my father going to add rice?
M - There is a bit of rice, yes.
F - A bit (or small amount).
F - Tell Susie O.K.
D - Is Susie M. staying, staying?
M - Yes.
D - I don't want to go.
F - inaudible
D - "
D - "
F - I'm taking a goose. Yes, it will have to thaw out first.
F -
F -

550 - 665

F - Excuse me.
S - Shells are there.
S - We have many guns.
M - (speaking to R) Yes, those.
S - Mama, what are these? What are these?
M - You are going to take those.
D - I told you they are your clothes.

cont'd...

APPENDIX A (cont'd)

S- My clothes.
M - Rena, your small pants. (referring to her underwear)
D - My underwear?
M - No.
D - Where is my small pants? My nightgown?
M - Your panties.
S- Mama, my little brother is getting his picture taken.
D - Laughs at the researcher and says that her little brother is looking at the researcher.
D - Speaks to the researcher and asks, "How can you see me, may I try once?"

700 - 1000

M is giving a bath to J.
D - Baby talking to J.
F - Kashcun, is there any cassettes?
F - Innu Nikamau, who's tape is that? Tom Jones.
F - Did you see nerds?
D - Here, I found this. (Gives a red package of cigarettes to her mother).
F - (Passing by where M is bathing their son) Jonah! My he has a big mouth.
F - Who's socks are these?
M - We gave them to Jeremiah. The socks are too small for the children.
F -
D - (baby talking to her brother) Jonah ... Jonah ... oh, oh his eyes (inferring tiny eyes) ... Watch him mama. Okay, do it again. Oh, oh ....
M - He's happy/enjoying.
D - (baby talking)
F -
M - He's enjoying bathing.
D - (baby talking).
F - Is this your suitcase?
D - What?
F -
M (laughing at son because of the big helmet he has put on) Look at him it's big on him....
S - Oh, look at his tiny titties.

1080 - 1100

F - (talking to mother) Jonah is getting his picture taken.
S - I'm going outside.
D -
F - Luke, close the door.

cont'd...

APPENDIX A (cont'd)

D - Mama, she wants you to come here.
M - Who is it?
D - Susie.

1300 - 1475

F -
M - I don't know.
S & D (talk to each other while trying a helmet on.)
D goes to pick up the baby.
M - Watch his head.
D passes her mom the baby's cream.
S - Look at me.
D - Bring, I'll start... bring, bring, bring, hurry up.
S - Dad, can I drive the car? Then I drive away. (sneakily) I'll tell Jonah to come along with me. (L talks to his little brother.) Come here Jonah, let's get in the car.
D - My jean jacket... my leather jacket... did you see (pause) Dad?
M - Rena bring your baby brother's chair.
S - What did say to this kid?
M - I don't know.
F - Here Luke this is what we say about being a big shot.
D - (Brings the baby chair) saying, This is how they hold their babies in Quebec.
M -
S - John B. always wears this. (To his mother).
F -
D -
M - Blanket, go get it blanket.
D - Blanket, blanket. This?
M - There it is daughter, and put it here. Do it like this (moving her hands like she is shaking a blanket).
M - Shows her daughter how to set the blanket on the baby's chair.
M - No, ... inaudible.

1510 - 1560 Kaachikayach

M - If you're hungry I brought meatballs.
S & D - Talk to each other about food such as candies and oranges.
D - We didn't buy any candies.
M - (passing the toilet paper to L). Go and take it to the washroom.
D - inaudible
Researcher - Goose.
F - Goose, where am I going to put it to thaw out.

cont'd...

APPENDIX A (cont'd)

M - You want to cook it?
F - Tomorrow.
M - What about rice? I didn't bring any rice.
F - I'll cook outside (pause) when it's a nice day.
S - (Talking to the researcher) That's my goose. You see I killed it with my twelve gauge. (Makes the sound of a gun).
D - Let's go and get your ladder. Come here, let's climb, come here.
S - Why? There's always spiders there. Rena, let's put it outside.
F - Sweep the floor, okay?
M - Okay.

