

# **“The essence of the language is in texts”: Attitudes and ideologies towards texts in language revitalization**

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## **1. Introduction**

British anthropologist A. R. Radcliffe-Brown asks in a 1932 memorandum archived at the University of Chicago (as cited in Darnell, 1990, p. 138), “What are such texts as these for?” The texts Radcliffe-Brown is referring to are those recorded by Father Berard Haile, who collaborated with speakers of Navajo, a language of the Southwestern United States. Although Radcliffe-Brown unwittingly challenges the Boasian framework, which emphasizes that “large masses of texts are needed in order to elucidate the structure of the languages” (Boas, 1917, p. 1), his question strikes a familiar chord for many language revitalization activists: what are recorded texts for in language revitalization (LR)? Or framed differently, how can recorded texts be used in the revitalization and reclamation of one’s ancestral language?

For some indigenous language communities, the existence of recorded texts – defined here as any kind of speech (spoken or written) composed of a series of connected sentences (adapted from Hanks, 1989, pp. 95–96) – was a result of the Americanist textual tradition that Franz Boas famously championed. For other communities, written texts have long been part of their history. Thus, the provenance of texts can vary substantially. In addition, not all LR efforts are the same, and attitudes and ideologies towards texts and language, which interact with LR practices, may also differ within and across communities. It therefore seems sensible to assume that there is no ‘best way’ to use texts in LR, but understanding how and why other people have been incorporating texts can be invaluable.

Drawing from data collected via an international online survey and follow-up interviews, I attempt to address the following questions. What are the attitudes towards using texts in LR and what factors influence them? What are some of the prospects and challenges of using texts, and how are they reflective of ideologies about language? The main findings can be summarized in the following ways. One, attitudes towards spoken linguistic practices significantly differ according to heritage identity. Two, attitudes about using texts are positively correlated with perceptions towards literacy and context. Three, although the survey focused on recorded texts, some respondents described efforts to create new texts by second-language learners which challenged the narrow focus of the survey and hegemonic ideologies of authenticity. Four, by imbuing texts with authority, texts can foster ‘immersive’ learning environments not only on language but also culture and relationship. Five, certain challenges can be assuaged if

texts are viewed as something that can be modified. I also provide a summary of the responses about prospects and challenges of texts in Appendix A.

In this paper, I employ Kroskrity’s (2004, p. 498) definition of language ideologies as deeply held “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social world” (see also Irvine and Gal, 2009; Kroskrity, 2010; Schieffelin et al., 1998). In contrast, attitudes involve “an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort [...] having a degree of stability that allows it to be identified” (Garrett 2010, p. 20; see also Baker 1992; Garrett et al. 2003). I also adopt the view that language attitudes are “overt manifestations of implicit ideologies” (Sallabank 2013, p. 64; see also Rosa and Burdick 2017). Finally, I use the terms *texts* and *recorded texts* interchangeably as the primary concern of the study is on audio, video, and written records of texts.

## 2. Methodology

Data collection, involving an international survey and follow-up interviews, constituted the first phase and took place in September through November of 2020. The second phase involved processing, coding, and analysis of the data, and was carried out from the fall of 2020 into the summer of 2021.

### 2.1. Survey design and distribution

To collect responses regarding LR practices involving texts, I designed and implemented a survey using Qualtrics, an online survey tool. The survey was distributed internationally and was made available in English. Since the survey included display logic that displayed certain questions depending on an individual’s response, the total number of questions on the survey varied. However, in general, there are approximately 38 questions, all of which were optional, involving multiple choices, select-all-that-applies, Likert scales, and open-ended responses. The full survey is included in Appendix B.

Questions in the survey fall under three main themes: (a) background information, (b) attitudes towards aspects of LR, and (c) prospects and challenges of using texts. The first set of questions, consisting mostly of multiple-choice or select-all-that-apply questions, asked about respondents’ involvement in LR by eliciting information about their role(s) (e.g. teacher, student, etc.), location of their work, whether the language is part of their heritage, vitality of the language, and among others. Questions about attitudes involved five-point Likert scales that elicited perceptions of importance and appropriateness towards such topics as literacy and authenticity and open-ended responses. Finally, questions about prospects and challenges involved open-ended questions and asked about current and imagined uses of texts as well as notable challenges.

The survey was piloted at my home institution and the responses were kept for the overall analysis. The survey was then distributed internationally primarily through email and social media using a mixture of convenience, snowball, and purposive sampling methods. In addition to recruiting additional participants from my home institution, I advertised the survey on Twitter and various LR interest groups on Facebook and mailing lists. All participants were encouraged to share the survey with others who are also doing LR work. Finally, in an effort to increase representation of indigenous voices in the sample, I sent an email to dozens of indigenous people who are involved in LR efforts inviting them to take the survey with some success.

By the end of the data collection phase, 145 participants responded to the survey.

However, some people did not complete the entire survey. As such, I filtered out respondents based on the following criteria:

- “Are you involved in a LR project?” has the value **Yes**
- “How important is the use of texts in LR?” has a value
- “Do you consider the language as part of your own heritage?” has a value

Applying these criteria resulted in responses from 100 individuals that were then analyzed in this study. Since all questions were optional, I indicate the number of non-responses in reporting the results. I also indicate whenever the sample size differed.

## ***2.2. Informal interviews***

At the end of the survey, respondents were invited to a follow-up interview that was conducted on Zoom, an online video conference platform. The main purpose of these informal, semi-structured interviews were to further elicit information about people’s responses on the survey, such as the motivation and process of using texts in LR. Twenty-one people participated in the interview, resulting in 5 hours and 51 minutes of audio and video recordings which were transcribed and analyzed.

## ***2.3. Coding and analysis***

This study employed a mixed-methods approach to investigating patterns in the data. Several coding schemes were used. First, questions that involved a Likert-scale on the survey were treated as ordinal variables and coded in the following way:

- “Extremely important” / “Extremely appropriate”  $\Rightarrow$  5
- “Very important” / “Somewhat appropriate”  $\Rightarrow$  4
- “Moderately important” / “Neither appropriate nor inappropriate”  $\Rightarrow$  3
- “Slightly important” / “Somewhat inappropriate”  $\Rightarrow$  2
- “Not at all important” / “Extremely inappropriate”  $\Rightarrow$  1

According to this coding scheme, higher values indicated greater importance or appropriateness. Second, many of the other questions were treated as categorical. For example, the question about heritage status was analyzed as a binary variable in the quantitative analysis. Some variables included the ‘Other’ category which I omitted since it collapsed many other important options. For the open-ended responses and interviews, I employed thematic analysis and critical discourse analysis which I describe below.

### ***2.3.1. Thematic analysis***

Thematic analysis involves “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79). Although decisions on what constitutes a theme are based on the judgment of the researcher, it should ultimately “[capture] something important in relation to the overall research question” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 82). My analysis combined an inductive (‘bottom-up’) and theoretical (‘top-down’) approach alongside a reflexive account of the process (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The former, more ‘data-driven’ approach involved (re-)coding patterns in the data, referred to as subthemes, that do not necessarily bear any relation to the research questions. The organization and classification of subthemes into specific

overarching themes, however, were more theory-oriented and relate to the main questions. In some cases, individual subthemes were considered as themes. In this way, subthemes ultimately connected back to the specific questions of the study.

### 2.3.2. *Critical discourse analysis*

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) examines the role of discourse in the (re)production and resistance of power, dominance, and social injustice to better understand and potentially address social issues (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 2001, 2013; Van Dijk, 1993; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Critically analyzing discourse can shed light on the knowledge, attitudes, and ideologies that underlie and mediate the discursive practices embedded within social, political, and cultural contexts and institutions. In this way, CDA attends to both the macro- and micro-level of social structures rendering the invisible – power relations and ideological effects – visible. Because LR is a social movement that works to resist the dominance of the colonizing language by asserting the presence of indigenous languages and knowledge, CDA provides a suitable framework in which to examine the discourses of LR practitioners.

### 2.4. *Researcher positionality*

As Van Dijk (1993, p. 252) writes, “critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit sociopolitical stance: they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large.” As such, I briefly describe my own positionality with respect to this study.

I am a second-generation immigrant of Hong Kong descent and a Linguistics graduate student at a university in the United States. Since 2016, I have worked with indigenous people in the United States on various language documentation and revitalization projects, especially Northern Pomo, a dormant language of Northern California, and Crow, a Siouan language currently spoken in Montana. Consequently, my firsthand experience as an activist and advocate for indigenous LR have been restricted to the political, social, and historical context of the United States.

## 3. Background of respondents

This section provides a report on the background of respondents and sociolinguistic situation of their language. Due to space limitations, I report a subset of the results considered to be most pertinent to this study. Table 1 displays the distribution of respondents who consider the language as part of their heritage, henceforth referred to as having heritage or non-heritage status. Since these results reflect responses by 100 individuals, the values can be interpreted as frequency counts and percents. Most respondents (59%) who engage in LR have non-heritage status.

**Table 1.** Distribution of (non-)heritage status

Heritage	Non-heritage
41	59

The geographical distribution of LR efforts is given in Table 2. LR efforts that take place in North America were the most highly represented in the sample (~73%),



and countries classified within this region include Belize, Canada, Guatemala, Mexico, and the United States. In fact, respondents whose work occurs in the United States represent well over two-thirds of all respondents working in North America. As a result of this skewed distribution, the analysis presented here portrays a view that is more likely to be shared in North America, specifically in the United States. Despite this shortcoming, I hope that the results of this study provides valuable insights to LR practitioners regardless of the sociopolitical and sociolinguistic situation characteristic of their geographical location(s).

