



To Speak or Not to Speak

Because they tell me to speak Sámi at daycare

Indigenous language revitalization through preschool children learning a second language in a language nest



Kristine Tjøland Braut

Thesis Submitted for the Degree:

Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies

Faculty of Social Science, University of Tromsø

Norway, November 2010

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Supervised by: Bjørg Evjen and Laura Janda

To Toke, Tana and Maya:
for inspiring me and introducing me to children's language acquisition.

All photos within this thesis are taken during my fieldwork.
The front cover images are manipulated to illustrate the transition
from a Norwegian speaking past to a future influenced by the Sámi language.

Preface

With my own background of raising preschool children, the ability of a child to acquire many languages fluently at the same time interested me. My own children, then 3 and 1 years old, sparked my interest in language acquisition. Through learning about a minority language's challenges I questioned if a child's language acquisition ability could be combined with language revitalization. I became interested in researching the ability of the youngest children to contribute to language revitalization thanks to their age. My aim is to encourage the use of the unique potential young children have to adapt to their environment in their first few years.

My interest for children's language acquisition and the possibility of learning languages outside a family setting are reflective of my own experiences as a mother of bilingual children. My struggle to learn a new language later in life has been the inspiration for letting my own children learn more languages at their peak language acquisition years. They will grow up with a bilingual Norwegian/Danish background, but our different languages no more amazing for them than synonyms for adults. I consider giving my children the opportunity to gain Sámi as a third language by including them in a language nest that can teach them a language I cannot provide at home. A language nest would be an opportunity for them to learn a language that neither of their parents speak, but I would then ask; "How can the less spoken language survive if the language is not used within the family at home?" Since there are two siblings, as long as they both can communicate with the language through play, there is a potential for the language to maintain vitality within their enclosed setting. If we moved to a community where the language is used regularly, my children would be in a much better position to learn the language by experiencing it outside the home.

During my fieldwork I questioned how I first became interested in studying the Sámi language. I am not part of an indigenous culture myself and I originally am from Southern Norway. In the "Master in indigenous studies" program there were many international students. My lack of knowledge and a feeling that my classmates expected me, as a Norwegian, to know much more about the Sámi people than I did, challenged me. By living and studying in Northern Norway I realized that there was no reason to go far away nor abroad for my research. I was challenged to learn more about the local indigenous people and learn more about the linguistic situation within Sápmi. While I am staying geographically within my own country, I am studying a culture that is not mine. I became attracted to the Lule Sámi due to the fact that there has been

little sociolinguistic research on their language amongst preschoolers. I did not have any personal connection nor did I know the language, yet the Lule Sámi have become the focus of my research. Among the Lule Sámi the situation of learning a language within a family that cannot provide the language is a common case. I spent two weeks at a Lule Sámi daycare that my son attended while I was observing the teaching process. I was able to observe these children's chance to learn a new language at an early age coming from a non-Sámi speaking family, which is similar to the common circumstance in the Lule Sámi area. This situation raises some questions: is it possible to acquire a language fluently outside the family, and if so what is the best way? I have observed emotional factors which affect the language choice and attitudes.

I find it to be a paradox that this thesis aiming at minority language revitalization and language diversity is written in a majority language such as English, which Skutnabb Kangas (2003) defines a killer language. It is a pity that I cannot satisfy language diversity, by writing this thesis in my own Norwegian mother tongue, nor the language in which it is about. Helander (2007:7) states that "we should bear in mind that no language is in itself a killer language unless we human beings give it such a role through our decisions regarding for instance educational system and ranking in official use". Svenn-Egil and Heidi provided my Norwegian summary with a Lule Sámi translation. While focusing on the spoken language and an age group that will not directly benefit from my written thesis, I encouraged the production of a dubbed animated film to promote language development in practice.

Først of fremst takk til barn, ansatte og foreldre i Árran mánálgárdde som har gitt meg innblikk i det lulesamiske språket, tatt imot meg og min familie og latt oss være en del av hverdagen i barnehagen. Gijto Svenn-Egil og Heidi for å ha oversatt sammendraget til lulesamisk. Bjørg Evjen, min veileder, har inspirert meg til å ikke gi opp, gjennom de siste og viktigste månedene, tusen takk. Takk Laura Janda, som min første veileder introduserte du meg for lingvistikk. Ved å gi meg den "rette" eksamensoppgaven ledet du meg mot mitt endelige masteroppgave tema. Mike, Vendula og Florian, takk for korrekturlesning og verdifulle kommentarer. Gijto Lárssa for å la meg bruke sangteksten din og Gijto Stig Riembbe Gælok for å la meg bruke diktet ditt. Simon, mange takk for feltarbeidassistanse og mulighet til å bruke tidlige morgener og sene nattestimer på mitt prosjekt. Sist, men ikke minst (lenger), tusen takk til mine dyktige feltassistenter Toke og Tana. Maya, takk til deg for en god naturlig forsinkelse i sluttinnspurten. Dere har inspirert meg og gjort meg interesert i språktilegnelse, tospråklighet og det å lære språk tidlig.

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Structure of my thesis

My thesis consists of five chapters. In accordance with my research priorities and questions this thesis has the following structure; Chapter 1 highlights the motives for my choice of topic, discussing current literature related to the theoretical and methodological challenges of my research and how I aim to answer my research questions in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 2 describes the ethno-historical and linguistic background for establishing Sámi daycares. I introduce the history of the daycare in comparison to the development of Sámi daycares in Norway in general and special rights from being a Sámi administrative area. Chapter 3 discusses my empirical observations and findings in the daycare. I consider factors that affect language shift among the preschoolers, and resources that need to be further developed. My results, data, documentation and findings are presented and analyzed in Chapter 4 where I connect the theory with my empirical observations and interviews and suggest a further strategy for developing resources that strengthen the languages position. Finally Chapter 5 summarizes and concludes my main points of the given research questions. I have chosen to give a summary in Norwegian and Lule Sámi since this thesis aims to encourage the use of less spoken languages.

Abstract

This thesis is a research of an early childhood immersion program and the process of revitalize the Lule Sámi language among preschool children in Árran mánálgárdde, Tysfjord. I research the significance of a Sámi language daycare environment and the factors that influence language choices for preschool children. In my master thesis I question to what degree preschool children can contribute to strengthening an endangered language through acquiring it as a second language outside the family and home. Through my fieldwork I have observed factors that influence the language choices taken by the children in the Lule Sámi daycare Árran mánálgárdde.

When families cannot themselves provide the language as are mostly the case in Tysfjord, this language nest strengthens and activates the language. Children gain good competence to understand and use the language, but it's still important to take the language more into use, not only between children and employees, but to bring the language home to avoid different domain. The challenge is to get it more into free play. The children do observe factors as that the parents and employees communicate together and choose another language.

There should ideally be more focus on language-interactions between employees and parents. The status quo is indicative of institutionalizing the language. Parent support and “bringing the language home” is needed to prevent Sámi from becoming a “daycare language” that is spoken “because they tell me to”. This is a challenge since the parents’ generation themselves has not learned the language or has a stigmatized attitude against speaking it. The daycare or language nest organizes activities that are strengthening the use of Sámi language and language skills, but with few employees and a big group it is difficult to lead the play and influence the children to choose Sámi. The language nest gives the next generation a better opportunity to choose and positively supports the Lule Sámi language. Árran mánálgárdde is a good foundation to possibility hear and practically use the language daily. In recent years the number of children in Árran mánálgárdde has doubled and there is a stronger awareness and interest in choosing Sámi among preschool children, but I question if the language nest is a strength when I heard the expression; I don't speak because it's the weekend” Language revitalization is a question of *To speak or not to speak*.

Abstracts of my thesis in Lule Sámi and Norwegian are attached in the end of this thesis.

Guovssagasak / Nordlys / The Northern Lights Song

By Lars Magne Andreassen, 2007. In *Bálges (Stien / The path,)*. English version, Bruce Morén-Duolljá

I mitt barndomshjem var det mange
låste rom,
med folk og historia vi ikke skulle
vite om.
Men av og til når de gamle så sæ nødt,
til å snake sitt eget språk,
stod de døran litt på gløtt.
Men ellers var hverdagen fylt av taushet
og litt skam,
over hvem vi var og over gammeltonkel
som ofte tok sæ dram.

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"
(Nordlys kom ned og spis melkesuppe)

er den eneste sangen æ kan, av symfonian de
lagde i roman en gang

Men også der hjemme har det blitt en
forandringens tid,
Noen tviler litt mens andre er på glid
Og mange er red for at gamle
sår skal blø
Frykten har lagt sæ som på en
Čohka- med evig snø
De sier de ikke er vant til alt
som følger med.
Og det er lov
men det er rart hvor fort man blir vant til,
å skjule den man er.

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"

er den eneste sangen æ kan, av symfonian de
lagde i roman en gang

Vet du det finnes nordlys
midt på sommeren min venn?
Hvis du vil se det, bare lukk øyan
litt igjen.

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"

\: var den eneste sangen æ kunne,
men nå synes æ
vi skal lage sangan sjølv. :\
:

In my childhood home there were many
hidden rooms,
people and stories that were locked up
in their tombs.
But when the old ones dared to speak their tongue,
caught a glimpse of a world that they knew
when they were very young.
Otherwise, life was filled with silence
and with shame
over who we were or an uncle who often
took a drink –with the pain.

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"
(northern lights, come down and eat milk soup)

is the only song that I know of the symphonies they
created so long ago.

Even at home now there`s been a
little bit of change,
some are resistant but others are open to exchange.
Many are worried that nearly forgotten
wounds will bleed.
Fear is a glacier in spring that
refuses to recede.
They say they can`t forget what was done
to us back then,
OK, but it`s strange
just how fast they forget who
they truly are- or have been.

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"

is the only song that I know of the symphonies they
created so long ago.

Did you know there are northern lights
when the Sun is out, my friend?
If you want to see them, dare to close your
eyes again.

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"

\: was the only song that I knew,
but it seems to me
we should be writing songs ourselves. :\
:

1 Chapter 1: One child-many languages: revitalization through preschool children

Muv tñajmon válldin	De lo av meg	They laughed at me
gå nav nievret sámástiv	av min famlende tale	at my clumsy speech
valla ietjasij máná	men deres egne barn	but their own children
dåssju dárustin	kunne bare norsk	could only speak Norwegian

- Gælok, S Riembbe. 1983, my translation to English-

Indigenous languages are often in a situation of being a minority language and therefore in the position of pressure from majority languages. The situation of being bilingual is quite common among minority languages such as indigenous languages, as there is a demand to know the majority language to gather knowledge less accessible in minority language. Languages are disappearing if there are no longer any people left who speak those languages, and they are not naturally transmitted between generations. This situation raises questions such as: how it is possible to acquire a language fluently outside the family and what is the best way to do so? When the family itself can't provide the less spoken language, an option is to let preschool children learn a second language outside the family. For this age group the possibility is through a language focused daycare, a language nest. My research questions are:

To what degree can preschool children contribute to strengthening an endangered minority language by acquiring it in a preschool institution such as a language nest?

Mainly I am interesting in finding possibilities to strengthen endangered languages through preschool children attending language nests. This thesis researches the opportunities to combine preschool children's abilities of becoming fluent bilingual speakers (children language acquisition) with the possibility of strengthen minority languages (language revitalization). I examine factors that influence language choices, to find out what factors are necessary for preschool children to learn a minority language outside home. Furthermore, I focus on opportunities and challenges, by questioning what strategies can be brought out by "outsiders" to help revitalizing a language through improving preschoolers' linguistic environment. With "outsiders" I mean those that have no knowledge of the language.

My thesis is threefold. Firstly I document the history and today's situation for an indigenous minority language (Lule Sámi). Secondly I interpret and analyze strong and weak efforts at revitalizing a language. Thirdly I suggest a method and strategy for developing resources that strengthen the situation of the chosen language among the target group of my

research. In this first chapter the theoretical frame for my research is introduced. My main terms such as language diversity, language acquisition, language nest, language endangerment and language shift are further defined. These definitions guide my subsequent argumentation. In particular, the model of language nest is described and compared with other models for revitalization. The first part of my methodology and quantitative results of the fieldwork are presented as the last part of this chapter.

1.1.1 “...but their own children can only speak Norwegian”: linguistic diversity

Andreassen (2007:34) wrote:”Majt gusájn jus rásse jábmá?”[Sámi for: what will happen to the cow if the grass dies?]. This reminds people of how important it is to preserve resources. We can think of this proverb as a metaphor for the relationship between the identity of a nation and their language with the cow as the young speaker and the grass as the language. As the grass grows, the vocabulary gets richer. All efforts that contribute to promoting the language are like helping the cow to grow up to graze on abundant grass. Linguistic diversity is important for each individual speaker, just as a diversity of plant life is important to support the diversity of species. Indigenous languages have a special value for their communities and an inherent value for all of humankind (Janda, 2007). Therefore, it is important to secure the position and strength of these languages. Janda (2008:2) states that “language is the vehicle of a group’s culture, if a group’s distinctive language is lost; access to both type of cultural expression is cut off. When this happens, group identity is always severely compromised and most often vanishes.

Definitions of a minority language depend on what language it is compared with. It will thus vary if e.g. Norwegian or Sámi in some settings is a minority or majority language. While a minority language is a less spoken language spoken by linguistic minorities (a minority of the population of a territory), settling on a definition for an indigenous language is complex. An indigenous language is a language that is native to a region.

This language would be from a linguistically distinct community that has been settled in the area for many generations. Indigenous languages may not be national languages, or may have fallen out of use, because of language deaths or linguicide caused by colonization, where that of the colonists replaces the original language (¹).

The definition of being an indigenous language speaker is important for defining numbers of speakers and if a decline in numbers of speakers signals an endangered development. Attitudes are an important part of learning a language. Dorian (1998:3) notes two crucial factors

¹ <http://tinyurl.com/36njtfa> [Definitions through Wikipedia encyclopedia]

concerning Western attitudes toward minority languages. The first is that “majority languages are considered to be exceptionally well-suited to clear thinking and processes expressions”. This attitude has changed through history and through the period of assimilation. Secondly Dorian (1998:3) mentions “the belief that bilingualism is a burden on both society and the individual speakers”. According to Dorian, this explains the weak position of minority languages. Attitudes towards bilingualism have changed throughout history and have had a positive effect on endangerment of languages (Baker, 1995). Skutnabb-Kangas (1999:58) claimed that “the fewer speakers the language has, the more necessary it is for the children to become high-level multilingual”. Different domains have different needs. Different use has a different aim of learning skills (Fishman, 1972). The aim is not to displace the majority language but to keep a diversity to avoid as Gælok (1983) write “...valla ietjasij máná dássju dárustin” [but their own children can only speak Norwegian].

Factors that influence this preschool age group are factors that influence future attitudes of a language and thereby the possibilities for a language to be chosen. “Muv tñajmon vállidin gå nav nievret sámástiv” [they laughed at me at my clumsy speech], were the words written in the Lule Sámi poem by Gælok (1983). Children are open-minded but adapt quickly to attitudes of the surrounding environment and make their choices depending on which language is the acceptable choice. Both individuals and communities attitudes are important factors a child notices. Robertson (2002) pointed out that personal motivation, skills, anxiety, stigmatized attitude, emotional settings and time commitment are factors that were more significant in successful second language learning than age. While motivation is a requirement for learning a language (Haugen, 1956:74), linguistic awareness is important to build a good competence in the language (Buljo, 2002:26). The speaker should have a reason to choose one language instead of another. Todal (2002a) introduced a continuity motivation, while Gardner & Lambert (1959) divide motivation into instrumental and integrative aspects. Continuity motivation is when a person aspires a connection to one’s own history. Instrumental motivation deals with the possibilities of economic and social advancement. Integrative motivation concerns belonging to linguistic group and thereby developing a deeper understanding of its culture.

1.1.2 Children’s language acquisition

Large changes in children’s use of language occur between the ages of 2 to 5. From using simple words and short sentences they acquire fluent speak. This period is the peak of language

acquisition and the time when children have the best capacity for learning a new language. Lenneberg (1967) argues that the language acquisition is shaped by a biological capacity that matures over the first two to three years of life and reaches a stable state in early childhood (Snedeker et al., in press: 1). At the age of three years, children have acquire the foundation for language structure (Lust, 2006:10).

A language can be divided into skills of syntax², semantics³, phonology/grapheme⁴, morphology⁵and lexicon⁶ (Lyon, 1996: 20; Knutsen, 2005: 49; Lust, 2006: xii-xiii). For the preschool age, the vocabulary is the most visible aspects of learning any language and thus the importance of grammar can be easy to forget about. While learning the vocabulary may be better, the acquisition of grammar can be more of a challenge (Singleton 1995). There is no critical period for learning vocabulary in a second language, but there seems to be a younger critical age (the younger the better) to learn phonology compared to the syntax (Singleton 1995). Meisel (2009) stated that there is a critical period for acquiring syntactic parameters. This critical period begins to close during the preschool years which negatively impacts children who begin acquiring a new language at or after 3 (Snedeker et al., in press: 7), which is why languages ideally must be learned and acquired at a preschool age. Adult second-language learners may retain a foreign accent (Oyama 1976:261). There is no doubt that preschool children acquire a vocabulary in any language more fluent than adults, but there is less agreement through the research whether or not a second language has a possibility to be kept if not followed up. These arguments depend on what the researchers count as the most important skills of knowing a language fluently.

The preschool age group naturally doesn't request much material; in fact they do not need any written material since they learn the spoken language first. Since there are few influencing factors, language learning is easier. There are 4 aspect of communicative competence: to read, write, speak and listen (Knutsen, 2005:50-51). Preschool children mainly use the spoken factors, which is either to listen (the receptive) or speak (the active). Children first develop a receptive and contemplative understanding of the language then they start to express it actively (Pesch, 2005:7). Though I doubt that they only develop these aspects, they are simultaneous developing

² rules of building sentences, loosely referred to as grammar

³ meaning or content, understanding

⁴ word sound/written

⁵ internal structure of the

⁶ word/vocabulary

both a receptive and active use of the language. Children have, in this age, acquired the basic principal for their mother tongue and it's relevant to begin with the second language (Lyon 1996). Through simultaneous acquisition infants achieved more than one language in about the same time as the acquisition of one language alone (Lust, 2006:269). Language acquired before the age of 6 year would in general be at a level of mother tongue competence, while this is usually not the case later in life (Pesch, 2005). Romaine (1995) claims that age is not a critical factor, rather the domain and circumstance it happens in. This is seen through employees acquiring languages through working in language nests.

“The early and continuous language acquisition we have seen in infants raises the question of how this early experience may be effective if a young child suddenly changes his/her language environment, perhaps during or according to the first three years of life” (Lust, 2006:269). A change in children's linguistic environment (e.g. participating in a language focused daycare) influences their future possibilities of language choices. By placing children in a minority language daycare both involved languages are equalized. For children learning more than one language already at the preschool age, later acquisition of a new or recalled language come easier (Lust, 2006:269).

Lambert was, in 1955, the first to separate two learning conditions which he called subtractive and additive language learning (Kintell, S-I 2002:7; Baker, 1996:68). Through time one can see that the second language takes over in the case of subtractive language learning (Buljo, 2001:11-12). For bilingualism to be positive both language must be satisfying (Baker, 1998:137) and relevant for the age (Romaine, 1995:267). A common competence for both language and equal development are the central element in this theory (Øzerk,1992, 2000). This additive language learning approach is the ideal strategy to work on in a language nest, to create a positive attitude that strengthens the language development.

1.2 Language nest: a strong bilingual revitalization model

Language immersion is a method for teaching a second language (L2) where the target language is used for instructions (Grenoble, 2006). These programs are created in response to the fact that few children are being raised as speakers of the language. The aim is to maintain, protect, and further develop the less spoken language. It is popular in communities where language is in decline. Among my target group, language nests are the most common immersion programs. Baker's typology (1996:194) defines weak or strong models, based on whether it is a method

where the language is being used as the communication language. Baker (1996) defined language nest as a strong linguistic immersion method in contrast to e.g. the 'sink or swim' policy of submersion or structured immersion' L2 classes (transition). Transitional bilingual education starts by teaching in the minority child's first language (L1) and as soon as possible moves over to instruction via L2. Strong models are language bath, maintenance model, two-ways model or dual-language programs and second-language medium instruction model (Baker, 2001; Øzerk, 2006, Engen & Kullbrandstad, 2004).

