

A multicompetence approach to awakening dormant languages

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ABSTRACT

This chapter explores a multicompetence approach to awaken dormant languages which allows learners to strategically use their dominant language(s) to facilitate learning their ancestral, target, language (Hirata-Edds & Peter, 2016). A multicompetence approach acknowledges the supportive role dominant languages can play in reawakening endangered languages with specific domains of use reserved exclusively for the more vulnerable target language (Garcia, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Bommelyn & Tuttle, 2018; Zahir, 2018). The longer-term goal can be to expand the target language beyond these domains while allowing the previously dominant language to remain welcome as a scaffold when needed. This approach views multilingualism as a holistic practice that promotes the goal of awakening a dormant language and avoids the stigma of code-meshing in language learning. This chapter first introduces current work in multicompetence and translanguaging approaches to language learning with particular focus on endangered and dormant language revitalization. We then describe two current examples that embrace multicompetence as a path to full bilingualism. Our first example describes the case of Myaamia language revitalization efforts (Baldwin et al., 2013) and our second example describes more recent initial efforts to revive the Ótissi language in Northern California (Yiamkis, 2020). The chapter concludes with some reflections on factors language activists may want to consider when evaluating whether this approach will be useful for them.

RESUMEN

Este capítulo explora un método de competencias múltiples para el despertar de una lengua que permite a los estudiantes usar su lengua dominante de manera estratégica para facilitar el aprendizaje de su lengua de herencia (Hirata-Edds & Peter, 2016). El método de competencias múltiples reconoce el apoyo que pueden ofrecer las lenguas dominantes a las lenguas que están despertando y que tienen dominios de uso reservados únicamente para la lengua más vulnerable (Garcia, 2009; Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Bommelyn & Tuttle, 2018; Zahir, 2018). La meta a largo plazo puede ser de expandir el uso de la lengua meta más allá de esos dominios y de permitir al mismo tiempo que la lengua previamente dominante se use como andamio cuando se necesite. Este método percibe el multilingüismo como una práctica integral que promueve la meta de despertar una lengua y evita el estigma de la alternancia de código en el aprendizaje de una lengua. Este capítulo primero introduce trabajo reciente en competencias múltiples y en translingüismo enfocado en las lenguas en riesgo y en las lenguas dormidas. Describimos entonces dos ejemplos que incorporan la competencia múltiple a manera de vía hacia al bilingüismo completo. Nuestro primer ejemplo describe el caso de los esfuerzos de revitalización del Myaamia (Baldwin et al., 2013) y el segundo describe los esfuerzos recientes iniciales para despertar la lengua Ótissi de California del Norte (Yiamkis, 2020). Este capítulo concluye con algunas consideraciones acerca de los factores que los participantes del activismo lingüístico querrán considerar al evaluar si este método les sería de utilidad.

1. INTRODUCTION

Awakening a language that is no longer spoken in a community is a delicate and complex effort. Community members face the challenges of how to transform archival material into living language practices and then grow the language in the community more broadly. To help address the challenges of revitalization in an awakening language context, this chapter focuses on the concept of multicompetence (Cook & Wei, 2016), a perspective on language learning and use that leverages the knowledge and abilities learners already have from their first and other languages—in the western United States, this is usually English or Spanish. These prior abilities are used as tools to jumpstart learning the new (heritage) language. From this perspective, learners are not starting from scratch as they learn their first words and phrases in the new language, but rather they are adding new language competencies into their already formidable communicative repertoire. A handful of studies have documented both the natural presence and intentional use of multicompetence practices in revitalization contexts and communities (e.g., Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Elliott, 2022; Lowman et al.,

2007; Lüpke, 2018; Wyman et al., 2013; Peter et al., 2017), and we suggest this perspective can be harnessed to support the unique situations of awakening languages as well.

Reviews of revitalization efforts of endangered or highly endangered languages (Hinton, 2011; Hinton, Huss & Roche, 2018) show us that most current approaches to revitalization include communicative, usage-focused practices, such as immersion programs in schools (e.g., Wilson & Kamanā, 2011), language nests at home (e.g., Bommelyn & Tuttle, 2018), and Master-Apprentice activities (Hinton et al., 2018), among others. These approaches reflect the now widely-held position in second language education that meaningful language use is at the heart of language learning and, thus, critical to include in any plan to revive a community language. Meaningful language use emphasizes actual practice of the language as it would occur naturally in everyday contexts. A multicompetence perspective can support usage-focused approaches by recognizing the usefulness of languages we already know and engaging them as resources for learning the new language rather than isolating them from the learning process. This perspective may seem like a step backwards from the impressive efforts to establish immersion contexts for language learning, especially for Native languages. However, leveraging what one already knows and can do with any language can, in fact, facilitate efforts to learn a new language, perhaps especially in communities with little or no access to the necessary ingredients for full immersion.

In this chapter we first introduce the concept of multicompetence and related terminology in the context of usage-focused, domain-based approaches to reviving dormant and highly endangered languages. We then highlight in detail the work of two of the authors, Baldwin and Yiamkis, who are central participants in their communities' efforts to revive languages that had become functionally dormant, namely the Miami language and Pit River language respectively. Their work prioritizes the meaningful, active use of these languages from a multicompetence perspective. The chapter concludes with some reflections on the two case studies and highlights some principles that other communities may choose to follow if they see this approach as a good fit for their own efforts.

2. DOMAINS OF USE AND MULTICOMPETENCE

One question that weaves through many revitalization efforts is how can learners begin using the language in meaningful ways. Where and with whom can learners actually use their language? Unlike learners of widely-spoken languages like English or Spanish, learners of highly endangered or awakening languages do not have ready-made social contexts and communities of speakers they can simply join (Baldwin et al., 2013; baird, 2013). In the case of awakening languages specifically, all teachers are also learners, so trying to use the language can feel like starting from zero for all involved. In communities where the language is no longer used daily, the everyday contexts of use like home, school, and work must be carefully rekindled.

One promising strategy for starting to use the new language is to focus on specific, limited domains in which the language can be reintroduced and practiced (Zahir, 2018). For example, domains can be physical places such as the kitchen, the bathroom, the forest, or the lunchroom at work, or they can be domains of action like weaving, hiking, cooking, or playing a sport¹. Domains of use allow learners to focus on limited but meaningful contexts in which they can build vocabulary, use functional phrases, and employ relevant grammar forms to express meaning. As learners become more confident in specific domains and more learners join the effort, they can expand their language use to other domains (e.g., going shopping with others while using the language to talk about what you are buying), other time frames (e.g., telling a family member about an activity you did earlier that day or planning a gathering next week), and other modalities (e.g., texting recipes to friends and commenting on whether you enjoyed them). Likewise, smaller domains can be expanded into larger domains such as community language classes, household language nests, or immersive summer camps in which communicative practices can be generalized beyond the initial specific activities or spaces.

The power of an approach that starts with domains is that the domains can be as bite-sized as needed, making it easier for learners to create an immersive experience for themselves within that limited space or activity, even when the learner cannot yet maintain language use outside that domain. As the domains expand and connect to other domains, the immersive experience also expands, and learners eventually develop a web of connected domains where they can function bilingually or even fully in the awakening language if they choose.