1625 - 1800

S - Climb up okay Mr. Banks?
D - (climbing up the ladder) Luke, you first. Luke that's where we used to play.
S - (Climbs back down) Wait a second.
D - This used to be my old tire.
S - Sheepeesh burst it?
- passes his jacket to R. Rena, my jacket, take it.
D - Don't throw it.
S - climbs up the ladder and then comes back down saying, "Other side" (reference to climbing up on the other side of the shed will be easier).
D - I could climb here. (Starts to climb up the ladder).
S - If you tell a lie . . . other side (inferring let's try the other side).
S - (speaking to the researcher) - You see our house, see how nice it is. Take a picture of it. My bed is too small.
S - You spanked Stephane?
D - Where Luke?
S - At our house.
D - Oh yes.
S - He got spanked. . .
S - inaudible
D - No. (answers L).
D - Oh where, oh here is the log.
S - Don't make too much noise. . . inaudible
S starts to climb up the ladder, R hits L on the rear end.

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

1. How do you know when a child is ready to learn?

2. How do you know when a child has learned something? (ie. How does the child demonstrate his/her learning?)

3. How did you learn from your parents?

4. In what ways do you act differently with your children than the way your parents acted with you?

5.a. How do children learn?
  b. How do adults learn?
  c. Is there a difference?

6. What* can anyone do to help a child learn?
   *What kinds of things?
   What situations influence the choices?

7.a. Do you expect a child to be able to do certain things* at certain times? (by a certain age).
  b.* - speak
      - walk
      - dress self
      - feed self

      When a child is able to do X-thing, how do you/family/community respond?

8.a. What would/do you do if a child is not doing the things you expect him to be able to do?
  b. What would/do you do if a child is not acting appropriately?

9.a. Do you think children learn more from siblings or more from their guardians?
  b. What kinds of things would they learn from siblings?
  c. What kinds of things from parents?

10. When your parents taught you things did they do it mainly one on one, or with other learners present too?

11.a. Tell me how your parents taught you to hunt/trap/fish etc.?
  b. " " " " " " " " (prepare skins, sew, cook, etc.)

12. What values (moral) did you learn from your parents?

13. How did they transmit these values to you?

cont'd...

APPENDIX B (cont'd)

14. Did you ever live in a tent? (not just camping). What was teaching and learning like then?

15. Have you ever noticed that Naskapi people often repeat names, words, phrases or sentences? Why do you think they do this?

16. If somebody asks you to do something, how should you react? If you say, "Yes", are you obligated, or would there be times when it would be alright not to do it?

17. If someone asks you to give them something (money or property) should you give it to them? Explain.

18. Is there something else you can tell me about Naskapi teaching and learning?

APPENDIX C

Sample Interview Transcript

Interview # 2 February 8, 1992 1 pm

TRANSCRIPTOR - Agnes McKenzie

I = Interviewer - Maggie Sandy
R = Researcher - Allan Banks
OGCM - Older Generation Caregiver Man
OGCW - Older Generation Caregiver Woman

I - Kids, what they know and like what parents taught you. And the first. . . and the first thing he wants to know. How do you know when a child is ready to learn? Like uh. . . when she was still small, that's it.

OGCM - The child raiser should know, ha, ha, ha (he laughs). And you're eating, you won't be able to tell your story.
OGCW - Ha, ha, ha (laughs).
OGCM - You sound sad he'll say. Oh what a time she picked to eat.
OGCW - O.K.
I - How do you know when a child is ready to learn? What does he do, like what do parents do?
OGCM - What could I say? I don't know what to say.
I - He doesn't know what to say.
OGCW - Go ahead, tell him, tell him.
OGCM - You tell him.
OGCW - He'll think I'm shy.
OGCM - Nobody is going to hear this.
I - Nobody is going to hear you, it's only for him, and all you've said, it will be written. nobody is going to hear it.
OGCW - Tell him, tell him a story.
OGCM - You tell him yourself, you're an expert on baby caring, I can't even change a diaper on one when I baby sit. They're like that. It's the same for Patricia when she's here.
OGCW - What am I going to say?
I - Like what I asked you... How do you know when a child is ready to learn? I'm going to ask you something else. How did you learn from your parents? How did they teach you things? To know things?
OGCM - You tell him.
OGCW - You tell him.
OGCM - As we grew up you mean.
I - Yes.
OGCM - I guess the first we learned was right from wrong like kids today are being taught. It was being taught to us, but it wasn't so bad then, like it is now eh. . .

cont'd...