**Table 2.** Geographic distribution of LR efforts

Africa		Asia		Australia & the Pacific		Europe		North America		South America	
Cameroon	3	China	1	Australia	3	UK	2	USA	59	Brazil	1
Côte d’Ivoire	1	India	1	Micronesia	1	France	1	Canada	5	Chile	1
Zimbabwe	1	Myanmar	1	New Zealand	1	Latvia	1	Mexico	6	Peru	1
		Singapore	1	Vanuatu	1	Turkey <sup>a</sup>	1	Guatemala	2		
		Thailand	1			Wales	1	Belize	1		
		Turkey <sup>a</sup>	1								
Total <sup>b</sup>	5		6		6		6		73		3

<sup>a</sup>Turkey appears in two distinct columns as it straddles Asia and Europe. <sup>b</sup>Two respondents chose not to respond to this question on the survey.

Respondents were also asked to indicate their role(s) in their LR efforts. This question was a select-all-that-apply and the results for the four most frequent combinations of roles are given in the upper portion of Table 3. Approximately a third of participants responded that their role was only as an academic linguist. In the lower portion of Table 3 are combinations that included a specific role. The key takeaway here is that 59 respondents indicated one of their roles as academic linguist whereas the remaining 41 respondents did not.

**Table 3.** Distribution of selected combinations of role(s) in LR efforts

Role(s)	Frequency/Percent
Academic linguist only	30
Teacher, learner, and academic linguist	14
Learner only	12
Non-academic linguist only	7
Combinations that included teacher	38
Combinations that included learner	43
Combinations that included academic linguist	59
Combinations that included non-academic linguist	21

Responses on language vitality are shown in Table 4. Although there are numerous indices that attempt to more accurately measure the vitality of a language (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Lee and Van Way, 2016), I employed a simplified scale with three options: (a) “Dormant, sleeping, or ‘extinct’,” (b) “Endangered or threatened,” and (c) “Other” with a comment field. Eight respondents selected ‘Other’, but I recategorized five of them into one of existing categories based on their comments. For example, two responses, “awakening” and “was dormant, now revitalizing,” were recategorized as option (a). Note that these responses challenge the ideologies underlying the discourse of language vitalities of the survey (e.g., see Leonard, 2011). In the case of ‘dormant’ and ‘sleeping’, these metaphors depict language as still and inert and are deemed by some to be inappropriate. Therefore, these comments point to a shift beyond dormancy in response to the agency of communities to remember, learn, and creatively use their heritage language.

**Table 4.** Distribution of the vitality of languages undergoing revitalization

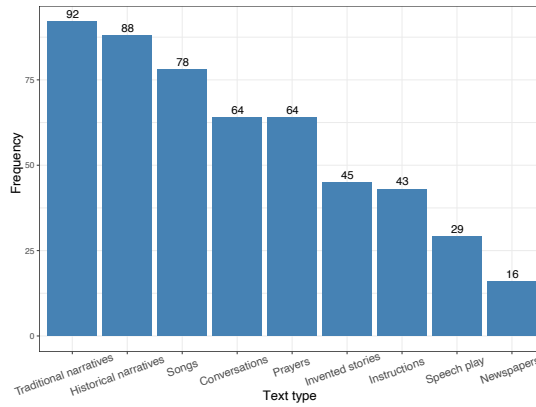
Awakening, dormant, sleeping, or ‘extinct’	Endangered or threatened
23	74

Turning to texts, Table 5 shows the distribution of available text formats. Most respondents (~81%) indicated that available texts appear in both written and audio formats. Respondents were then asked about available text types. Because this question was a select-all-that-apply, the bar plot in Figure 1 shows the frequency counts and percents of respondents who selected that particular text type independent of which other text type they also selected.

**Table 5.** Distribution of available text formats

Written only	Audio only	Both written and audio	No response
10	4	81	5 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Of the five who chose not to respond, four mentioned that texts in their language do exist.



**Figure 1.** Distribution of available text types

#### 4. Attitudes toward using texts

In this section, I show that the value of texts is not only positively linked to perceptions of literacy, but also to the notion of context. Specifically, respondents who displayed an optimistic view of texts tended to perceive literacy as important and invoke context in their explication of why they believe the use of texts is important. In what follows, I examine the distributions of the following variables, which have values along a five-point Likert scale, and then investigate whether any meaningful patterns emerge:

- (1) ORTHOGRAPHY: How important is it to have a writing system for the language?
- (2) LITERACY: How important is it to read and write in the language?
- (3) ANCESTORS: How important is it to speak the language in the same way as the ancestors did?
- (4) PURITY: How important is it to keep the language free from influence of the dominant/majority language?
- (5) SPEAKALLTIME: How important is it to speak the language all the time?
- (6) TECHNOLOGY: How appropriate is it to use the language on digital devices?

- (7) CULTURE: How appropriate is it to incorporate topics and items of the dominant/majority culture?
- (8) TEXTS: How important is the use of texts in LR?

#### 4.1. Analyzing the distribution of attitudes

Results from the survey for Orthography and Literacy are shown in Figures 2a–b, respectively, while results for Technology and Culture are shown in Figures 3a–b. In general, all four variables were rated positively (i.e. with a median of  $\geq 4.0$ ). The Wilcoxon signed-rank test (for dependent samples; see Figure 7a) showed that ratings for Technology are significantly different from Orthography ( $p < 0.001$ ), Literacy ( $p < 0.001$ ), and Culture ( $p < 0.001$ ) with a moderate effect size ( $0.388 \leq r \leq 0.455$ ); the three latter variables, which share similar means ( $\bar{x}$ ), medians, and standard deviations ( $s$ ), were not found to be significantly different from each other. The Wilcoxon rank sum test (for independent samples) showed that responses do not significantly differ based on heritage status.