A multicompetence approach can support the resilience and expansion of language domains. Maintaining immersion in a new language is a powerful experience and an important goal for many speakers, but language learning does not happen in a straight line, and ‘staying in the language’ can be daunting for learners even within limited domains. Vocabulary learned last week will slip the mind, grammar and word patterns learned months ago might get mixed up, new language patterns can feel confusing, and inevitably ideas and topics that one wants to express will be beyond the current abilities of the language user. In these moments, learners have some choices. They can try to maintain immersion, for example by finding alternate ways to express themselves in the language or by abandoning a difficult topic. Making the effort to stay in the language is indeed one way to build language competence. However, these strategies require considerable commitment and effort and can interrupt the flow of thought and communication in the moment. Another choice can be to briefly use a shared language to replace a forgotten word or clarify a concept when needed, or to use

¹ See, for example, Bommelyn & Tuttle (2018) as well as the collection of Master’s Projects completed in the Language Teaching Studies Program at the University of Oregon <https://nilirc.uoregon.edu/digital-heritage/community/188>.

knowledge of other languages (e.g., those learned as subjects at school) to grasp a new grammar point. Recent research shows that if continued communication in the target language is supported, principled uses of languages other than the new language do not slow down language learning and can even lead to superior outcomes when compared to total immersion (de la Fuente & Goldenberg, 2020). In other words, strategies that maintain overall communication and motivation to keep trying can be as useful as strategies that maintain full immersion.

A hallmark of full immersion is the simulation of a monolingual environment (Cummins, 2007) in which teachers and learners act as if the target language is the only available one for communicating. This maximizes time in the language and pushes learners to find ways to communicate meaning in the target language alone, usually with support from other modalities such as gestures, miming actions, and images. This approach typically assumes cognitive separation among languages and that the use of one language will likely interfere with the learning of the other (see Cummins, 2007, for discussion). However, the last few decades of research in bilingualism and instructed language learning have provided compelling evidence that languages are neither separated in our minds nor in the lived practices of bilinguals and multilinguals (see Leung & Valdés, 2019 and Cenoz & Gorter, 2019 for reviews). Hence, an interest in multicompetence (see Cook & Wei, 2016) has emerged, along with the related concepts of plurilingualism (see Piccardo, Germain-Rutherford & Lawrence, 2022) and translanguaging (see Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Wei, 2014; Wei, 2018).

Although often used to describe the common practices of proficient bilingual speakers, multicompetence can refer to the emerging bilingual behaviors of novice learners as well. A multicompetence approach views ‘languaging’ as a process that draws upon all our linguistic and paralinguistic symbolic resources. As described by Cook (2016), “all the languages form part of one overall system, with complex and shifting relationships between them, affecting the first language as well as the others” (p. 2). Different languages are not separate systems in our minds to be developed in isolation but are interconnected or even one unitary system (see Garcia & Wei, 2014) that we continue to elaborate into ever-extending networks. Indeed, brain research indicates that when we use one language, other languages we know are activated (Bak & Mehmedbegovic-Smith, 2022) and, thus, can be drawn on as resources rather than viewed as interferences. When learners attempt to learn a new language, they are building upon already established neural networks of meaning-making rather than building from scratch. They are also drawing on critical abilities to contrast and compare language forms and to employ (or not) associated social and cultural behaviors intimately linked to language use. A multicompetence approach encourages learners to draw from their considerable competencies and repertoires in their dominant language as well as from any other languages learned in the family, community, or at school.

Beyond the implications of this approach at a practical level, using one's full repertoire is arguably a powerful act of resistance against the ongoing legacy of settler colonization. Scholars of translanguaging assert that the notion that languages are separate systems is fundamentally a cultural and political construct, one that can allow those in power to determine whose repertoires are superior and whose should be excluded (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Otheguy et al., 2015). In this view, learning an ancestral language is not a matter of mastering a new, separate linguistic system; it means progressively awakening and integrating linguistic features and other ways of communicating (that may have once been forbidden in a colonized context) back into one's current cultural identity and communicative practices. Using features of English (for example) during this translanguaging process is not a surrender to the language of the colonizer but a rejection of the segregation of languages in the first place, which enables some languages to become majoritized and other minoritized. From this perspective, speakers are empowered to choose when and how to expand or limit their own repertoires (for example to include or exclude features of English from a given domain) rather than having their repertoires divided, named, and policed by external systems of power. Accordingly, in this chapter, although we continue to refer to named languages such as Pit River language, Miami language, and English, we do not assume that language boundaries are linguistic or cognitive realities but rather are socially shaped and determined.

A growing number of authors are discussing multicompetence practices in endangered minority language and revitalization contexts. For example, Peter et al. (2017) acknowledge the extensive use of translanguaging by students and teachers in the Tsalagi Dideloquasdi Cherokee immersion school in Oklahoma. Although many at the school consider the use of English intrusive and counterproductive, the authors suggest it is an expected bilingual phenomenon that can be harnessed as an element of school pedagogy, and which may ultimately be a natural vehicle for youth to carry Cherokee into domains beyond school. As Hirata-Edds & Peter (2017) note, "If [...] awareness [of social values in language choice] can silence a young language user, then language revitalization efforts promoting the advantages of multi-competence can counteract such reticence by instilling confidence in and valuing use of ancestral languages together with languages of the broader community" (p. 333). Likewise, Cenoz & Gorter (2017) note that "translanguaging can be at the same time a threat for the survival of minority languages and an opportunity for their development" (p. 901). They recommend several principles to follow, including establishing "breathing spaces" for exclusive use of the minority language in parallel to intentional uses of translanguaging (p. 909). Lowman et al. (2007), as another example, document the improvements in literacy among Maori learners in New Zealand who used English to process and analyze texts in Maori. As a final example, Elliott (2022) describes various multimedia and online language materials created by primarily youth learners through course offerings

at the Northwest Indian Language Institute at the University of Oregon. These include films, maps, animated GIFs, and ebooks that represent the current plurilingual repertoires of the learners.

The following two case studies provide examples of applying a multicompetence approach to the unique situations of awakening languages. In the first case described below, Jarrid Baldwin describes the history and current work of his family and the wider community of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma to revive the previously dormant Miami language. Baldwin details the structure and content of three examples of Miami language teaching and learning: the summer programs for younger learners, a teacher-training course for camp educators, and an online community class for all Miami Tribe members. In the second case study Connor Yiamkis, member of the Pit River Tribe in northern California, describes recent efforts to transform archival and linguistic materials about Pit River language into domains-based learning experiences for his community. These efforts include online classes for community members as well as written and audiovisual materials that provide input and examples for how to learn and use Pit River language in everyday domains.

These two cases span the work of several decades, with Baldwin's representing a more mature stage of the awakening process and Yiamkis' an initial stage. Both cases focus on domains as a way to nurture bite-sized immersive environments for their awakening languages and welcome the intentional use of English and other linguistic resources to support learning. Importantly, these two cases illustrate teaching approaches with a deep commitment to usage-based ways of teaching and learning an awakening language.

3. CASE I: MYAAMIKI EEMAMWICIKI - JARRID BALDWIN

The Miami Tribe of Oklahoma is located in Miami, Oklahoma, where its elected body carries out their sovereign responsibilities on behalf of tribal citizens. Our historic homelands include the southern portion of the Great Lakes region, which includes western Ohio, lower portions of Michigan and Wisconsin, and all of Indiana and Illinois. In 1846 our ancestors experienced the first of two forced relocations west to Indian Territory by the 1870's. Forced relocation caused fragmentation of our people, the effects of which are still felt today as most of our tribal citizens live in diaspora. Today we are a community of over 6000 citizens residing in 49 states, with population concentrations in Indiana, Kansas, and Oklahoma due to the removals. This fracturing, among other events, contributed to a decline in language use until eventual dormancy sometime during the mid-20th century (and creates challenges for revitalization efforts). The last speakers of *myaamiaataweenki* 'the Miami language' passed sometime during the mid-20th century. It is not entirely clear who the last speaker was or when they passed. What we do know is that up until the 1990's there was only a small handful of elders who recalled as children hearing the language spoken by some adults and elders. Therefore, it is our belief that *myaamiaataweenki* has been dormant for approximately half a century.