A language nest is a daycare with a focus on being a language learning environment. In brief a place for an early-childhood for minority or indigenous children, where all activities occur merely with an endangered language, even if the children do not previously know the language. According to Øzerk (2006:71) it is aimed for preschool children up to 6 years old with minority backgrounds and with the aim that small children are the future speakers.

The concept behind the language nest was taken from the Māori an indigenous people in New Zealand. Establishment of a language nest was implemented at a preschool level in the early 1980s (Grenoble, 2006:52, Tsunoda, 2005:202; Crystal, 2000:128). It was the Māori that took the initiative themselves in the 1970s, by using mothers grandmothers as linguistic resources to transmit the language to the children. "By the 1970s the number of children learning Māori was so drastically reduced that prospects for its future were dim" (Grenoble, 1998). The first language nest, Te Kōhanga Reo, was established in 1982 (Øzerk 2006:69-72). The Māori language was then under serious pressure from the majority language English which dominated the community (Grenoble, 1998:49). In 1987 the New Zealand government raised the question and economical support was provided to establish other language nests (King, J.2001). Further this method has been replicated in Hawaii for the Hawaiian language. Aikio-Puoskari & Skutnabb-Kangas (2007:9) question "what happens when a majority is second language speaker?" by comparing Māori, Hawaiian, Skolt Sámi and Inari Sámi (2007:49-56). Other countries with dying minority languages have had very good experience with language nests, including among the Inari in Finland where they have the Inari Sámi language nest (Pasanen 2010, 2003, 2004; Morottaja, 2007:64-66, Mattus, 2007:71; Paltto, 2007:73-74). Success can be illustrated by the increase of need of Sámi daycare groups (see Storjord, 2008 and chap.2). The efforts that have been undertaken to revitalize Sámi language in different areas are also true in Lule Sámi language (Øzerk, 2006:69-72). The South Sámi in Norway was inspired by this model of establishing a

language nest (Todal 2006, 2007). Several researchers write about the strengthening of Sámi language through daycare (Todal, 2007, 1999; Mikkelsen, 1996; Kintel, S-I 1994; Láng, 2005:29–31). Kintel, S-I and Mikkelsen wrote about the establishment of Lule Sámi language nest. Storjord (2008) and Ausdal (2007) researched bilingualism and language learning through Sámi/Norwegian daycares. There is ample literature documenting perspectives about language nests' effectiveness (e.g. Grenoble, 2006:52).

This language nest model should be established and driven by minority speakers themselves based on the concept of the oldest generation as the main resources supporting children to learn the language in a natural way, by active generation interaction. This developed to reverse the interruption of the inter-generational language transmission which leads to children that do not learn the language at home. This idea is the oldest and most natural: children learn to speak language by listening to it. After all, that is how children learn all their respective first languages. Employees use the endangered language. Children can talk with staff in both languages if needed. In language nests children are achieving indirect language ability and capacity to learn language fast, often in a few months, but active ability requires more time and also depends on each individual child. King (2001:125) claims that “language proficiency of the children attending the language nest depends on the length of the time the children has been in the language nest and the strength of the language environment the child is exposed to, both in the home and in the language nest”. The optimal situation is that children hear the majority language only from the other children. They will be encouraged to use the minority language, but not pushed. Language nests are unique possibility for revitalization, when the language is not transmitted within the family and at home. Language nests provide children with a positive attitude and opportunity to become bilingual and lead to results such as reversal and language shifts in some families and social networks. Immersion programs in Indigenous languages during early years are good, not only for survival and development of language, but for a child's development of positive self-identity.

There is a danger though that a heavy emphasis on immersion could encourage the parents and community to leave language transmission to employees, as seen through my research. Any success in formal schooling would thus be undermined, as sustained use of Indigenous languages at home is an essential condition for survival. A language nest aims to promote language and create a strengthened awareness. By focusing on the minority language it gives rise to positive

relations and secures use of the less spoken languages, but a language only learned in the daycare has a limited life. Studies do show that, without ensuring intergenerational transmission, immersion programs do not bring language into everyday use (Tsunoda, 2005).

1.2.1 Endangerment of languages: local choices with global actuality

A language can be endangered in variety of ways. The most important step towards language protection and revitalization depend on the level of endangerment. High numbers of speakers does not ensure language transmission (Brenzinger & de Graf, 2005:3). Rather, the emphasis should be placed on the age of the speakers and how active their use of the language is. The most vital factor for revitalization of languages is the transmitting of languages from the parent generation to children (Fishman, 1991, 88-109). When transmission between generations ends and when the language is used in few domains, the languages is endangered. Fishman (1991:8) developed a typology (a sociolinguistic scale) where languages are placed. The main criteria was not to define how endangered the language is but to indicate what can be done for the language. Fishman's GIDS scales (Graded intergenerational Disruption scale) with 8 stages are used to classify the situation of an endangered language. Within my researched community there is a high focus both on the individual and community level, but there is less possibility for intergenerational transmission this is where language nests as a method come into play. By placing the language in this model, one can see the main tendency in a community, but in addition one needs to consider general evaluations as I have done through my research in the daycare. I will use this scale in chapter 2, to discuss changes in the situation for Lule Sámi language, from Huss (1999:28) who did her research in Tysfjord where my research was conducted.

UNESCO (Mosley, 2010; Wurm, 2001) has a "red list" of the worlds languages categorized as safe or endangered are divided into 6 categories according to the level of endangerment. The number of children speakers are considered and compared to the total numbers of speakers. Finally the official status of the language is evaluated. UNESCO's list contains important factors for evaluating the situation of endangered languages (Todal, 2007:20; Rasmussen, 2007:139; UNESCO, 2003). I apply these factors to my own research to examine how endangered Lule Sámi languages are (chapter.4). UNESCO (2003) lists 9 factors that need to be considered when analyzing how endangered a language is (e.g. in context of Lule Sámi language): 1. the total numbers of speakers, 2. The age of speakers, 3. present speaking of the whole group, 4. language

domain, 5. expanse of the domain, 6. available written sources for teaching, 7. public attitudes to the language, 8. attitudes to own language within the group, 9. documentation (dictionary, etc.) (Todal, 2007:19). Huss (1999: 28) used these 9 listed factors to evaluate the Lule Sámi language, which are further presented in chapter 2. I compared her findings with the recent year's developments. Grenoble and Whaley's (1998: 26) typology of language endangerment list 33 factors. Different way of measuring a linguistic situation has been further discussed by Rasmussen (2007:131) in the view of Sámi languages.

Hyltenstam & Stroud's model not only analyzes the situation for a given language but measure what is needed on each level to secure and strengthen a language (Svonni, 2008:13-14). From a macro to a micro level Hyltenstam & Stroud (1991:63) listed three factors: society level, group level and individual level. The individual level included language choices and socialization (Todal, 2002:28-29). The macro level according to Hyltenstam & Stroud (1991) is the most important level to change. I disagree and my thesis argues for a wider focus on the individual level, based on Fishman's research which was discussed. Through my observation I find a combination of these factors regarding Lule Sámi language revitalization. While there are different classifications, I will focus on Fishman's and UNESCO's.

The more areas of life that language can be brought into, the stronger the language will be and the more likely it is to thrive. Dorian (1998:3) emphasizes, "Languages are seldom admired to death but are frequently despised to death." Languages die out when users believe that their language has less status and are associated negatively with the past (traditional and historical) and economic inferiority. In addition, linguistic environments are dissolved when new speakers move in and old speakers move away. Languages die not of natural reasons, but because they are not given value by the government and the speakers (Hellander, 2003: 9). Historically, the Norwegian government's assimilation policies resulted in the Sámi language being less recognized or having negative connotations. Speakers become ashamed of their origins and achieve fluency in the majority language (Eidheim, 1971).

Dorian (cited in King, 2001:97) underlines that "a common challenge for language revitalization is to limit the restrictive role which purist attitudes are likely to play in the communities...or to channel such attitudes into forms which are useful rather than harmful". Language police are a known factor in creating stigma for speaking also among Sámi speaking learners (Eidheim, 1971). There are many ways to define revitalization, but a more important

question is: What can be done to protect and revitalize indigenous languages while taking into consideration an indigenous paradigm? Western researchers, as e.g. linguists, must make sure that they respect indigenous people's wishes when helping with revitalization. Members of the community should provide leadership for all initiatives, as its important with local control. This is seen through the ideas of language nest where the target group is the resource, making the decisions about their future, not just participating. The speaker's interest, knowledge and experience must be at the center (Rigney 1999:119). While protecting a language the indigenous people should be consulted; "do they want to keep the language (or is it only a linguist's wish)? All other efforts must be evaluated in relation to this. It is necessary to fostering positive community attitudes (sometimes people don't want to save their own language), since any approach must promote authenticity of the whole community.

The general dilemma of revitalization processes is that the awareness and ideas have little contact with grassroots level. A grassroots approach could lead to a more positive self-identity in specific language revitalization projects (e.g. language). Smith (1999:10) asked "Who will benefit from it; whose interest does it serves and for what purpose has this representation been made? Whose opinion and whose action does this representation intend to influence? Research on language should benefit people themselves. Smith (1999) argues that any research projects has to be thoroughly consider, not merely as a single contribution to the body of academic knowledge, but rather in respect of indigenous interest and needs (e.g. language, see Porsanger 2004:110). The will of people is the most important ingredient for how indigenous people can promote their language. Do they want to revitalize the language for active use? Speakers of minority languages can decide to abandon their languages and cultures in hope of overcoming discrimination and to secure a livelihood and enhance social mobility for themselves and their children and the benefit of social mobility and career opportunities (Brenzinger & de Graaf, 2005:3). Ancestral languages can only survive in long run if meaningful roles for them can be established in lives of community members.

To protect and revitalize an endangered indigenous language, one must put most efforts on the young generation since these are the future generation speakers. This must be done in cooperation between family and community. One needs someone to speak the language with, and a situation to use it in. If parents speak the language, children pick it up immediately as they are a mirror of their environment. If they don't learn a language in a family because of myriad different

reasons, one could say that there might not be any reason to learn it at all. If this is the case, why should they then need to know a language when it's not in active use? Children's attitudes become positive when they see a reason to learn a language and to use it. This happens when they understand that by using it to communicate will respond in knowledge and information not possible without receiving the language knowledge. This social common factor will be a motivation force. By introducing the children to a language environment like a language nest both languages achieve a domain to grow in.

Lule Sámi is alive among some individual families and speakers but not in the community as both a mother tongue and the primary vehicle of verbal exchange within the family and social networks. Presently, children in Norway spend more time in daycare when compared to earlier times, and more awake time within the daycare than in the family during a regular week. My research of the Lule Sámi language indicates that daycare can be a positive contribution to a family that wants their children to receive knowledge about a second language not provided by the family. For this age group the choice of language to use is mainly taken by the parents, but there are many factors that influence their choices (see chap.3). Pesch (2005:19) states that "in effect these institutions are their second home, so their motivation and attitudes to language and culture plays an important role in the bilingual child's development, because they meet role models and at the same time are exposed to social norms and values through persons in the environment". Different domains introduce different languages, but not without interacting (Fishman, 1972).

1.2.2 Language shift

Language shift occur when either an individual speaker or a community as a group changes the language that is mainly used. In linguistic research one often describes a language shift as an equation, with letters symbolizing the languages involved. Haugen (1956) introduced this system where "A" symbolizes the minority, and "B" the majority language. Language shift can be described using the following phases: A>Ab>AB>aB>B (Haugen, 1956). Big letter symbolize full competence and the lowercase letter symbolizes some competency in the language. A single letter means monolingualism in the minority language or majority language (Huss, 1999:18; Jansson, 2005:32). This model is to be used by replacing the letters with minority and majority languages. In this equation the minority language are through time dominated by the majority

language, which takes over completely. Revitalization aims reverse this process, but not necessary displace.

Lindgren's emancipation model (see 2003, 2005, 2007) connects the language revitalization with language emancipation. This is a process that is progressed during a language shift process, to reverse that a language is dying and secure that it's lifted to a higher level and taken into use. "The emancipation in this context means that Sámi people are developing new methods to face the external images. It means that the Sámi's start to reject the narrow ideas and forming the identity in new light" (Satta, 2005:28). External impressions affect e.g. the Sámi speakers self identity. In the revitalization process the status of the languages must be raised both internal and external to gain status and develop in its speakers. Reversing a language shift or having language revitalization is about both a language and a culture, not about the language itself, according to Fishman (1991, 17-26). Language shift involves cultural changes. To revitalize the Sámi culture, people had to face their "stigmatized identity" (Eidheim, 1971). Culture is expressed through the language and the culture it is associated with. Non-material culture such as verbal expressions (e.g. proverbs, songs, greetings) are aspects I have seen through my research. To know a language, the culture and history is the symbolic picture that follows.

1.3 Knowledge of a language on what purpose

While learning or teaching a language there are different aspects to consider. I consider three aspects of a language: relation to the speakers, skills of knowledge and status in the community. A language has three main functions, which Kulbrandstad (2002) outlines as "to communicate a meaning content, as a tool for thinking and creating expressions, to mark group belonging and identity where language is a symbol". These are communicative, cognitive and group identity functions (see Linell, 1978). The language shift process can be described as a partial transition from "the communication" to "the identity marked" functions. The language can die as the active main language, but survive in e.g. daycare of identity reasons, a so-called symbol language. When a speaker decide to shift language, the old language will first lose its communicative function, then the cognitive, and finally the symbolic function which marks group and identity belonging. A language might be used in ritual connections long after it has lost its practical communicative purpose (Kulbrandstad, 2002). This was the situation for Hebrew which was only used for religious ritual, but not as a daily used language (Baker, 1998:199).

If a minority language (e.g. Sámi) is only learned and used in daycare and school to a certain age, the language is a symbol language not an active communication language in the local community. The majority languages dominate public domains and then spread to personal spheres of family and friends. The result of this shift is the dominant language becomes the most important form of communication in all spheres. During this process, the majority language takes over more arenas and becomes the most important communication language between people. Individuals find it easier to speak the majority language and choose this as the mother tongue for their children. “The mother tongue is needed for psychological, cognitive and spiritual survive of cultural rights. All other languages, including official languages of the state in which children live, are needed for social, economic, political, and civil rights”(Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999:58).

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2010:33, 1981:18) there are four different criteria's for defining a mother tongue. Her criteria's are: origin, identification, competence and function. When defining mother tongue Skutnabb-Kangas (2010:33, 1981:16) took into consideration that a person can have two different mother tongues. A mother tongue may also change during a lifetime. Minority languages often have a low status, which may lead to reducing or even denying their own knowledge of their mother tongue. Identification is also a challenge. There is a conflict between being ashamed of origins and to an extent achieving fluency in a majority language in an effort to identify with the majority as quickly as possible (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010:33, 1981:16). Here it's also a difference between the internal and the external identification, whether self-identification or defined by others to be a native speaker of the language. The language one knows best (competence) and uses the most (function) is usually the mother tongue. Second language learning is languages learned at a later stage. Where two languages are learned simultaneously one might be less used as a child.

Bilingualism is often taken for granted to be the situation between a majority language and a minority language, but it can also describe the internal relations within a language or between different dialects and language variants (e.g. Sámi). Experience shows that a choice of language in bilingual communities occurs at the expense of the minority group (Eira, 2001:139). Historically there has been a negative view on bilingualism and a belief that it took away from the other intelligence functions. However, since the 1960's bilingualism was agreed upon as a benefit providing higher creativity both in the individual and in relation to community and democratic enrichment (Börestam & Huss 2001:41). As long as bilingualism is balanced, it

broadens and richens the vocabulary and creates the ability to see nuances both within and outside a language.

Börestam & Huss (2001:47) stated that bilingualism is an equal ability to communicate in two languages or the ability to communicate in two languages, but with the possibility of greater skill in one language. Bilingualism is when children learn two languages at home or if one has to communicate at a different language in the community in which one lives (e.g. different home and daycare language). Some definitions include a second learned language (L2). If one also considers the variation within each language and the definitions of language vs. dialect it is difficult to draw a theoretical limitation for this phenomenon. As to what is “language?” Börestam and Huss (2001:56) conclude as Skutnabb-Kangas (1981:93) that there is no proper way of defining bilingualism. I emphasize Skutnabb-Kangas definition which is a well-known and accepted definition, where she points out the four criteria, which narrow the possibilities: origin, competence, function and identification. The four criteria’s (as for the mother tongue) that form the basis for Skutnabb-Kangas definition are further explained regarding the possibilities of strengthening the Lule Sámi language (chap 4).

A bilingual person that achieves two languages at the same time (origin) is simultaneous bilingual before three years old. Being bilingual after this age is suggestive bilingualism and the difference between first and second language learning (Börestam & Huss, 2001:58; Hyltenstam & Stroud, 1991:50). It is due to this difference in learning skills at this age that language ideally should be learned already before children enter school. Linguistic competence is difficult to measure, especially among preschoolers. What is needed to be regarded as bilingual? There is a balance between languages such as equal fluency in both or if it is possible to be better in one. Øzerk (1992) illustrated this bilingual acquisition of first and second language learning where he differed between balanced bilingualism, mother tongue dominated language or where the second language gradually takes over and becomes the dominating language.

The use of a language and if one uses both could be easier to measure. If one person uses both languages he/she is recognize as bilingual according to Weinreich’s (1953) definition of equal use. Attitudes depend on the person’s self-definition and if they recognize themselves as bilingual or what they want to identify with. Do they see bilingualism as a resource and identify themselves as being bilingual? Attitude and identification are important criteria. There are two methods of identification; one is individual identification and the other external definition of the

person. Attitudes and changes in attitudes and choices done through the language shift process due to these attitudes is part of the history to many families in Sámi Norwegian communities, among them my researched community, Drag in Tysfjord. In some families there is still disagreement of the attitudes. Community attitudes are important, and in the case of the Sámi it is illustrated with rising awareness of identity from shame to pride in the period starting with assimilation and followed by a revitalization process of Sámi language in Norway in the 1990`s (Todal 2002). This process from shame to pride and silence to visualizing is further described in Å M Johansen`s (2009) research of language shift and maintenance in the local community of Manndalen. Both Johansen (2009, 2007) and Bull (1991, 1994) have described how these attitudes and changes have played an important role for language choices in communities in Northern Norway. Growing up in a bilingual family requires special attention to equal development for both languages and is especially challenging. Both languages should ideally be mastered on an equal level to get positive development of bilingualism according to Cummins (1976) cited in Börestam & Huss (2001:58).

Based upon this theoretical frame, I conducted my fieldwork within a Sámi day care in Norway. I researched the factors influencing preschool children, how these factors affect their language choices and the degree to which children contribute to strengthening the less spoken language in the community by attending the language nest, which aims to be a strong immersion method. My fieldworks location and linguistic setting is presented in 3.1. I reflect here more personal choices within my methodology. The consequence and quantitative results of my chosen methods are further discussed in 4.3.

1.4 Qualitative research with fieldwork in a Sámi culture with children as informants

Knutsen (2005:19) illustrated the working process as a spider net. In this metaphor the thread is the possible way to reach the aim. By starting in the outer periphery, there are as many ways in as there are possibilities to go around before deciding which way to choose further. There might be many metaphors but no proper way of researching, but the most important is the process itself or the way of doing fieldwork. By entering field to personally get to know the area of study and get a “feeling of” the environment and surroundings or as Porsanger (2007) state: “the role of the researcher and communication with the studied indigenous community.” During my fieldwork I collected empirical data using informal interviews, group discussions and both active and passive participated as an observer in the language nest. My informants and domain were mainly

children, employees and parents in the daycare. I got permissions from the daycare to gather information. Contact persons have led me to new contact persons, and I got permission from other researchers to use already established networks and informants. During daily routines I had the opportunity to talk with the children and employees in informal conversations about their experiences of the language influence. “Cultural practices and form of expressions are reflected in the ways of conducting research: in language, style, structure, methods as well as assumptions of knowledge and the role of researcher” (Kuokkanen 2000, 417-418).