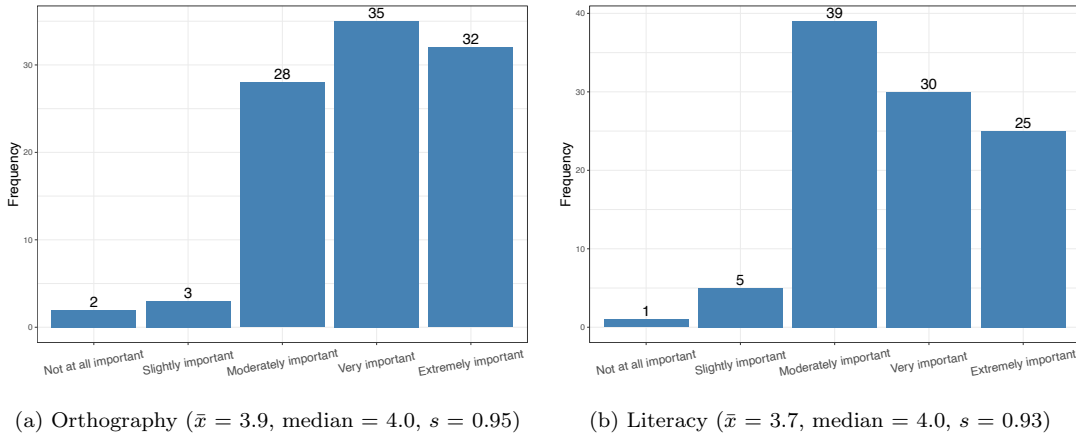


Figure 2. Distribution and statistics of responses to Orthography and Literacy

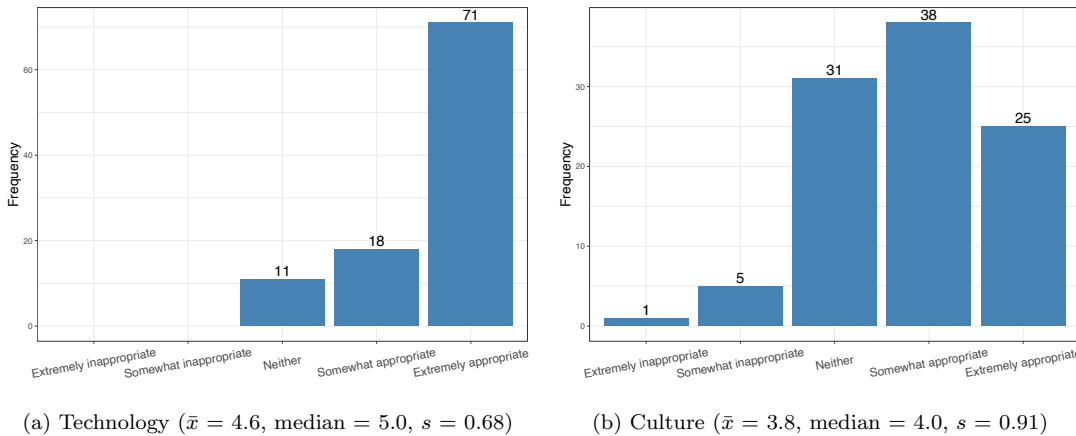
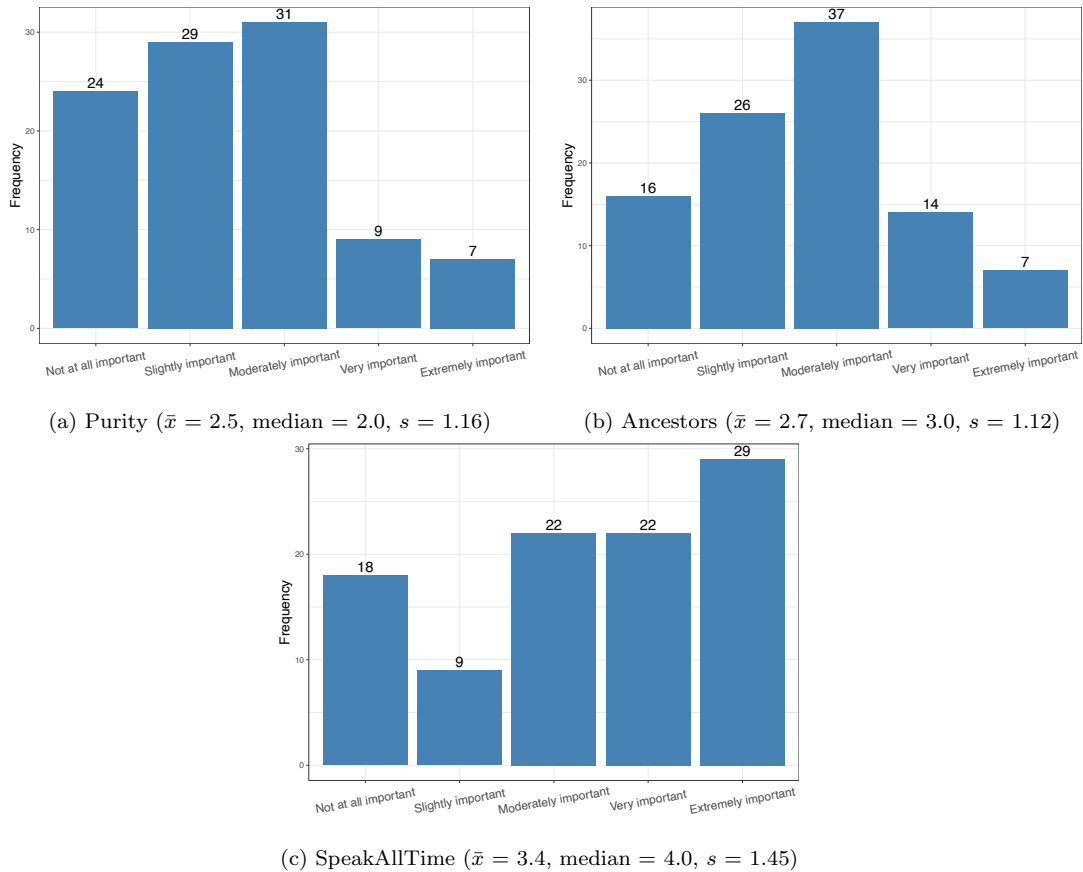


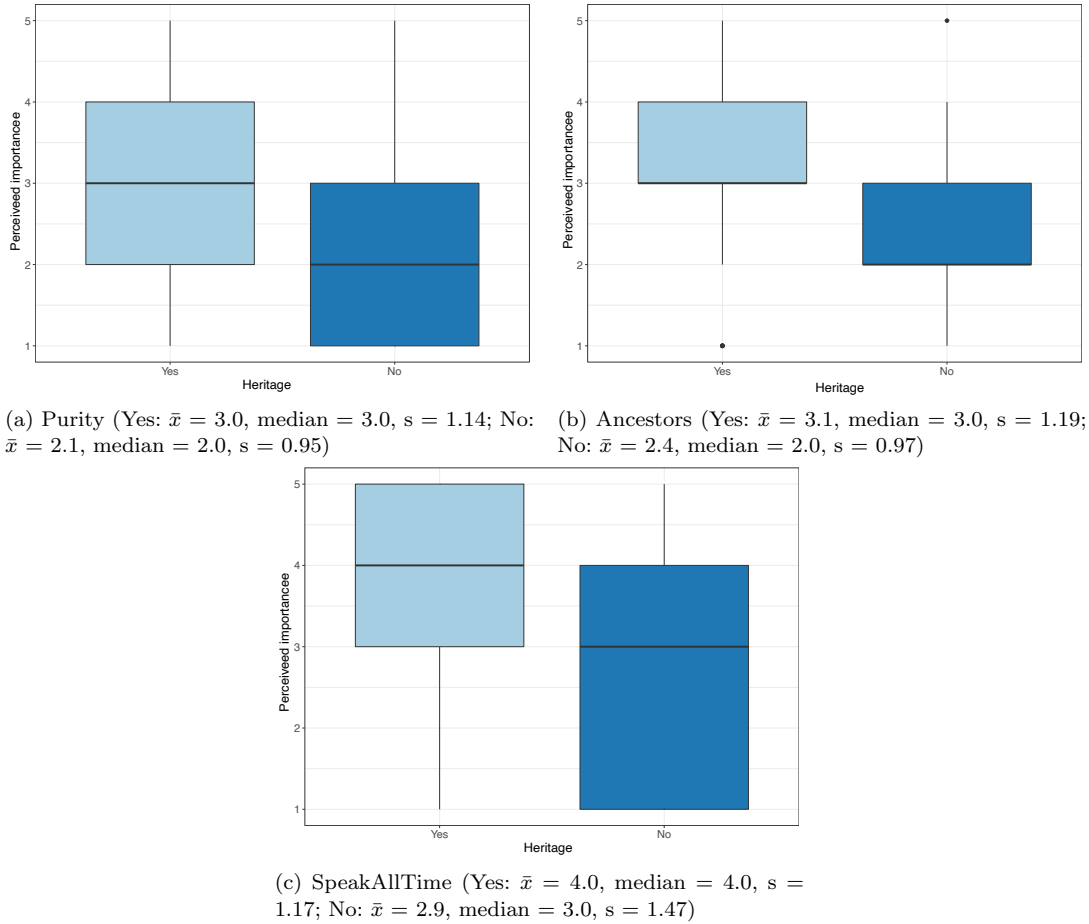
Figure 3. Distribution and statistics of responses to Technology and Culture

In contrast, the Wilcoxon rank sum test showed that responses for Purity, Ancestors, and SpeakAllTime do significantly differ by heritage status ( $p \leq 0.002$ ) with a

moderate effect size ( $0.314 \leq r \leq 0.414$ ). Figures 4a–c show results for the distribution of these three variables for all respondents, while Figures 5a–c show boxplots, by heritage status. These variables can be understood as being associated with attitudes towards linguistic practices that involve speaking. As such, the results show that perceptions towards spoken linguistic practices differ when we consider respondents’ heritage status. While it is not possible to distinguish why such differences exist based on the ratings alone, possible ideologies that underlie these attitudes have been widely discussed in the literature.



**Figure 4.** Distribution and statistics of responses to Purity, Ancestors, and SpeakAllTime

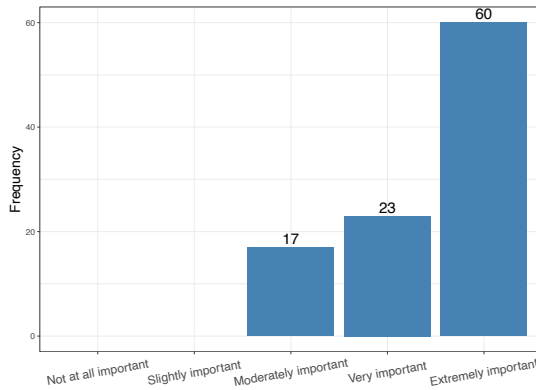


**Figure 5.** Boxplots and statistics of responses to Purity, Ancestors, and SpeakAllTime, by heritage status

Purity, which refers to the resistance to contact phenomena such as linguistic borrowing and code-switching, is linked to linguistic purism and conservatism (e.g. Dorian 1994; Hill and Hill 1986, pp. 122–141; Kroskrity 1998). According to Henningsen (1989, pp. 31–32, as cited in Kroskrity 1998, p. 109), “the politics of purity ... originates in a quest for identity and authenticity of a cultural Self that feels threatened by the hegemonic pressure of another culture.” Not unrelated to Purity is the variable Ancestors which can be viewed as also referencing notions of nostalgia (e.g. Cavanaugh, 2004; Hill, 1998). Finally, SpeakAllTime can be viewed as contesting the “one-nation-one-language” ideology; that is, claiming and indigenizing all spheres of language use demonstrate one’s own agency in asserting the authority of indigenous languages and identities. SpeakAllTime may then be regarded as a symbolic resource for resistance and restoration of indigenous knowledge and worldviews. Therefore, understanding the possible ideological relations to these three variables provide insights to how heritage identity may play a crucial role (see also Ahlers, 2017; Kroskrity, 2009), further highlighting the need for “prior ideological clarification” (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998).

The final variable is Texts and similar to Technology, responses were generally favorable, as shown in Figure 6. Respondents who perceived texts as important (i.e. all of them) then were presented with an open-ended question that asked why they think the use of texts is important. (Ten respondents left the latter question blank.)

Consider the five responses in Table 6 that mention the essential nature of texts.



**Figure 6.** Distribution of responses to Texts ( $\bar{x} = 4.4$ , median = 5,  $s = 0.77$ )

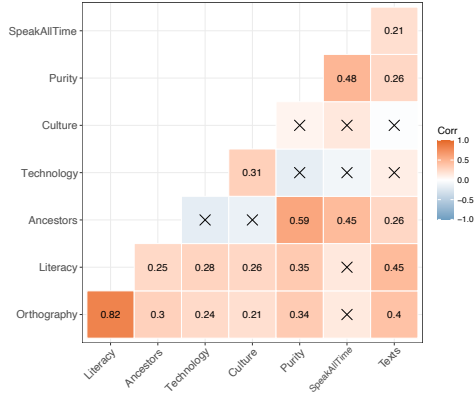
**Table 6.** Selected responses to the question “Why do you think the use of texts is important in LR?”