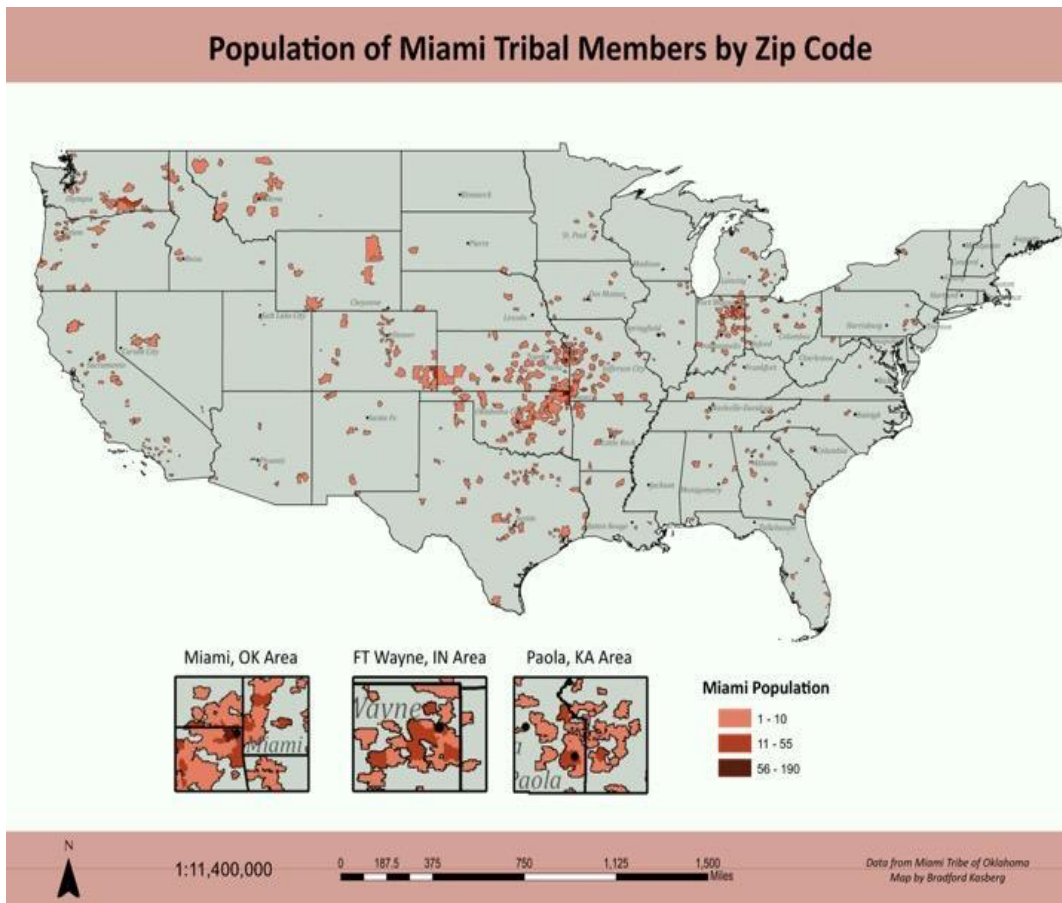


Figure 1: Map of Miami Tribal Members by Zip Code

Our current revitalization efforts reflect the culmination of more than 30 years of contributions by many individuals passionate about the survival of the language who created a foundation upon which future generations can build. The modern revitalization effort began by individuals in their private homes during the early 1990's utilizing materials from various archives around the United States. A major force in revitalization efforts is the work of Dr. David Costa, who began working on the Miami language in the late 1980's as a graduate student at UC Berkeley. Costa's greatest contribution to this effort was to eventually uncover nearly 270 years of documentation dating back to the late 1600's and to provide extensive analysis up to the present. Today, Costa serves as the Director of the Language Research office in the Myaamia Center. In 1996 the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma received an Administration for Native Americans Language Grant and with this funding opportunity launched a community effort. During the summer training under this grant, community elder Sarmey Darling coined the phrase *myaamiaki eemawiciki* 'the Miami awakening' and from that moment on, our entire revitalization effort has been known to us as the "awakening" (Baldwin & Costa, 2018).

ciinkwia weenswiaani neehi niila myaamia. My name is Jarrid Baldwin, or ciinkwia as I am called in my community. I am a citizen of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma and live in our homelands of the Southern Great Lakes, more specifically Cincinnati, OH. I grew up learning *myaamiaataweenki*, the Miami language, at a time when there were no fluent speakers, and remember using the language in a mixed Miami-English environment from the time I was a young child. To have more control over our education, especially with respect to our heritage, my parents, Daryl and Karen Baldwin, homeschooled me and my siblings. As my father began studying the Miami language, he taught it to my mother and us kids. My mother, as our homeschool teacher, created lullabies, games, and stories to help us learn. This coincided with the beginning of a community-wide interest in learning the language and, as a natural extension, my family became heavily involved in teaching the language.

This experience shaped my identity and gave me a strong sense of responsibility towards my community and our ongoing revitalization efforts. It eventually led to me pursuing language studies and ultimately serving my community today as a language instructor, which is but one small part of a larger effort of revitalization. After receiving my undergraduate degree from Miami University in 2013, I began working full time for the Miami Tribe as a language teacher, work I continue to this day. More recently, I received my master's degree in Second Language Studies from University of Hawai'i Mānoa, which has played a vital role in my work as a language teacher. My connection to and work in my community has put me in a position to tell you this piece of *myaamiaki eemamwiciki*. As a tribal citizen dedicated to the promotion and preservation of our language, my goal here is to share with you my experiences working in my community. As part of this case study, I will discuss our language education approach and the role multi-competence plays.

3.1 TOWARDS A COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE APPROACH

Our trajectory for teaching *myaamiaataweenki* over these three decades has varied in response to our developing understanding of the broader work of revitalization, of best practices in language education, and of current community needs. During the beginning phase of our community-based work we relied heavily on teaching grammar and utilizing linguistics in the preparation of learning materials and training workshops: memorizing verb paradigms, practicing conjugations, etc. This was a natural first step considering our language revitalization efforts were initially formed by individuals trained in linguistics. The linguistics-grammar approach continued until we noticed that most of our learners were losing interest and were not able to take the language beyond a beginning novice level. This caused us to shift towards an approach that fosters more engagement with learners known as Communicative Language Teaching (CLT).

CLT focuses on providing learners with interactive language that is immediately useful for communication, which increases learners' feelings of success while using it and, by extension, they

develop more confidence. We teach communicative *myaamiaataweenki* by using “chunks” of language, the words and phrases needed for the context already conjugated and ready to use. This way, the initial stage of learning focuses on using the language, only after which do we begin teaching about grammar. For example, as a first step for learners, we use a script to teach greetings and partings because they can use it anytime they interact with another Miami person. This particular script is now widespread in the community, empowering people with the ability to start and end their conversations in their heritage language.

3.2 DOMAINS

As part of teaching communicative language, it is important to understand the contexts in which learners want to use the language. These contexts, referred to as domains, include the specific places where and the specific people with whom they want to communicate. Unsurprisingly, people want to use the language in places where other *myaamia* are: tribal events, summer camps, social gatherings, Miami University, online, and at home. By simulating ordinary scenarios within these domains and building language courses and lessons around them, we can provide learners with useful language for their specific domains of interest.

The Neepwaankiita Certificate Program is designed for teachers of Miami tribal summer camps to enhance their language skills. For example, the “Large Group Activities” unit focuses on domains specific to tribal summer camps that consist of large groups, such as starting the day as a group, mealtime, and going on a group hike. Among these activities is the common language for gathering everyone together (*maawipyako*) and making sure they listen to instructions (*pisentawiko*). The teachers learn language specific to the domains they come across regularly every summer. Alongside this, they are learning important grammatical pieces relevant to these scenarios, such as conjugating commands for a group or using the appropriate ‘we’ form when conjugating verbs.