APPENDIX C (cont'd)

I - Yes.
OGCM - What was forbidden for us was to disrespect people eh, and of course stealing, and disrespect and. . . when someone asks you to do something for them, you did your best always to do it. That's what they told us, the ones who raised us, our grandmothers. And now for us too. It must be like that with you too at your teaching, we're at them all the time too. And at nights too was really forbidden to us.
I - To go out at night eh?
OGCM - To go out at night. And we did it of course as we grew older and understood more, that's what we were taught.
OGCW - And we didn't get into romance then, we tell the kids, is what you're doing trying to start a romance, we didn't do that.
I - You just got married like that?
OGCM - Yeah and...
I - By just talking to you and showing you what to do eh?
OGCM - Of course as we got older and wiser, and a child learned from his or her parents by just watching what they did. And that's how we learned too by watching our fathers and our mothers do things. That's how we learned by watching, there was no teacher, and we had to go to church. And our book, the prayer and hymn book, nobody taught us, it's just by watching our peers, the ones who were older and who had learned to read and write, by working with them is how we learned.
I - To write Naskapi eh?
OGCM - Yes, to write Naskapi and ... not to harm each other is also what we learned, not to hurt our friends. We thought it was easy, but for you it's very hard eh.... It wasn't like that for us.
I - Your kids eh. . . when you taught them things, what is the difference between how you learned from your parents or what your parents told you? Like you say, now it's hard, when we were growing up, it wasn't very hard. What is the difference or what is it that you see that's different?
OGCM - Of course the. . .
I - What kids are into now eh?
OGCM - Yes, of course. First thing I'm going to say is how kids are. You see even if a home is well secured, even if it is an important place like the school, when they into it (break into it) you can see how they destroy it, and the, alcohol, I'm not going to mention it, we would have into it too, if we had the chance then.
I - Yes, of course it's today kids are. . .
OGCM - Alcohol is the reason they're like this, and the ones we lost. I've counted kids that have died for nothing, nothing, who didn't die of sickness, they kill themselves, there were ten boys 3 more eh... who died of alcohol or who killed themselves for no reason, who weren't sick at all, just boys there were 13 of them.

cont'd...

APPENDIX C (cont'd)

I counted them recently. And the other thing is a child destroying things even the most valuable things. It wasn't like that before. Even when we lived in tents, when we were told not to go into a tent, we never went in. And now it's not like that. I hear a lot of stories about these things. And that's why I think it's very hard not like it was before.
I - And like a child. . . like your children. Did you talk to them too? Like you parents did to you.
OGCM - Yes, of course, many times as they grew up to understand when they were bigger. I started thinking of telling them things. Like the way I was raised and how I was eh. . . many times and the girls their mother is always telling them how we were.
OGCW - I told them kids always get spanked for bad things and wrong they did. (The rest is inaudible as she was sitting on the couch on the other side of the room knitting).

APPENDIX D

Sample Participant Observation Transcript

Participant Observation # 1 Oct. 20, 1991.

I left Luke and Rena at Maggie Pashene's cabin with their grandparents who were keeping several other children. I went and started the fire in Elijah's cabin and returned to film the children with their grandparents at the other cabin.

When I arrived the children came in and started running around.

Gmth. - Wiitimiihch, wiitimiihch, wiitimiihch (Outside, outside, outside & she physically Luke and Solomon and sent them outside. She then sat down with Marina a granddaughter that she hadn't seen for a long time. She combed Marina's hair and kissed her many times.

Gfth. is cleaning up outside. Then he comes inside, talks with the kids briefly and then watches out the window with the binoculars to see if there are any caribou swimming across the lake. He tells Shannon to stop tapping on the window and pushes her head away. (The window had large cracks in it which had been cemented together with clear caulking compound. Then he goes back outside. Gmth. stays inside cleaning up the cabin and preparing to cook.

Gfth. comes back inside and takes the binoculars away from the kids. He looks out the window with them and then puts them away. The kids ask for them by saying in English, "After you, after you".

Next three kids are fighting in the bedroom and grandfather tells them to stop and physically pushes them towards the bedroom door in an effort to make them go into the living room.

Then he tells me that a moose came by two days ago. He motions for me to come outside and takes me to the tracks. He shows me the tracks and tells me that the toes are close together. "Close" I also infer the difference from caribou tracks which he is suggesting by using the word close. The toe placement in a caribou hoof print is much more separated than that of a moose which is an uncommon sight in these parts. Then he asks, "Small one/big one?" I reply that I am not sure but think maybe it is a small one. At the time this did not surprise me but later in thinking about the situation I was surprised by the fact that he wanted to draw from my experience/knowledge in order to determine the size of the moose. It was an animal that he was not very familiar with. The same action would not have been taken with caribou tracks. He would have told me the size of the caribou because of his experiences and accumulated knowledge from hunting this animal. He questioned me in the event that I could provide some knowledge from my experiences that possibly made me an authority or at least more knowledgeable

about moose than he was.

