Personalizing the Intangible through Historical Acts and Artifacts: Language Attitudes, Language History, and Language Heritage in the Classroom and Beyond

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You're standing in line waiting to pay for your groceries or to buy movie tickets and hear people behind you speaking in Spanish or Korean or Arabic. How many times have you overheard others say or thought to yourself (in your own dis-ease), "Why don't they speak English? Don't they know they're in America?"

What We Don't Know

Over twenty years ago, sociolinguist Dell Hymes wrote that "the United States is a country rich in many things, but poor in knowledge of itself with regard to language" (v). That was then and now things have changed very little.[1] Yet, as communities in the United States grow increasingly complex culturally and linguistically, knowledge and understanding of language and cultural issues become increasingly essential for our survival as a democratic society. When that complexity is further complicated by global politics, this need becomes all the more vital.[2]

Broad-based education, from elementary through university, is particularly critical in this regard, for despite the non-specialist's general reluctance to expound on matters of physics or mathematics, few would hesitate to express an unfounded negative opinion about such linguistic matters as another person's way of speaking. Such negative language attitudes, unfounded and unconscious as they may be, are not innocuous. They can and do have damaging effects on others, usually those who are most disenfranchised—children, immigrants, the poor—in terms not only of self-esteem, but of language rights.[3] As I have written elsewhere, "in U.S. history, positive and negative feelings about one's own and other people's ways of speaking have justified discrimination, segregated school children, privileged others, and served as a reason for social advancement or degradation, a point of solidarity or divisiveness, a basis for economic assimilation or exclusion" (2003, 109).

Do we know how our language attitudes can threaten and have threatened the democratic rights and values that we profess? Although the bases for answering this question may be discussed explicitly in some university linguistics or education classes, the study of language issues has been traditionally and notoriously inaccessible to the general public. People develop and make judgments about language unconsciously all day, every day. Yet, as with the majority of university students in my "Introduction to Language" classes, they have never thought of language in a metalinguistic sense before: what the nation's language history may be, what their family language heritage is in that context, what heritage language(s) they may have lost, where and how they and others acquired their particular ways of speaking, where their assumptions come from about their own and others' speech, and what effects those attitudes may have on themselves and others. Efforts must be made in more classrooms to address this knowledge gap.

In two previously written essays, I outline a pedagogy of language awareness that attempts to address the questions above, a pedagogy developed in teaching hundreds of students over ten

years that may provide suggestions for teachers at any level who share my concerns.[4] In both essays, I show how reflecting on one's language heritage through writing—language autobiographies in particular—may be the foundation for a deeper appreciation and empathy for the histories and heritages of others, a respect for their linguistic rights. In the following pages, I expand on this pedagogy to suggest ways of delving further with our students (of any age) into the relationships between the places where they live and their language heritage: first, by exploring regional histories in order to understand and help students understand their social, economic, and political backgrounds as language users; and second, based on my recent research at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History, by considering the recovery of family language and literacy artifacts and other assignments as ways of documenting, understanding, and personalizing concepts as unconscious, abstract, or intangible as *language heritage*, *heritage language*, *language maintenance*, *language shift*, *language loss*, and *language attitudes*.

Discovering Language Loss–Insight I (from the Teacher): What's Missing Here?

Permit me to ground my comments in my current teaching experience. I am an Asian American faculty member at a public, regional, urban university in the mid-west, far from my roots in the Pacific and Pacific Rim. Although a third-generation American like many of my students, in some respects I have entered a foreign culture in America's "heartland" and have had to learn its ways through observation. This outsider position can have some benefits, one being an attentiveness to what insiders consider obvious and take for granted.

"Introduction to Language," a course mentioned earlier, is required of and designed primarily for aspiring K-12 teachers. My students in these classes have taught me a lot about the local culture, as well as how and what to teach them, so long as I stay

alert to their cues. At our first class meeting, for example, when I ask them what languages they have studied, they list the languages taught in the local schools (French, Spanish, sometimes German and Italian). When I ask them what languages they speak or understand, most indicate that they remember little or nothing from their foreign language classes and, therefore, speak only English. The occasional student may still understand or be able to speak to a grandparent in a heritage language but may discount this in answer to the question, perhaps not recognizing or valuing his/her bilingualism. From this simple survey, I understand that many students in my classes see themselves linguistically in narrow, one-dimensional terms: they speak "only English" in communities where monolingualism in English is the norm; is it any surprise, then, that they unconsciously measure things by some English-only standards? They believe that they speak the so-called "standard language," observe that English is the language of power in this country, and have never questioned what that means.