In another example, *myaamia* students who are part of the Heritage Program at Miami University take a year-long language course with one of those semesters focusing on their daily lives on campus. They learn how to talk about where they are going to and coming from and what they will do later in the day. They also learn how to talk about campus locations from coffee shops (*kociihsaapowikaani*) and grocery stores (*ataaweekaani*) to dorms (*wiihsinkwaamikaani*) and the recreational center (*aahkohkaakaan*). This language is specific to the lives they lead for four years at Miami University, and they learn it while at the University with 40 other *myaamia* students, giving them a huge playground for language learning and speaking. The use of domains as the foundation of language learning provides ample opportunity for learners to use language in context.

3.3 MULTICOMPETENCE

Another key approach of our language education is multi-competence. Because we are an Archive-Based Revitalization effort with no fluent speakers, we cannot take the immersion route in our educational programs. This is where multi-competence comes in. With this approach, rather than viewing learners as a blank slate, we see them as having a vast array of linguistic competencies and language knowledge they can access to help them learn *myaamiaataweenki*. Rather than considering English a barrier to learning *myaamiaataweenki*, we use it as a tool to assist them. We all have expertise in English and that can be an advantage when adding a new language to our repertoire.

It's also important to know how the learners want *myaamiaataweenki* to fit into their lives. Do they want to use it daily at a high level? Do they want to learn about the language as a way of connecting to their identity? Do they want to use general greetings and parting terminology at community gatherings? All these questions need to be asked to understand people's goals for learning the language. It is not accurate to assume that everyone in the community wants to be fluent, therefore a different solution other than immersion must be taken. Multi-competence is part of that solution.

3.4 THREE COMMUNITY EXAMPLES

The previous sections were spent introducing the fundamental elements of our language teaching strategy. We will spend the remaining time looking at these elements in practice through three examples of language teaching in the *myaamia* community. Our list of programs that incorporate language span a wide range of ages, settings, and formality. The three examples I outline below are: *Eemamwiciki* Summer Programs, *Neeepwaankiita* Certificate Program, and Intro to *Myaamiaataweenki* course.

3.4.1 EEMAMWICIKI SUMMER PROGRAMS

Our Eemamwiciki Summer Programs are cultural programs for Miami Tribe citizens and consist of four separate week-long programs during the summer in Miami, Oklahoma and Fort Wayne, Indiana. The four camps are: Saakaciweeta (ages 6-9), Eewansaapita (ages 10-16), Maayaahkweeta (ages 17-18) and Neehsapita (ages 18+). I include all four in one example because they occur in the same place, at same time, and follow the same theme. Language instruction is not a specific goal of the programs; however, it is incorporated each year in a variety of ways.

The language most used and taught is communicative language between staff and participants as it relates to the summer camp domain. Staff are trained prior to camps on basic communicative language that will be useful at camp with the participants. Examples of this are phrases such as *ceeki aweeya pyaako* "Everyone come here!", *miililo* "Give that to me!" or *wiihsinitaawi* "It's time to eat!".

These phrases are useful in a variety of contexts, allowing for a lot of repetition for the staff and participants.



Figure 2: Introductory web activity with Summer Program camp participants

When teaching these phrases, multi-competence plays a large role as English is the medium of instruction. With children especially, we use songs and rhymes familiar to them and translate the words to *myaamiaataweenki* or switch out the words to teach them other useful language. For example, we teach the participants numbers 1-10 by using the nursery rhyme tune of “This Old Man.” We also play familiar games, like “Simon Says,” using *myaamiaataweenki* instead of English. We change the name to “*Paapankamwa lilweec*” which means “Fox Says” (making it more culturally appropriate as Fox is our trickster) and we use this familiar game format to teach the participants basic commands. All these strategies use the competencies the participants have in English to help them learn *myaamiaataweenki*.

3.4.2 THE NEEPWAANKIITA CERTIFICATE PROGRAM (NCP)

The Neepwaankiita Certificate Program (NCP) is a teacher training program intended for educators at the Eemamwiciki Summer Programs. This is a three-year program that runs throughout the year with the themes: History and Ecology, Current Events and Sovereignty, and Language. In this example, I will discuss the language year which has two primary goals: 1) Increasing language proficiency in *myaamiaataweenki* and 2) Providing student-teachers with the skills necessary for language teaching. The NCP relates to the themes of this chapter via the structure of the class and

the teaching methodology. The foundation of this program is built on two key documents: a list of communicative language and a list of seven key domains (referred to as “units”), both related directly to the Eemamwiciki Summer Programs. These are intended to be paired together to maintain the goal of teaching the student-teachers useful language in key domains at the summer camps. The word list is filled with functional phrases they need when interacting with participants, parents, and other staff. The seven key domains that organize the program are determined by the most common situations teachers find themselves in: 1) Greetings & Partings, 2) Large Group Activities, 3) Small Group Activities, 4) Calendar Board, 5) Mealtime, 6) Inside Activities, and 7) Outside Activities.

Out of this foundation comes a 35-week program with five student-teacher participants. Their weekly assignments include a one-hour zoom session and five hours of homework. The key components of their homework consist of a major project for each unit, word lists on Memrise, immersion sessions, and grammatical lessons. Below is a screenshot of their Memrise course. This platform allows me to create my own courses for learners of *myaamiaataweenki* that then puts users through a language learning algorithm. The lesson examples below are a mix of communicative language (“Greetings and Basics” and “Useful Conversational Language”) and grammar-based lessons (“Ending Practice” and “naati- ‘go get it’ stem”). New lessons are created based on the topic and, more importantly, on the needs of the student-teachers.

Multicompetence also plays a role in the NCP, for example, in the immersion sessions during the weekly zoom classes. These sessions are between 15-20 minutes and use functional language in *myaamiaataweenki* with some focus given to the unit topic. The sessions focus on hands-on and interactive language that allows for objects and movement to help make meaning, a methodology known as Total Physical Response. I start with a brief introduction to the topic in English and provide the students with new language (translated) in the zoom chat. Once the introduction in English is complete, we begin with a group Q&A format where everyone responds to my various prompts (e.g., *keetwi ooniini* “what is this?”, *keetwi eehtwaani* “what do I have?”). From there, I move to interactions with individual students who respond to my question or command (e.g., *awikaakani miili tosan* “Give the pen to Tosan”). During individual interaction is when we tend to have issues with students understanding the *myaamiaataweenki*. I try to get my point across by simplifying my language (specific to that individual), but if that does not work, I will use English. When I do this, I keep it short and to the point and immediately switch back to *myaamiaataweenki* when I’m finished explaining or translating. Using English is efficient in helping students understand my prompt and, most importantly, it allows for the immersive session to continue flowing smoothly. In most instances, I am the only person who speaks English. The student can listen and understand without needing to speak in English.

The screenshot shows the Memrise course interface for 'NCP: Myaamiaataweenki'. At the top, there are navigation links for Home, Courses, and Groups, along with a Subscribe button and a user profile icon. The course title is 'NCP: Myaamiaataweenki', and it is described as being for participants of the Neepwaankiita Certificate Program. Below the title, there are buttons for 'Share' and 'Tweet'. A progress bar indicates that 36 out of 223 words have been learned, with 0 words ignored. There are buttons for 'Options', 'Review (36)', and 'Edit Course'. The main content area displays a grid of 10 lesson cards, each with a number and a title. Cards 1, 2, and 3 are completed, while cards 4 through 10 are 'Ready to learn'. The titles of the cards are: 1. Greetings and Basics, 2. tipilawe (Family) (Talking to...), 3. 'neehahki-nko kiyawi' responses, 4. Useful conversational language, 5. Large Group language, 6. Large Group - Useful Endings, 7. Ending Practice, 8. Ending Practice - 2 stems, 9. Useful Small Group Language, 10. naati-'go get it' stem. On the right side, there is a 'Leaderboard' section with a table showing the top 7 users and their scores.