	Heritage	Texts	Response
(a)	Yes	5	The essence of the language is in texts.
(b)	Yes	5	[W]ithout texts we would not have our language.
(c)	Yes	4	Without our texts, we would not be in the stage of awakening our language.
(d)	No	5	Only with texts (recorded and written) the language can be taught and its use expanded onto new domains.
(e)	No	5	[L]anguage revitalization is impossible without [texts].

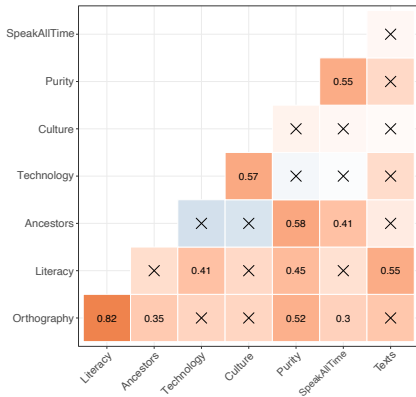
As the eponymous response of this paper in (a) asserts, texts are inherent to language and therefore crucial to LR. All five responses place texts as prerequisite to any kind of success in LR efforts, but how do texts come to be held in such high regard by some individuals within LR in the first place? According to Gal and Woolard (1995, p. 131), “images of linguistic phenomena gain credibility when they create ties with other arguments about aspects of aesthetic or moral life.” In what follows, I show that it is in part through positive evaluations of Literacy and the notion of context that texts acquire authority, legitimacy, and value as cultural objects.

#### 4.2. Exploring patterns and relationships

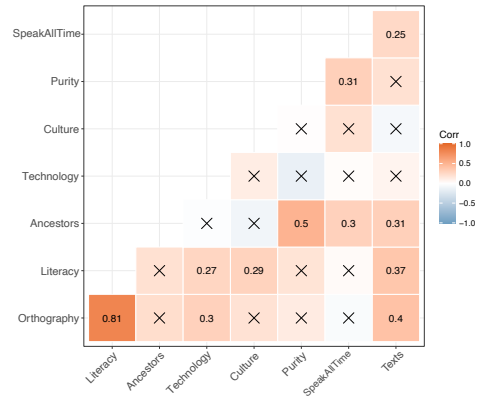
To explore meaningful patterns that exist across the eight variables, I first computed a correlation matrix for all respondents (Figure 7a) and by heritage status (Figure 7b–c) using Spearman’s rank correlation ( $r_s$ ). Correlations between two variables that are not significant (i.e.  $p \geq 0.05$ ) are indicated by the ‘×’ symbol. Pairs of variables that are significantly correlated all have positive correlations. The two variables that have the strongest monotonic relationship across all respondents ( $r_s = 0.82$ ) are Literacy and Orthography. This relationship can be observed even when the data is grouped according to heritage status. This relationship is unsurprising given that reading and writing in the language is predicated on having a writing system for the language. The next strongest relationships across all respondents involve Purity, Ancestors, and SpeakAllTime ( $0.45 \leq r_s \leq 0.59$ ). Although these correlations are significant for both (non-)heritage status, the correlations are stronger for those with heritage status.



(a) Heritage and non-heritage



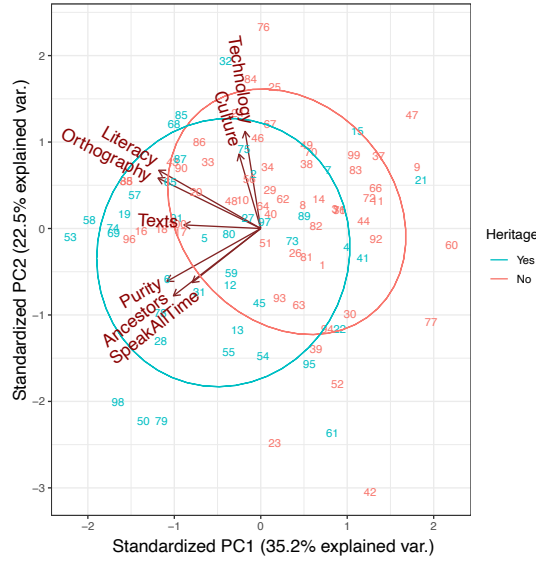
(b) Heritage



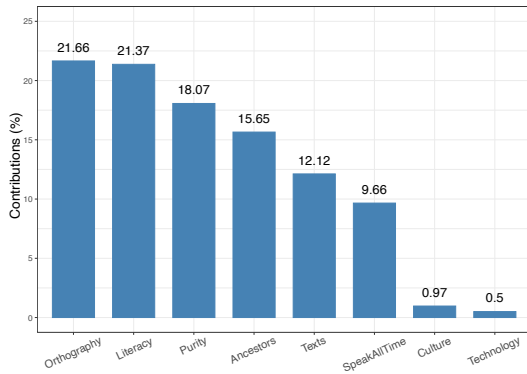
(c) Non-heritage

Figure 7. Spearman's rank correlation matrices

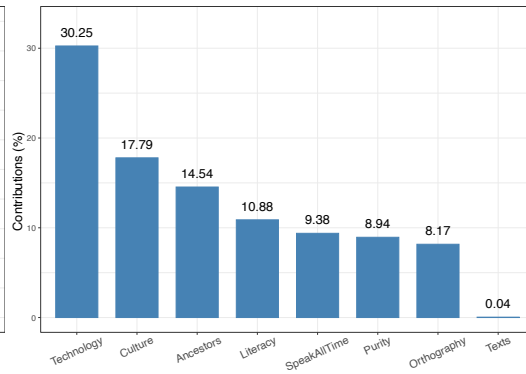
With many variables, it becomes difficult to locate and interpret patterns that occur. To identify relationships that might be meaningful across the eight variables while minimizing loss of data and increasing interpretability, I employed a principal component analysis (PCA) which reduces the number of (correlated) variables to one component (PC1) that explains 35.2% of the variance and a second component (PC2) that explains 22.5% of the variance, as shown in Figure 8a. Figures 8b–c display how much each variable contributes to PC1 and PC2, respectively. Inspecting Figure 8a reveals that Technology and Culture are positioned along the y-axis (PC2), whereas the varying orthogonality of the other variables fall more along the x-axis (PC1). However, these differences are likely a result of the format of the question that involved perceived appropriateness (i.e. from extremely inappropriate to extremely appropriate) for the former and importance (i.e. from not at all important to extremely important) for the latter. Finally, the ellipses show that those with heritage status tend to appear towards the left and bottom of the graph in relation to those with non-heritage status. This leftward and downward direction reflects more positive perceptions towards Purity, Ancestors, and SpeakAllTime thereby reproducing the differences in overall attitudes between the two groups of respondents in terms of language and identity.



(a) PCA biplot



(b) Contributions of variables to PC1



(c) Contributions of variables to PC2

**Figure 8.** Summary of PCA of responses to eight selected variables

Finally, I examined which variables act as predictors for attitudes towards the importance of using texts by employing an ordinal logistic regression using the `polr` function, part of the `MASS` package (Ripley et al., 2013), in R. Here, the response variable that is being predicted is Texts. In addition to incorporating the other seven variables as predictors (and interactions across them), I also included other potentially relevant ones, such as heritage status. However, only two predictors were found to be significant: Literacy and Context. Context is a binary variable that was coded as a theme based on responses to the question ‘Why do you think the use of texts is important in LR?’ using thematic analysis. Results of the ordinal logistic regression are given in Table 7. Note that the sample size here was 77 since 23 respondents did not respond to the open-response question about why texts are important.



**Table 7.** Ordinal logistic regression model of the relationship between Texts, and Literacy and Context

Variables	Estimate	Standard Error	<i>t</i> -value	Pr(>   <i>t</i>  )
Texts:3 4	2.520	1.195	2.109	0.035
Texts:4 5	4.329	1.275	3.397	< 0.001
Literacy	1.123	0.329	3.412	< 0.001
Context	1.827	0.621	2.942	0.003

Positive estimate values indicate that (i) as perceived attitudes towards Literacy increase and (ii) whenever Context is mentioned in their open responses, the likelihood of having higher perceived attitudes towards Texts increases. For example, with one unit increase in Literacy the log of odds – the log of the ratio of the probability of success to the probability of failure – of having a positive perception about texts increases by 1.123. Texts:3|4 and Texts:4|5 are intercepts and are interpreted as the log of odds of perceiving texts as moderately important and very important, respectively, in contrast to the other possible ratings. In other words, Texts:3|4 involves log odds of perceiving texts as moderately important versus perceiving texts as very or extremely important.

The notion of Context employed here consists of several types of contexts, as shown in Table 9 with illustrative examples. Below, I summarize my CDA of these selected responses about context.

**Table 8.** Functions of literacy with example responses accompanied by information about the respondents

Functions of literacy	Heritage	Texts	Example
(a) Multimodality	Yes	5	[...] For brand new learners, literacy allows one addition [sic] medium to interact with the language. Incorporating audio, visual, textual really gives added stimuli. It can be argued that novel spoken utterances are the ideal practice but without any initial input, one cannot practice. The textual input
(b) Learning			serves a powerful role for the adult learner who is gaining familiarity with their first exposure to a second or new language. And even as one builds fluency, the texts become useful in more complex ways- exploring culture and religion that might have been documented.
(c) ‘Traditionality’	Yes	5	Depends on the language, but our language has an old written literary tradition so writing has to be part of the revitalization.
(d) ‘Modernity’	Yes	5	Because we do not reside in an oral society anymore. Text is all around us in English and we must be compete with that.