Of course, it would be more accurate to describe the students from the area as being largely monolingual in the English <u>of the region</u>–of Northeast Ohio/Western Pennsylvania—and, as they soon learn, they may be quite versatile in various dialects and speech styles. What's missing initially is the students' awareness of the region's and their individual cultural variety and rich linguistic history. The Mahoning Valley, after all, is in the "Rust Belt," a name that conjures up a bygone era when immigrants from different parts of Europe, the American South, and later Puerto Rico poured into Youngstown and cities like it to work in steel mills, coal mines, and related industries during the Industrial Revolution. My students are the children, grandchildren, or great grandchildren of those immigrants and migrants, but few have a sense of their history; few understand or have articulated the relationships between their heritage languages and cultures, between their cultural histories and personal identities; even fewer realize why they are monolingual and what they have lost in their monolingualism.

How can we as teachers aid students in developing language awareness? How can this process of unconscious language shift and language loss be reversed to restore instead a multi-dimensionality and texture to the histories and lives of those who would want it? How can we provide our students with the tools to change ethnocentric attitudes? Especially for those of us teaching local students in grades K-12 and at regional colleges and universities, especially where immigration has been on-going or recent, an analysis and understanding of the PLACE, its history, and its influence on the language and culture of our students become critical for both teachers and learners. Citing examples of the specific ethnic groups unique to a given region, we might explore how we can use settlement and immigration patterns and economic and labor histories to understand—and aid our students in understanding—the unique linguistic character and history of their surroundings. This approach provides excellent opportunities for English/language arts teachers to collaborate with social studies teachers in middle and secondary schools or with colleagues in disciplines like history, geography, economics, and labor studies in colleges and universities.

Discovering Language Loss–Insight II (from the Students): What's Missing Here?

The project that I have found most effective in raising the consciousness of students regarding language involves personalizing what seems intangible: their researching and writing about their individual language backgrounds—their personal and family experiences with language. Following an extended discussion of concepts like language variety, language maintenance, language shift, and language loss, the students' personal explorations culminate in language autobiographies, opportunities to synthesize, internalize, and situate much of their learning about language in their own experience. At the beginning of the semester, I provide the following guidelines for this writing assignment that is to be completed late in the term:

> This project asks you to explore your personal language development in an analytical narrative. You will need to dig into your language "roots" like a detective and cover the following topics: a) your family language history, b) your own acquisition of language, c) your language development, and d) the development of your own language attitudes and awareness. You may need to interview family members in your search.

In the course of researching and writing this autobiographical narrative, many students begin to see for themselves what's missing. First, they realize what they don't know about their family histories, linguistic and/or ethnic. This knowledge gap often provides a great incentive for discovery. In the process, they may learn about family efforts at language maintenance, or the poignancy of language shift and loss, in some cases, identifying the forces that conspired to squelch the continued use of their heritage language(s). Jeanine's narrative provides an example of the insights students may gain and express through such a writing assignment[5]:

> My great grandfathers came to Ellis Island searching for the American dream, a better life. When they arrived in this ethnocentric world they learned that the Italian language was thought to hold less intelligence than English does. . . .
>
> As a small child I began to speak Italian fluently but was strongly discouraged by my great grandparents [from doing] so. I thought I was doing something terribly wrong when I spoke Italian, since I was scolded. From that point on they never spoke Italian in front of me unless they were speaking about something they did not want me to know about—Christmas presents, swear words, or other family members' turmoil. The family suffered a language loss because my dad and aunt were not allowed to speak Italian either. . . . Recently I asked my grandparents why they did not want

> anyone in the family to speak Italian besides them. They said that they did not want me to have to suffer [as] they did because of the way I spoke when I was going to get a job. They continued to say that people are thought to be more important and intelligent if they speak "standard English." They wanted their family to be accepted and respected in an English speaking society that thought speakers of other languages were less intelligent.

As in Jeanine's case, self-discovery of language loss can serve as a powerful motivation for language awareness, sometimes even recovery, on some level. Such insights may reverse the course of unquestioned assimilation and break down the polarizing identity of "whiteness" that may develop among many European ethnics.