I came to the conclusion that it was relevant for my research to bring my family with me to conduct this fieldwork. With this approach my access was quite different, with an inside perspective and relevant information on a deeper level. My two pre-school aged children allowed me to be a part of the research situation and facilitate more in-depth interviews. I was not in the position of being a foreigner (outsider) or taking as much risk as I would have if entering a community where I had no prior connection to (chap.4). I asked them to meet my children and treat them as if they were starting in the language nest. My family consisted of my husband, and our two children then 1 and 3 years old. With this approach, and breaking down barriers between the researcher and informants as well as among the age division of adults and children, I had the possibility to gain valuable information. My role was to follow them as a mother the first week while observing the other children. I observed different language attitudes. The challenge was also to find the natural position in the daycare, between not being a “real” parent attending and not being an “employee”. Falling naturally into the group of children and being accepted was actually easy, and I do believe that this was easier due to the fact that I had my children with me in the field and we played and talked through them.

The more personal challenge is that I don't speak Sámi. I assumed that there would be a more openness if I were able to speak Sámi and especially for the children and as an adult to only speak Sámi to encourage Sámi use. The fact that I spoke Norwegian to my own children and was not a Sámi speaking employee contributed to make a specific linguistic environment during my visit in the daycare and could have affected the languages used. My lack of knowledge of the language was however comparative with the position of many of the other parents in the daycare. Even if I didn't know the language it did not seem to influence my informants' language choices more than the presence of their parent.

The challenge was that I didn't write down my impression immediately or record some of the conversations. One always assumes to remember so much better than one actually does, when a lot of information is gathered, important small parts are easy to lose. When I was back from fieldwork I missed a structured scheme, where all my observations were documented, with when and what they were actually observed speaking. I could also have been more focused and given more attention to language use between employees and parents when the children were left and picked up before and after daycare. These were situations where parents communicated with each other and employees. This was however the first week, and I didn't know what to expect and this was one way the research for finding out what there was to discover. None-the-less I started with an open approach.

The chosen age group created a challenge, due to their lack of written language. The age factor was also a challenge while getting the youngest to state or claim their thoughts and opinions. My research is mainly on spoken language, which can make it difficult to gather and secure information. While combining spoken sources, personal experiences and observations with the children's families are important; I also examined relevant literature about previously conducted research. There is limited use of the written language influencing the age group of my research. At this age language used by child informants may also not be representative for a long-term perspective. Constantly changing environment influences preschoolers' language choices. To have children as informants is a challenge that Storjord (2008) also discussed. Also important to consider is how representative my respondents were. This is an age group where making direct interviews are challenging. Only the eldest, 5 year olds, could give me reflected answer to why questions of their language choices. Preschool children are not that consistent in their choices so this particular year can yield different results than the years after, depending on the composition of the children.

For this age group a qualitative research approach was most appropriate. The possibility to make a second separate week, after 3 months reading and thinking was an opportunity to follow up on the loose ends that I didn't have time to ask about or was not actually aware of before I returned from field. My first visit was in June, my second in September. I was invited to a seminar and planned to combine this with an additional week of fieldwork. There was however a new group starting up in the beginning of September with new employers and 2 new leaders. The employees in the daycare responded that there would be too much for them if I turned up one week later. The situation of the first weeks and 6 new children would need to settle for a while to

accurately represent the daycare. This week would not yield representative data. Therefore I did not attend the daycare while participating in the conference. Instead I worked out a data collection method based on what I had learned and instructed my husband as a field assistant to conduct observations of language choices. It was possible for him to observe and log when and who spoke what language as he attended the daycare, due to the fact that our children were permitted to play with the other children.

When conducting research on small ethnic groups protecting anonymity is important. There are also ethical issues relating to research on children and to get permission to do the research within the daycare. I could have given the informers pseudonym names; instead I have chosen to mention them without names, as I recognize it's a risk of recognizing the conversation anyway. I have chosen to use full names of the persons that are in official positions and made them aware of the publicity and let them agree upon my use of their information. Another ethical issue when researching small communities that one does have to give something back, not just take. I aim to give the community a strengthened focus on the importance of creating new language nests. This thesis can be used as an argument for the importance of continuing the second group established in the researched daycare. My contributions, based upon a request during my fieldwork, are further discussed within the methodology part in chapter 4.

Through this chapter I have indicated how language revitalization is an opportunity through a preschool child that acquires many languages. Additionally the location of my fieldwork is presented. The history frame presents attitudes when language choices are taken. Chapter 2 gives the ethno-political historical background for establishing a Sámi daycare to revitalize the Lule Sámi language and culture in Tysfjord.

2 Chapter 2: Ethno political historical background for establishing a Sámi daycare

I mitt barndomshjem var det mange
låste rom,
med folk og historia vi ikke skulle
vite om.
Men av og til når de gamle så sæ nødt,
til å snakke sitt eget språk,
stod de døran litt på gløtt.
Men ellers var hverdagen fylt av taushet
og litt skam,
over hvem vi var og over gammeltonke
som ofte tok sæ dram.

In my childhood home there were many
hidden rooms,
people and stories that were locked up
in their tombs.
But when the old ones dared to speak their tongue,
caught a glimpse of a world that they knew
when they were very young.
Otherwise, life was filled with silence
and with shame
over who we were or an uncle who often
took a drink –with the pain.

-Andreassen, L M. 2007. Guovssagasak/Nordlys. In *Bálges*. English version, Morén-Duolljá, B.-

This chapter questions how the ethno-historical development for the Lule Sámi language frames today's situation and the future challenges and possibilities for the language. I illustrate possible causes for endangerment of the Lule Sámi Language in Norway. With little previous research on the sociolinguistic aspect among preschool children I was inspired to focus on a new area. My thesis is limited to present the Lule Sámi languages linguistic situation within the Norwegian Sápmi.

2.1 *Between north and south: Julevsámegiella, a newly constructed term*



Map 2.1 Sápmi, <http://tinyurl.com/27jblzr> [Samisk informasjonssentrum]

The Norwegian government has defined Lule Sámi as its own dialect or language group within the Sámi languages (Ot.prp.nr.114 2001-202, NOU 1985:14; Aira, 2002:51). The Lule Sámi language in Norway is located in the bilingual municipality of Tysfjord/Divtasvuodna (Map 2.1), which on the 1st of January 2006 received status as the only Lule Sámi administrative area.

Tysfjord is together with 7 other Sámi administrative districts in Norway obliged to equalize use of Sámi and Norwegian language.

Evjen (2004:41) writes why and how the Lule Sámi group obtained status as the third official group of Sámi people in Norway. She states that “in Norway, the Sámi people consist of a number of smaller groups: but have from time immemorial been divided into two main groups, the Northern and the Southern Sámi, even if they most often were referred to as Sámi only. During the 1970s a new group appeared: the Lule Sámi”. The name Lule Sámi comes from the location in Sweden where the Luleå River flows. Their Sámi name is Julevsáme and the Sámi language Julevsámegiella. The Lule Sámi population is descended from both the reindeer herding nomads that came over the mountains from Sweden and the sea Sámi from further west in Norway. The Lule Sámi language at the Norwegian side exists mainly in the area of Tysfjord municipality (County of Nordland), with Drag/Ájluokta as the core town where Árran Lule Sámi center is located. The only present Lule Sámi daycare is located in (and owned by) this center. Musken/Måsske with its approximately 40 inhabitants is the only Lule Sámi community in Norway (Solstrøm, 2008). There was, some years ago, a daycare in Musken but this was closed down due to the lack of children. The local school faced the same destiny in the fall of 2009. A daycare program is established in Bodø. Recently this city has received an official Sámi name, Bådåddjo, as it is an old Sámi settlement and the closest large city for the Tysfjord region. On the Swedish side, Jokkmokk and Gällivare are the core area where there is also Lule Sámi daycare groups for children within Sámi daycares.

In Norway around 500 speak Lule Sámi (Lewis, 2009). Some 1500-1700 persons in Norway define themselves to be of ethnical Lule Sámi origin according to Rasmussen (2007:2-3). However according to St.meld.nr.28 (2007/2008)⁷ there are 2000 that count themselves as Lule Sámi and of them 600 are active speakers. The actual number depends on how the difference between a language and a dialect is defined⁸. This research is not going further into the methods behind estimates of how to define a speaker or whether or not to define Lule Sámi a language or a dialect. There has been a noticeable increase in the number of speakers in recent years. Jansson (2005:127) claimed that “the most important issue for the years to come, especially far away from Sápmi (the core Sámi land) might not be to register the increase or decrease in the number of the Sámi speaking pupils in daycare and schools. She suggested instead to “widen the

⁷ <http://tinyurl.com/3452zfm> [St. meld.nr.28 2007/2008]

⁸ a form of language that differs in pronunciation, vocabulary or grammar from other forms of the same language
<http://tinyurl.com/yf9su5t> [ScienceZine online science encyclopedia]

revitalization movement and to help new groups of interested people to find suitable ways to enhance their competence in Sámi”.

An approximate number of Sámi and Sámi speakers is important however, when examining the situation with regard to the Sámi language and degree of endangerment. A high numbers of speakers are not, however, necessary ensuring language transmission as explained (chap.1). During my fieldwork I observed through my first visit that among the young generation Lule Sámi was rarely used in everyday life. It was pointed out that even if the language is used within the institutions (schools, municipal administration, cultural centers, etc.); it's a matter of concern that it's so rarely used in daily life. However, I have observed a change recent years both in effort and awareness of taken the language into use among youth and adults.

2.1.1 From endangered to revitalized: linguistic history of awakening Lule Sámi

The introduction to the history of the Lule Sámi language is based on Evjen (2008, 2001, 1998), Kintel A. (1998, 1991), Aira (2002, 19-36) and Kuoljok (2003:5-31). In the first phase that lasted until 1950/60, the Lule Sámi had no official status. No regulations protected the language; instead it was dismissed. People spoke Sámi at home and it was common that children could not speak Norwegian when they started school. People lived isolated from Norwegian society, and they worked in traditional economic spheres and resource management, where the Sámi language was used (Evjen 2001).

Læstadianism had strong influence on the language in Tysfjord and gave the Lule Sámi language high prestige and strengthened the language. The religion functioned as a medium to maintain traditions. The Læstadian religious movement, a religious sect, was not only a question about religion, but political activity as well. It was a common gathering for the community and the “belonging” was like the old Siida system. The process was more a divide between being a Sámi or an outsider. Læstadianism in Tysfjord was a synonym for being Sámi and its importance was that the preacher's sermon was in the Sámi tongue. Since the language was actively used, the public understood the message easier. Læstadius originally wrote in Lule Sámi and was reckoned to be the first that wrote in Lule Sámi in 1840. He used a different orthography than at present. These old gothic psalms were used in the daycare during the first period, due to lack of Lule Sámi material (chap.3). Læstadianism in the Tysfjord region has different features from that of the other Sámi areas. Lule Sámi had already strong contact with Sweden, and connections to the congregations in Jokkmokk and Gällivare. Here, their children were educated together with relatives during the nomadic movements. Læstadianism promoted active use of the language.

There are still gatherings, where the Lule Sámi language is used and where interpreters or translators' are important at the meeting (Evjen, 1998, 2003; Andersen, 2007: 5; Láng, 2005:25).

In the 1960`s, there were a growing modernization and institutionalism in the area of Tysfjord. When women were employed outside the families there was a need for daycares among the Sámi population. Traditionally the Sámi had brought up their children in an extended family setting, where other relatives looked after them and relieved the parents. The daycare was organized and the “institutions” took over the raising and upbringing of the youngest. The first Sámi daycare was thus established as an alternative to the Norwegian daycare. During the 1990s the Lule Sámi language and culture became institutionalized in many ways as Aira (2002:26-28) points out. A Sámi daycare was not a reality until the late 1980`s in the Lule Sámi area. This institutional setting gave the children the opportunity to receive knowledge of their traditional family language which parents couldn't give them. This was also an opportunity to raise the question of a “home language” in contrast to an “institutional” language. Institutional languages appear as a language used only when the children attend daycare or school. It was important to prevent this situation of a divided domain. Instead it incorporated in these environments through collaboration. Modernization in the community was a foundation for development of Sámi daycare both on a local and national level.

According to Aira (2002:23) the next 20 year period from the 1950/60s up to 1980 constitutes the second phase, when the Lule Sámi remained invisible and there were still no laws or regulations for language protection. However, this was the period when the written language started to develop. It was the basis for approval of the current written form (orthography) in 1983. The 1950/60s to 1980 was a transitional period, when the Sámi movement and educational progress began. Lule Sámi mass media was also developed in 1975, as Aira asserts. The first broadcast was only a 5-minute program, but it definitely counts as a milestone. At the same time the traditional way of life went through dramatic changes, such as dislocation, modernization etc. (Láng, 2005:25). The Lule Sámi community encountered a situation different from that encountered by other Sámi in which the Norwegian language became dominant. “In the course of the 1970s, most of the parents gradually stopped speaking Lule Sámi with their children. Lule Sámi seemed to be rapidly disappearing (Huss, 1999:142).” The second period was the period when parents did not find it useful to teach Sámi to their children, and thereby the younger generation lost contact with the Sámi language. Through his song Andreassen (2007) state the

assimilation process: “in my childhood home there were many hidden rooms people and stories that were locked up in their tombs” The Sámi identity was stigmatized and people used Norwegian language in the public sphere. Sámi identity was hidden during the harsh Norweganization process (Eidheim, 1971).

In the beginning of the 1980s the attitudes changed again among the Lule Sámi population and the traditional culture and language slowly began a renaissance. Kintel (2008) tells that the revitalization process among the Lule Sámi speakers began first in the 1980s. People with mixed ethnic background tried to revitalize their stigmatized Sámi identity (Eidheim 1971). The main development was the introduction of the Lule Sámi in school and daycare. Árran was the first official working place where it was possible to use Lule Sámi language. Sámi was previously used mainly within domains such as family, friends, older people and a few services where there were Sámi employees (Láng, 2005:47). They faced a Language shift or a turn around, “But when the old ones dared to speak their tongue, they caught a glimpse of a world that they knew when they were very young” (Andreassen, 2007). The current orthography for the Lule Sámi written language was accepted in 1983⁹). Thus the language situation reached its third phase, the period of revival. The Norwegian Sámi parliament, established in 1989, took the initiative to preserve the Sámi culture, ethnicity and the language. Moreover, three Norwegian laws were passed to regulate the use and reinforcement of the Sámi language (Aira, 2007:26). I focus on specific regulations concerning Sámi daycare and rights to Sámi education for preschoolers.

I mention the importance of this bearing in mind the historical development for understanding the strong feelings involved in the question of language choices and language revitalization. The Lule Sámi language development was influenced by the strong connection to the Swedish side, rather than the majority Sámi or the majority Norwegian population. Læstadianism developed a strong position in the community and, in contrast to the other North Norwegian community, encouraged the use of Sámi traditions. It spread the use of the Sámi language by preaching the message using the Sámi language. Lule Sámi language was revitalized at a late stage. This historical approach illustrates the linguistic development for the Lule Sámi language. The location is essential to explain how the language has adapted to its particular environment and the influence and interaction of other contact languages (see Kintel, 1998; 1991).

⁹ <http://tinyurl.com/26mq386> [www.giella.org]

2.2 *Tysfjord municipality: status and linguistic situation as a Sámi administrative area*



Map 2.2 The Lule Sámi region in northern Norway with the Sámi name of Tysfjord, Divtasvuodna. <http://tinyurl.com/2dlgsfa> [St.meld.nr.28 2007/2008]

In the location of Tysfjord, the Lule Sámi language is in contact with Norwegian in the west, Swedish in the east, Sámi in the south and in the north. Láng (2005:49) wrote “there are several possibilities to expand the vocabulary as, for instance, adopting words from Northern Sámi or Norwegian.” These four languages have all contributed words that have been adopted into the evolution of the Lule Sámi language. Being in a narrow valley the language was more protected and less threatened than on the open spaces of the mountain plateau on the border of other countries.

When Tysfjord received status as an Sámi language administrative area, work on revitalizing and strengthening the language was supported by regulations (Kuoljok, 1997:15-26). From the historical view I further present regulation that developed, with an emphasis on daycare and preschool children, based on the rising Sámi political awareness. However, even though there was support on the political level, the challenge seemed to be a personal emotional barrier and stigmatized attitudes against speaking that had built up during the assimilation period (Eidheim, 1971). Andreassen (2007) states “...otherwise, life was filled with silence and with shame.”

Tysfjord is on the Norwegian coastal periphery of the core Sápmi area, illustrated with map 2.1 and 2.2. In 1992 the Norwegian Sámi parliament decentralized a part of its administration to Tysfjord. On January the 1st 2006, Tysfjord was created as an Sámi administrative area with the special rights and commitments that accompany acceptance (St.meld.28; Valle, 2008). Most of the Sámi live in the Sámi administrative areas. A Sámi administrative area is a municipality that is to follow the Sámi language law. It is expected that one can contact official public organs institutions and organizations in Sámi using Sámi, and get a Sámi answer. At a municipality level it should be possible to only use the Sámi language (Juuso, 2006; KUD, 2006:18-19). Through the history of assimilation, the parents’ generation in Tysfjord lost their mother tongue due to the Norwegian language policy. Many articles about the different aspects of the social life in Tysfjord have been written. Knutsen (2005) wrote about language choices in the local community, its prerequisite, requirement, supposition and

consequences. Her approach is based on sociolinguistic and psychological competence. Knutsen considers the questions of language choices with the main focus on the Lule Sámi area of Tysfjord. Jernsletten(1993:2) noted that “Sámi parents of the current generation living in mixed language communities, or in partially norwegianized regions, are those who have suffered such adversities at school”. Many of them have not wanted to teach their children Sámi at home, due to these attitudes. The purpose was to turn the Sámi into Norwegians, both culturally and linguistically. This policy is not present today; there are now efforts to promote Sámi culture and language, but still it remains to recover from those destructive attitudes. Jernsletten (1993:2) refers to a mother that stated: “I have suffered enough as a result of my mother tongue. My children shall not have to endure the Sámi language communities and the conflict between Sámi and Norwegian”.

2.2.1 Árran julevsáme guovdásj / lulesamisk senter [Lule Sámi Center]

The center where the daycare Árran mánálgárdde is located, “Árran julevsáme guovdásj” opened in 1994 (Árran, 2004), and is today a symbol of the work of revitalizing Lule Sámi language and culture. Geographically, the institution’s territory is the Lule Sámi area in Norway, but Árran also collaborates across national borders. The focus and attention is towards developing a Sámi language, culture and society in the Lule Sámi area. Árran has one section for language and research, one for museum research and an administration section, and it contains the only Lule Sámi daycare Árran mánálgárdde. Previously Árran also contained Tysfjord local public library. It has now been relocated to the local store, creating an open space for the newly built second daycare group that opened in September 2008. In January 2009 Árran had 27 employees (Annual report Árran 2008:15). Originally the center was built for 20 employees (Anniversary report 2004: 9). There are also many temporary guest researchers. The Norwegian Sámi parliament has several departments, e.g. the “educational department”¹⁰, which is located in Árran. In 1996 the NRK Sámi radio opened a district office. Bodø College has offices in the same building.

One of my main sources is Bårjås, a local produced local scholarly journal first published in 1999. This journal is published by Árran Lule Sámi center once a year and focusing on a special theme as e.g. research, language education, Læstadianism, landscape etc. This anthropology of articles is published by mostly local researchers to present research related to the Lule Sámi area on both the Norwegian and Swedish sides. Bårjås 2008 is based upon the language seminar I

¹⁰ In Norwegian: opplæringsavdeling

attended. Written versions of speech contributions from researchers Johansen and Høier are published. Høier (2008:59) considers the main question “If the aim is Lule Sámi as a first language in school, which steps does one need on the road towards this position? She listed the four factors: communicative awareness; to take the language in use where it’s possible; to learn a language together and “from everyday language to school language”. Johansen’s article (2008:51-58) is about stigmatized attitudes and expectations of speaking a less spoken language, its limitations and possibilities on the road towards bilingualism and language revitalization.

