

The Role of Linguistics in the Sauk Master Apprentice Program

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*Sauk Master Apprentice Program funded by an
Administration for Native Americans grant through Cultural
Survival, and by the Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma.*



Comparison of preservation and revitalization perspectives:

Endangered Language Preservation:

Language as object of study

Language belongs to larger body of collective human knowledge.

Language knowledge can be extracted via recording and analysis.

Language must be preserved before it is too late.

Language meaning is contained within the structure, vocabulary, and other textual elements of the language.

Endangered Language Revitalization:

Language as means of communication, celebration, and prayer

Language belongs to a specific people.

Language knowledge is dependent upon usage within the living context of the community.

Language can be revitalized and passed to future generations.

Language meaning is rooted in shared identity, practice, and experience of a people.

Bridging the Gap: Linguistics and the Sauk Language Master Apprenticeship Program

How can an immersion-based (NO ENGLISH) Master Apprenticeship program effectively use linguistic resources?

How can our linguistic colleagues help us to improve our Master Apprenticeship program?

What are effective principles and practices in collaboration between linguists and Master Apprenticeship program?

Key Perspectives

The *primary* goal of a Master Apprentice program is to rapidly bring second language learners to a level of fluency sufficient to teach others to become conversational fluent, **NOT** total comprehensive knowledge of every aspect and nuance of the language identified in linguistic research or even contained in the spoken speech of elder fluent speakers.

Key Perspectives

- Elder speakers are the *most precious resource* available to a Master Apprentice program.
- Learning from them directly takes precedence *over everything else*.



- Priority must be given to second language learners and elder speakers interacting in an immersion environment without the use of English.

Key Perspectives

- What researchers often want to study or discuss are things that are less known about a language.
- What second language learners need is information that is probably known about a language.

Key Perspectives

All the cool, esoteric things about languages
that
linguists and language nerds get excited about
are not very useful for a beginning second
language learner developing his or her basic
ability to communicate effectively

Penôchi kêh wîna ahkwiyâkothiwa
êwînathamwêwiyâkothichi.

You can even smell her from far away with her
dirty dog smell.

The concept of the *implicit system* is key to the Sauk Language Master Apprentice Program.

The pace of second language acquisition is rapidly increased by targeted, practical, varied, contextualized conversations that produce a high level of repetition within multiple kinds of situations.

Key Practices

- Accept that at least until conversational fluency has been achieved certain aspects of the language will remain a mystery and not be a focus of documentation, analysis, or even language learning.
- Linguistic analysis and research should emerge from the communicative need of learners and out of real conversation with elder speakers. It should focus on answering practical, functional, and high frequency questions about the nature of the language.

Key Practices

Abstract discussion of linguistic paradigms does not translate into functional language use. Second language learners are better served by identifying paradigms that explain or expand what they already know as opposed to applying them from the top down.

Key Practices

- A common response in the field of language revitalization is to teach language workers to understand highly technical language of linguistic scholarship.
- An equally valid response is to ask linguists to provide "teachable" contextualized explanations and examples of linguistic material that don't require knowledge of technical language.
- Concrete, contextualized, varied, modern, and repeated sentence length examples are better than charts, explanations, or isolated examples in longer narratives.

Linguistic Version:

The independent dubitative mood has the same distribution as the independent indicative. It occurs exclusively in main clauses and almost exclusively in conversation. In narrative, it is used infrequently for heightened effect. It is used in statements for which the speaker has only indirect evidence. This mood inflects similar to the independent indicative with some divergences. It is marked by the morpheme *:toke* in the suffixed inflection.

(10d) ne+mi:hkwih+a:petoke okima:w+a
I probably.got.him/DUB chief

I must have gotten the chief.

In (10d), the speaker has killed an impressively attired enemy, and has just heard a shout of mourning go up from the enemy village. He correctly guesses the cause.