Equally important, as students develop an understanding of their family's and their individual encounters with language, they may also identify another missing part of language awareness—the origins of their own language attitudes. At some point, they might realize how naturally they might become ethnocentric through language and about language, depending on the breadth of their exposure to different language varieties and cultural environments. In the past, some students have referred to their attitudes in terms of closed- or narrow-mindedness, stereotyping, prejudices, immaturity, and/or ethnocentrism, on the one hand, and shame or embarrassment, on the other, a conspiracy, perhaps, of identifying either with the dominant cultural group (which blindly takes itself for granted) or a subordinated group (which often feels a need to suppress stigmatizing markers). Providing students not only with conceptual tools for analysis, but with opportunities to reflect in writing on their own experiences, insights, and learning often encourages what James Sledd refers to as a "deeper questioning" and "deeper social awareness" in his article "Grammar for Social Awareness in Time of Class Warfare" (37). Indeed, students who are linguistically in the majority or in the minority in any given location may discover that they have

been victims of linguistic ignorance and intolerance in very different ways.

Personalizing the Intangible: Experiencing Language Loss in/through Historical Acts

Students may gain further understanding of the consistencies and inconsistencies between democratic values, on the one hand, and language attitudes and language loss, on the other, through a study of specific social and political events and policies. Over the course of the Nation's history–and even prior to its establishment, for that matter—language policies have affected the lives of tens of thousands of people in more or less perceptible ways. Long before 1776, for example, Native peoples were regarded as "civilized" or "uncivilized" by early colonialists like the British, depending on their English-speaking ability and conversion to Christianity. Later, Americanization policies in the mid-nineteenth century continued this view and justified forced language shift as Native children from various tribes were taken from their homes, placed in off-reservation boarding schools, and punished for using their native tongues rather than English.[6] And posters, such as that pictured in Plate 1,[7] dating from 1917 and World War I's Americanization campaign, appeared in

Plate 1

languages like English, Italian, Hungarian, Slovenian, Polish, and Hebrew (in that order), encouraging immigrants and their children to go to school and learn English—"the Language of America"—in favor of their home languages.

Policies based on linguistic and cultural discrimination have also wreaked havoc on specific individuals and groups in periods preceding and during wars. As Heath points out,

> throughout the history of the United States, whenever speakers of varieties of English or other languages have been viewed as politically, socially, or economically threatening, their language has become a focus for arguments in favor of both restrictions of their use and imposition of Standard English. (10)

Thus, during World War I, German Americans, who from pre-Revolutionary War times had experienced varying degrees of language discrimination, once again fell victim to xenophobia. According to Hernández-Chávez,

> National Councils of Defense were formed that lobbied against German; New York passed English literacy laws for voting. In Illinois, German was forbidden in the names of corporations (Baron 1990: 117) and in Ohio, fines were instituted for using German in public. Nebraska passed laws that banned German in open meetings, made English the official language, and forbade foreign language instruction. . . . The national Immigrant Act of 1917 imposed quotas to exclude immigrants who could not read English, and in the same year, the Trading with the Enemy Act controlled foreign language publications (Baron 1990, 108). In education, the teaching of German was banned in States across the country. (149)

Under such conditions of forced language shift, contrary to conditions in a free society, it is little wonder that the German language was lost in many families.

In the early twentieth century, Japanese Americans similarly became the targets of prejudice and increasing hysteria directed against them and their language. Large-scale Japanese immigration to Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland dates back to 1868, when the Caucasian oligarchy in the Hawaiian Islands recruited Japanese contract laborers to work on their sugar plantations.[8] Despite the dire need for this labor, however, racial discrimination in the form of restrictive naturalization laws excluded Japanese immigrants and other people of color from American citizenship. Moreover, in the Hawai'i of the 1920s, the same oligarchy sought to institute further repressive measures against the Japanese community as a whole by "abolish[ing] Japanese language schools" and "suppress[ing] the Japanese language press" (Tamura 38). Disregarding the constitutional rights of Japanese families whose American-born children were, after all, U.S. citizens, they went so far as to attempt control of Japanese school teaching personnel, curriculum, and textbooks.[9] Language shift, however, was already in motion. As Tamura points out, ". . .most Nisei [generation born in the U.S.] were bilingual in that they could converse rudimentarily [in Japanese] with their parents and other Issei [the immigrant generation], but they were not fluent in speaking and writing the language" (47). When the Pacific War broke out two decades later, U.S. authorities shut down the Japanese language schools, summarily arrested many of their principals and teachers, and incarcerated them in U.S. Department of Justice internment camps. With such factors as linguistic, military, and civil repression at play, not only were civil rights violated, but language shift was again inevitable and language loss was not uncommon by the third generation.