The center, briefly named Árran, could be defined as one of the core organs in the Lule Sámi culture. Láng (2005:19) uttered “Árran has an important role in the preservation of Lule Sámi traditions and language”. Láng (2005) wrote about the role of Árran Lule Sámi centre in the revitalization process of Lule Sámi language in Tysfjord. She conducted research at Árran. While my approach focuses on the daycare at Árran, Láng studied the place in general. Her descriptions were important for my fieldwork preparation. Láng (2005:18) states that: “written material about the Lule Sámi region in Norway is quite sufficient when it comes to the ethno-historical or ethno-political fields. Language education on the other hand is a rather new theme of the discussions.”

The community is small and most people in Drag have some connection to the Lule Sámi center. One of the 8 people that started the daycare, Turi (2008), works in the language sector, while Mikkelsen (1995), works in the museum section. In an anthology Mikkelsen (1995) wrote an article about the establishment of the daycare, and about the process and challenges that arose during the development. Mikkelsen examined the language situation in Tysfjord and the prerequisite, needs and consequences of establishing a Lule Sámi daycare. Her focus was especially on the challenges of language development and strengthening language, where she mainly describes Árran mánálgárdde `s history, and further references that I use, among them unpublished papers from the development of the daycare. Kintel (2002) describes the complex situation of the language situation with the question: “How is the education situation for children who have Lule Sámi as mother tongue?” She further examines the education in Lule Sámi seen in a bilingual perspective. Most important for my research is her description of establishing Vuonak Sámemána (1994). Researchers like Skutnabb Kangas and Huss (1999; 1996; 1993) have visited this language nest.

2.2.2 The linguistic situation of the Lule Sámi language

Huss (1999) did a research project about linguistic revitalization in Northern Scandinavia. Her fieldwork contained among others a study of Tysfjord, the Lule Sámi daycare and language. Huss wrote about the language situation of Lule Sámi in 1999, before Tysfjord municipality has achieved status as the 7th Sámi administrative area. She (1999:75) questions “where do we find Lule Sámi on Fishman`s scale?” She gives prognoses for the survival of Lule Sámi language. Fishman`s scale (see chap.1) has 8 stages, from stage 1 where intergenerational transmission is the foundation to stage 8 with official visibility (Jansson, 1998:16-24). I consider this scale related to Lule Sámi, based upon Todal (2007:20) and Huss (1996:72). Based upon Huss observations and previous research (see Sametinget, 1994) I see positive changes in the linguistic situation. Even though there have been positive developments since Huss` research, all Sámi domains are still not represented.

Lule Sámi is partly present in higher education through the language at Bodø College (stage 1), but there are not governmental working places other than Árran with the language in main use. Stage 3 and 1 are still not fully accomplished. Since the language is more used in the local media, I would remove the parenthesis Huss gave at this stage. Stage 2 claims that “Lule Sámi is sporadically found in Norwegian and Sámi media, such as newspapers and TV”. Since Tysfjord municipality has become a Sámi administrative area since Huss` research, stage 2 is achieved. By government recommendation, the Sámi language in the Lule Sámi area was challenged to get more Lule Sámi speaking employees in these Medias. The newspaper in Tysfjord considered its own Lule Sámi supplement. The local store and bank considers efforts to visualize the language in the community. The youth are encouraging and working towards producing internet pages in Lule Sámi and temporary forums are established (both “Facebook” and “YouTube” environments). The youth TV (NuorajTV) is also a recent effort I will discuss further (chap.3).

Lule Sámi language had already reached stage 4 to 8 when Huss did her research, but an even more positive trend is seen (Todal,2007:39, 1999:133). While stage 4 is about lower education, Huss (1999) says that the Sámi daycare was established upon the idea that Sámi children should learn about their Sámi language and culture from their family roots. The daycare should also help ease the transition by giving the students a basis for Sámi language classes at the Norwegian elementary school in Drag. Sæther`s informants claim that one reason for youth moving back to the community is the Sámi linguistic daycare and a good competence in Lule

Sámi as first language through primary school in Drag school, Tysfjord municipality. The new generation parents want their children to learn the Sámi they did not had the opportunity to learn (2008:26).

When Huss first visited the Tysfjord area, only one school had education in Lule Sámi. Presently, the situation is three schools have Sámi classes. Education in Sámi as a second language was common in many schools in Tysfjord, but only two schools provided Lule Sámi language. Learning was difficult at the high school level, where only few students choose Lule Sámi. In previous years, there have been an increasing number of people studying in Lule Sámi; one has even chosen to write her masterthesis in Lule Sámi. Despite this, a school for Sámi children is still not a reality in Tysfjord. The only step towards this direction is the creation of a daycare in Tysfjord that focuses on Sámi culture, but functions as a normal Norwegian municipality daycare. When Huss visited the daycare, the employees discussed the school that was to take over the daycare children. Some thought it would have been better for the linguistic situation to have their own school, as the children would not been seen as different. Others thought it was important not to isolate the Sámi children from Norwegian children and already at this stage integrate them. Presently the cooperation with the local school seems to be well accepted and efforts are taken for language learning through the local elementary school.

In stage 5 the aim is that Sámi children should learn to read in Sámi before they begin school. This is done in the Sámi daycare *Árran mánájjárdde* in Drag, Tysfjord. Huss (1991) wrote that “In the daycare only Lule Sámi is spoken”. My observations differed from Huss. I further discuss this statement in chapter 4. The employees translate and interpret Norwegian children books for the children to Sámi. The few songs and children’s book that exist in Lule Sámi language are diligently and efficiently used. Among adults, many have challenged their own destiny to learn to read Lule Sámi or to attend Sámi courses. The elder generation at least partly governs and restrains the Lule Sámi language. Today, there are parents that speak Lule Sámi to their children. Some isolated elder speakers of the Lule Sámi language exist. This Fishman scale illustrates a greater effort in recent years to contribute to the children’s language learning environment that creates a good foundation for language acquisition and choices and indicates a positive future for the language development. Even if this scale indicate what is essential to focus on to strengthen a language, in addition one need to consider general

observations (chap.1.2.1), which is what I have done through my research in the Lule Sámi language nest.

According to UNESCO, only a few years ago Lule Sámi can be defined as a seriously endangered language, with a substantial numbers of speakers but practically without children among them (UNESCO 2001, 27 as cited in Satta 2005:18). The Lule Sámi speakers have lifted the linguistic situation of the language to a higher level, which is the aim of revitalization. “Seriously endangered language is when the youngest speakers are moving into middle age and beyond and many no longer have a good knowledge of the language”(Satta 2005:18). While being in these position only years ago, the Lule Sámi language has gone through these stages and archived, due to many factors, a new higher level, which will be illustrated through my research. “Endangered language is when the youngest speakers are adult” (Satta 2005:18).

Lule Sámi language can now be defined as a potentially endangered language, according to this measurement. It is due, among other things, to the language nest with a fairly large number of children making up the language population. Partly the language is also achieving official or prestigious status in the local community. This can be compared to the criteria listed for being considered as a potentially endangered language, which is a language “with a large number of children but without an official or prestigious status” (Satta 2005:18).

Due to Aikio-Puoskari and Skutnabb-Kangas table I define Lule Sámi to be in a instable state, where “some but not all children or families of a particular community speak their heritage language as their first language, but may be restricted to specific social domains (such as when children interact with their grandparents)” Intergenerational transmission is still interrupted and the minority language is not spoken by all generations. Still Norwegian is the dominating language. The Lule Sámi language is still not learned as a mother tongue in the home (2007:14).

Even though my research is of Árran mánájgárdde, I brief present a second Lule Sámi program which is established in Bodø. There was a demand from a parents group in Bodø to establish at Sámi group within a Norwegian daycare as program for preschool children (Avisa Nordland, 2007; 2008). Years ago M. Knutsen, a preschool teacher, advertised for a Sámi daycare program in Bodø. She is one of the parents who took the initiative to establish this daycare to bring Lule Sámi language and culture into the daycare in the Bodø region outside Tysfjord. In Jentoftsletta Barnehage¹¹, there is one Lule Sámi group and three Norwegian. The

¹¹ In Norwegian “Barnehage” is the word for daycare or as some of my references refer to as a kindergarten.

daycare has a capacity of 80 children in the age up to 6 year and was established in 2008 with 6 children attending the Lule Sámi group (Dyping, 2008). They sing and have story telling in Sámi and special Sámi period 3 times a week. It is a challenge that there are Norwegian children in the same daycare, and Norwegian is dominating. A common challenge for Sámi daycare groups is the bilingual situation of being a minority group within a Norwegian daycare. Especially the outside play gets influenced of the other Norwegian speaking children. This challenge is also seen at the Swedish side of the boarder (Sortelius, 2009; Omma, 2009) in Sámi daycares with minority language groups within a majority influenced daycare. Árran mánálgárdde is in a more favorable situation of being a totally Sámi daycare. Here the challenge is that most of the children are not strong in the language and it doesn't come naturally for them to use the language in free play since it is not their "home language". To improve preschool children's opportunity to develop a minority language, regulations secure that Sámi Administrative municipalities are obliged to establish Sámi daycare groups.

2.3 Rights to Sámi language for preschool children through daycare

I focus attention to laws and regulations regarding preschool Sámi children's right to secure learning of the Sámi language.

According to the annual plan (2007/2008) the daycare Árran mánálgárdde has an aim to strengthen the Lule Sámi language and give the children good development and possibilities to participate in activities through the active use of the language and in close understanding and knowledge to Sámi culture and tradition. The daycare maintains that the children get to use, develop and actively stimulate the use of Sámi language. They work to build a common foundation in relation to bilingualism to create an equal foundation in Norwegian and Sámi by contributing with Sámi words and a good vocabulary, through language groups, teamwork, school groups and securing a better chance of using language outside the daycare (Report 2007/2008, Árran mánálgárdde). The main goal, due to the daycare's Annual plan, is to create a safe environment for play and learning. Árran mánálgárdde tries to activate this by strengthening the Sámi identity through language and cultural work and by transferring Sámi values.

The Annual plan (2007/2008, my transl.) claims that "it is important that the children get to express their thoughts and meanings in their own mother tongue. A good developed mother

tongue creates a foundation for learning, development and participating in the community life¹²”. Therefore they pay great attention to language support in the daycare. Due to the annual plan, it is important that the employees have a good developed language and are aware of the language used as are they role models for the children. Language work and cultural transfer is the central area in the daily life in the daycare. Consistent language use gives the children knowledge in the language that can be used to promote intellectual, social and emotional development to a Sámi identity. The daycares’ contents are otherwise due to the national plan for Sámi daycares¹³, but adapted locally to the Lule Sámi environment. Activities that promote Sámi language and culture in the daycare are language groups and duodje. The language employees develop activities and arrange trips where the children can practice new phrases and words in connection to experiences from working places, local store, nature, etc.

The Norwegian kindergarten law is the foundation for the Annual daycare plans. It was established January 2006, with two specific regulations concerning Sámi children. Paragraph 2 required daycares to “take account of children’s age, level of functioning, gender, and social, ethnic and cultural background, including the language and culture of Sámi children”(Kindergarten Act, Section 2, Content of kindergartens). While paragraph 8 states that “the municipality is responsible for ensuring that kindergartens¹⁴ are based on the Sámi language and culture” (Kindergarten Act, Section 8, Responsibility of the municipality). Municipalities outside this area shall also enable Sámi children to secure and develop their language and their culture. Locally seen these laws were established at the same time that Tysfjord gained status as Sámi administrative area.

Norway ratified FN`s convention about children`s right¹⁵ in 1991. Article 29.1c-d states that the education of the children shall be directed to respect for the child`s cultural identity, language and value...in spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance...and friendship among people, ethnic, national groups and persons of indigenous origin. Further article 30 claim that “in those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.”

¹² With mother tongue the daycare report here refers to the Sámi language, which differ from my definition

¹³ Rammeplan for Samiske barnehager

¹⁴ for Sámi children in Sámi districts

¹⁵ <http://tinyurl.com/lomele> [FN UNESCO Convention on the Rights of the Child]

The ILO convention no. 169 from 1989¹⁶ and FN`s conventions about civil and political rights 1966 is central in the Sámi rights. Norway has, on account of the special rights of Indigenous peoples, a special obligation to safeguard the interests of Sámi children and parents; this relates to the ILO`s Convention no. 169¹⁷. Sámi children need to be helped to retain and develop their language and culture regardless of where in Norway they live. Sámi statutes shall include the aim of strengthening children`s identity as Sámi people through the use of Sámi language and by teaching children about Sámi culture, ways of life and society. It is crucial that the staff speak Sámi. At daycare for Sámi children outside Sámi districts, parents and children are entitled to expect staff to be familiar with Sámi culture and emphasize it as the daycare`s program.

The Norwegian Constitution § 110 was changed in 1988 so that Sámi as the indigenous people of Norway should gain the same rights as the majority population. The Constitution § 110 a states that “it is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sámi people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life... The authorities of the State shall issue specific provisions for the implementation of these principles. Secondly in 1989 the regulation about the Sámi parliament and Sámi relations` matters came (The Sámi law). The aim was to secure development of own culture, language and social life. Sameloven [The Sámi law] § 3c regulates use of Sámi language in municipalities (e.g. Tysfjord) within Sámi language administrative areas (see Austdal, 2008:27-28).

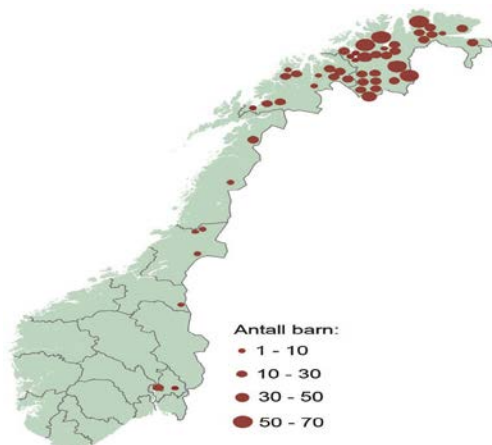
This means in practice that when Tysfjord gained status as a Sámi administrative area this created an obligation for support for Lule Sámi language development. At the more local level one can see that the establishment of Vuonak Sámemáná in 1989 was in the same period as the constitution was changed and the law about the Sámi parliament and other Sámi relations was raised. Around the beginning of the 1990`s when Árran Lule Sámi center was established, Norway ratified the ILO convention. The Norwegian kindergarten law was a reality in 2006, right before Tysfjord received statuses as a Sámi administrative area. These law and regulations can be some of the many important factors that influenced a positive trend for the establishment and development Sámi language as Lule Sámi (see Austdal, 2008:30) and develop a good foundation for preschool children to develop their languages within.

¹⁶ about indigenous people and self-dependent states

¹⁷ concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples

2.3.1 Revitalizing the language with emphasis on Sámi daycare as an institution

Developing the Sámi daycare as an equal program to the Norwegian institutions in the time of high linguistic awareness created the foundation for language nests (among them the Lule Sámi). 50 years ago in 1969 the first Sámi daycare in Norway was established in Kautokeino (Evjen, 2001: 212; Storjord, 2008:11). Eira (2004: 144) stated that there were 882 children (in 2001) given Sámi in daycare institutions. In 2008 there were 1186 children in Norway given Sámi language in 41 daycares. Some daycares are Sámi daycares while others are groups within a Norwegian daycare¹⁸.



Map 2.3 Numbers of children [in Norwegian: Antall barn] in Sámi daycares in Norway (NOS, 2008:17)
<http://tinyurl.com/23tpdf6>

There are many researchers that have listed facts about the statistic and numbers of Norwegian or Sámi daycares in Norway. I approach this question by illustrating the numbers and geographical spread at a map. Mainly they are located in North Troms and Finnmark, but also in the Nordland and Oslo area. There is presently only one Lule Sámi and one South Sámi daycare in Norway (Todal, 2009:13; Johansen, 2005:5). In Sweden there are 5 Sámi daycares, situated in Karesuando, Kiruna, Gällivare, Jokkmok and Tärnaby. Lule Sámi language is given in Gällivare, Jokkmok and Tärnaby (Omma, 2009; Sortelius, 2009). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to give further information and details about these daycares, but I encourage further comparative research.

Throughout this chapter I highlight the effect the policy of assimilation has had on the linguistic development of this region. Previous generation's language choices have led to a generation that are not speaking or cannot speak the language due to a stigma or stigmatized

¹⁸ <http://tinyurl.com/3xvd8jf> [Statistics Norway]

attitude (Eidheim, 1971). A language shift in this area historically occurred due to the assimilation process and social stigma. This situation was reversed through an intensive effort in the 1990`s. In the 1990s there were revitalization processes at different level, among them on the local level through daycare effort initiatives. Connections to Sweden and the close communities seem to protect the language, while with increased openness the Norwegian influenced the community and in recent years took over. The closeness of the location seems to make effort easier than in other regions that were more spread out. The decline of the language and loss of speakers was mainly due to the Norwegization and assimilation process. Læstadianism was more open to the Sámi in the area. Compared to other Sámi area this area had a strength that it was to achieve political implementation of the assimilation policy. The establishment of Sámi daycares is a result of modernization and institutionalism (intuitional language vs. home language). The ethno-political historical background of establishing the Lule Sámi daycare and letting the preschool children learn this language outside home has indeed contributed to the strengthening and awakening of the Lule Sámi language. Indeed the ethno-political historical development influenced the present situation of the daycare at Árran.

3 Chapter 3: "I don't speak because it's the weekend": language nests as strength?

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"
(Nordlys kom ned og spis melkesuppe)

er den eneste sangen æ kan, av symfonian de
lagde i roman en gang

"Guovsagis boade vuolos mielkejupsav gattsastit"
(northern lights, come down and eat milk soup)

is the only song that I know of the symphonies they
created so long ago

-Andreassen, L M. 2007. Guovssagasak/Nordlys. In *Bálges*. English version, Morén-Duolljá, B.-

This chapter questions which factors influence and affect language choices among preschool children. I consider the benefits of the language nest and Sámi daycare and give an overview of my fieldwork's empirical observations and experiences. I also examine factors that outsiders can contribute to create a good environment for the preschool children's learning. If not otherwise stated, I use Sámi to refer to Lule Sámi.

3.1 *Daycare as a research arena and children as informants*

Summer 2008 I was on my way to the airport to start my fieldwork. Preparing for months I had studied previous research and read what I could find about my topic in a thorough library and internet search. Now it was time to make theory practical by studying "in the field". It was a long travel with both plane and a four hours bus ride, but this gave me time to reflect on my project and about the geographic distance. Tysfjord is an area surrounded by steep valleys going into the fjord, traditionally an area connected to fishing. The trip ended at the bus stop in the harbor, where one employee at the daycare welcomed us. From that moment my fieldwork began. I was surrounded by the environment that was the core area of the spoken Lule Sámi language. The next day I introduced myself to the children and other employees in the daycare, Árran mánálgárdde. I was guided around Árran and got to know the place. During the fieldwork my family consisted of my husband, and our two children then 1 and 3 years old. Despite my status as a foreigner, I was welcomed and I participated in the daycare activities as a mother, not a researcher (see chapter 1).

As explained (chapter 1) I brought my family with me in field. My family did not speak Sámi but this did not disconnect us from the other families because the families that also used the daycare facilities did not use the Sámi language at home. The family approach seemed to be a good method to get to know the community. Immediately we were well-received in the daycare, as if we were new children and parents. My children were included as if they were new children and from the first moment they started to play along.

I observed, by walking from room to room, by observing from a distance while sitting and breastfeeding in a corner in the same room or by sitting down and participating in their play. They accepted me as the position of being the mother; a natural situation when there were new people in the daycare as it was typical that the parents join the first few days. Through playing with my children it was easy to communicate with the other children. I was able to identify with both the children and parents in a natural way, rather than being a single stranger interrupting their daily routine. This was the unique situation of my research I assumed. I believe bringing my family with me in the field actively was an advantage. I introduced myself to the children's parents as a mother raising bilingual children. Through this approach, it broke down barriers between the researcher and informants as well as among the age divisions of adults and children; I had the possibility to gain valuable information. I reduced this distance, being partly an insider (see chap. 1). I developed my own way of conducting informal research; my favorite method was the "breast-feeding strategy". By sitting in a corner and breast-feeding my youngest child, i.e. being in a very natural position, I was able to be practically invisible in the room as the children simply ignored me. This was the best way to prevent my presence from influencing their language choice. Through speaking in Norwegian to my 3- year old son could have influenced.