Week	Month	All Time
1.	Tosan_WLF	477,986
2.	KristinaFox	266,175
3.	ayoolhka-p	209,953
4.	kstrass	161,622
5.	baldwijn32	72,669
6.	myaamiaace	20,537
7.	jnjtch	1,441

Figure 3: Screenshot of Memrise Course

3.4.3 INTRO TO MYAAMIAATAWEENKI

A third program we offer is an (once weekly for 6-weeks) online language course, “Intro to Myaamiaataweenki,” which, as its name indicates, is an introductory course for beginning students. Miami Tribe citizens who take this course have an interest in understanding the basics of *myaamiaataweenki* and getting practice with very specific, highly functional words and phrases. The course has three goals. Participants will: 1) learn the sounds of *myaamiaataweenki*, 2) understand the makeup of *myaamia* words, 3) learn 19 phrases they can use immediately in their daily lives. There is little focus on domains here because, as an introductory course with only 6 hours of class time, we can only realistically teach students very generally about the language, give them phrases they can

start using immediately across contexts, and get them interested in learning more. Examples of phrases from this course are: *iihia* 'Yes', *moohci* 'No', *neehahki-nko kiyawi* 'How are you?', and *neewe* 'Thank you'.

Multi-competence plays a role in this program in the form of sound comparisons and supporting immersion with English. The sound comparison comes on the first day of class when we start learning the sounds of *myaamiaataweenki*. I created a chart with three columns; the first column represents the sound, the second has an example of that sound in a *myaamia* word, and the third column has the equivalent sound in an English word (with the exception being sounds that have no equivalent in English). An example section of the document is below.

Vowels		
Symbol	Myaamia example word	As in English
a	<u>a</u> ya (hello)	pap <u>a</u> ya
aa	<u>aa</u> pooši (again)	p <u>oo</u> p
e	ki <u>inte</u> (hold on)	b <u>e</u> t
ee	n <u>ee</u> we (thank you)	l <u>a</u> y

Figure 4: Example Myaamia-English sound comparison chart

This allows for the students to see a direct comparison in their first language, giving them confidence in producing the sound in the target language. Multicompetence also plays a role during the 20-minute immersion section of the course, when students are expected to interact with me one-on-one. For learning a brand-new language, one-hour of class time is very minimal and, as such, many students experience discomfort (and overwhelm) using the language and difficulty understanding it. When this lack of understanding occurs, I first pinpoint the phrase they are struggling with by working through it verbally, then I use English to give them a translation and an explanation of the context if necessary. By giving an English translation, students immediately feel less "lost" in the target language, which reduces the stress of immersion. Even if using English only lasts for 30 seconds, I notice students can then move more quickly, and with more confidence, through the rest of the immersion session. Using all the tools a learner has available to them, including use of their dominant language, is beneficial to the overall goal of language learning.

3.4.4 CONCLUSION

This has been our path of language education up to this point. We've learned and changed a lot with the needs of our community at the forefront of our minds so we can provide appropriate language learning programs. Our community has decided that the language they want to learn is the language they can use. They want greetings and partings, and they want to talk about their daily lives. They don't want lists of colors or articles of clothing (yet). They need language for the specific domains in which they want to use it, often where other *myaamia* people are. They need to understand the complexities of *myaamiaataweenki*, and they need us to use English to teach those complexities. They want to put in the work to relearn their heritage language, and it's our job to make that as easy as possible. As we continue this work, we will continue to refine our approach. It will get better through change as we keep learning and adapting to our community's needs. This case study provides an in-depth look at how *myaamia* ("Miami people") think about language education. I hope you have found it useful.

4. CASE II: A MULTICOMPETENCE APPROACH TO RECLAIMING DOMAINS IN PIT RIVER - CONNOR YIAMKIS

The loss of language has an intergenerational impact. This impact has been felt greatly by Native people over the past 100 years as our languages have fewer speakers with each generation. My grandmother was taken from her father at the age of 12 and put infoster care with white foster parents who did not know Pit River language or culture, thus, severing our line of language transmission from one generation to the next. As a result, and like so many others, I was unable to learn my tribe's language from my family growing up. Our language was not something I thought much about, nor was it something people talked much about. Though, I recall when I was a teenager, my great aunt (my grandmother's sister) who knows some of the language told me some words. That was the first time anyone had talked to me about the language.

My interest grew over time. During college I wrote a final paper for a linguistic anthropology class on the current status of Pit River language, and then after college I learned more about the language on my own using some of the old dictionaries from the 1970s. Then, one day my cousin called me, looking for my father because the linguist Bruce Nevin, who worked on our language in the 1970s, was in town and wanted to talk to him. I was invited to go to dinner with them, which is when I decided to go back to school to help with language revitalization. I took courses in language teaching and curriculum development and participated in the Northwest Indian Language Institute's (NILI) Summer Institute where I connected with other language revitalization practitioners. Then, in 2020 I did my MA project on reclaiming domains to revitalize our Ó tissi language (Yiamkis, 2020).



Figure 5: Map of California Indians Root Languages (California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2023)

The Ó tissi language, also known as Achumawi or Pit River, is an Indigenous language originating from what is currently known as northeastern California and is believed to be part of the Hokan language family (Dixon & Kroeber, 1913a, 1913b). The modern-day Pit River Tribe is composed of two historical tribes referred to as the Achumawi and the Atsugewi by anthropologists and linguists. They speak related but mutually unintelligible languages (Nevin, 1998, pp. 2-4). Our word for ourselves is: *ís*, meaning people, or more specifically Indians/Natives. The full phrase referring to our language is: *íssi wa ó tissi*, or ‘speaking in the Indian manner’.

During the California gold rush, the Pit River people saw an influx of colonizers both passing through and settling on our land, which caused considerable tension and fighting. When California gained statehood, the first governor legalized indentured servitude and organized militias for the express purpose of killing Native people. In 1851, “Governor Peter H. Burnett, the state of California’s first governor, remarked in an address to the state legislature ‘that a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct, must be expected...’” (Lindsay, 2014, p. 101). Pit River people suffered from the new California Governorship as many

settlers moved into the area and sought to claim land as their own. Many were marched to reservations or killed by militias formed after the governor's executive orders (Johnston-Dodds K. p. 15). Even through genocide and displacement, "Pit River had never agreed to a settlement or treaty to cede any portion of their 3.5 million acres of ancestral homelands—roughly the same size as the state of Connecticut" (Blansett, 2018, p. 202).

This historical context directly contributed to language loss by way of reducing the number of people who spoke the language through genocide and forced assimilation measures like boarding schools and foster care, as was the case with my grandmother. Linguists as early as the 1950's mention the difficulty in acquiring knowledge of the 'Achumawi' and 'Atsugewi' languages "as a result of death and acculturation until today there are only a few speakers of each language" (Olmsted, 1954, p. 181). In the last fifteen years community members, with help from linguist Bruce Nevin, have begun grassroots efforts to revitalize the language. Now, there are occasional community language classes, classes once a month at local elementary, middle, and high schools, and lessons at an after-school program using the 'Where Are Your Keys' method (Where Are Your Keys, 2020), which elicits speech in a short time using simple question and answer sort of games, while pointing at objects. However, this method has been difficult to build upon after the initial period of simple sentences. The after-school and once-a-month classes at schools are not tribal programs run by the Pit River tribal government, they are sponsored by and variously held at American Indian Education Centers (which are a part of the California education system) located in one of the seven reservations that mark Pit River territory. As of fall 2021, the first weekly online community language class that will provide people with scaffolding to continually expand their language use has begun.

4.1 MULTICOMPETENCE APPROACH

A multicompetence approach using domains aims to give a mechanism for community members and potential language learners to grow fluency and language use by reclaiming domains of use (Zahir, 2018). The materials in the online classes focus on domains for home use and were designed specifically for online resources, such as video chat platforms, but can also be introduced and practiced in a live classroom setting if desired. We have found that the multicompetence approach using home domains has fostered community and increased learner confidence, in part, because they have immediate access to materials to revitalize the language in their own homes with family.