Another example of factors leading to language shift and loss can be seen in the specific effects of industrialization—new safety and compulsory compensation laws in an increasingly industrial society. Pressure on industries was passed on to workers. Heath

writes that "laborers' knowledge of English and acquisition of minimal literacy skills became economic assets to employers" (16), so much so that immigrant handbooks stated the need for English explicitly:

> English is absolutely indispensable to the workman. He needs it in order to find work. He needs it to take direction and have his work explained. He needs it unless he is willing to work for the smallest wages with no hope of increase. . . . He needs it to protect himself without requiring the help of the law. He needs it to understand words of warning and keep out of danger, for every year hundreds of immigrants are hurt or killed in America because they do not understand the shouts of warning, or do not know how to read danger signals, when a few English words might have saved their lives. (qtd. in Heath 16)

For such reasons, in industrial areas like Youngstown, language shift often began with the breadwinners in immigrant families, but at some point, the participation of the whole family, as in Jeanine's experience above, was hardly uncommon.

Personalizing the Intangible: Hearing and Reading Stories of the Place

Considering this historical background of ethnic and linguistic discrimination and economic pressure in the U.S. and in order to aid students in the process of doing their individual language autobiography research projects, teachers might work independently or together with colleagues to recreate the language landscape of their own communities and regions. The actual regional and cultural variations in American English—as well as stereotypes and attitudes about them–can be made visually and audibly explicit using such films as "American Tongues" (PBS) and "Black on White" in *The Story of English* series. More specific to their geographical area, teachers could use audio tapes, videos,

and local informants as guests to recreate some of the rich stories of a region–languages, dialects, folk tales and folklore, local characters, and so on.

The area now referred to as "Youngstown and environs," for example, was founded as early as 1797, and Youngstown, together with other settlements in the Mahoning Valley, came into its own during the Industrial Revolution. At one time, the region challenged Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, as the leader in iron and steel production.[10] As it prospered, immigrants principally from western, southern, and eastern Europe poured into the area. Ethnic neighborhoods developed, reflecting the cultures and smells and tongues of Italian, Polish, Slovak, Ukrainian, Greek, Croatian and other newcomers. According to Blue, "most of the immigrants felt attracted to their new country, yet compelled to rebuild their old way of life. They continued to speak their native language, . . . formed social clubs, built churches and synagogues, and printed foreign language newspapers to preserve their culture and values" (102). African Americans were recruited as strike breakers,[11] and Latinos, mainly Puerto Ricans, settled there in the 1940's. The multilingual labor force undoubtedly experienced language shift due to the economic pressures discussed by Heath above.

Teachers in communities like this might use historical books—the local counterparts of *Youngstown, Past and Present: A History of the Settlement of the Mahoning Valley; Rise and Progress of Its Mining and Manufacturing Industries, with an Exhibit of the Trade and Commerce of Youngstown for 1873-4* (1875) and *History of Youngstown and the Mahoning Valley Ohio, Vol. I* (1921), for their detailed albeit biased views of regional life,[12] as well as more recent oral history collections and books of regional history like *Steeltown U.S.A.* (Linkon and Russo), which seek to situate historical description more particularly in the lives and representations of individuals. Historical museums and societies also provide valuable information and artifacts useful in the classroom to depict elements of regional culture, language, and history. Another local example in Youngstown is the Center of Industry and Labor (the

Steel Museum), which provides a clear depiction of the multiethnic, multilingual population that was the backbone of the steel industry. Using such local resources as these also aids in establishing collaborative relationships between the university and local communities.

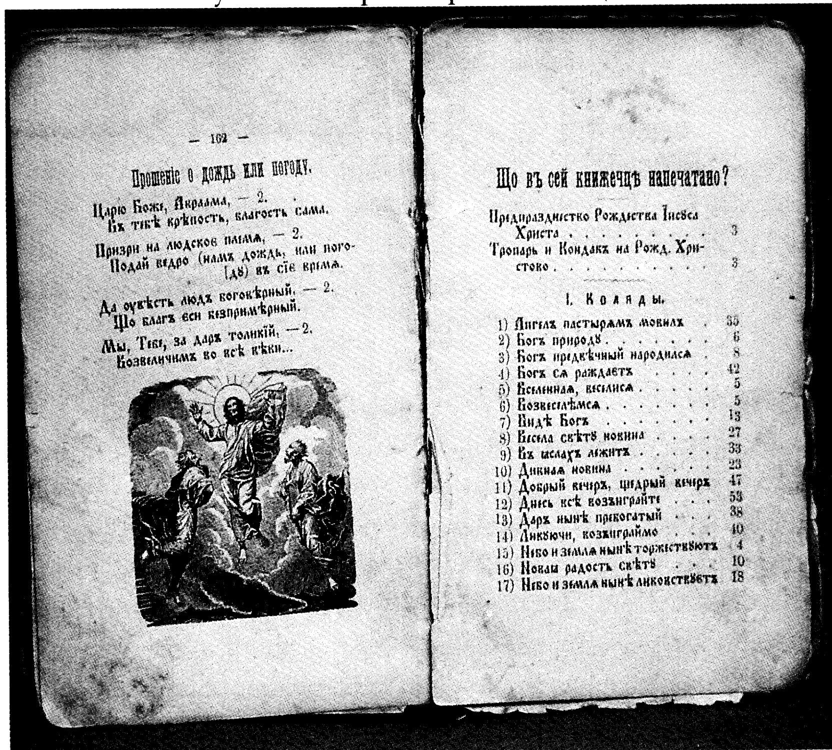
"My Favorite Things": Personalizing the Intangible through Family Language Artifacts