Often it was my family members that discovered relevant facts and led me to interviews I conducted during my fieldwork period. When we were visiting Musken with the daycare, I went out together with my eldest child with one group of children at a fishing boat. Meanwhile my husband and youngest child stayed onshore to walk in the village. They made contact with a local man. My husband recognized him as a Sámi historian ethno-political researcher and immediately set up a meeting with him, a meeting that would not be possible for me to arrange as I was offshore at that time. This man provided me indirectly with background knowledge of the Lule Sámi language and communities.

During our stay in the daycare we were also invited to a 3-year old's birthday party. By attending it as a family, my position in the gathering was less unnatural than if I had participated alone. The family quick identified us as a bilingual family with similar issues, and it was easier to engage in an informal discussion around choices and opinions of languages. As when we returned back home, I got to hear from the employees that the children in the daycare were asking for us and wondering why my children had left the daycare. Some of them asked if my children did not like being there, which I presume is the most normal reason for families to only be in a daycare

for a short period. This seems to me as a good sign of the children seeing us as a regular family rather than being outsiders and researchers. This was one of my aims, to gain a natural representation by observation without influencing the chosen language that much.

Language for preschoolers is almost purely based on spoken communication through speech, listening, and understanding, though written Sámi is indeed very visible in the daycare. This period in the daycare was a good foundation for me to get an intuition of the language choices present at that moment. I would emphasise the importance of bearing in mind that my observations were done during a specific year, and with one specific composition of children and employees this can yield different results than other years would have. Last year's development, with a larger group and less employees per child, resulted in a shift from speaking Sámi to choose Norwegian among the eldest. Recent years have though indicated a positive reverse of this.

3.1.1 History of the daycare: from Vuonak sámemáná; “Dánna galggap sámástit!”

“Dánna galggap sámástit” is the Sámi words for “Here we shall speak Sámi”. This is an image of the language policy in the daycare the first years, which met resistance but also produced results. I introduce the history, the linguistic background and the future perspective of the daycare in my fieldwork. Based on history, one might understand the present and future situation regarding language choices in the daycare.

In the year 2009, the Tysfjord inhabitants have had a Sámi daycare for exactly two decades. Mikkelsen (1995) wrote about the establishment of “Vuonak Sámemáná”. She gives an introduction to the process of establishing the daycare and its development in the local community. Mikkelsen claims the main challenges were the linguistic and cultural boundaries in the Lule Sámi community. Láng (2005:29) wrote that already in 1987 there was a discussion on the need for a Sámi daycare. To increase the number of Sámi speakers in the coming generation this was an important step. Huss stated that “at that time, many language-conscious Lule Sámi felt that the need for revitalization efforts was urgent. In spite of a long Lule Sámi tradition in Tysfjord, they felt that Lule Sámi had become acutely endangered as it was no longer transmitted to the children. “Lule Sámi language was already used in the schools in 1980 but it was not until 1989 that there was a Sámi daycare. In 1989 four parents took the initiative to start the private daycare Vuonak sámemáná (Mikkelsen, 1995:51; Evjen (2001:213). I have conducted an interview with some of the parents. “Vuonak Sámemáná” is Sámi and means “The Sámi children from the fjord” (Mikkelsen, 1995:51; Huss, 1999:142).

A conflict existed between two groups of parents, the Sámi and non-Sámi speakers. The target group was first of all the children, who already had Sámi knowledge as their first language. Then there were the children who had no Sámi knowledge, but whose parents intended to develop the language (Láng, 2005:29). Those who had no Sámi knowledge felt that their children could be left out only because Sámi was not their mother tongue. Parents who had Sámi as their first language were afraid that their children would lose the language among the Norwegian-speaking children. The result of the debate ended with an agreement that all children should have the right to attend the Sámi daycare, and the parents have an obligation to support the learning process at home (Láng, 2005:29-30).

The parents, who started Vuonak sámemáná in 1989, were very engaged in the daycare's development. One has to remember that the 1990s were the revitalization period for Sámi language (Todal, 2002). This was the first attempt for the Lule Sámi to revitalize their linguistic variant (Kintel, 2008). There was a strict rule that the Norwegian language was not spoken within the "language nest", but taken into a room next door (Knutsen, 2008). This was perhaps easier to accomplish in the start since the parents involved were stronger Sámi speakers than are the current situation. There was a requirement that Sámi was spoken at home. Later there was a more positive attitude towards letting the non-Sámi speakers attend to learn the language and to let the language grow instead of being isolated. Language shift was an intensive period for the children who didn't know the language well. The parents worried if this was the right thing to do, as Norwegian was still influential, and the children were in a developing phase of mixing the two languages.

In the beginning teaching materials were rather limited in Lule Sámi and especially for this age group as this was the first attempt to promote language for this age. The Lule Sámi group was therefore leaning towards the Swedish side for support since they already had developed materials and resources. Besides the spoken language, Sámi songs and role play had a central role. Repetition of text and memorizing by using music was an efficient way of learning a language as it still is. Láng (2005: 30) focused on the special place songs had in the daycare. Since there weren't many Sámi children's songs, there was a need to create new ones. Another way was to translate already existing songs from Norwegian or other Sámi variant to make a unique Lule Sámi version.

Vuonak Sámemáná had the vision of creating a homelike environment where the employees were like parents. The relation to Læstadianism was strong, and Christian values were important bases in the Sámi identity. Activities were based on the Christian view of families, as well as the aim of strengthening the Sámi language and culture. Huss (1999:143) stated that the aim of the daycare “was to give the children a secure Sámi identity and in that respect the language was regarded as crucial”. Teaching about traditional lifestyles was important, as well as awakening the children’s creativity through duodji. The use of nature and the outdoors were important elements. At the previous location of Hellandsberget they were next door to a barn with animals and within hiking distance to nature. I have spoken to some of the previous Vuonak Sámemáná children about their experiences. The first years there were 13 children (Turi: 2010), but the daycare was approved for 18. Huss (1999:143) state that the number of the children had increased in 1993. In the afternoons school children came and participated in free time activities at the daycare. Even children from non-Sámi speaking families were accepted if their parents made an effort to use Sámi at home. One Sámi speaking teacher was employed to be responsible for reading practice in Sámi. By starting early Sámi speaking children would have self-confidence when entering the Norwegian influenced school system. Consideration to the children was more important than the common rules and routines, and they still are.

3.1.2 ...to Árran mánálgárdde: “Mij lip álggon”

The parents’ work resulted in a Sámi daycare in the region providing a language base for the future generation of speakers. The parent’s foundation was dissolved when Árran julevsáme guovdastak / Lule Sámi Center (chapter 2) took over the daycare in 1994 and the daycare became Árran mánálgárdde. When the daycare started in 1989, parents were committed to actively collaborate with the daycare of the language teaching and stricter rules existed for the background of the families. Sámi language should be used in each and every home (Mikkelsen, 1995: 49). This was not the case in the new daycare, something which have influence children’s linguistic background.

Árran mánálgárdde is the only Sámi daycare in the Tysfjord district. For the children growing up in a non-Sámi speaking homes, Sámi daycare gave them the only opportunity to learn and acquire the Sámi language at an early stage, so the language became a strong language for them, even if still not the first language. Even if they eventually would face the Norwegian majority language in the school, with the choice of a Sámi daycare the parents delayed this

language encounter and prepared them for the Sámi alternative in school with Norwegian as a second language.

The parents establishing the daycare received a prize for language motivation¹⁹ in 2000 given by the Norwegian Sámi Parliament, as an appreciation for their efforts to preserve the Lule Sámi language (Todal, 2002:88). Today the linguistic situation is that most of the families don't have an active Sámi speaking background. There are both positive and negative consequences that the Norwegian language strongly influences the families' environment. Sámi language is mainly a daycare language, but it is positive in the way that more children get the opportunity to learn at least some Sámi. They also get a basic opportunity to play in a Sámi speaking environment.

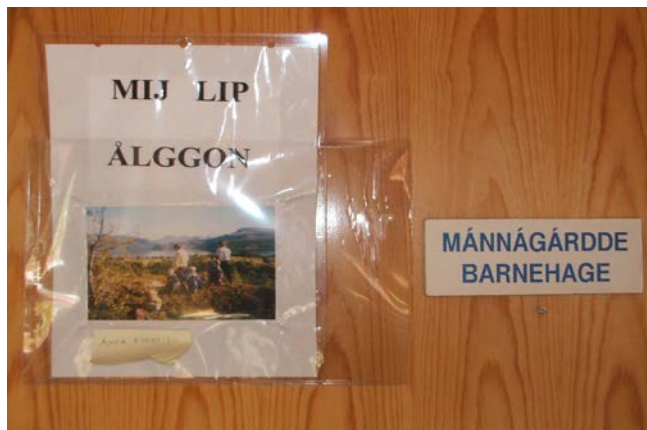


Figure 3.1: Posters in the daycare signaling language focus.

When I came to the daycare it was located as a part of the Árran Lule Sámi Center. There was a poster at the door, with the text (only in Sámi): “Mij lip álggon” [We are outside]. I was immediately meet by many posters that signaled this was to be a Sámi influenced environment. But did it influence in practice?

3.2 Linguistic background for children, parents and employees in the daycare

Previously the parents were stronger Sámi speakers. Now, the Sámi language is seldom used in the children's families. The employees have a good knowledge of the Sámi language but are still depending on the “grandparents' generation's” knowledge to find the right words as they are generally not using the language at home themselves. Formerly this group of employees and parents were more or less the same. While the daycare no longer are a private initiative from some of the parents we now have two distinct groups of adults, one that generally are educated to know the language and the other that has lost the language or never learned it. Johnsen commented (2008 pers com) that only one of the present children is totally Sámi speaking; this child is functionally trilingual; Sámi, Finnish and Norwegian. The other children have Norwegian as the first language and the language they best master. Their parents have best control of

¹⁹ In Norwegian: Sametingets språkmotiveringspris

Norwegian, but some use both languages at home. It's spoken as a mixture of Norwegian and Sámi in the daycare. The employees use mainly only Sámi in the daycare.

As the community is more internationalized, there is a higher degree of mixture among the parents of both Sámi and Norwegian origins. The situation of families with a monolingual Norwegian linguistic background is quite common in the daycare and the greatest challenge. These are children coming from families where only Norwegian is spoken. Although ethnically Sámi, the parents' generation doesn't know the language since they never had a chance to learn it. To introduce children to a language that is not the language used in the homes creates the question of how to make the language integrated naturally, without creating a setting where the Sámi language is only a symbolically used language or an institution language. This is where my research question comes in, a setting where a language is to be learned outside the "normal" frame of a family language learning setting.

Fluent knowledge of the Sámi language among the Lule Sámi families is rare. Even if both parents are originally of Sámi ethnicity the parents' generation have, due to assimilation and strong Norwegian influence, chosen not to use the language actively or they have a stigma to use it as previous mentioned. None of the children this year came from families where only Sámi was spoken. Even if both parents were ethnicity Sámi, they mostly spoke Norwegian. It will take a while to make the families with Norwegian as home language to create a language shift and introduce Sámi within the family. To change language within a family setting is a large but important step. It is not necessarily an aim to be monolingual using Sámi since there is a need to use Norwegian in this community.

Monolingual Norwegian speaking families but with both parents being ethnical Sámi are special for the Tysfjord region. Bi- or multilingualism among my Norwegian and Sámi speaking informants occur in the families where one parent uses the Sámi language and the other parent uses Norwegian. The situation of one of the parents being a non- Sámi speaker can either be due to lack of knowledge of Sámi or being Norwegian or of other origin. In one of the families of the daycare, this trilingual situation exists. Both parents were not originally Norwegian speaking, but Sámi and Finnish. The child learned the Norwegian language from the surroundings environment, by living in a Norwegian setting. The Sámi language was strengthening through the daycare. The parents used the method of one language to one parent. Being in this position the child was naturally very aware of the situation when it was appropriate to use different languages,

while having the chance together with other Sámi speaking children to choose to use Sámi rather than Norwegian within the daycare.

Paulsen (2008) encourages parents to use Sámi consistently. It would have been easier if the parents were forced to speak Sámi and within the few spare time programs that existed they had to speak Sámi. Paulsen used a couple of weeks to overcome the stigma of speaking Sámi and believe that the parents with efforts could too, with some practice. An opportunity would be that the parents participated in the daycare as assistance when the daycare needed extra help. They would then be exposed to the language together with their own child. Learning the language together is a method Høier (2008:62) emphasized as her third step towards strengthening the Sámi language (chap. 2). In fact some of the parents and grandparents are already employees helping out in the daycare as assistants. Árran also has a responsibility in regards to language, and the employees in Árran are expected to speak Sámi to the children when they meet them in the yard outside or inside at the center. But do they?

3.2.1 The age aspect- a statistical overview

Based upon previous research I saw an increase in number of children through recent years (Kuoljok, 2003:21). In 2007/2008 it was 21 children divided into 23 places in Árran mánálgárdde. Children under the age of 3 take 2 places due to the increased attention they demand (Johnsen, 2008). When I first visited the daycare in June 2008 they had 18-19 children each day, but around the summer when I visited the daycare, it was usually fewer children. “The last weeks before your visit there were about 12-15 children each day, due to summer” (Johnsen, pers. com 2008.) In September 2008, during my second time of visit, the number of children in Árran mánálgárdde has doubled (Paulsen, Johnsen, 2008). By creating a second daycare group they increased of from 18 to 35 children, there were 18 children every day at the” eldest group” and up to 9 children every day at the” youngest²⁰ group” (Paulsen 2008, Johnsen, 2008²⁰).

Children ages up to 6 years old can attend the daycare. According to the annual plan 2007/2008 during the period I visit the daycare there were: 3 children born in 2002 (5 year), 7 children born in 2003 (4 year), 7 children born in 2004 (3 year), 2 children born in 2005 (2 year), 2 children born in 2006 (1 year). The age aspect illustrates that most of the children were in the critical phase, being 3-4 years old and already old enough to have established their first linguistic relation. This makes it difficult for the language nest to influence their chosen language. They

²⁰ <http://tinyurl.com/3xvd8jf> [Statistics Norway]

had already established a relation and awareness of which language was the most used. Within the first 2-3 years, a language nest has a great opportunity to influence already before these linguistic relations are set.

There were 7 employees when I first visited the daycare; normally on an average day there were 3 employees present in addition to the *giellathijieppe* [language-worker] once or twice a week in a 40% position. Two employees are in 100% positions and leaders of the daycare. All employees master spoken Sámi and many also write Sámi (Annual plan 2007/2008). The second visit three months after, there were 14 more children in the daycare. Paulsen, the daycare leader, stated that “it is a challenge itself with few employees to focus on language for each individual with different linguistic knowledge and background with few employees available. We learn the language in smaller groups here in *Árran mánálgárdde*” (2008, my transl.). Children are divided into small groups according to their age. The organize language groups are twice a week and school groups once a week.

Árran mánálgárdde's annual plan, gives an overview of the Sámi annual calendar (chap.3). It focuses on special activities that are traditionally important in Sámi culture. *Árran Mánálgárdde*'s month plan is meant to give an overview of which themes and elements the daycare is working with (chap. 2). The plan gives an overview of the different activities and methods used for development in the work. It also contains the daycares traditions, birthdays and other activities they plan do, adapted to the children's developments level and interest. During my fieldwork I participated in weekly activities such as the 5 years club, birthday celebrations and a local trip in the area. The daycare's action plan 2005/2007 had an intention to “increase the language resources for future need, stimulate Sámi language to active use, to create a good and close co-operation between the daycare and home, ... use of nature as a place for materials, theme booklets etc.” The state educational plan regarding daycare activities says that a Sámi daycare should be based on Sámi cultural values and also on the values of the local community. The aim of the daycare is to encourage and develop a Sámi common sense of belonging, develop respect for variability within the Sámi culture, active co-operate with the home and to develop respect towards other cultures and ways of living (Kintel 1994:20). These aims were well achieved within the day care, during my research.

3.2.2 Daily routines in the daycare

The daycare opens at 7 am, but the children come to the daycare at different times in the morning. There were unorganized activities such as individual breakfast and play in the morning. Activities inside are either in the daycare, at “loftet” (a big gathering room in Árran) or in “lávđágoahte” (a lavvo or Sámi tent in the daycare area). At 10 am there was a gathering with a focus on learning songs (e.g. “Makkár biejuve le uddni?” [What day is it today?]), name of the weekdays and talk about the weather or retelling about daycare activities. The gatherings are used as theme sessions, where special topics are considered and planned activities are discussed. After half an hour with activities the eldest children prepare a bread meal in the kitchen area. Around 11 am employees dress the youngest children and everybody prepare for some hours of outside play. If the weather is nice they take the second meal outside or they tumble in around 2 pm to a light fruit and vegetables snacks. During this period the youngest children were been able to take a nap. Through the afternoon there was storytelling and more individual play. The annual plan says that the daycares close at 4.15 pm but I experienced that they mostly were open until 5 pm. Routines are quite flexible with opening and closing depending on the parent’s need that change from time to time. Some parents worked at Árran. Inside the daycare “room-domain” setting the activities was more organized and more easily controlled by the employees than outside.

The use of Sámi in the surrounding environment outside Árran also influences the children. There were more free spontaneous play outside and the majority language took over when children seem to be more exposed. The conversations within Árran Lule Sámi center area are often in Norwegian due to visitors, guest researchers and employers that don’t know the Sámi language. In the local store the dominating Norwegian language mainly influences as both spoken and written language. Products are still not labeled with Norwegian text. I didn’t observe much Sámi in use, but during interviews with parents I got the impression that this varied depending on who were present in the store. My presence could have influenced the choice of language, as they saw me as a foreigner and expected me to not know the language. The local library had a selection of Sámi books. The language observed, however, was use of Norwegian.

3.3 *Árran mánárgárdde as a language nest: language developing resources in daycare*

Small groups of children led by an employee had a good effect on language focus (see Todal, 2007:70). One day there were only three children present and one employee. As a result, the employed had time to sit down and read a book to the children, which again led to a natural

conversation in Sámi. Language group with a giellatjehppi was organized weekly for the eldest children. A giellatjehppi is directly translated from Sámi language as a language carrier and an employee to focus only on the language used. Paulsen (2008) noticed that it was three of the eldest children leaving the daycare that them between spoke Sámi. This is part of the positive effect having a giellatjehppi.

The meal where the whole daycare is gathered is an important opportunity to incorporate simple words and phrases to a daily activity that is not organized or set up. This is an opportunity to teach the children words that can also be easily used in their home. By asking and answering questions concerning what food the children want, they learn simple but important sentences and words. Trips arranged by the daycare give common experiences to discuss. Language is not just words, but among this age group, this is an essential start to learning language through communications.

It's important that there is a focus of learning words during these experiences such that the children can retell using these words. I was fortunate to experience a trip (with the daycare) to Musken, the only Lule Sámi community left. Unfortunately there were not many family members joining, as they are working, even if this trip were meant for them to. This would have been a great opportunity to experience the children interact with their parents or grandparents.

Spoken language is difficult to illustrate without relying on written media, and even in this age group the written language is important through the reading of storybooks and the symbolic focus on language. They had proverbs and posters on the walls and they had written signs with the names of things in the rooms, mainly to help the employees. Years ago this started because there was an employee that didn't know the language that well. The employees I talked to mentioned they had an intense experience with the language though working in the daycare with the children and being forced to use the language daily. Employees feel they improved their own language and learned more due to the children's enthusiasm (Paulsen, 2008). I myself experience and learned some basic Sámi during these weeks, but my then 3-year-old boy learned and remembered more and better than I did.

Many Sámi materials were homemade such as books, puzzles, signs, plays and songs. There were by a quick count approximately 60% Norwegian books. Some Sámi books were borrowed from the local library; some were gifts to the daycare from publishers. There were books from when the daycare started as a private daycare. The bookshelves in the daycare

contained available children's books and literature in Sámi. Very few children's` books are available in Lule Sámi. Most books for this age group are basic dictionaries, songbooks and some story books. There could be better variety in content, as most are about Sámi traditional culture. The more modern aspects of their life are not well illustrated. A few comics exists (e.g. Pondus). I also found some South Sámi and Inari Sámi books, and some that I Russian Sámi variants.