In the online courses, we use English as the language of instruction because students and teachers have this language in common. While, currently, some instructions are given in the target language, it is yet to be seen whether giving instructions without English is achievable or desirable. Using English for instruction, as well as examples from other world languages, helps with familiarity from a linguistic perspective, so students can draw on their existing language knowledge to understand

how their new language works. This is one pedagogical function of metalanguage which, in the present context, is a fancy word that means language (English) is being used to describe how to use the target language (Ó tissi). As you will see in the next section, the classes are structured so that as time goes on, students use Ó tissi with more activities and in more conversations while reducing the amount of time spent using English. While this doesn't eliminate the use of English for instruction and clarification, it carves out specified times and spaces (i.e., domains) designated for target language use.

4.2 RECLAIMING DOMAINS

Reclaiming domains in the Pit River language allows community members to begin speaking in their homes by themselves or with their families and friends. For the online language courses, we start out designating the bathroom as their language domain so that every time they step foot in this domain, they use as much of the target language as possible. This way the learner is not having to set aside specific time out of their day to learn the language, but the language becomes part of their daily routine through the activities they do. This method blends well with a multicompetence approach because the learner is not expected to immediately do all activities in the target language. Instead, they slowly replace activities they might be doing (or thinking about) in the dominant language with the target language.

Teaching a course that introduces how to implement domains in the home and provide support to the learner over time can help with issues like not knowing what the language sounds like and how to read the orthography. In addition, having steps for the learners to build upon each week to complete tasks in the language and use the language with their peers makes learning the language easier and more fun. The course also includes explicit instruction in conversation, which are progressed in a similar manner to the domain language use. Short conversation scripts scaffold onto the previous week's script until learners can have fluid conversations in certain subject areas. The conversations are taught separately from the domains, they can be used together or separately. The intention of establishing language use in the home is that language learning becomes intergenerational. As the parents learn (or adults in the home), their children will learn with them by participating in the home domains and conversations and, when possible, in communal activities like materials gathering and ceremonies.

4.3 EXAMPLES FOR PIT RIVER ONLINE RECLAIMING DOMAINS CLASS

The following examples are materials provided to learners through google drive. Students are encouraged to print the lists or, if unable, the teacher can provide them with printed lists. These materials are part of a process that uses multicompetence to help learners gradually begin to use

more of the target language in the respective domain and/or conversation topics. The goal is meaningful language use and repetition, which gives the learner more pronunciation practice.

4.4 BREAKFAST DOMAIN VOCABULARY

The breakfast domain vocabulary list has words for two activities: making a bowl of cereal and making a breakfast of eggs, sausage, and potatoes. There is a section on this list of two verbs with all their conjugations in the indicative form and the second person imperative to demonstrate how to conjugate the verbs depending on situation, who is speaking to whom, and how many people. In addition, there is a section for “More Eating Vocabulary” to show an example of vocabulary items to add to a domain once the first set of vocabulary is mastered. At the bottom of the list is a script of the steps for the activity “Making a sausage, egg, and potato breakfast.”

Ó tissi Breakfast Domain

Cereal

Word List 1:

qa íccit = the milk & **qa (tééléq)?** = the cereal

qá tamiwáámi = the bowl & **qá poqwá** = the spoon

Word list 2:

ticaasáccóo = pick it up!

titaacááya = mix it!

táák^háta = cut it!

Word list 3:

tilúúmáámha = pour it in!

tílúút^híímá = pour it in!

taapámcóo = put it down!

Eggs and Sausage

Word List 1:

issá = egg

íímú = eggshell

mísuć = meat (need a word for sausage)

titaawááyit = cooking stove

támmít = eating place (table/dining room)

tamiwáámi = bowl/dish

cááwic = garlic

Word List 2

tuuqíísi = break

titaacááyi = mix with tool

tílúút^híímí = pour into

tamáckííwáyi = frying pan

wawá poqwá = big spoon (spatula for now)

mímáámá = cooked, done

Conjugations for Pick it up/Put it down

ticaasáccóo = pick it up! (command)

ticaasácci = to pick it up

sacaasácci = I pick it up

kacaasácci = you pick it up

lhacaasácci = we two pick it up

slhacaasácci = we two (not you) pick it up

kacaasáccíumá = you all pick it up

lhacaasáccíumá = we all pick it up

slhacaasáccíumá = we all (not you) pick it up

taapámpcóo = put it down! (command)

taapámci = to put it down

saapámci = I put it down

kaapámci = you put it down

lhaapámci = we two put it down

slhaapámci = we two (not you) put it down

kaapámcíumá = you all put it down

lhaapámcíumá = we all put it down

slhaapámcíumá = we all (not you) put it down

More Eating Vocabulary

támmátwam kú = place for dividing food

tá láátaawé = ladle, dipper, something to dip with

as = water

táhtač = acorn

k^hóóp^hi = coffee

sapaḥli = potato

stállíw = turnip

ḥaamḥác = carrot

siláátááwí; sínaláátááwí = I dip it out; ... repeatedly

salúút^hífmí = I pour liquid into (cup, bowl, pot)

títeqýiiciwa! = Scrape out the pot!

ticaqýiiciwa = Scratch it out with your fingers

tikúqýiiciwa = Wipe it out with soft (cloth, sponge)

ticúqýiiciwa. = Scrape it out with (a spoon)

BREAKFAST DOMAIN SCRIPT

1. C^hú misunwí, qa páalá sitawááyí tímíímíc.
2. Sitawááyí issá, mísuc, má sapaḥli
3. Hamísil, qá sapaḥli sóok^hát kúci

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>4. Qá sapaḥli, silúúmáámá qa tamáckííwáyí.</p> <p>5. Cʰááwá yátaskáumí qá sapaḥli, sitawááyí qa mísuċ.</p> <p>6. Qa mísuċ, silúúmáámá qa tamáckííwáyí.</p> <p>7. Cʰááwá, yátaskáumí qa mísuċ, sitawááyí qa issáwcan.</p> | <p>8. Sooqíísi qa issáwcan.</p> <p>9. Má ánca, satacaáyí qa issáwcan.</p> <p>10. Qá issáwcan silúútʰími qa tamáckííwáyí.</p> <p>11. Cʰááwá tóolol yátaskáumí tyánuwí, sáámi!</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Sasúúla'áya.</p> |
|---|---|

The breakfast domain vocabulary goes in the domain of the kitchen, which allows for learners to implement Ó tissi into activities they do daily or consistently enough that the vocabulary will become a normal part of their routine. The materials guide learners when they are cooking the meals until they are able to say each step without looking at the list. This list draws upon multicompetence by using both Ó tissi and English. Both languages will be employed in the kitchen domain with each week of the class adding more target language to introduce new domain activity. For example, one week can be cooking breakfast, the next might be washing dishes, and the week after that putting the dishes away. As each week progresses, learners add more Pit River language to their domain. They are still able to fill in missing spots with English if it allows them to continue target language use to where they have progressed to at that point.

4.5 CONVERSATIONS

Conversations are taught separately from domains. They are meant for learners to use with each other, family members, and others they live with who they can, in turn, teach. All students are also teachers, meaning that by using the language with the people who surround them, they are helping to pass the language on and encourage language use from others. The first conversation is, “where did you go?” It has the question along with the simple answer of “I went to _____”, where the learner will fill in the blank with the places they went today. Following, is a list of common places to go, including some cultural landmarks for Pit River people. Like food items not on the breakfast list, places the learner went but which are not on the vocabulary list named using English words.

Cʰááwá máptí: Where did you go?/Where are you going?

Conversation 1: Where did you go today?

(1) Cʰááwá mápti qa páalá?

‘Where did you go today?’