> *. . . having it in my possession, I would sit many times and glance through it, gradually forgetting how to read it and the music to it. The book traveled with me throughout [the] U.S.A. for 43 years.*
>
> — Anonymous Ukrainian donor, National Museum of American History

As an extension of the work that I've done with students on documenting and recapturing their language histories through autobiographical writing, I recently spent several months initiating a related project as a scholar-in-residence at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Having worked in a previous life with museums and artisans, I had come to value objects and artifacts not only as material things having literal meaning (e.g., a book of songs), but as embodiments of symbolic/metaphoric meanings that were imparted to them by their makers, owners, descendants, or viewers (e.g., my mother's cherished songbook). I thus began a search in the Cultural History Division's collections at the National Museum of American History (NMAH) for artifacts that might illustrate efforts by individuals or groups to continue use of their native languages in the face of immigration to the United States.

Among the various items that I identified as reflecting immigrant language and literacy, the most revealing examples were artifacts accompanied by personal correspondence in the Museum's accession files.[13] For example, an elderly grand-

daughter wrote in 1982 about her grandmother's well-worn Ukrainian songbook (Plate 2). She recalled that her mother arrived in America around 1900 "as a maiden in her early 20s" to work in the Manchester, New Hampshire, textile mills and "the book was given to my mother by her mother as a going away remembrance gift. . . . After Mother died in 1936, my father . . . handed to me my mother's prized possession" (Letter, March 23,



— 162 —

Прошеніе о дождь или погоду.

Царю Боже, Авраама, — 2.
Въ Тебѣ крѣпость, благость сама.
Призри на людское племя, — 2.
Подай ведро (намъ дождь, или пого-
(ду) въ сіе время.

Да увѣсть людъ боговѣрный, — 2.
Що благъ еси безпримѣрный.
Мы, Тебе, за даръ толикій, — 2.
Возвеличимъ во всѣ вѣки...

Що въ сей книжечцѣ напечатано?

Предпразднство Рождества Іисуса Христа 3
Тропарь и Кондакъ на Рожд. Христово 3

I. Коляды.

1) Ангелъ пастырямъ мовилъ . 35
2) Богъ природу 6
3) Богъ предвѣчный народился . 8
4) Богъ ся раждаетъ 42
5) Вселенная, веселися 5
6) Возвеселѣмся 5
7) Видѣ Богъ 13
8) Весела свѣту новина 27
9) Въ яслахъ лежитъ 33
10) Дивная новина 23
11) Добрый вечиръ, щедрый вечиръ 47
12) Днесь всѣ возиграйте . . . 53
13) Даръ нынѣ пребогатый . . . 38
14) Ликуючи, возиграймо . . . 40
15) Небо и земля нынѣ торжествуютъ 4
16) Новая радость свѣту . . . 10
17) Небо и земля нынѣ ликовствуютъ 18