I especially noticed the creativity of self- produced storytelling books and translated books. Norwegian or other Sámi original text were masked and handwritten Lule Sámi translations were pasted in by hand or written above. This was in contrast to the newly translated and published books in Lule Sámi. Throughout the recent years many bilingual Sámi /Norwegian books were produced by Skániid girjie²¹. This is especially a good resource in the area where parents need a translated version to understand the context of e.g. a book. These books are a written resource that literarily equalizes both languages involved. They symbolize that both languages are an opportunity when turning language into letters. Though children books are fairly represented through the latest year less focus is paid on producing what the daycare children defined as the "cool stuff". It can be important to rethink the tradition vs. modernity concept among the preschool group, especially among languages that doesn't have long written tradition.

3.3.1 "...is the only song that I know": available audiovisual Medias

Todal (2002:174) stated that children who are not Sámi speakers, can have a positive attitude towards the language if they had the possibility to watch Sámi children TV, Mánáid- TV. This program has existed since 1991. "The Sámi language got a higher status in the 1990`s as children saw the language used in media" (Todal 2002:177). Sámi Mánáid- TV weakened what Dorian (1998) named "the ideology of contempt". As mentioned earlier there are no television broadcasts solely in Lule Sámi or South Sámi. One of the parents I spoke with said she would prefer it to be more focused on Sámi children in general than to focus on only Lule Sámi. Mainly Mánáid- TV is the most important domain in preschool age. Both parents and children requested daily program. The attitude of the children TV`s producers changed during my research period. There is now nearly a daily Sámi program. There are growing efforts to produce visual material in the two lesser spoken Sámi variants (chap.4). Among DVD films, there are some old cartoons, e.g. "Karius ja Baktus" (Kuoljok, 2002: 29) and both the children and employees requested access to new DVDs.

²¹ a Norwegian publisher

From the visible images to more invisible sound medium: radio does not program any special broadcasts for children. This media is not that good for children, learning a lesser used language. Children need the face-to-face contact and body language, to understand. Songs and music are however an opportunity in this audio category. I further discuss the importance of illustrations as a recognition factor. Among CD music there are a few (e.g. Lávllaga²²) for children. Bálges (Andreassen, 2007) is at this time the only available adult music CD.

Combined medium such as e.g. internet can be an opportunity, also for preschoolers in interaction with parents. Even if parents don't know the language, the computer program can assist with the pronunciation part of learning language. However, this requires parent's motivation and awareness. I have tried this with my son, as he followed a Sámi language nest to learn Sámi language. I could not follow up by repeating and practicing words, so I found programs that provided language instruction. Illustrative images to click on and audio clips of the words pronounced are good resources to catch children's attention much the same way as toys which respond to children's actions with sounds, instead of just playing mechanical noises. However internet language sites aim at increasing language ability, as most of them unfortunately are produced towards adult audience. Pages with images and sound separate can be thought of as a good use for parents and children, to learn together as Høier aimed for (2008:59) (chap. 2). I have found two language learning pages for the Lule Sámi language²³. A third one is in the process of being developed by the University of Tromsø, but mainly focuses on the written language²⁴, as are the Norwegian Sámi parliaments' program²⁵. The latest initiative from the youth in Tysfjord is a page where it is possible to post videos and your own private recording of spoken Lule Sámi stories²⁶.

3.3.2 The road further, how to bring the language home and other opportunities

A setting with parents and children not actively using or knowing the language is the present frame in the daycare. At the language conference Paulsen summarized and concluded his experience much the same way as I did by only observing and experiencing the daycare for a short time that there was a divide between the free and "asked to" language. So it seems that my

²² Kintel, S-I. & Ráhka, A. Nystø, 2005. Lávllaga, a Lule Sámi children song CD Ájluokta/Drag : Báhko

²³ <http://tinyurl.com/272m7xh> [Lexin bildteman, Swedish produced dictionary with image and sound]

<http://tinyurl.com/2f8zsyh> [Sámasta, Lule Sámi beginner course]

²⁴ <http://tinyurl.com/34lgpaa> [University of Tromsø, learn language *in process*]

²⁵ <http://tinyurl.com/36nzzvnd> [Lule Sámi grammar *in progress*, provided by the Norwegian Sámi parliament]

²⁶ <http://nuorajtv.no/> [youth TV in Lule Sámi]

observations were validated and relevant, even if this is mainly based upon his speech on behalf of the employees. "We feel that we have a passive language and that the children are not speaking Sámi and between them play in Norwegian and only use Sámi when they speak to us" (Paulsen 2008, my transl.) Paulsen believe that with the new group it will be a positive effect. Children under the age of 3 year that are not yet speaking at all and those that speak but can't speak Norwegian yet present the best opportunity to influence their language choices. The youngest group will function as a language bath for them before they come to the elder group. Maybe within some years there is a better possibility to hear that those in the daycare speak more Sámi amongst themselves.

Árran mánálgárdde`s aims is still to strengthen the Sámi language from an early age and to give a secure cultural background, including different activities. Through these activities children can learn about their own culture and local community. The active use of the language gives a close understanding and knowledge of Sámi traditions and customs. Thereby, the identity of the children and common sense of belonging will strengthen. They will also have a positive and natural attitude to the Sámi language and culture. During daily activities the children gain knowledge about the region, the local history and society, as well as about traditional Sámi tales and stories. The main challenge is that the parents involved are not able to support the language learning that much.

There is a deeper gap between the group of employers and parents and less awareness among some of the parents. There are those that even leave the responsibility to the daycare by "just" bringing their children to the daycare expecting them to learn Sámi there. Through some years this parent`s generation will naturally change as will the linguistic background of the children. A living language is in a dynamic setting that always is influenced myriad factors. An interesting point would be to follow up with those first children to see how their parent`s choices have influenced their own parent`s choice and attitudes towards the language choice (chap.1). Unfortunate it`s still too early to see children of these children in Árran mánálgárdde. I know some have settled in this location and went back to their roots. The first generation of daycare children is on the way to being the new parent`s generation. Currently there are two previous Vuonak Sámemána children contributing with a new generation. In the last part of this chapter I present my findings of the linguistic relations in the daycare during my fieldwork.

3.4 Who speaks what language to whom?

Fishman (1965:67) questioned who speaks what language to whom and when? He analyzed multilingual settings and how the domains influence the language behaviors (1965:69). Fishman listed the factors group, situation and topic (1965:68). To whom one speak, in what situation or domain and about what, these are factors I have seen that influence preschool children`s language choices. The domains are overlapping eachother (Fishman 1965), as I will explain (chap.4).

My main findings and observations in the Lule Sámi daycare Árran mánáigárdde were:

Among the children: They used Sámi consistently in conversation with employees, but they used Norwegian in free play with other children without employees being present. The daycare children used Norwegian with the parents, due to Norwegian being the main language in most homes. Through my research I observed no use of Sámi between parents and children. They are however good in shifting languages and seem to understand Sámi well.

Among the employees: The employees are very aware of the use of Sámi language to the children and between themselves and encouraging the use of Sámi in relationship with the children. But in the employees vs. parents relations the adult were not very aware on which language was used. Employees were good in shifting languages and are obliged to understand spoken Sámi and some written.

Among the parents: The parents only used Norwegian with employees and with other parents. To their own children some tried to use simple words and expressions they learned from the daycare. With the other children most of the parents preferred to use Norwegian. Parents had less knowledge of Sámi and variable effort and awareness to contribute speaking Sámi to their children

3.4.1 Factors that influences

During my fieldwork I participated in weekly activities such as the 5 years club, birthday celebrations and a local trip in the area. Through small groups for the eldest children, daily gathering for the whole day care and common trips, the daycare focus on training and increasing the children`s vocabulary. The challenges are that the children need a motivation factor to inspire the children to speak; here elder siblings or previous daycare children visiting from school can be of great value. The language development had changed in the last year when I visited the daycare. The group was bigger and there were more children per employees. More of the children is coming from families that are not contributing with the language learning at home. This

resulted in a development where the previous Sámi speaking children started to use more Norwegian in their play.

The first domain that influences language choice is the family or home. Parent's attitudes to both languages play a role. They influence how much the less spoken language is supported and used through active communication and with help of books, music or films. This is represented through interaction with parents and siblings. Secondly there is the outside environment with the employees and other children in the daycare, as well as other people working at Árran Lule Sámi Center where the daycare is located. Since many children spend even more waking hour in the daycare than at home, these are also important factors to consider. Finally the local and close environment is a foundation for children's language attitudes. The community with the local store and other people at Árran where the daycare is located includes Sámi media as e.g. available literature and children TV. A visit to the local store and library indicate which language influences the community most. This influences children's motivation of using a language. Scholarly literature and previous research have listed similar factors but not focused on the relation between parents and employees. Children observe factors such as the parents and employees communicating together and choosing another language.

My research is a qualitative research of languages in use based on the types of observations and personal reflections introduced in the methodology chapter 1.4. Further my fieldwork was presented in this chapter. Finally within the next chapter (4.3) I will reflect upon how my method worked and affected my results.

From the "Dánna galggap sámástit" to "Mij lip ålgon", illustrates different strategies and how the importance of parent's cooperation and attitude are, by not leaving everything to the daycare as a responsible. These two signs illustrate a change from having the language in focus by using it as a tool, but no longer having it as main focus. The daycare did benefit as a foundation for language knowledge if specific factors are consider. I discuss further how these factors influence preschool children's language choices, and if language nests really is a strength when I observed the expression: "I don't speak because it's the weekend"

4 Chapter 4: "Even at home now there's been a little bit of change"

Men også der hjemme har det blitt en forandringens tid,
 Noen tviler litt mens andre er på glid.
 Og mange er redd for at gamle sår skal blø.
 Frykten har lagt sæ som på en Čohka- med evig snø.
 De sier de ikke er vant til alt som følger med.
 Og det er lov, men det er rart hvor fort man blir vant til, å skjule den man er.

Even at home now there's been a little bit of change,
 some are resistant but others are open to exchange.
 Many are worried that nearly forgotten wounds will bleed.
 Fear is a glacier in spring that refuses to recede
 They say they can't forget what was done to us back then,
 OK, but it's strange just how fast they forget who they truly are-or have been.

-Andreassen, L M. 2007. Guovssagasak/Nordlys. In *Bálges*. English version, Morén-Duolljá B.

This chapter questions to what extent language nest are a method that strengthen Lule Sámi language, if language nests can change the direction of a language shifts and thus if preschool children can contribute in revitalizing a language through this method.

4.1 Domains influencing and affecting preschool children's language interactions

There are different factors influencing the choice of language used, and the number of such factors increases with the age of the speaker since older children can read and write. Therefore my group of preschoolers represents a group with fewer factors, but each of them with a stronger consequence. For a 2-5 year old the closest environments are the family and friends (in daycare). I have divided the environment for preschool children into three categories (fig.4.1).

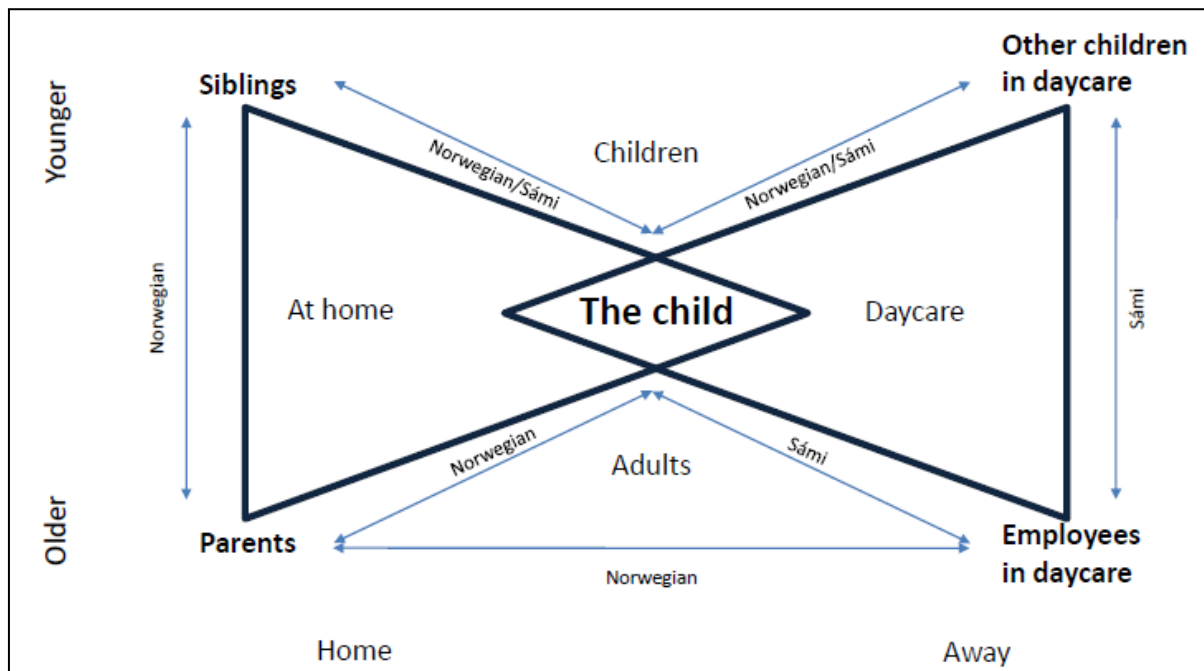


Figure 4.1: Factors daily influencing the language choice among preschool children in Árran mánáigárdde. My general observations illustrated through an own developed figure, based upon my fieldwork.

Illustrated in figure 4.1, there is an age factor with the categories of adults vs. children. In addition there is an environment factor with the categories of home and away. The languages may be replaced with other minority vs. majority languages. This is a visual means for summarizing my general observations. Even if one can divide the surrounding environment of a child into categories like I illustrated (fig.4.1), there are lines crossed and interactions affecting each other. I define a “triangle relation” between, children, parents and employees in the daycare (fig.4.1). Jansson (2005:15) states that there are many different factors that influence people’s motives to continue to speak a certain language. While Jansson examines the two environments more separately, I have also attracted the relation between the adults. The employees and the parent’s language choice with each other are in fact a dilemma, with the challenges and advantages that follow to revitalize a language.

The first relation I consider is the children vs. parents. A special challenge for the Lule Sámi language is that many among the parent generation, even if they are ethnically Sámi, they didn’t learn the language due to the assimilation policy and thus don’t know the language to transfer it to new generations. Most children in the daycare spoke Norwegian to their parents. A mother recently married a Sámi and had a challenge to support her children with the language she had not learned herself. In this situation her choice was to let the daycare do the job. One of the families had the past year an internal language shift in the family and due to this change the children now speak Sámi well. These siblings change to speak Sámi to each other in the daycare even when playing with other. They had one of the parents as a strong resource person speaking the language at home.

The second relation is children vs. employees. Employee’s language work within a bilingual daycare is important. In the daycare the employees have responsibility for 6 children each. They have time for the daily activities and duties but don’t get time to teach the children Sámi well. The children interact well in Sámi with the employees when expected. The employees are aware of the language used when with the children but are not that focused with the parents.

We wish...that we have a language accomplished person that could come together with us and maybe take them out ... and speak ...and that the giellatjehppi get better time to every each child so the children learn more Sámi. We should collaborate and learn the language together (Paulsen 2008, my translation).

A “giellatjehppi” is a person that has good knowledge of the Sámi language and this person works in addition to other employees in the daycare (chap. 3). They take the children out in small groups and talk about special topics. Paulsen (2008) says that they have a 30% position as giellatjehppi but wish to expand the position to 100%.

Parents vs. employees’ relationship is the third category that has previous not received much attention. There should be a better focus on this relationship and their personal or internal language choices towards one another. Parent’s support and responsibility is important to prevent Sámi from becoming a “daycare” or institution-language. There must be more open interest and importance of the language in the interaction between employees and parents, to give the children a reason for learning Sámi and using it instead of Norwegian. Children observe the interactions between employees and parents, e.g. when they are dropped off and picked up, and this does influence their attitudes towards the importance of using the Sámi language. It is challenging though to get employees to speak Sámi with the parents, since some parents lack knowledge of the language. Also, when employees and parents first got to know each other by using Norwegian, sudden language shifts are more likely to feel unnatural to the adults.

The surrounding environments influence a child’s attitude toward languages, whether it is within the family or in daycare. Social conditions such as attitudes influence individual language choices. Domain is the geographically territory and the more invisible subject area where a language is dominant. Eira (2001:134) asks: “What is being done to prevent or delay domain loss? In which areas of the society does domain loss occur? What are the motives for giving up one’s own language?” The domain of language use is a relevant factor in estimating a languages situation but few domains do not necessary signal an endangered language. To devise a strategy for protection of an endangered language, one first has to consider the level of endangerment (chap. 1), and define these factors to prevent them. By examining the domain and the factors influencing language choices (chap. 3), there are possibilities and opportunity to strengthen and weaken the different elements language choices consist of.

4.2 Among Lule Sámi languages: “some are resistant but others are open to exchange”

What can be done to protect and revitalize depends on assessing the level of endangerment and the types of pressure from majority languages. Many factors determine the viability of indigenous

languages, but not all of them are of equal importance.²⁷ I have through UNESCO's list and Fishman scale indicated Lule Sámi language is a seriously endangered language. Out of the factors for this prognosis is that Lule Sámi has not reached a higher level of status. One can find steps for further focus when wanting to revitalize and strengthen the position of a language.

I am primarily focusing on the preschool level, due to a claimed higher outcome through children's language acquisition and fewer needed resources (chap. 1). Parents have a responsibility to transfer cultural elements to children (Hilton 2001:9-10). Where this is not possible a language nest is an opportunity and the community can support it, but there are fewer possibilities to make children speak a language without the parent's support. Language nests were already introduced to the community of Drag in 1989 (chap.2). Thus the strategy of the nest has changed throughout the years. Lule Sámi was in the situation where it was important to develop a language nest to promote the language. There are families speaking Lule Sámi internally, but one has to strengthen the language by making it more visible and enabling children to choose to communicate with it during play. However, if the language is not being used in their family and daily life at home, the language nest would be of less use. If the language learned at school is only used there and not in daily life, the first language is the one that survives development. The question is: what is the mother tongue for the Lule Sámi children and what is their first language? They are ethnically Sámi, but it is a question of essentialism vs. constructivism, something one always has been or something one constructs in order to try to be (chap.1).

At home in most families they only used Norwegian; thus, it was the language the children identified with most both individually and with others (identification), according to Skutnabb-Kangas' definition (chap.1). The language the children in my researched daycare knew best was Norwegian (competence), and it was thus the language they used most (the function). Most of the children in the daycare had Norwegian as a mother tongue according to Skutnabb-Kangas' (1981:18) definition, even if they were ethnically Sámi. During my fieldwork most of the children's home language (both mother tongue and first language used) was Norwegian. Sámi became their second language (second most used) when becoming bilingual by learning Sámi in the daycare with the first language (Norwegian) acquired at home.

²⁷ Factors like numbers of speakers, active use of the language and age group of the speakers etc.

In this daycare the Sámi language was a second language, learned reasoning order to “mark a group belonging and identity where language is a symbol” (Kulbrandstad, 2002). There were however wishes to take it a step further. The challenge for the language is therefore to lift it to a level where the language is a “tool for thinking and creating expressions”. Partly this is in progress, and they do succeed to get the children to express themselves using the Sámi language. The final and third factor Kullbrandstad lists, to communicate a meaning content, is the challenge to overcome, to get the language into free play. Language is an essential part of an identity, and therefore it seems important to conserve it, even though it is not the first language. Even if it is not the first language, it can be essential part of belonging to an identity. Thus the notion of "being Sámi, indigenous or to know a language" and what it means exist only in and through the social institutions that give it meaning within a culture. The different aspects of a language (Kullbrandstad, 2002; chap.1) list the specter of a language from being symbolic to in practical use. Different wishes demand different strategies. Among the Lule Sámi population in Tysfjord in recent years there has been a wish to get the language in practical use, rather than just being a symbolic language (chap.2). It is in a way an “unnatural” and constructed setting in which to learn a language in an institutional setting like a daycare and not through intergenerational transmission, but it can in some cases be essential for a language to survive to create constructed environments.