Nine respondents, such as the respondent of (a), draw a dichotomy between “how actual human beings use language,” and “idealized” or “isolated” language within the documentation record. In (b), the respondent expresses nostalgia for “a more vital time” and optimism for an imagined future. Crucially, their response acknowledges the need for language (i.e. registers) that is specific to novel domains of language use, and the use of passive voice places imagined individuals as agents of such changes. The response in (c) involves discourses of nostalgia which evokes “positive evaluations of the past” (Hill 1998, p. 68; see also Debenport 2015, pp. 107–109). In (d), the respondent reproduces the popular Whorfian rhetoric, popular among language activists (Schwartz, 2018) and what Hill (2002) terms discourse of “universal ownership,” where the impersonal “we” renders the knowledge encoded in texts accessible to anyone. Finally, in (e), the respondent embodies and ratifies the dominant discourses of the linguistic profession by talking about grammar in a modular and objective way to legitimize one’s own expertise and authority on language and grammar (see Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, pp. 386–387).

Since responses towards Literacy are ratings on a Likert scale and do not provide

much insights into what underlies their perceptions, I examined the open-ended responses again using CDA. Table 8 shows four main functions of literacy as described in the responses to why they think texts is important in LR.

**Table 9.** Types of context with example responses accompanied by information about the respondents

Types of context	Heritage	Texts	Example
(a) Social: Language in use	No	5	I think texts are important so that the revitalized language reflects the way that people actually use the language rather than an idealized version of it.
(b) Social: Register	Yes	5	Texts are a snapshot in time as to a fuller picture and more vital time in the history of the language. Patterns not currently in use can be brought back, or used to create/generate language needed for new contexts.
(c) Sociohistorical	Yes	5	Our texts reflect language use over a long period of time (from 1870 or so) in multiple contexts. All full of valuable information. Texts are almost the only “immersion” contexts we have.
(d) Cultural	No	5	Utilizing texts in LR is important because it provides more contextual information when learning the language. Through these texts, we are able to learn values, community responsibilities, gender roles, history, cultural competency, and how to see the world through the lens of the language.
(e) Grammatical	No	5	[...] Texts also contain grammatical information at the level of sentences and discourse, which help learners who are interested in understanding their language as something more than a list of words (colors, numbers, animals, etc.). It’s hard to avoid learning something about verbal morphology when you’re working with texts!

Literacy here is linked to written materials and in (a), the respondent challenges the dichotomy that is often drawn between orality and literacy by portraying literacy as complementary and able to co-exist with spoken (and visual) language, and multimodality as desirable. The respondent goes on to describe literacy as “powerful” – here, power comes from the assumed familiarity that adults have of textual materials. In (b), which features the same respondent in (a), the respondent presents an imagined future for learners and texts, positioning literacy (and language competency) as a bridge towards cultural knowledge. In (c), literacy is framed as a continuation of a past tradition that should be maintained. Lastly, the response in (d), which displays an “ideology of contempt” (Dorian, 1998), regards literacy as providing the indigenous language with as much prestige, relevance, and authority as English, a colonial language.

## 5. Prospects and challenges

This section discusses several themes that I identified in the responses to questions that asked respondents to describe how texts have been used and the difficulties they faced. In addition to analyzing the (counter)narratives that participants provided about LR practices they have been part of or have observed firsthand during the interviews, I also draw from my own LR experiences.

## 5.1. Prospects

### 5.1.1. Text creation

Survey respondents who indicated that texts have been used in revitalization efforts in the community were then asked to describe how texts have been used. Interestingly, nineteen respondents described efforts in the community to create new texts. Although these responses may seem to be somewhat off target, they demonstrate that (a) creation of new texts is an important part of the revitalization process, and (b) respondents expressed their own agency on the online survey by contesting the question's focus on recorded texts in LR.

I begin by drawing from my own experiences co-organizing Northern Pomo LR camps (Author et al., 2019). These camps involved an activity where first-time learners either illustrated an existing Northern Pomo text or created their own storybook using sentences drawn from an online corpus with audio of isolated sentences and phrases, both authored and animated by late speakers. All but one learner created their own story, choosing to be creators rather than recipients of texts. One such storybook created by a teenager is shown in Figure 9, casting me as a figure within the story in a playful way. By recontextualizing and reanimating isolated sentences as part of a text, learners acted as agents of change: they used artifacts of the present situation to retool the past in creative ways and construct meaningful cultures for themselves. Still, these student-created texts present a tension between tradition and innovation since they may not necessarily reflect how their ancestors spoke. It is the negotiation of tensions between competing ideologies that I analyze in the following two narratives.

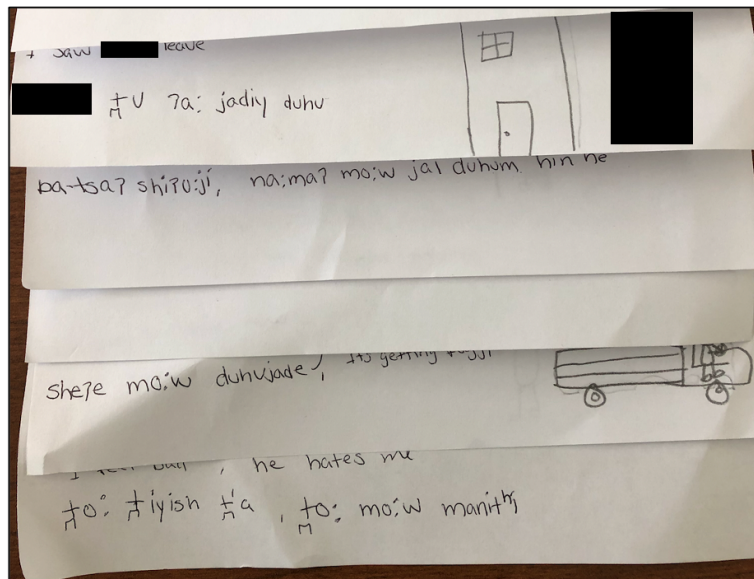


Figure 9. A student-created storybook in Northern Pomo

The following narrative takes place after I asked Logan, who is an academic linguist with non-heritage status working on an endangered language, to talk more about “how [texts] have been incorporated into the revitalization efforts.” The transcription conventions are given in Appendix C. All names that occur in the transcripts including mine are pseudonyms.

1 Logan: And where I firsthand did a lot of work with this wasn't  
2 helping build some e-books? (xx) that were the high school  
3 students were making for (1.6) for like a preschool  
4 immersion kids. So the high school students had you know  
5 the the it was a project-based learning thing where they  
6 developed this the story or the book and then they wrote  
7 out the script for it and, and put in the /t<sup>h</sup>ekst<sup>h</sup>/ into  
8 this e-book, a:nd also they included audio so it had both  
9 the pronunciation but also the text that was involved with  
10 it. I think (2.0) a lot of ti:mes: (1.4) the:re (0.6) I- I  
11 think there's more of an emphasis on oral language?  
12 Generally this is very general, and every tribe is a  
13 little different? but but I think w- /ɪwɪn/ it's good when  
14 there's just simply text? I think a lot of times the  
15 learners like to have audio /t<sup>h</sup>/ go along with it so they  
16 kno- know the pronunciation since there's SO little  
17 materials out there. It's nice to be able to double-dip?  
18 and used if you can use multimedia types of texts: then  
19 they can kinda come alive as well so you have both the  
20 written and also the the audio.  
21 ...

22 Author: Is it the people who are creating the story that are  
23 providing audio, or are the audios sort of being recorded  
24 by other people.

25 Logan: They've done it both ways, I mean sometimes it's great  
26 to have the (1.0) the high school students record the  
27 audio even though they're second language, there's they're  
28 not what we would call (Hx) first-language speakers but  
29 they're developing speakers? so it's nice for them to have  
30 a: platform? or a nee:d, a real authentic use for the  
31 language, and so they work really hard to get the  
32 pronunciation as close as they can and things like that.  
33 But sometimes they prefer to have things that are (0.9)  
34 mo:re (0.6) authentic, or I wouldn't say authentic. But  
35 just more /!/ you know the original pronunciation the the  
36 pure, quote unquote pure pronunciations so sometimes they  
37 will record elders or teachers to do the speaking.

First, Logan challenges the dominant ideology of orality, advocating for literacy and orality to be on equal footing using their observations of learners and scarcity of resources to justify their stance (lines 10–12). Then, in response to my next question (lines 17–18), Logan discusses the value of having the students themselves record the audio (lines 19–24). Here, we see Logan's ambivalence about word choice. For example, line 21 contains an intervening audible exhalation – a scoff – that displays Logan's negative stance towards the term “first-language.” Moreover, the pronoun “we” references not just Author and Logan, but the academy which is concerned with categorizing linguistic competency. Logan then raises an apparent complication – a preference for “more authentic” speech that presupposes grades of authenticity (cf. Shulist, 2016). Logan's rejection of the term “authentic” further highlights the acknowledgment and questioning of the contentious nature of discourses and ideologies surrounding orality, literacy, and authenticity.

In the narrative below, I followed up on Taylor’s response to the select-all-that-apply question that asked about the most important types of texts. In particular, I asked Taylor, whose heritage language is endangered, why they chose to exclude invented stories, speech play, and newspapers.

1 Taylor: I think a part of my concern is (0.8) ultimately I  
2 think that there should be texts by first-language  
3 speakers, second-language speakers, people at all levels  
4 of proficiency, we need all of that for like robust  
5 representation of language. (0.7) And also so as to not to  
6 kind of fetishize first-language speakers, I don’t think  
7 that’s actually helpful. Nevertheless I’ve- I have  
8 internalized a lot of that. I do value first-language  
9 speakers in a different way from second-language  
10 learners. And the especially the [language’s] elders that  
11 I’ve worked with (1.7) just aren’t interested in making  
12 stuff up. (1.8) and so:: (0.8) a- as far as wordplay and  
13 invented stories, it mostly stems from the:y (1.0) their  
14 concerns on more talking about o- (0.7) our history or  
15 telling traditional stories that they heard growing up  
16 like the concern is you know passing on what they know  
17 rather than making something new up. (0.6) I do want to  
18 point out, a friend of mine who’s also a second-language  
19 learner wrote a children’s story in [the language].