(2) Sápti qa _____.

‘I went to _____.’

You can fill in the blank with nouns, for example:

Sápti qá **titt^halúwumí**.

'I went to **work**.'

Other Places to Go

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. titt ^h alúwumí 'to work' (verb) | 10. lićááta 'Burney town/valley' |
| 2. titt ^h alúwumít 'work' (literally, 'work place'.) | 11. Alt ^h úúlas 'Alturas' (loan word) |
| 3. titt ^h alúwumí wá aapúúlé 'office building' (literally, 'building for working') | 12. Ticaṗsáácít/taḥpáácít/tóqcít 'bathroom' ('face wash place') |
| 4. stóówa 'store' (loan word) | 13. titaawááyit 'kitchen' ('cooking place') |
| 5. támmít 'restaurant' ('eating place') | 14. tuumáátit 'bedroom' ('sleeping place') |
| 6. k ^h óóp ^h i aapúúlé 'coffee shop' (k ^h óóp ^h i loan word 'coffee building') | 15. tiiciláke aapúúlé 'bank' (literally 'possessions/wealth/riches building') |
| 7. titapp ^h áácít 'school' ('teaching place') | |
| 8. Yét aaṗu 'Mt. Shasta' | For saying, 'I went home', say: |
| 9. Wanúmcíwa 'Burney creek' | Siwápte |
| | 'I went home.' |

Conversation 2: Where did you go yesterday?

(3) C^hááwa mápti qa mííçim?

'Where did you go yesterday?'

(4) Sápti qa ____.

'I went to ____.'

Conversation 3: Where did you go last weekend?

(5) C^hááwa mápti qa mííçim timáásútwi wá tímaatííki. (çókca timáásútwak)

'Where did you go last weekend?'

(6) Sápti qa ____.

'I went to ____.'

Conversations are a great example of multicompetence. Starting with something simple like, "where did you go today?" is a sentence that learners can use immediately with classmates with some guidance from a teacher. Learners are encouraged to speak in simple sentences, saying the full

sentence each time they list where they went. This gives them more repetition to get used to the pronunciation of Pit River language. If a place they went is not on the list, they insert the English word (for example “Sápti qa mall”) and still get repetition in the language without stopping the conversation. The conversations also progress by including “where did you go yesterday?” and “where did you go last weekend?” to introduce grammar and vocabulary about the recent past.

The following conversation script comes after 9 other conversations have been learned and combine: 1) “who did you see?” 2) “who did you talk to?” 3) “what did you eat?” 4) “what did you drink?” 5) “who did you write?” 6) “what did you buy?” 7) “what do you want/like/desire?” This conversation has learners use all the above scripts to describe their day and scaffolds by including “today”, “yesterday”, “last week”, and “what will you do tonight/tomorrow/next week?” introducing how to talk about the future.

(1) Táb tuci muwí qa páálá/mííçim/mííçim timáásútwí wá tímaatííki?	<i>What did you do today/yesterday/last weekend?</i>
(2) Sápti qa ____.	<i>I went to ____.</i>
(3) Sinímááci ____.	<i>I saw ____.</i>
(4) Sílaháami qa ____.	<i>I talked to ____.</i>
(5) Sáami ____.	<i>I ate ____.</i>
(6) Sóósi ____.	<i>I drank ____.</i>
(7) Sáwi ____.	<i>I wrote ____.</i>
(8) Sísumtí ____.	<i>I bought ____.</i>
(9) Sálílléqtí ____.	<i>I like/want/desire ____.</i>

By this point, learners are more comfortable in the language and can ask each other about their day and answer with more details about what they did or are going to do.

4.6 BREAKFAST DOMAIN VIDEO

This is an instructional YouTube video demonstrating how to cook a breakfast of eggs, sausage, potatoes, and toast in Ó tissi. In the video, I am instructing (on the left), leading a student through the steps of cooking breakfast.



Figure 6: Screenshot from Breakfast Domain Video

The video serves several functions by including both an instructor and learner. One is that we see the learner taking the instruction seriously; we can observe through their actions and body language that they are paying close attention to the instructor and following directions. Having instructions at the beginning of the video introducing the verbs and nouns in English and then repeating them in Pit River while performing the activities is another demonstration of how a multicompetence approach can be used. Both people are using the phrases demonstrated at the beginning of the video to communicate. This is meaningful communication because the language is being used as functional language, in contrast to it being talked about. The dominant language is used at the beginning to set up the activities and show how to use the target language to communicate about the activities the participants are doing.

4.7 LIVE RECORDINGS OF DOMAIN LESSONS

The videos described in this section are recordings of reclaiming domains lessons taught through Zoom, the video chat platform. They are uploaded to YouTube so people who may have missed a lesson can go back and review it and attempt to learn on their own. This is also showing how useful video chat can be for teaching learners who may live in multiple locations. The Pit River community is spread across several reservations with many people living in cities across northern California, southern Oregon, and beyond. This enables us to reach community members in the homeland and as part of the diaspora.

Figure 7 shows a screenshot from a recording of a live lesson in the reclaiming domains class, which has a domain activity for flossing the teeth and a conversation activity of asking “where did you go?”

The screenshot shows a Zoom meeting window with a Google Docs document titled "Flossing the teeth" open. The document contains eight numbered steps in Pit River with corresponding English translations. To the right of the document is a vertical stack of six video feeds showing participants in the class. The Zoom interface includes a search bar, navigation icons, and a system tray at the bottom.

Flossing the teeth	
1. Taláhha Siluutéimi ittúú iiá.	I am flossing my teeth.
2. Sacaasáci qá taláh ú talúúwísté.	I pick up the floss container.
3. Sataléqúci.	I open it lifting cover.
4. Kókca salulláswamí.	I pull out a little bit.
5. Sáátíipi.	I snap off a piece.
6. Sánaqaawí qá taláh ú talúúwísté, ma saapámci.	I close the floss container and put it down.
7. Sincaaláánati taláhha qa áásić kátu tállisúúyamé.	I wrap floss around my left pointer finger.
8. Mą áncia sincaaláánati	And then I wrap floss

Figure 7: Screenshot from Live Recording: Flossing Teeth Lesson

We begin every lesson in English by checking in with the class to see how their language use went during the past week (this is not recorded), after which we start the domain activity. The teacher goes over the pronunciation of each line and has each learner try pronouncing the line several times, giving them guidance on their pronunciation and insight into the grammar if needed or requested. Then, the class begins a conversation activity in Pit River language with the teacher asking one student the question for that week’s conversation. For example, “where did you go today?” and the student responds, “I went to ____” in Pit River. This student then asks the next student and so on until everyone

has both asked and answered the question. This conversation activity builds up to the previous conversation example in this section, “What did you do?” Although English is used at the beginning of the activity when going over pronunciation and to answer any questions the student may have, the goal of the conversation activity is one of immersion and to maintain the Pit River Language as much as possible, only using English words if they don’t know how to say it in Pit River.

5. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

At the time of writing this, domains and conversations in the Pit River language have been used for an intensive two-week Summer Institute and an online language class in fall 2021. We are only seeing the beginning of this process and, so far, the students who are participating are showing great excitement at being able to slowly integrate their heritage language into their daily lives. Friends and family of those who are in the class have already reached out about joining future classes, of which we plan to have more beginning next year.

There are still people with differing views on how the language should be taught in the community. Some have concerns about dialect differences and differences about certain ways of describing things in the language. The best course of action we have found is to welcome all input and suggestions from people who may have knowledge from their elders and incorporate that into our teachings. Our hope for the future is that language use becomes normalized and commonplace such that Pit River people use our language with each other in public and communal spaces, as well as in their homes. Just as importantly, we hope to develop more language teachers. So far, we have three people in our community who have decided to make teaching the language their careers. We can only hope through doing these online classes and spreading the language amongst the community that more learners will decide they want to teach the language and, when ready, hold classes of their own.