For Sámi language this Skutnabb-Kangas model illustrate that if the focus starts already at the age of preschoolers, most preferably before 3 years old, all four criterias²⁸ would be possible to achieve. Ausdal (2007) describes a study of a Sámi Norwegian daycare. Her focus is on bilingualism by preschool children and how the daycare secures a bilingual development. A language nest would, if parents cannot provide an environment with the minority language spoken, be the second environment and an opportunity to learn the language (origin). With equal possibilities to use languages, the knowledge and fluency of both will be better (competence). A daycare will provide an opportunity for children to daily use two languages in play and provide a “protected” domain and environment to counter the majority language’s influence (function). If children gather with other bilingual children or children speaking the minority language, they all identify themselves as a group to belong to with a common origin based on language and culture (identification). Children’s attitudes become positive when they see a reason to learn a language and to use it. This occurs when they understand that by using the language to communicate it will

²⁸ Origin, competence, functions and identification, which is further explained in chapter 1.

result in information not possible without receiving the language knowledge. This social common factor will then be a motivational force.

The Sámi language will still for some years be a second language in this daycare. Due to a different home language, it will take time for a language shift to occur; Regardless, the possibility of raising bilingual children in Tysfjord through daycare is important. It is important within the daycare to use a focus on Sámi language and culture to balance with the more dominant Norwegian influenced domain in home areas and within the surrounding community.

4.2.1 “Many are worried that nearly forgotten wounds will bleed”

Few children have Lule Sámi as a mother tongue and most that have it as first language in primary school have parents that wish to be able to speak Sámi at home. This generation that acquired nothing but a little Lule Sámi, are facing difficulties in passing it on to their children. Due to the assimilation policy, they both lack knowledge of or are filled with a stigma against speaking (chap. 2). Andreassen stated: “fear is a glacier in spring that refuses to recede”. Shame of speaking and thoughts that a language is a disadvantage must be avoided. Fishman (1991) claimed that most important is informal transmission between generations in families. Revitalization needs time to settle. This change, when a family decides to shift language with their children, might feel unnatural. When parents and children have already chosen a language, language shift is difficult.

They depend on the daycare, school, and their own parents for their children to learn Sámi. This creates a much debated dilemma. Andreassen (2007:34) asks: “Shall a lonely mother that can't speak Sámi fluently; choose Sámi as a first language in primary school for her children? What is her frustration and doubt, what support does she need?” In Andreassen's generation, they usually speak Sámi to their children, but Norwegian between themselves. The consequences of this context is essential for many parent's choices. It's not easy to speak Sámi to someone if one is used to speaking Norwegian within that intimate sphere. This can send obviously signals to the children that Sámi is “not that important”.

Knutsen (2008) gave a speech at the Language Conference at Árran about language choices. I refer to some of her reflections. Sámi as a teaching language, whether it is in daycare or in school, is a matter of choices based upon different approach. Mainly it's the parents that take the choice for their children, with the best intentions. What are the factors they rely on when they make the choices? What factors influence parents in a language choice situation? (See Idivuoma,

1986) The context of the children to develop their bilingualism in is evaluated with the question of if knowledge of the less spoken is a resource or a disadvantage. The most important is actually the attitude and efforts provided with the parents, not necessary the knowledge. They must also show will, encouragement and motivation to learn to make it relevant for the children to see the value of the language being used. The parents are those that influence preschool children the most in a natural setting. Thus it is important to support their language learning by providing Sámi courses and publish or at least make available a dictionary (requested through my research). I conclude as Jansson (2005) that siblings are as much and even more important factor than the parents and the choice of elder siblings can be crucial step for the younger sibling's choices. If these siblings are in the daycare together, they can bring the language home with them. Chrisp (1997) contends that there are few strategies in place to address this difficulty of making Maori a language of the home, by bringing it home from the language nest (cited in King, J. 2001:126)

There are certain steps which might or might not strengthen the children's possibilities of learning a less spoken language. Regardless of degree of being spoken or not, it all depends on the language being actively spoken or not among the future generation to see its importance of gaining communication. Youth can even more than parents inspire preschoolers' language choice through play and being role models.

The eldest (the role model) teaches and learns through play and interaction with the youngest. The traditional indigenous way of learning has always been in the family setting. With industrialization equality among gender arrived and both parents started working. Then the institution took over raising the children, which before was a family matter especially among the indigenous (chap.2). With the situation of other relatives and younger grandparents also working or living far away, the "extended family" was not one house with three generation as before. The daycare and school was left to raise and teach skills such as language. In the case of the assimilated generation, this new situation presents possibility. The choices are not between majority or minority language but a bilingual choice.

Intergenerational interaction and the use of the grandparent's generation is a resource, but I would claim based upon my empirical observation that it is not an essential factor since there was not always a grandparent generation available to the children in the daycare. The grandparent's generation was part of the original Māori language nest model (chap.1), but I claim that grandparents are not necessary factor, but instead simply a language-skilled person in general,

regardless of age. The language nest used young employees. Though the age didn't matter, it was essential to have a language competent person, a *giellatjehppi* available, to focus on language learning. I claim that it's important not to keep a language totally isolated and refer to it as it was learned and spoken 50 years ago. Rather it should be emphasized that a language is a dynamic language interacting with surrounding environment. To use the best expressions from the most relevant language of each domain is the main value of securing a linguistic diversity.

Early language learning is important, but still it is important not to forget is that the child must be interested in learning language and see value in it. Parents can only encourage and inspire with their attitudes. With a positive attitude there is a chance of influencing the children to see the importance of the less spoken language. Learning a language must never be a forced situation, which is the aim of language nest (chap.1).

Languages have many dimensions and aspects of knowledge such as communication, linguistics, cognition, identity. Knutsen (2008, 2005) listed some possible solutions. For this age group the three first years are essential as my research and observation proved. The solution is not "easy" even if it seems simple. Parents must learn Sámi. It is obviously of importance to the children's language development and for some, this is a solution. For some parents this means in reality to learn Sámi. Paulsen, the leading employee, challenged and encouraged parents to use Sámi languages and words with awareness when in the daycare. Using daily words in small settings will help to promote aware use of the language among the preschool children. Contributions can be to say: "Vi går i mánálgárdde" ["We are going to..." in Norwegian but with "daycare" in Sámi]. Creating a domain where the language is used also helps (such as tooth brushing, making dinner etc. with the simple vocabulary learned) for later attempting to create sentences and connections. Names of family members, names of food or other words that are repeated in the daily life can be said in Sámi. Language is not just words, but among this age group this is the important first step to take in contrast to the adults, who depend more on the grammar to learn a language. It's important to use the language more and children will get to hear the language outside the daycare. This approach is a unilateral (one-way) communicative approach, in contrast to the two-ways method previous discussed (chap.1).

As observed it's not always as easy as it can seem, due to the emotional stigma that exists among this generation through historical experiences. On top of that, adults have more difficulty learning a language than children. Parents must accept that the children are better and learn Sámi

quicker. Role expectation as a parent is a challenge, for example knowing that a mother cannot help her son or daughter with the homework any further than the 4th grade (observed through my fieldwork). Chrisp (2005) is a Māori -parent experiencing the same situation where he's afraid of speaking because he doesn't want to make mistakes among the children. Homework help can be an essential part of the education as well as more frequent contact between school or daycare and home about the learning progress. This approach is a one-sided linguistic approach, which has to do with breaking barriers, letting go and losing control and feelings. Through organized speaking venues or domains attitudes fall in line with parental involvement in leisure activities. The Sámi-speaking venues have to be organized and recognized. A reason to know and use the language is created when special domains are created, e.g. daycares. This approach is a one-sided identity wise approach.

4.2.2 Toward acquiring a language fluently outside the home?

I refer in my research to similar factors that Høier (2008: 59; see chap.2) used. Her four steps were “communicative consciousness, to take language in use where possible, learn the language together, from everyday language to school language”. Firstly the awareness of the language used between the speakers, seem through my study to be essential. Languages are taken more into use in recent years (Paulsen, 2008). Secondly, wherever it's possible the language should be used, any contribution is a step towards the language involving. This is a challenge when the parents generation lack knowledge of the language, but they can learn at the same level as their children. Children acquire the language they hear through the environmental surrounding. Høier emphasizes the importance of learning together, the collaboration between daycare or school and the families involved. In previous years there were established language courses at Árran, and high school studies at the Bodø College were attended by youth.

I claim, based upon my observations from my fieldwork that songs and animated films have a strong influence on language learning. Play is an essential part of where children learn to explore and challenge linguistic knowledge through communication. These are factors, like the role play used when the daycare was established, were “learned by heart” which is a method that provides a way of remembering new expressions. Translations of known children songs into new languages and animated films dubbed into other language provide a good source of learning opportunity not only for children, but also for the parents whom can use it as a resource to support the learning environment in the family and learn together with the children.

4.2.3 Language nest: its benefits and significance for language choices

Parents and siblings at home can't sustain language development without support. This support can come from daycare centers or language nests. Children learn language best if they start early and have the possibility to use the language every day. Therefore Sámi linguistic daycares are an appropriate means to promote the Sámi language in communities where language is on the way to disappear as daily language. A language nest is important because it allows children to communicate on a daily basis using the less spoken language and observe the language being used. Children thus understand the importance of learning the language to be able to gather new information and knowledge and to be a part of the group and belong to the community. Children's playing is an important environment for supporting language development and communication. Active use of a language and a feeling of mastering a language create a motivation as well as awareness and pride of their language.

Factors a language nest uses to strengthen the learning of a language are body language, music, and improvisation of storytelling and singing to help memory and connection with knowledge. Introducing a song and storytelling in the minority language promotes its use and understanding of a less emphasized language. When I attended the Sámi daycare group, I spoke to a girl that was bilingual Norwegian/Sámi. We spoke Norwegian for a while before I asked her about Sámi names on a drawing she painted. She explained for me the Sámi names of the different parts of the body, but could suddenly not remember the most basic word. Really struggling to remember it; she ended up starting to sing a song she had learned²⁹. In this way she found the lost word while singing. Her relation to the language was that she was thinking in Norwegian and then translating into Sámi. The policy of all Sámi to be bilingual aimed that Sámi should have knowledge of the national language. This led to less need of Sámi language forums as all information is in the majority language. For each individual speaker this bilingualism would lead to a situation where one think Norwegian and translate to Sámi (Magga, 2002:5). It is important within the daycare that not all the information is revealed in both languages.

If the community itself is strongly influenced by the majority language, the daycare must try to be a protected area with extra emphasis on the minority language. The majority language will be learned anyway. If there is more equality in the community there can though be less emphasis and more equal use within the daycare. Children should though ideally only hear the

²⁹ "Head, shoulders, knee and toe"

language from the other children and not the adults. The children should feel that it's not only when they come to the daycare that they have to speak Sámi. If the language is also a spare time language, it creates a stronger positive identity.

Labahå (2002:3) pointed out that the daycares challenge towards Sámi children will be divided in two. The first goal is to stimulate the children in bilingual development, by giving them an opportunity to use bilingual vocabulary within the daycare and practice their use of terms. This should be the main goal. But what must also be according to Labbahå is that even though children use both Norwegian and Sámi when they express themselves, the parent must use the child's mother tongue, Sámi for Sámi children (even though they have Norwegian as first language) and Norwegian for Norwegian children as to not weaken the Sámi identity. A positive Sámi identity provides the best foundation for Sámi language development. Though here the question is what is the mother tongue of the child? Labahå (2002) did not discuss this further. If a child has a weak understanding of Sámi, employees must use Norwegian for children to develop the term, but still keep using Sámi most. In the Lule Sámi language nest, they have a routine that the first months a non-Sámi speaking child attends the language nest they use both languages, with Norwegian as the support language, but afterward they only use Sámi language to best stimulate language learning. The Sámi general plan has clearly led to conquest of domains in daycare institution sector.

When the group became larger, the Sámi speaking children began to play more in Norwegian. Resent years more children also comes from families that cannot support the language learning at home. One can learn from the daycare's history and ask if this happened because they just become elder or because they found it more exciting and challenging with the majority language. Did they notice majority language to be more "actual" and behind a "no reason to speak Sámi" attitude or is the language choice simply a coincidence in this age? Children do make rational choices. If at that point they were bilingual, they would be better equipped than their parents to choose between the languages and decide for themselves which language they want their own offspring use growing up.

If the immersion program is not working out, this can be due to a lack of interest from parents, or in other cases a lack of resources or knowledge. Unless immersion is reinforced with programs to ensure that language is learned using family environments, the need for immersion programs will be entrenched forever, since no one will acquire the language as a first language. If

the “Language nest” attempt doesn’t work for promotion of a language, one should consider the Neighborhood method. In the Neighborhood method speakers settle in a community or part of a community where they agree to speak and promote a language in use. The two- ways educational method is to use both majority and minority language equal in both spoken and written communication (Todal, 2007:56). If there is success with an immersion program, like language nests, one could go further on focusing on e.g. the two-way education method (chap. 1). The language nest is focusing its emphasis on the use of the less spoken language to balance language used within a majority language influenced community in contrast to the two-ways method where both languages are used. In contrast to the Neighborhood method where the environment the children lives in is influenced by the minority language, a language nest is usually an environment (domain) where the language is different than the children’s “home language”. No daycare or language nest can be responsible and manage language work without interacting strongly with the families, even if in some cases children spend most of their waking hours in institutions.

4.3 To speak or not to speak: a success?

Based upon my contributions thus far, I have been able to return my results to the speech community. During the conference, one employee in Árran mánálgárdde expressed the challenge and impression the employees have of the daycare’s language focus. I had not previously asked him directly, but I found his impression as an insider working in the daycare as the same as my observation. I have empirically verified this linguistic situation as an outside researcher. This suggests that my results are to a greater extent representative for the language situation and challenges that Árran mánálgárdde has and that are present for the Lule Sámi preschool children in this area. Paulsen did on the other hand conclude his remarks on behalf of all the employees, and this can only be a general impression of the situation. Other employees at Árran were not that aware of my statement that there was extensive Norwegian used in the children’s spontaneous play.

As further discussed (chap. 1), my approach to bring my family with me to conduct this fieldwork was an advantage for my research. Due to my situation of being present as a family, I was able to be more invisible. I assume that I influenced the language choices less and got a more representative observation. I have given a speech at a local seminar (Árran, 2008:7), on a local Sámi radio broadcast and abroad as a guest lecturer at a University course in Prague. By

providing this thesis with a Lule Sámi summary this thesis has made the language more visible officially. By choosing to make this thesis or any product available in the minority language, one promotes the value and strength of the language. Finally I decided, based upon a request from the target group that I want to not only document the situation of my research language, but contribute with promoting a resource by taking the initiative and encouraging the dubbing of an animated film from a foreign language to Lule Sámi. This is a production that was not previous made available in neither Norwegian nor other Sámi variants. I have recently received a positive response from NRK Mánáid TV (the Sámi children TV), for starting the production spring 2011. They have taken over the responsibility to get it broadcasted at the national TV.

4.3.1 Challenge within the daycare: bringing the language home

My question is what is needed in the linguistic relationship for the Lule Sámi language to successfully strengthen the Lule Sámi language among preschool children?

Among the children: Previous daycare children attending Sámi classes at the school could visit the daycare and inspire the children to use the language. The challenge is to get language ideals that lead the younger children in the choice of language. Advantages are seen among children that have e.g. siblings that inspire them to learn the minority language and acts like role models for using the language in communications and at home.

Among the employees: Employees need time to work separately with the children; small groups should lead the play and encourage language use. Additionally there should be more focus on the children with more giellatjehppi [language-carriers] needed to isolate one or more children. There is a need to have more employees per children to have the opportunity that they can interact in children's play in small groups. One special employee could have the responsibility to follow up with one or two children. There is also a challenge of getting assistance in the daycare if someone is on leave, sick or having a day off. Here it is important that the employees have time with fewer children separately to have small groups and to "sit down" and lead the play where the employees can encourage language use. Fewer administrative doings and more focus on the children in small groups can help with language acquisition.

Among the parents: Sámi speaking parents are important resources for employees in these periods, but other parents can also attend and learn together with their children to create better cooperation. Høier (2008:62) defined this "learn together factor" to be an important step for language development. Also important is the relationship between the employed and the parents

in regards to their internal language choices towards each other. Parental support and responsibility is important to prevent Sámi from becoming a “daycare language”. There must also be more open interest and recognition of the significance of the language. The more children gain from learning the language, the greater their motivation for learning and using Sámi. These are all internal factors in the daycare which can help strengthen Sámi language, factors that throughout the history of the daycare have changed. To help the parents contribute to their children’s language acquisition, the parents must learn the language themselves; thus, providing Sámi courses and publishing the so far unpublished Norwegian-Lule Sámi dictionary in addition to the Swedish-Lule Sámi dictionary from 1979 would be a valuable resource. This was in progress already in 1993, planned published 1994 (Sametinget, 1994:48), but is still not common available.

As an outsider “not knowing” the language, there are possibilities to influence the attitudes surrounding the language to encourage the use of the language. As stated there are few media and resources available, for use in both the daycare and within the families and surrounding community. Books are well represented, but “cool” modern audiovisual media as DVD/CD with music/songs or even animated films and short films are missing. To get more people speaking the indigenous language, it should be more visible in daily life. This can be done by using, e.g. Sámi, in the media, government, governmental services in the language and by creating working environment that use the language. Translation of animated films and films to endangered languages while ensuring its nationwide broadcasting on TV is an effort that gives status, value and a reason to learn the language as it becomes visible and useful. However, this would be of no use if people themselves did not want to use it. I received request for more practical resources during my research, and took the initiative to encourage further production.

My research confirms that the language situation in the Lule Sámi language area suggests efforts in several areas. “An eminent of Lule language from both the parents and the public page requires action” (Knutsen: 2008). Knutsen questioned if the local community is willing to do this and, last but not least, if there is a political will present in order to realize their intentions? The challenge is to gather knowledge for the parents to help their children. Through recent years there has been a strong positive development in the Tysfjord area with a higher awareness of equalizing the use of Norwegian and Sámi language. Developing Tysfjord as a Sámi administrative district secured rights to equal use of both languages involved. Establishing Lule

Sámi daycare programs in Bodø is a positive effort for the Lule Sámi language. This illustrates a positive trend for the Lule Sámi language. Knutsen (2008) claimed, as my research does, that the Lule Sámi language situation requires efforts in several areas. A revitalization of the Lule language requires action from both the parents and the public sector. She asked further asked: are they were willing to do this in the community and is there the political will present in order to realize their intentions?

4.3.2 Language nests: contributing to strengthen the Lule Sámi language?

It is indeed possible to acquire a language fluently outside the family, but certain factors must be present and different communities have different revitalisation processes. There is no set way to revitalize a language; it all depends on individual factors. The consequences of different choices can be different from each case. Árran mánálgárdde makes important efforts for children to have the possibility to hear, understand and use the Lule language daily. I am skeptical and critical that daycares are left with the whole responsibility of language learning. There should be more focus and awareness of the influence of the relationship between parents and employees. It is difficult without parent's cooperation and support from the community. I do question whether or not language nests strengthen an endangered language among preschool children. It is giving the children an opportunity to be bilingual and a domain to use the less spoken language but still the free play is interrupted by comments like, "I speak because they tell me too".

Among families where the parent's generation doesn't know the language (e.g. Lule Sámi chap. 3), language nests are thought to be an important resource for the language to be taken into use. This is especially true in this case study where media programs in the Sámi language are strongly influenced by another dialect or variant that can be distinctly different for the children. The language nest I researched did benefit the children, giving them a language focused environment. However, the nest will not manage to bring the language home nor create a family language shift without cooperation from the parents. This is seen especially through the quotes I recorded during my fieldwork, as e.g. "I don't speak because it's the weekend". One might question if the language nest method is working, when I observed this expression throughout my fieldwork. Taking into account the youth's own initiative lately creating NuorajTV (chap. 3), I see a positive development in the Lule Sámi community with great interest and awareness around the language choice for preschool children. I claim that even if it is the most difficult factor to change: "even at home there has been a little bit of change".

5 Chapter 5: “Because they tell me to speak Sámi in the daycare”

“I speak my favorite language because that’s who I am.
We teach our children our favorite language because
we want them to know who they are.”