20 Author: (0.6) Oh cool.

21 Taylor: And, and so that’s completely an invented story and  
22 it’s wonderful and it’s like wow, here’s a new thing to  
23 add to the [language’s] literary canon. (0.6) And a new  
24 genre to add (0.8) kind of to the [language’s] literary  
25 canon. She also writes poetry in [the language] from time  
26 to time. And so I absolutely love that. (4.4) so yeah, I  
27 (0.6) I’m kind of teasing this apart as I go because @@  
28 (0.8) the idea that second-language speech also is really  
29 valuable is only about five years new to me and so I’m  
30 still kind of trying to get over my old prejudices.

Taylor begins the narrative by stating their beliefs, which challenges and resists the hegemonic ideologies that “fetishize” texts produced by first-language speakers (lines 1–5). However, this expectation is cancelled via “nevertheless” (see Bell, 2010); instead, Taylor demonstrates reflexivity and acknowledges their own internal bias for first-language speech. Taylor negotiates this tension by juxtaposing elders with a friend who is a second-language learner (lines 7–14); the former are more interested in providing traditional and historical narratives, whereas the latter has been creating new texts in the language. Taylor’s anecdote and positive evaluations about the friend’s practices thus serves to contest the ideologies that hold steadfast to the idea that only first-language speech should be documented and valorized. They also challenge the ideology that privileges traditional texts over invented texts. Finally, in the coda (lines 20–22), Taylor again displays awareness of their own shifting ideologies.

### 5.1.2. *Texts-as-curricula*

Another theme identified in the survey responses is what I call texts-as-curricula – that is, the use of texts as the foundation for most if not all activities within a particular LR practice. As some participants suggested, texts can be seen as “immersive” or a “holistic product”; that is, texts can and often do contain all kinds of information from grammatical to cultural to genealogical. Although the immense amount of information can be viewed as a distinct challenge of texts, some respondents have leveraged this particular quality in their efforts.

The following narrative is told by Sam, an academic linguist who has been engaged in revitalization efforts of a dormant language. Below, Sam is responding to my question about how texts have been used inside the classroom.

1 Sam: N- n- none of the teachers when I- when I was there are  
2 fluent members of the speech community because there is no  
3 speech community to speak of. (0.7) We were all m: maybe  
4 (0.8) intermediate range speakers at best. And so: y’know  
5 we kind of did a a deep dive into the- the grammar of of  
6 those sentences and in those texts. (x) And we really  
7 were- were looking for specific grammatical features that  
8 we could you know develop lessons on. And and that was: it  
9 was in some ways kinda like having a fluent speaker in the  
10 classroom because you know you have you know actual (0.6)  
11 you know gra- gramma(Hx)tically accurate utterances that  
12 were were you know hand transcribed by [a renowned  
13 ethnography]. And we could you know go to them and say.  
14 Well this is how you know [this person] did it and this is  
15 how [that person] did it and that sort of thing. And you  
16 know if you have you know one or two texts that you’re  
17 that you’re really familiar with and you can sort of  
18 branch out and you know you have enough of that language  
19 at your disposal at that point to be able to tackle m- m-  
20 the larger more challenging (things and). And that’s how  
21 we, that’s how we did it. So the the teacher in that in  
22 that classroom worked more as a f:acilitator as than you  
23 know @@@ than like you know the (0.6) sage on stage (xxx)  
24 ca(Hx)ll it.

In lines 7–9, Sam analogizes texts to “having a fluent speaker” on the grounds that texts provide “actual grammatically accurate utterances.” Through this analogy, not only does Sam imbue texts with the power, authority, and cultural capital afforded to fluent speakers, but Sam also displays ideologies that present texts as an essential part of the LR process. Sam later envisions multiple possibilities as familiarity with individual texts increases (lines 11–15). In other words, certain parts of the texts may be used as scaffolds to promote learning of “more challenging” parts of the same texts. In the coda (lines 15–17), Sam reprises the analogy introduced at the beginning of the narrative and places the teacher not as an expert but as a “facilitator.” Thus, texts are regarded as the centerpiece – a living embodiment of fluent speakers – within dormant LR practices.

In the narrative given below, I asked Jessie, an academic linguist with non-heritage status working on an endangered language, how texts have been used in instructional settings.

1 Jessie: Okay. I /mif/- I should also say that that you know  
2 this is the experience that I've had I know that these  
3 stories are also used in other contexts? But the: ones  
4 that I have been m- have most access to are the  
5 instructional ones. Both with me as a student, and me as  
6 an observer, and me in some cases as a co:-teacher. And  
7 the way that the the these these texts are used a:re so:  
8 one is just as a way of introducing people to aspects of  
9 the culture. So I've seen these stories to say look, this  
10 is these are some parts of the culture, this is reflected  
11 in the story. I've also seen them though be the central  
12 point that students have to learn. So: for example, o- o-  
13 one of the classes that I'm involved with the exams a:re  
14 are to learn these oral stories. And they are to memorize  
15 them, and to be able to recite them, appropriately. So  
16 that's u- those are really the ways in which I have seen  
17 them used. In so:me smore subtle ways? and certainly what  
18 I probably would do more of if I were the one that was  
19 teaching is I would use those to say look! take a look at  
20 this phrase, take a look at this this grammatical  
21 structure. So I've seen them used a little bit like that  
22 but not primarily. Primarily it is about learning the  
23 story and being able to tell the story yourself. That's  
24 the way that they've been primarily used with- with every  
25 now and then some focus on a particular word or structure  
26 that sits in the stories themselves.

Jessie describes two uses of texts (lines 5–11): “introducing people to aspects of the culture” by making explicit the cultural information contained within the texts and learning to tell stories. In contrast to the emphasis on grammatical information in Sam’s narrative, texts in Jessie’s narrative become the focal point for cultural competency, poetics, and performance. Whereas grammar only has a minor role in the LR practices Jessie reports on, it becomes a larger focus when Jessie imagines their own approach to texts (lines 13–15). Therefore, this contrast represents disjunctures in the ideologies surrounding how people envision texts can and should be used.

The final example of texts-as-curricula comes from my work-in-progress in collaboration with speakers of Crow to audio and video record narratives in Crow and English about culturally, historically, and personally significant places around the Crow Indian Reservation. For example, as shown in Figure 10, *Cozy Corner* was a cafe in Lodge Grass that burned down in 1992. Places like Cozy Corner are not typically regarded as culturally important sites, but to many, they are personally meaningful. While these narratives have been archived (Alden et al., nd), I have also placed them on Esri Story Maps, an online digital storytelling platform, to promote interest in experiencing the stories told by members of the community. Although Sam’s and Jessie’s narratives position texts as a window to language and culture, I suggest that texts can also foster relationship building efforts not only with other individuals but also with the land. Although this project is still under development, I envision possibilities that involve ways for people to connect, even those who are living away from their community (see also Davis, 2018, pp. 128–142).

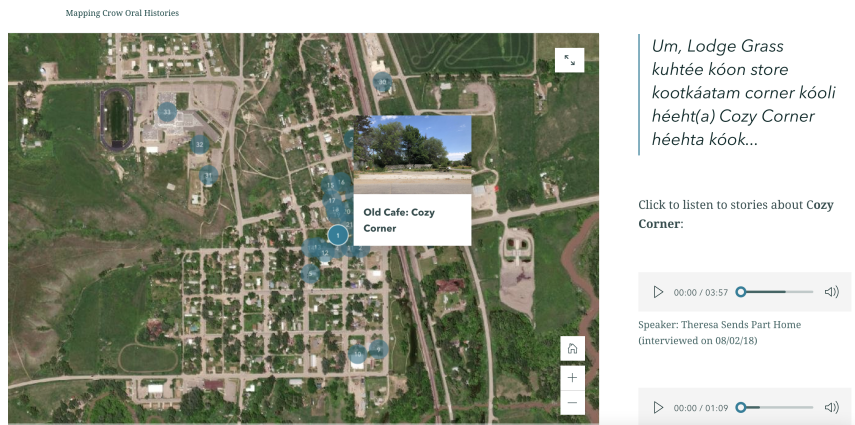


Figure 10. *Mapping Crow Oral Histories* digital project

## 5.2. Challenges

### 5.2.1. Complexity

Another theme that I identified involves linguistic complexity; that is, texts are often too complex to use sometimes even for advanced learners. In the following narrative, Alex, an academic linguist with non-heritage status, describes efforts to alleviate such concerns in the development of learning materials for a dormant language.

- 1 Alex: And actually we have so we are on the brink of publishing
- 2 our first language textbook. And you know we've we've sort
- 3 of tried to do this dance between the (1.1) the (0.8)
- 4 active teaching of it and then also trying to incorporate
- 5 in a lot of that source material? So we've done a lot of
- 6 (0.9) we do present some texts sort of in their native
- 7 format but in other cases we've manipulated them a lot to
- 8 avoid certain verb forms and (x) to try and give the
- 9 essence of the text and have it still be [the language]
- 10 but avoid some of that really complex stuff that you know
- 11 you're not going to get an a level one textbook if they
- 12 wanted to go look it up they could even do@ tha@t you@
- 13 kno@w. (0.8) So yeah I totally understand. We also got
- 14 children's books: which I think actually you know we (0.7)
- 15 modified it a little bit for clarity but left the
- 16 complexity (1.3) in the children's books.