Master Apprentice Version:

- In Master Apprentice sessions you will sometimes hear speakers replace more common endings with special endings that always contain a sound like *-toke*. These endings are linguistically called the dubitative and they are added to a stem like *pyê-* (*came/arrived*) to create phrases like *pyêtoke* (he/she must have arrived) as opposed to a more common form like *pyêwa* (he/she came).
- It is impossible to describe in English "rules" for exactly when or how these forms are used or to equate them with specific English language concepts but in general terms these dubitative forms are used in *situations where the speaker can make an educated guess as to what happened based on things they see or know but they are indicating that they don't know it as fact*

A common situation in Master Apprentice sessions when you will hear these dubitative forms is when we are working with visuals storybooks and having a conversation about what the characters are doing. Sometimes it is not entirely obvious how a particular situation or circumstance was arrived at and speakers will then *make a choice* to use these forms. Here are some examples from real conversations with elder speakers:

Âkwi mêhkwê mînâcheni. Kemotoke.

I don't think he gave it to him. He probably stole it.

Othani âkwi âchimohâcheni. Okyêni âchimohetoke.

His father didn't tell him. His mother must have told him.

Metochi athemihêwa. Anwâchitoke wîhathemihâchi.

It looks like he helped him. He must have consented to helping him.



Mani apapina shakiyâtoke. Kâsho menwîshenwa kîshiwîthenitoke.

This chair it must be soft. The cat he's laying good. He probably just finished eating.

Anemoha wâpamêwa apenohani înhî thâkichi êtashikânôwâchi. Menwikîshekîtoke.

The dog he's looking at the children there outside as they play. It must be a nice day.

For examples of these forms in context you can listen to *Jack and the Missing Piece* tracks **2** and **10**.

Pages **194-195** of the *Fox Lexicon* contain charts of all these special forms for the different kinds of verbs in the Sauk/Meskwaki languages.

It is important to understand that there are multiple ways in the Sauk language to express what we would call in English speculation, lack of certainty, guessing, maybe, might, probably, must have. *The best way to learn how to express these concepts is to listen to how speakers talk about them in the Sauk language.* The dubitative forms are a less frequently used means of expression and that is the reason we won't be focusing on them within Master Apprentice sessions. *This guide is only intended to help you recognize and understand them in the context of conversation with fluent speakers.*

Much more common is for speakers to qualify statements with specific phrases as seen in the following examples:

- *Âkwi mêhkwê wîhpyâcheni.*
He's probably not coming.

- *Meshêna wîhpya.*
He's probably coming

- *Metochi paypyâchi. Îni yêtoke.*
Guess he's not coming. Must be so.

• *Metochi pyêtowa. Îni yêtoke.*
Looks like he brought it. Probably so.

• *Mêhkwê kekênetamwa.*
He might know.

• *Âkwi mêhkwê kekênetakeni.*
I don't think he knows.

For examples of these phrases in context you can listen to these phrases in context in *Alexander Who Was Rich Last Sunday*. In this story the elder speakers express all of the concepts discussed above without ever using any dubitative forms.

It is important to remember that assigning a specific English meaning to phrases, words, or forms in Sauk is not the best way to learn the language. You might want to use your English brain to understand general use but not to keep track of meaning in translation.

Conjunct

	AI, TI2, II	TI1	TA	
			-3	-3'
1s	-ya·ni -a·ni	-ama·ni	-aki	-emaki
1p	-ya·ke -a·ke	-ama·ke	-akeči	-emakeči
2s	-yani -ani	-amani	-ači	-emači
12	-yakwe -akwe	-amakwe	-akwe	-emakwe
2p	-ye·kwe -e·kwe	-ame·kwe	-e·kwe	-eme·kwe
3s	-či -ki	-aki	--	-a·či (-a·niči 3'-3'')
3p	-wa·či -owa·či	-amowa·či	--	-a·wa·či
3'	-niči	-aminiči	<u>-3s</u> -ekoči	<u>-3p</u> -ekowa·či
0	-ki	-amo·mihakhi -amo·mikateki	(-ekoniči 3''-3')	-ekwiči -ekwiwa·či
0'	-niki	-amo·mikateniki	(-ekwiniči 0-3')	
X	-(e)ki	-ameki	<u>-3</u> -eči	<u>-3'</u> -emeči