- Johnson, C. Tohono O’odham elder, 2002-

While writing this thesis I’ve asked: what factors influence preschool children in a language choice situation? I reflect on children’s ability of becoming fluently bilingual speakers and if this is an opportunity to secure a linguistic diversity and thus strengthen less spoken languages.

The stated purpose of this thesis was to answer two research questions:

To what degree can preschool children contribute to strengthening an endangered minority language by acquiring it in a preschool institution such as a language nest?

What strategies can be brought out by outsiders to help revitalizing a language through improving preschooler’s linguistic environment?

The first research question has been answered by looking reflexively at my own research experience (see chap.4) and by introducing the early childhood immersion program, language nest (see chap.1). This strategy identifies a possible method for preschool children to learn a second language outside their home as is used among many languages as a strong method. I questioned if it is, due to the child expression I have heard in the daycare. My research examines how preschool children through language nest have strengthened the Lule Sámi language. Preschool children’s language acquisition is an ability to contribute to strengthen an endangered language, if their environment is a proper foundation for the language to develop.

The second question has been answered by my own research observations (see chap.3). There has been a request from both, employees, parents and children for more language promoting resources (see chap.3) Even if my main focus is on spoken language and communication, other linguistic resources are also important to influencing the environment of a child. I examined which linguistic resources are available in the Lule Sámi area. These are resources where outsiders not knowing the language can contribute to securing a good linguistic foundation for preschool children learning an endangered language. I have initiated the dubbing of an animated film from a foreign language to Lule Sámi, a production to be published on national TV which will strengthen the value and throw light on a less spoken language. Present initiatives and efforts from the youth in Tysfjord (NuorajTV) indicate effort to make the Lule Sámi language modern and “cool”.

5.1 *Theoretical, Practical, and Academic Implications*

This thesis has raised a number of theoretical, practical, and academic issues. One of the theoretical issues raised in the thesis is the inside/outside role of the researcher in the research process. I have used an own developed method in my research, the breastfeeding method which made it possible for me to observe without interrupt children's play and influence their language choice. I have also brought my family to adapt more to the setting of the daycare (see chap.4). Within the daycare the challenge is to get the language into free play and to bring the language home. Through previous research I have observed the lack of focus the relation parents vs. employees (see chap.3&4). This thesis has also highlighted the current lack of material resources literature and media (chap.3).

5.1.1 “I speak my favorite language because that's who I am”

My materials indicate that parent's attitude and effort is the main challenge. I therefore reformulate my question to: what factors influence parents in a language choice situation? Johnson (2002) states how children's attitudes are affected by their parent's attitudes. The specific language that one grew up with will always be an essential part of one's identity, but due to the attitudes of the surrounding environment some choose to deny it. Even if in a stage of denying it, one can have the opportunity to recall it (chap.1). Parent's attitudes are a consequence of history, the ethno-cultural-political history, which holds a strong position in the Lule Sámi area (chap.2). A professor years ago told me that history repeats itself. What these parents experienced through their childhood set the frame of how they raised their children. If the new generation speakers develop a positive attitude towards the language, they would be more likely to transmit the language further. I have illustrated how preschool children are influenced by many factors growing up creating their own attitudes to the linguistic diversity. These attitudes create the destiny for which languages will survive. How is the strongest or most useful language defined? The main point of all languages is to function as a resource for communication not only as symbols. It is a challenge for this parent's generation to overcome the stigma against speaking the language.

5.1.2 “We teach our children our favorite language”

The challenge is though that the children speak a language “because they tell me to” (chap. 3). It would be wrong to say that children at such an early stage choose and want to speak a certain language. Mainly this choice is taken by their parents with the hope of a valuable outcome.

Children though are open to and easy to motivate to learn and explore a second language. Parent's attitude towards languages are reflected through their children. Some adult informants seem to expect that children sent to a language nest will just shift language without any other attempt of interaction. Previous research is not debating the linguistic relation and communication between employees and parents, who based on my research, seem to be an important factor influencing preschool children. A relation I have observed is the linguistic "environment-triangle" between daycare, home and outside (figure 4.1). Children observe the interactions between employees and parents e.g. when they are delivered and picked up, and this does influence their attitudes towards the importance of using the Sámi language. However, it is a challenge to get employees to speak Sámi with the parents since some of the parents lack knowledge of the language. The employees and parents first got to know each other by using Norwegian. A sudden language shift can feel more unnatural among adults than children.

By looking at my assumption and hypothesis written before arriving to field I expected to find, in the aim of language nest, an environment with both employers and children only using Lule Sámi language. This was not the situation due to last year's development of being a larger children group with fewer employers per children. I particularly focused on awareness of influencing the children to choose to speak Sámi in free play. Constant effort, without relaxing and taken further development for granted, is important. Letting the radio in the daycare broadcast only Norwegian can seem harmless, but it send signals that Norwegian is the useful source of information. Using Norwegian language for commanding the children when it is really important that they react quickly does send signals. The fight for a language is like being in the front line of a war: one should never feel secure or fall asleep but be constantly defending (Urheim, interview fieldwork 2008).

5.2 *Relevance to Indigenous Studies*

The findings of this thesis are especially relevant and important to indigenous studies because of the implicit goal in indigenous studies to promote indigenous culture, whereby the languages are a valuable part of the indigenous heritage and identity. Indigenous languages are often in the position of being endangered and thus in the need of revitalization. This thesis has given important focus on a less spoken indigenous language and the process of language revitalization through preschool children. My thesis is a study of a local indigenous language spoken by numerically few people. From a global perspective this research seems narrow, but minority

languages can learn from each other's linguistic development. These individual strategies, which are presented, are methods that can also be used for other languages (see Todal, 2007; Jansson, 2001:73-74). One aspect of indigenous studies is letting the group itself take the leading initiative, as e.g. through establishing language nests. Indigenous studies, more than other areas, has a responsibility to not only inform about the indigenous languages situations through its research but also suggest efforts and take initiative for promoting language revitalization in practice.

5.2.1 Implications for Future Research

This thesis has opened up a discussion that lays the foundation for future research. Pasanen asked, the crucial question (2003, 3): will children, who have learnt the minority language in the nest, transmit it to their own children? Árran mánájjárdde is still too new to answer this crucial question. Among the Lule Sámi language it's still too early to see results. This is an interesting question that demands further research. It is an important consideration when evaluating if the language nest is among the most important and effective method for revitalizing a language. Positionally they will naturally choose the language within their family and raise their children with intergenerational transmitting. The aim for the language nest is to be unnecessary. If the language is learnt within the families, the children will not have to come to the language nest to learn the language. When this is achieved, it is a sign of success and shows that language nests are no longer needed. In this scenario, the language of Árran mánájjárdde would actually become revitalized (Todal, 2007:100). When preschool children acquire a second language outside the home well, there will within a time period no longer be a need for the program, but until then one has to consistently offer the needed factors as discussed.

An interesting approach would be to further compare this research with the situation of the Lule Sámi preschool children on the Swedish side of the border, where there are also Lule Sámi daycares. Pasanen (2003) made a similar study on the language nest of Inari Sámi and Karelian (chap.1). In this study, as in mine, the daycare program has been of great value, as most of the families involved lack the knowledge of the language to support the children in learning Sámi at home. Unskilled mother tongue speakers play an important role in daycare for many linguistic minorities, among the Māori as well as in the South Sámi project (e.g. Todal 2007; 2006). The main question is whether the language nest strengthens the Lule Sámi language and if this again helps promote other Sámi variants (e.g. Pite and Ume) by using the same strategy? Further it is

important to ask if the Lule Sámi language survives as a future spoken language among the youngest generation. How can Lule Sámi learn from the development of other languages (e.g. Inari Sámi)? While much can be learned from looking at what other communities have done or not done community members need to decide on their own what their language goals are and how they can best meet those goals. I will encourage future research into these questions. It is my hope that this knowledge will be useful to others linguistic groups than the Lule Sámi and will live on long after this thesis is placed on the shelf.

5.2.2 “Because we want them to know who they are”

“Let’s begin with the youngest”, not only because it’s those that learn the language most easily and fluently, but because it’s the future generation producing an attitude towards languages. Early effort is the key for revitalizing a language, as seen through my research. Children are influenced by their parent’s attitude, but also “it’s strange just how fast they forget who they truly are or have been (Andreassen, 2007)” and adopt new attitudes.

What makes a speaker shift language? There must be a reason to keep a language; there is less value of conserving a language if it will not be used. Motivation and attitudes are important aspects. It’s all about the need for a language, which again is a motivation driving the will and creating a linguistic attitude, awareness and motivation among children facing a less spoken language. If the youth, as seen through recent years change attitude, and see an advantage in using the less spoken language, there is hope. If it’s going further to a wish to incorporate new speakers and expand, there is more than a hope but a unique possibility for the language to spread like wildfire. If they have put the language to more practical use, this can positively influence the other age groups.

I doubt that the language nest itself can do the job towards a language shift in a community, but the language nest is a good foundation for supporting families with a lack of language skills and knowledge, as seen through my research. Especially in situations where this is not an actively used language in the children’s family, daycare created a strong foundation for developing an active and strong language. The children achieve a good competence to understand and could make use of the language, but here it is important that the free play also naturally occurs in Sámi, not only the communication between the employed and the children in the daycare. My impression of the language choice is that most children are very skilled in understanding what is said to them in Sámi, while the eldest are good at expressing themselves in Sámi and shifting

language's. There is no life for the language to develop if not brought home, and for this to happen the preschool children need help from their parents to make a family language shift.

Among families in Tysfjord, having children has raised the question and awareness among parents; which language should be transmitted and why? Parent's language choices are taken "because they want their children to know who they are." By allowing parents to consider the choice of a Sámi day care environment, preschool children have managed to contribute to the strengthening and securing of the future of less spoken languages. I am optimistic for the future, but only as long as the hard work and awareness continues. The challenge lays in getting children's free play to naturally occur in Sámi and avoid Sámi in becoming a duty language that is spoken: "because they tell us to speak Sámi, in the daycare". A language's possibility for being revitalized is after all the question of: "To speak or not to speak?"

6 References

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Internet and Local Newspaper: (all web sources were able to access the 22.11.2010)

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- Lexin bildteman, Lule Sámi dictionary with images & sound <http://tinyurl.com/272m7xh>
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Other resources (e.g. CDs and Sound-files)

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Tjoahkkájgæsos julevsábmáj [summarizing my thesis in Lule Sámi]

Svenn-Egil Knutsen Duolljá ja Heidi B. Andersen

Sámástit vaj ij sámástit mánárgården

Majt sámegiela mánárgårde merkaj ja vidjura ma giellaválljimij vájkkudi.

Ietjam oajvvedahkamusán le mujna gatjálvis: Gåktu ja man láhkáj máhtti ávddåskåvllámáná viehkedit ájteduvvam gielav nannimin, oahppamin dárogielav nubbengiellan sijda ålggolin.

Ietjam guoradallamin lav vuojnnám vidjurijt ma vájkkudi mánáj giellaválljimij Árrana mánárgården. Máná agev barggijda sámásti, valla stuvssimin ietjá mánáj siegen dárusti gå bargge ælla danna. Máná li smidá målsotijt gielav ja sámástit gå bargge alodi, valla dárbbu l adnegoahdet gielav gå bessi galluga stuvssit. Bargge vuorodi sámegiela adnet mánájda ja gaskanisá. Bargge hasodi gielav anátjit mánáj bále. Valla bargge ja æjgáda ælla gåhtsemin ietjasa aktisasj giellaválljimij hárráj. Åejgáda ienemusát dárusti ietjasa mánájda ja aj iehtjádij mánájda.

Mánárgården li moattelágasj dájma ma li viehkken nannimin giellatjehpudagáv ja sámegiela adnemav. Smávva giellajuohkusij, bæjválasj æjvvalimbáttáj mánárgården ja aktisasj manádime baktu, vuorodi gielajn hárijidallat. Håstalussan la giellaåvddågåvåjt gávnnat gudi unnep mánájt giellaválljimij dålvedi. Mánájda gudi mánárgårddáj årrat ålggi (nuoramus máná), le dat åvcken. Giellaåvddånibme lij rievddam mañemus jagev åvddåla guoradallamav dahkiv. Juogos lij stuorrum ja juohkka barggij håldon lidjin ienep máná. Dåt diles lij båhtusin åvddånimes gånna máná gudi åvddåla sámástin dárustahttjåjin stuvssidahttijn. Gatjálvis la mij la sivvan dán giellamålssomij. Le gus mánáj miellaguotto rievddam, le gus ieneplågogiella geldulabbo jali vuojnni máná dat la ienep ”åjggeguoddelis”?

Jårggålittjat dáv åvddånimev, vierttiji bargge oadtjot ienep åjgev mánájda unnep juohkusijn. Bargge vierttiji oadtjot måhttelisvuodav barggat mánáj smávva juohkusijn gånna assti “tjåhkudallat” ja låjddit mánáj stuvssimav, bådttjimin ja måvtåstuhttemin sámegiela adnet.

Máná vierttiji ienebut vuoroduvvat gå håldadimev. Dárbbu l ienep giellatjehppijda jus galggá gåtsedit juohkka avta máná giellaåvddånimev. Bargge ja æjgáda vierttiji gåtsedit giellaválljima gaskanisá. Vaj sámegiella ij galga sjaddat ”mánárgårddegiellan” le æjgádij dårja ja åvdåsvåsstådus ihkeva åjnas. Gulliv akta mánná lij javllam ”mån sámástav danen gå ållessjattuga

gáhttju muv sámástittjat” ja ”mán iv sámásta danen gá la ájllek. Mánnodagá l vas mánárgárddeájgge”. Æjgáda vierttiji vuosedit ienep berustimev ja majt giella merkaj. Giella viertti aneduvvat sijdajn aj. Dát la hásstalussan danen gá stuorra oasse æjgátbuolvas ij la iesj oadtjum máhttelisvuodav gielav oahppat. Danen la ájnas boahhte buolvan le válljimmáhttelisvuohta.

Árran Mánárgárdde dahká buorre ja ájnas vuodobargov. Mánájn li máhttelisvuohta gullat, dádjadit ja adnet julevsámegiela bæjvállattjat. Ij gávnnu buorre tjoavdos gáktu vuorbástuvvat, valla mánárgárdde l juo boahám muhtem rádjáj ja álgadum bargujn ásadi áđá ássudagáv gánná mánájt sieradi guovte juohkusij álldara hárráj. Dát sámegiela mánárgárde birás la riek ájnas, állagasj mánáj familjan gánná giella ij vuojka gullu. Mánnárgárden la máhttelisvuohta ávddánahttet dájmalasj ja nanos gielav. Máná oadtju buorre máhtudagáv dádjadit ja adnet sámegiela, valla ájnas la sámegiella aj sjaddá luondulasj gá li galluga stuvssimin, ij dássju guládallamgiellan mánáj ja barggij gaskan mánárgárden. Ietjam vuojno milta mij gullu giellaválljimij li ienemus oasse mánájs smidá dádjadittjat mij sidjij sábmáj javladuvvá, stuoráp máná li smidá ávddánbuvttáttit sámegiellaj. Hásstalus la oadtjot gielav gullutjit luondulattjat gá li galluga stuvssimin, vaj e sjatta vælggogisvuodagiela sáhkadi: “danen gá gáhttju mijáv sámástittjat”. Ájnas la vuojnnet divna vidjurijt ma mánáj vájkkudi, vidjura dagu dat giella mav máná ielvviji aneduvvá barggij ja æjgádj gaskan duola dagu doalvodijn ja viettadijn. Ienep berustime ja dádjadime baktu mij guosská giellaválljimij dáj mañemus jagijt, lav mán mávtuk julevsámegiela boahteájggáj, jus sæmmi ratjástibme joarkká. Juska dal hæhttu rievddat gássjelamos vijor. Mánárgárde álggolin giella dálla ienebut aneduvvá.

Sammendrag [summarizing my thesis in Norwegian]

Å snakke eller ikke snakke samisk i barnehagen

Betydningen av et samisk-språklig barnehagemiljø og faktorer som påvirker språkvalget.

I min masteroppgave stiller jeg spørsmålet: Hvordan og i hvilken grad kan førskolebarn være med å bidra til å styrke trua språk, gjennom å lære et andrespråk utenfor familien og hjemmet.

Gjennom mitt feltarbeid har jeg observert faktorer som påvirker språkvalg til barna i Árran mánájgárdde . De bruker samisk konsekvent med de ansatte, men norsk i fri lek med andre barn når de ansatte ikke er tilstede. Barna er meget flinke til å skifte språk og bruke samisk på oppfordring, men det gjenstår å få det inn mer i fri og spontan lek. Det er en god fokus blant ansatte på bruk av samisk overfor barna og hverandre. De ansatte oppfordrer til bruk av samisk i forhold til barna. Ansatte og foreldre er derimot ikke så bevist på språkvalget dem mellom. Foreldrene snakker mest norsk til både egne barn og andres.

Barnehagen har mange aktiviteter som er med på å styrke språkferdigheter og bruk av samisk. Gjennom små språkgrupper, daglige samling for hele barnehagen og felles turer, fokuseres det på å trene inn språket. Utfordringer de står overfor er språkidealer som leder yngre barn til valg av språk. De som starter tidlig(de yngste i barnehagen) har en fordel. Språkutviklingen hadde endret seg det siste året før jeg gjorde mitt feltarbeid. Gruppen var blitt større og det var flere barn per ansatt. Dette hadde resultert i en utvikling hvor tidligere samisksnakkende barn begynte å bruke norsk mer under lek. En bør stille spørsmål ved årsaken til dette språkskiftet. Er det fordi barnas holdninger har endret seg, at de synes majoritetsspråket er mer spennende og utfordrende eller at de merker at det er mer ”aktuelt”?

For å snu denne utviklingen, må de ansatte ha tid til færre barn om gangen. De ansatte må ha mulighet for å ha barna i små grupper hvor de kan ”sette seg ned” og lede leken, gjennom å oppfordre og motiverer til bruk av samisk.

Det må bli mer fokus på barna enn på det administrative. Flere giellatjehppi behøves for å kunne konsentrere seg mer om hvert enkelt barns språkutvikling. Ansatte og foreldre bør bli mer bevisst

på deres interne språkvalg overfor hverandre. Foreldrenes støtte og ansvar er viktig for å unngå at samisk blir et ”barnehagespråk”, eller som jeg fikk høre ”jeg snakker samisk fordi de voksne ber meg om det” og ”jeg snakker ikke samisk fordi det er helg. Det er på mandag det er barnehage igjen”. Foreldrene må vise mer åpen interesse og betydning av språket. Språket må taes mer i bruk også i hjemmene. Dette er en utfordring siden store deler av foreldregenerasjonen ikke selv har fått lære språket. Det er derfor viktig at neste generasjon får valgmuligheten.

Árran mánájjárdde gjør en god og viktig innsats og er et godt grunnlag for at barn har mulighet for å høre, forstå og bruke lulesamisk språk daglig. Det finnes ingen oppskrift på suksess, men barnehagen er allerede godt på vei med oppstart av ny avdeling og å splitte en ellers stor aldersspredt gruppe i to. Dette samiske språklige barnehagemiljøet har stor betydning, spesielt i situasjonen hvor dette ikke er et aktivt brukt språk i barnets familie. Barnehagen gir mulighet for utvikling av et aktivt og sterkt språk. Barna oppnår en god kompetanse i å forstå og kunne gjøre bruk av språket, men det er viktig at også fri lek blir naturlig på samisk, ikke kun kommunikasjonen mellom ansatte og barn i barnehagen. Mitt inntrykk av språkvalget er at de fleste er meget dyktige til å forstå hva som blir sagt til dem på samisk, de eldste er flinke til å uttrykke seg på samisk. Utfordringen ligger i å få det til å bli naturlig i fri lek og ikke bli et pliktsspråk som snakkes: ”fordi de ber oss om å snakke samisk”. Det er også viktig å bli klar over alle faktorer som påvirker barnet, faktorer som også innebærer språket de observerer blir brukt mellom ansatte og foreldre ved e. g. levering og henting. Med økt interesse og bevissthet de siste år omkring språkvalget, er jeg positiv til fremtiden for Lule samisk språk om samme innsats fortsetter. Selv om det er den vanskeligste faktoren å endre, også utenfor barnehagen er språket begynt å bli tatt mer i bruk.