In Alex's narrative, there are two functions of adapting texts: reducing complexity (lines 5–9) and improving clarity (lines 10–12). Although these practices may be seen as contesting ideologies of authenticity – that is, by simplifying the language artificially – Alex adds that efforts are made to maintain “the essence of the text and have it still be [the language].” Not only do Alex's comments render texts as artifacts that can be reworked (or recontextualized) and subsequently recontextualized, but I suggest that they also reflect an ideology of variability; that is, there is variability in how stories and other genres of texts can be told. As such, these modifications, which do not replace the original, represent different versions of the same text just as different



and even the same people may tell the same story differently.

### 5.2.2. *Confronting the past*

The final theme I briefly discuss involves confronting what some may consider to be an uncomfortable and upsetting past while working with texts. The following narrative features Robin, a heritage language learner, who has been retranslating texts.

1 Robin: (1.4) So far we've only had to retranslate. (0.9) And  
2 that's the thing is retranslating (1.0) what like (1.0)  
3 some white person wrote as the translation forever ago?  
4 Because right people wrote down that it was father and son  
5 you know chief and then the next chief was the son. And  
6 you're like no y- they're thinking of it through Western  
7 eyes. That would never happen in our culture. So it's  
8 basically retranslating the Western perspective back  
9 into our indigenous lens? So basically retranslating stuff  
10 going no no this person was full of crap. what it REALLY  
11 says is @ li@ke.

In the narrative, Robin expresses disapproval of the original translations of the texts so much so that one of the LR practices involved “retranslating the Western perspective back into our indigenous lens.” Therefore, Robin’s engagement in decolonizing and indigenizing the texts through retranslation reflects an ideology of continual perfectibility (Debenport, 2015); that is, texts are not merely completed textual artifacts but can be revised and perfected, similar to the approach in Alex’s narrative to simplify texts. Furthermore, by retranslating the texts, Robin asserts control over the contents of the texts. Ultimately, the person whose texts they are retranslating displays professional linguistic competence (since Robin indicated only retranslation was needed), but as Robin asserts, their failure to provide culturally appropriate translations indicates a lack of cultural competency.

## 6. Conclusions and implications

In the same memorandum introduced at the beginning of the paper, Radcliffe-Brown again asks, “But just what will be done by scholars with these texts?” He further speculates that texts would be valued based on “mere antiquarian sentiment.” Not only did the survey responses and interviews demonstrate varied and creative ways in which texts have been used in LR, but they also represent efforts by language activists from various backgrounds, not *just* scholars. Moreover, while respondents produced discourses of memorialization of a sublime past, they also regard texts as “endowed with generative potential in their own right” (Moore, 2006, p. 297) and, as Nevins (2013, p. 39) writes, “resources that community participants intercept and recontextualize in alternate ways as they navigate their futures.”

This paper thus adds to the growing literature that documents the interactions between LR practices, and language attitudes and ideologies of individuals. While most of the literature employs ethnographic methods to study practices of single communities, I focused more specifically on practices that involve texts across multiple communities. Thus, those who wish to learn not only how but why people have incorporated texts in LR, which are often not reported, may find this work beneficial. What this research has taught me is that language practices by all types of speakers across endangered,

dormant, and awakening language situations should be documented, studied, and appreciated. My hope is that with a greater understanding of how LR practitioners enact change and construct meaningful cultures for themselves through language, not only can we better inform future LR efforts, but we can also come to a more holistic picture of what language is and is for.

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## Appendix A Summary of prospects and challenges of texts in LR

### A.1. Prospects

**Table A.1.** Summary of prospects of using and creating texts in LR

(1)	Corpus, material, and text development	(a)	Developing an online user-friendly searchable corpus consisting of texts with simple searches which may then be useful in developing other computer tools
		(b)	Adapting existing texts into a new form, such as graphic novels illustrated by artists within the community or videos that target specific youth segments in the community
		(c)	Illustrating existing stories and narratives
(2)	Culture and history	(a)	Creating contemporary renditions of traditional stories
		(b)	Incorporating into traditional activities and cultural lessons
		(c)	Promoting history and connecting with one's own heritage
(3)	Digital solutions	(a)	Using social media and other online venues to circulate texts
		(b)	Organizing discussions and lessons that involve texts via Zoom (or any other online video conferencing platforms) or listservs
		(c)	Playing recordings of texts and reading texts out loud on the radio and on podcasts
		(d)	Developing e-books and other digital language learning applications from existing texts
(4)	Listening	(a)	Internalizing the sounds and cadence of speakers to help with one's own pronunciation
		(b)	Incorporating into transcription and comprehension exercises
(5)	Accessibility	(a)	Sharing and circulating texts widely to try encourage people who may not have known about them to use them
		(b)	Creating transcriptions, glosses, and translations for texts to facilitate learning
		(c)	Extracting smaller portions of texts to aid learners
		(d)	Incorporating into translation exercises as a group activity that can then improve accessibility to those texts
(6)	Performance	(a)	Reciting in the classroom, home, and language events, such as poetry reading, festivals, and fairs
		(b)	Reciting from memory or from transcriptions which can help learners become better accustomed to speaking the language
		(c)	Acting out lines from texts while reciting them
		(e)	Adapting existing texts into plays for children and adults
		(f)	Modeling dialogues (e.g. question-answer) from texts
(7)	Reference	(a)	Searching words and phrases in context for studying, teaching (e.g. building lesson plans around frequent patterns or activities for students to practice identifying patterns), or developing new materials
		(b)	Using as a form of inspiration for new creative works
(8)	Creation of new texts	(a)	Composing and singing songs
		(b)	Training youths to work with Elders to produce and publish texts
		(c)	Creating signage to place around universities, government buildings, transport hubs, and other public spaces in the language of the people whose territory are being resided on
		(d)	Transforming stories written by learners in the dominant language into bilingual booklets
		(e)	Encouraging students to transform English texts into their own version in the language

## A.2. Challenges

**Table A.2.** Summary of challenges of using texts in LR

(1)	Complexity	(a)	Unfamiliarity with sentence structures, morphemes, and words
		(b)	Unfamiliarity with the different orthographies or phonological descriptions provided by different linguists over time
(2)	Quality	(a)	Insufficient metadata for understanding the provenance of texts
		(b)	Poor quality texts (physical or digital) may be difficult to read, watch, or listen
		(c)	Unintelligible handwriting
		(d)	Transcription, glossing, or/and translation may not be accurate
(3)	Jargon and archaisms	(a)	Linguistic descriptions in texts may be impenetrable or difficult to understand for non-linguists
		(b)	Older texts may contain unfamiliar words or words that have undergone semantic change
(4)	Appropriateness	(a)	Not everyone find texts personally relevant or interesting – topics discussed long ago may be rarely discussed in current times
		(b)	Beginning learners may find the complexity and length of texts intimidating
		(c)	Limited range of genres that may not be appropriate
		(d)	Certain stories may be considered unsuitable for younger children
(5)	Orthography	(a)	Without an audio component, learners may be unsure how to pronounce the words by reading the orthography alone
		(b)	Lack of tone or stress marking, or other phonological information in the orthography may hinder engagement with texts
(6)	Accessibility	(a)	Lacking transcriptions or/and translations
		(b)	Inaccessible due to the format of the files
		(c)	Inaccessible due to their physical or virtual location
		(d)	With a sheer volume of texts, lack of page numbers and indexing hampers efforts

## Appendix B Full online survey

Note that the display and skip logic is not shown, and not all questions were provided to respondents. For example, those who do not consent to the research are thanked them for their participation. Options from dropdown menus are also not shown.

**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**  
**Assessing the Role of Texts in Language Revitalization**  
**(CPHS# [REDACTED])**

**Introduction**

My name is [REDACTED] and I am a graduate student at the [REDACTED] working with my faculty advisor Professor [REDACTED] in the Linguistics Department. We would like to invite you to take part in our study which examines the role of texts - any kind of connected speech or discourse, such as stories, narratives and conversations - in language revitalization by studying the attitudes and beliefs about texts and how texts can be used in language revitalization.

**Procedures**

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to do the following:

- Provide information about your background in language revitalization.
- Provide information about your views on language and language revitalization.
- Provide information about your views on texts in language revitalization.

Study time: Study participation will take approximately 18-20 minutes.

**Benefits**

There is no direct benefit to you from taking part of this study. However, it is hoped that the information gained from the study will help those engaged in language revitalization understand more about how texts can be used in language revitalization.

**Risks/Discomforts**

As with all research, there is a chance that confidentiality could be compromised; however, we are taking precautions to minimize this risk.

**Confidentiality**

To minimize the risks to confidentiality, your study data will be collected in an anonymous manner; we will receive your study data devoid of any personal identifiers aside from your e-mail address if you choose to provide this. Your study data will be stored on a password protected computer in the Principal Investigator's locked office.

After the research is completed, we may save your study data for use in future research done by ourselves or others indefinitely. The same measures described above will be taken to protect confidentiality of this study data. Your e-mail address will only be used to contact you to set up a follow-up interview, should you wish to participate in it.

### **Compensation**

You will not be paid for taking part in this study.

### **Rights**

**Participation in research is completely voluntary.** You are free to decline to take part in the project. You can decline to answer any questions and are free to stop taking part in the project at any time. Whether or not you choose to participate in the research and whether or not you choose to answer any questions or continue participating in the project, there will be no penalty to you or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

### **Questions**

If you have any questions about this research, you may telephone [REDACTED] at [REDACTED], or contact us by email at [REDACTED]. If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the [REDACTED]'s Committee for Protection of Human Subjects at [REDACTED], or e-mail [REDACTED].