5.1 THE TWO CASES

The two case descriptions above highlight the potential power of harnessing a multicompetence approach to build and maintain momentum in reviving dormant languages. Perhaps most fundamentally, both communities are encouraging the communicative use of language by contextualizing it in domains and by teaching conversational phrases that can be used across multiple domains. Speakers can easily see the concrete application of the language for specific purposes and begin using it right away. Examples of this are seen in the Neepwaankiita Certificate Program (NCP) described by Baldwin where camp teachers learn the practical phrases they will need to organize children’s activities and in the online Pit River Language materials used by Yiamkis, where participants learn how to communicate in their kitchens about what they are cooking. Importantly, participants are not expected to use their awakening language at all times across all domains, a goal

that would likely overwhelm new speakers. In fact, a multicompetence approach recognizes that as speakers grow their bilingual abilities, they may not want to use the awakening language in all contexts even if they could. The awakening language might be used in some contexts with some people, while English may be chosen for others.

Both cases also illustrate how speakers can use their whole communicative repertoires, including English and other non-verbal supports, to sustain periods of immersive practice in the awakening language. Baldwin and Yiamkis both describe their efforts to create short immersive sessions in their classes, in which the awakening language is given clear priority as the means of communication. This practice is consistent with the advice of Cenoz & Gorter (2017) to create “breathing spaces” for the awakening language. During these sessions, Baldwin and Yiamkis use gestures, images, written materials, and concrete objects (such as cooking utensils) as much as possible to facilitate meaningful communication in the awakening language, but participants are also free to use English if needed. Baldwin and Yiamkis both note the usefulness of occasionally clarifying the meaning of a word or grammar point briefly in English before returning to immersive practice. Learners do not need to remain in a state of confusion for long if other means of communication are not working in the moment. Language learning anxiety can be considerably reduced in this way and, indeed, learners may feel freer to truly communicate if they know they can rely on English to fill in for language they have not learned yet in the awakening language. For example, the conversational sentence stems provided by Yiamkis (e.g., C^hááwa mápti qa páálá? Where did you go today?) will inevitably require learners to stretch themselves beyond the here-and-now of a specific domain to talk about other domains or activities in the past and future. Learners can feel comfortable using both Pit River and English to answer these questions, with the added benefit that both the teacher and learners can then identify together which phrases or vocabulary in Pit River they are missing and may want to learn and include in future lessons or conversations.

Finally, a multicompetence approach allows teachers and learners to manage the language learning context itself more efficiently and clearly. As both Baldwin and Yiamkis note, English can be used to introduce and organize language lessons as well as to talk about the structure, history, and cultural meanings of the awakening language. This content is critical to include in awakening language programs but would be virtually impossible to discuss using novice level vocabulary, nor would learning how to discuss linguistic topics in the awakening language be the best use of time and effort of learners as it would not be the functional language of everyday communication. Many adult language learners do value explicit linguistic knowledge about their awakening language and can apply their analytical abilities in English to learning these new, often grammatically complex systems. By using their shared first language for explanations or comparisons to patterns in other languages, participants are not failing to maintain the target language; they are drawing on all their

linguistic resources for different specific purposes in the lesson, which is a strength of a multicompetence approach.

5.2 POTENTIAL CONCERNS WITH A MULTICOMPETENCE APPROACH

There are two primary concerns that may be raised regarding a multicompetence approach in revitalization contexts. One is the slippery slope concern: if teachers and learners have a green light to use a shared, dominant language while learning their heritage language, it might be too easy to fall back into using the dominant language most of the time and return to past instructional practices in which teachers and learners mostly talk *about* a language as an object of analysis rather than talk *in* the language as a means of communication. This is where awareness and vigilance, the hallmarks of immersion, are still very important (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). Participants do still need to monitor themselves and keep in mind their own language goals. If we want to learn a new language for functional and conversational uses, we need to use it. The dominant language should remain in a support position to this goal rather than regaining a dominant role. We can see examples of how this is done in the cases of Baldwin and Yiamkis. In Baldwin's case, clear structures of expectation have been set up for each educational context: in the one-week summer camps the teachers and young learners use myaamiaataweenki as much as possible in the camp domains, while in the 6-week online beginner class for adults, English is used to introduce and talk about routine exchanges in myaamiaataweenki so that learners don't feel overwhelmed. In Yiamkis' examples we can see at the micro-level the consistent ways in which the participants in his video lessons shift back to Pit River language once their need for English is over, such as after a quick translation or humorous remark. These decisions are fluid and moment-to-moment.

A second and related concern is that some may still feel that the time and space for speaking the awakening language should be kept strictly separate from the majority language as a way of protecting it from the dominant language. Even if one may agree that the dominant language could be a useful tool in the learning process, the importance of providing time and space dedicated only to the awakening language may be considered a higher priority. This is a legitimate position that should be respected if an individual or group decides to establish clear domains for full immersion. As noted above, even those in favor of multicompetence recommend "breathing spaces" for the emerging language (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017), and while the strict boundaries we draw between languages may not reflect cognitive or linguistic realities (Otheguy et al., 2015), choosing to sometimes limit one's repertoire to the awakening language can serve important functions for learners and their communities. It is useful to note that this decision is not at odds with a multicompetence approach. A multicompetence approach acknowledges that learners are already competent language users even if they choose not to draw from all their competencies in the same ways across domains.

Multicompetence reflects a holistic perspective on learners and their full linguistic identities regardless of their momentary communicative choices.

5.3 PRINCIPLES FOR IMPLEMENTING A MULTICOMPETENCE APPROACH

If you are interested in trying a multicompetence approach in your own community or home, below are some principles drawn from our two case studies that might be helpful.

- Choose the contexts in which you want to start using more of the target language. Bilingual speakers naturally draw on their different language abilities across different contexts.
- Start small, possibly with very specific and limited domains. Don't expect to be able to use the new language features everywhere right away.
- Set small goals for using the target language. For example, "I will speak x minutes a day in this language domain" or "Our group will speak as much as possible in our awakening language for the last 10 min of class." This way you can track your progress.
- Find other people who will share learning the language with you, perhaps in specific domains, in-person or online.
- Find or become a teacher who embraces multicompetence as a path to learning.
- Don't worry if you forget or don't know how to say something in the target language and you want to use English (or another shared language) to get your meaning across in the moment. You can make a note to learn how to say what you intended later.
- But when you do know how to say something in the target language and your goal is to build fluency in using those features, focus on only using that more limited repertoire.
- If you forget or don't know how to say something in the target language and you really want to stay in the language, try to find other ways to express your meaning using other words in the target language as well as gestures, miming, and so on. Stretch your limited abilities in the moment, then follow up on how to say exactly what you meant later.
- Allow yourself to 'make mistakes' as your target language develops. These are signs that your brain is figuring out how to fit the new language into the systems it already has.
- Use your knowledge of your dominant and other languages to compare patterns with the target language. Notice and compare social and cultural aspects of language use too, when relevant.
- Be proud of your multilingual abilities if you catch yourself using features (words, grammar, sounds) from multiple languages. This is a natural behavior among bilinguals, and is a hallmark of multicompetence. As you continue to add features of the target language to your repertoire,

accessing them both consciously and unconsciously will become something you can enjoy across more and more contexts.

- Above all, be patient with yourself, as you will probably experience the normal ebbs and flows of lifelong language learning. Your communicative repertoire is not faulty or broken; it is only growing richer with each word you reclaim.

How an individual, family, group, or community implements a multicompetence approach will vary in terms of the specific choices and actions related to language use. What is most useful to keep in mind is that learners are not blank slates starting from scratch as they begin their journey to awaken a language. Instead, learners are human beings with rich linguistic and cultural histories already. These histories provide fertile ground for nurturing and growing a strong and healthy heritage community language.

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