NOTES. AI stem-class variants: The endings beginning with *y* are used after vowel stems and retaining consonant stems (which add *e*); the variants without *y* are used after deleting consonant stems. Third-person *-či* and *-wa·či* are used after vowel stems, *-ki* and *-owa·či* after all consonant stems. The indefinite-subject ending *-(e)ki* is *-ki* after vowel stems, and *-eki* after all consonant stems.

Examples of Useful Products

Conjunct Endings Templates

I forms:

-enâni I to you

-aki I to him

-enakôwe I to y'all

We (excl) forms:

-enâke We (excl.) to you/y'all

-akechi We (excl.) to him/ them

Examples of Useful Products

Here are some phonological (sound pattern) rules that seem to be consistent across all moods in Meskwaki at least:

Plus sign (+) stands for an inflectional boundary, capital C stands for any consonant, and capital V stands for any vowel:

Cw+e	-->	Co
Vw+e	-->	Vwo
aw+ehk	-->	ôhk
aw+en	-->	ôn
aw+ek	-->	âk
aw+echi	-->	awochi
iw+en	-->	în
n+hk	-->	k

Examples of Useful Products

Vowel-Change Conjunct Ending Templates

I forms:

-onâni I to you

-awaki I to him

We (excl) forms:

-onâke We (excl.) to you/y'all

-awakechi We (excl.) to him/ them

Pethetawêwa

Pethetônâni I to you

Pethetônâke We to you

Pethetôhki They/He to you

Pethetônakwe They/He to us (incl)

Pethetônâkwe They/He to y'all

Examples of Useful Products

You to us/You to them Scenarios

-iyâke	You to us (excl.)
-achi	You to him/them
-iyamechi	S/He to us (excl.)
-enâkwe	S/He to y'all
-enakôwe	I to y'all
-aki	I to him/them

1. Kenêta _____ êmenwênetamani. wêwênetwi shên anyâkitêwi. Êhanyâkitêki nîn oni pahamoki ketâchimohenepena wîhpaykashkitoyani. Êwêwêneki kîwê oni nayêshi ketâchimohekoki wîhkashkitoyani.
2. Wênêh châhi wîhpethetawachi?
3. Kashi châhi hêtiki êpethetawiyâke nîn oni pahamoki?
4. Kashi châhi hêtiki êpethetawachi kîwê oni nayêshi?
5. _____ îni wêchi êpethetawiyamechi nîn oni pahamoki.
6. _____ îni wêchi êpethetonâkwe kîn oni nayêshi.

Ways that the Sauk Language Master Apprentice Program uses linguistic documentation and analysis:

- To identify and/or explain heard mysteries.
- To introduce grammar or vocabulary not frequently used by elder speakers.
- To explain, identify, or expand heard patterns.
- To develop structured input routines that create a situation with a high number of repetitions on target structures.

Specific examples of useful collaborations between linguists and the Sauk Language Master Apprentices program:

- Simplified, contextualized explanations and examples of heard structures or patterns that are not fully understood by apprentice learners. ("Organic Teaching Grammar")
- Assistance in solving heard mysteries that emerge out of Master Apprentices sessions. ("Oh it's just a byword.")
- Assistance in identifying gaps in vocabulary or grammar that emerge out of Master Apprentices sessions.
- Assistance in finding the needle in the haystack.

Specific examples of useful collaborations between linguists and the Sauk Language Master Apprentice program:

- Data collection and analysis drawn from existing recordings, texts, or direct participation in Master Apprentice sessions that does not require high input level from Sauk speakers.
- Database of root words drawn from existing texts that does not require high input level from Sauk speakers.
- Program evaluations and assistance in identifying new methods to improve second language acquisition.



Talk Sauk.

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