The kids all go outside with "Cowpower" (James Guanish) who is drinking beer and sitting on the ski-doo. They all talk freely. Gfth. walks around inside and watches out the kitchen window. Then he comes and looks out the living room window where I am seated. Once again he takes the binoculars and looks across the lake for caribou. Earlier he told me that he saw fifteen ptarmigan. I ask if they are "mistooka piiyow", "Neehee, mistooka piiyow" he answers. (Bough are ptarmigan, mistooka bough are spruce grouse or partridge.)

Gmth. comes in the cabin, makes a comment to Gfth. & they talk.

Marina gets ready to go outside & asks for her coat. Gfth. asks which one and she replies, "green gia (and) purple gia pink". He must have understood as he took it from a pile of clothing and tossed it to her. She goes outside.

Gmth. tastes/eats some food from the pot on the stove. All the kids are now outside. The grandparents are relatively quiet. Gfth. puts away the binoculars, starts to hum and sing and puts on his boots. He goes out with Gmth. who has gone out and is standing on the step. They talk for awhile. Gfth. walks around the cabin while the children are all busy throwing rocks in the water. Gfth. comes back inside & is talking in a little louder voice. Gmth is skinning a muskrat. The day before when I visited briefly, she had been skinning a marten. Gfth. beckoned for me to come over and pointed at it and his wife skinning it. I would like to know if she is always the one who skins the animals or if it is her who does it now because he had injured his hand during the summer.

Luke comes in and asks something about someone. Gfth. replies, "Chee-in" "You" & Gfth's eyes sparkle. Luke asks again and Gfth. repeats his answer and laughs jokingly. Meanwhile, Gmth. is one the doorstep with the door open. She yells at Shannon and Rena. Luke asks for something and Gfth. laughs at him. While I have been observing I notice that Gfth. walks around the room often but he rarely sits down.

Luke and Solomon come in the cabin and go in the bedroom where "Mr. Magoo" and "Cowpower" are lying down. Someone arrives in a vehicle outside and Gmth. tells Gfth. They talk and laugh about the visitors. Amos & Agnes Einish, Noah Einish, & Jimmish Katsimokow come in and everybody talks. Amos teases Cowpower about not shaving. Amos and Agnes are served from the pot and they sit at the table and eat. Noah Einish and Gfth. talk beside the living room window. The children come in singly and stay briefly. Catherine talks to Gmth. about Oct. 5th. This was the first time that I have heard Gmth. say anything in English and she pointed to the date on the calendar as she said Oct. 5 in response to Catherine's query. Gmth. tells Noah to come and eat. Gfth. sends Luke and Solomon out of the bedroom and Luke pretends to cry. Gfth. smiles at Luke's performance. Gmth. says "hey" and shows me a plate of food and holds it out toward me.

APPENDIX E

Sample Observation Notes - Routine Contact with the Naskapi

Observation Note May 1992

I was asked by_____ (a Naskapi) to go to a Pentecostal service being held in a house in Schefferville on Wednesday evening. There were approximately 15 - 20 Naskapi individuals present. They had finished having a meal when I arrived and were seated in a living room area chatting quietly before beginning their service. When the service was about to begin an older unilingual Naskapi lady asked _____ to ask me for the bag behind my chair which contained her hymn books and Bible. _____ asked me in Naskapi and I replied in Naskapi asking, "Where?". She replied in Naskapi, "There." and pointed behind my chair. I picked up the bag and asked in Naskapi whose they were. The owner, replied that they were hers and repeated Buhda, buhda, buhda (Bring them, bring them, bring them). I then responded, "Neehee, neehee, neehee" (Yes, yes, yes). Which was met with everyone's laughter.

Shortly after this incident the service began with the singing of several hymns in Naskapi/Cree alternating with people informally talking in Naskapi about their religious experiences. Communion was served and then a visiting Cree evangelist spoke. Near the end of the service the opportunity was given for people to come forward for special prayer as everyone sang another hymn. As it was getting late I quietly slipped out and went home, happy to have been invited to participate in this relatively new aspect of Naskapi life.