\*\*\*\*\*

If you agree to take part in this research, please click the "I accept" button below.

By accepting, you certify that you are 18 years or older, you have read this consent form, and agree to take part in this research.

- I accept
- I do not accept

Are you currently residing in the European Union or European Economic Area?

- Yes
- No

### **Notification/Consent for Collection and Use of Study Data**

This research will collect data about you that can identify you, referred to as Study Data. The General Data Protection Regulation (“GDPR”) requires researchers to provide this Notice to you when we collect and use Study Data about people who are located in a State that belongs to the European Union or in the European Economic Area.

We will obtain and create Study Data directly from you so we can properly conduct this research. As we conduct research procedures with your Study Data, new Study Data may be created.

The Research Team will collect and use the following types of Study Data for this research:

- Contact Information
- Your age
- Your philosophical beliefs
- Information about the geographical region
  
- Information about your response to the research procedure

This research will keep your Study Data indefinitely after this research ends.

The following categories of individuals may receive Study Data collected or created about you:

- Members of the research team so they properly conduct the research
- [REDACTED] staff will oversee the research to see if it is conducted correctly and to protect your safety and rights
- Representatives of the U.S. Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) who oversee the research

The research team will transfer your Study Data to our research site in the United States. The United States does not have the same laws to protect your Study Data as States in the EU/EEA. However, the research team is committed to protecting the confidentiality of your Study Data. Additional information about the protections we will use is included in the consent document. The GDPR gives you rights relating to your Study Data, including the right to:



- Access, correct or withdraw your Study Data; however, the research team may need to keep Study Data as long as it is necessary to achieve the purpose of this research
- Restrict the types of activities the research team can do with your Study Data
- Object to using your Study Data for specific types of activities
- Withdraw your consent to use your Study Data for the purposes outlined in the consent form and in this document (Please understand that you may withdraw your consent to use new Study Data but Study Data already collected will continue to be used as outlined in the consent document and in this Notice)

The [REDACTED], on behalf of [REDACTED], is responsible for the use of your Study Data for this research. You can contact the UCB Privacy Officer by phone at [REDACTED] or by email at [REDACTED] if you have:

- Questions about this Notice
- Complaints about the use of your Study Data
- If you want to make a request relating to the rights listed above.

\*\*\*\*\*

If you agree to take part in this research, please click the "I accept" button below.

By accepting, you certify that you are 18 years or older, you have read this consent form, and agree to take part in this research.

- I accept
- I do not accept

The following questions ask for information about your language revitalization background.

Were/ Are you involved in a language revitalization project?

- Yes
- No

Please indicate your role(s) in your language revitalization efforts.

*Select all that apply.*

- Language teacher
- Language learner
- Academic linguist (that is, working at a university/college)
- Non-academic linguist (that is, working elsewhere)
- Other

Did you grow up speaking the language?

- Yes
- No

Please indicate the age group(s) you taught/teach the language to.

*Select all that apply.*

- Babies and toddlers (0 - 2 years)
- Preschooler (3 - 5 years)
- Children (6 - 12 years)
- Teenagers (13 - 19 years)
- Young adults (20 - 35 years)
- Adults (36 - 59 years)
- Elders (60 years or older)

Were/Are you involved in language revitalization efforts for more than one language?

- Yes
- No

**For the following questions, please respond with the language work you are most familiar with in mind.**

In which country did/does your language revitalization work take place?

Do you consider the language that you worked/work on as part of your own heritage?

- Yes
- No

*In my upbringing, there were people who taught me about the importance of my own cultural heritage.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree

How many years were/have you been engaged in language revitalization work?

- 0 - 3 years
- 4 - 7 years
- 8 or more years

What is your age?

- 18 - 24 years
- 25 - 34 years
- 35 - 44 years
- 45 - 54 years
- 55 - 64 years
- 65 - 74 years
- 75 - 84 years
- 85 years or older

The following questions ask about the situation of the language.

### **Country**

What is the vitality of the language?

- Dormant, sleeping, or "extinct" (that is, no fluent, first-language speakers)
- Endangered or threatened
- Other

Please indicate the domain(s) where the language is generally used by speakers.

*Select all that apply.*

- In the home
- In the school
- At work
- In church or other religious contexts
- On the radio
- In large gatherings (e.g. community events or gatherings with more than 10 people)
- In small gatherings (e.g. family events or gatherings with 10 or less people)
- On social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter)
- In electronic messages (e.g. SMS texts, emails)
- Other

Do you know of any young people, defined here as 0 - 19 years, who use the language in any way (speaking, listening, writing)?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

Please indicate the age range of the young people who use the language.

*Select all that apply.*

- Babies and toddlers (0 - 2 years)
- Preschooler (3 - 5 years)
- Children (6 - 12 years)
- Teenagers (13 - 19 years)

How many young people use the language?

- More than 10
- 5 to 10
- Fewer than 5
- I don't know

The following questions ask about your general views on language and language revitalization.

**For the rest of the survey, please respond with your general experiences in language revitalization, rather than just with one particular community.**

Do you think language revitalization is important?

- Yes
- No

Describe why you consider language revitalization important

Describe why you do not consider language revitalization important

How important is it to have a writing system for the language?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

How important is it to teach learners how to read and write in the language?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

How important is it to speak the language in the same way as the ancestors did?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important

- Not at all important

How appropriate is it for the language to be used on digital devices, such as mobile phones, tablets, and computers?

- Extremely appropriate
- Somewhat appropriate
- Neither appropriate nor inappropriate
- Somewhat inappropriate
- Extremely inappropriate

How appropriate is it to incorporate topics and items of the dominant or majority culture, such as mainstream music, movies, or classic (European) stories, in language revitalization efforts?

- Extremely appropriate
- Somewhat appropriate
- Neither appropriate nor inappropriate
- Somewhat inappropriate
- Extremely inappropriate

How important is it to keep the language free from influence of the dominant or majority language(s), such as borrowing words or language mixing?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

How important is it to speak the language all the time?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

The following questions ask about texts in your community. Please **carefully** read the information below.

The term *text* is a broad and vague category that consists of any kind of speech (spoken or written) composed of a series of connected sentences. This includes:

- narratives and stories (e.g. traditional, personal, historical, invented)
- newspapers
- instructions on how to do things
- conversations
- prayers
- songs
- speech play (e.g. jokes, riddles, puns)

**To restrict the scope of this survey, the following questions focus on texts that appear in audio recordings or in written documents.**

Please feel free to navigate to the previous page(s) if you would like to refer back to the information about texts.

Are there any recorded texts (spoken or written) in the language?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

Are there texts in the language that are housed in archives?

- Yes, I know of texts that reside in archives
- No, I have searched for texts but did not find any
- I don't know

What medium do these texts exist as?

- Written only
- Audio only
- Both written and audio
- I don't know

What kinds of texts are available in the language?

*Select all that apply.*

- Traditional narratives (e.g. myths, legends, epics, folktales)
- Historical narratives or/and personal anecdotes
- Invented stories (fictional stories not considered traditional)
- Newspapers
- Instructions on how to do things

- Conversations
- Prayers
- Songs
- Speech play (e.g. jokes, riddles, puns, tongue twisters)
- Other

Have texts been used in language revitalization efforts in your community?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

Describe how texts have been used in language revitalization in your community

Describe why you think texts have not been used in language revitalization in your community

The following questions ask about your general views on texts in language revitalization.

What types of texts are you familiar with in the language?

*Select all that apply.*

- Traditional narratives (e.g. myths, legends, epics, folktales)
- Historical narratives or/and personal anecdotes
- Invented stories (fictional stories not considered traditional)
- Newspapers
- Instructions on how to do things
- Conversations
- Prayers
- Songs



- Speech play (e.g. jokes, riddles, puns, tongue twisters)
- Other

How important is the use of texts in language revitalization?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- Slightly important
- Not at all important

Please explain why you think the use of texts is important in language revitalization

Please explain why you think the use of texts is not important in language revitalization

In your opinion, what are the most important types of texts for use in language revitalization?

*Please select all that apply.*

- Traditional narratives (e.g. myths, legends, epics, folktales)
- Historical narratives or/and personal anecdotes
- Invented stories (fictional stories not considered traditional)
- Newspapers
- Instructions on how to do things
- Conversations
- Prayers
- Songs
- Speech play (e.g. jokes, riddles, puns, tongue twisters)
- Other

Describe the challenges a learner might encounter when using texts in language revitalization

Describe the ways you think texts can be used in your language community

Describe other ways you think texts can be used in your language community

Would you be interested in participating in a follow-up interview to talk more about the role of texts in language revitalization?

- Yes
- No

Please provide your email address below so that we can get in touch with you

Thank you very much for participating in this study!

If you have any additional comments, please let us know in the space below.

## Appendix C Transcription conventions

Table C. Transcription conventions

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.	falling, or final, intonational contour followed by noticeable pause
?	rising intonation
!	animated tone
,	'continuing' intonation
-	(self-)interruption, abrupt stop in speech
:	elongated syllable, additional colons indicate longer elongation
//	phonetic transcription
<u>underline</u>	heightened pitch
Capital initial	start of "sentence"
CAPS	emphatic stress
...	ellipsis, parts omitted
(0.6)	pause, timed (in seconds)
(Hx)	audible exhalation
(x)	indecipherable syllable
(word)	uncertain word
@	laughter
=	'latching', no discernible pause between one speaker and the next
[word]	original word modified by researcher

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