Plate 2

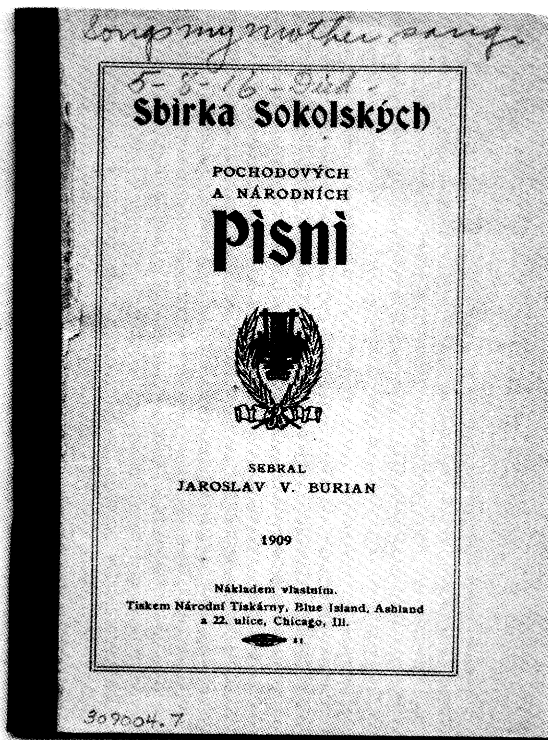
1982). Her description of forgetting provides a poignant and invaluable example of the process of language shift and language loss:

> I used to be able to read it once—now it's impossible. We used to sing from it, though the music was not there—when we had gatherings—someone always knew the music and away we would read and sing. Generally the book was

brought out at Christmas and Easter. (Letter, March 23, 1982).

> To really sing from it with friends when Christmas Holidays arrived, the last time was in 1930. Though having it in my possession, I would sit many times and glance through it, gradually forgetting how to read it and the music to it. The book traveled with me throughout [the] U.S.A. for 43 years. (Letter, July 1982, anonymous Ukrainian donor, NMAH)

Yet no longer being able to read the words or recall the music did nothing to diminish the book's significance in the granddaughter's life and, in fact, may have enhanced its sentimental value by epitomizing the experience of loss itself over the 43 years. Similarly, another donor in her eighties, wrote, "I did not come over from Bohemia. I was born in 1887 in Chicago, Illinois. . . [and] my parents came to America [from Bohemia] about 1881 or 1882 . . . during the Prussian War" (Letter, March 7, 1974, anonymous Bohemian donor, NMAH). Inscribed in English on the title page of the 1909 Bohemian songbook (Plate 3) that she donated are the words "Songs My Mother Sang."


Songs my mother sang

Sbírka Sokolských

POCHODOVÝCH
A NÁRODNÍCH

Písní

SEBRAL
JAROSLAV V. BURIAN

1909

Nákladem vlastním.
Tiskem Národní Tiskárny, Blue Island, Ashland a 22. ulice, Chicago, Ill.

309004.7

Plate 3

Heath's discussion on "retention of foreign languages" (language maintenance) confirms that religion, together with the family, served as "the primary institutions which supported use of the native languages of immigrant groups" (12):

> Children learned to read from religious materials and were called on to display their school learning in understanding and contributing to aspects of church-related and community-centered activities. Children learned formal stylistic norms as well as characteristic features of the language used in religious settings–specialized vocabulary and formulaic utterances. They were expected to recognize differences between the style of language used in church services and that used in daily communication. Individuals and groups came to associate retention of their language with religious maintenance. . . . (12)

Such religious documents as the German *Taufschein* (Plate 4) and *Fraktur* (Plate 5),[14] provide examples of such attempts to pre-serve the native language in written form. The donor of the *Taufschein*, a baptismal certifi-cate dated 1905, wrote that it may have been that of her mother's sister "who died," though she admitted that it

Plate 4

Geburts- und Tauf-Schein.

Diesen beyden Ehegatten, als Christian Stelz und seiner ehelichen
Haus-Frau Catharina eine gebohrne Schneidlin ist ein Sohn zur
Welt gebohren, Namens Jacob im Jahr unsers HErrn JEsu 1807
den 30 Tag October, um 7 Uhr Morg: im Zeichen des Scorpion.
Dieser Jacob ist Gebohren und Getauft in America, im Staat Pennsylvanien,
in Montgomery Caunty, in [illegible] Taunschip,
Obgemelder Jacob ist Getauft worden den 1807
von Herrn Fried Herman Tauf Zeugen waren die grosseltern Peter
Stelz und seine frau Susanna

Plate 5

was "a puzzle" (Letter, November 21, 1985, anonymous German donor, NMAH). The fact that she had to make guesses in explaining the document illustrates how quickly such information can get lost in families. Inscribed and decorated certificates called *Fraktur*, according to a NMAH curator, "constitute one of the best illustrations of the continuation of Germanic traditions in this country" (Golovin). A German prayer book, dating from 1774 and published in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and a Polish prayer book (Plate 6), dating from 1900 and published in Philadelphia, illustrate the colonialist and immigrant communities' commitment to maintaining not only their religious traditions, but their languages as conveyors of those traditions.

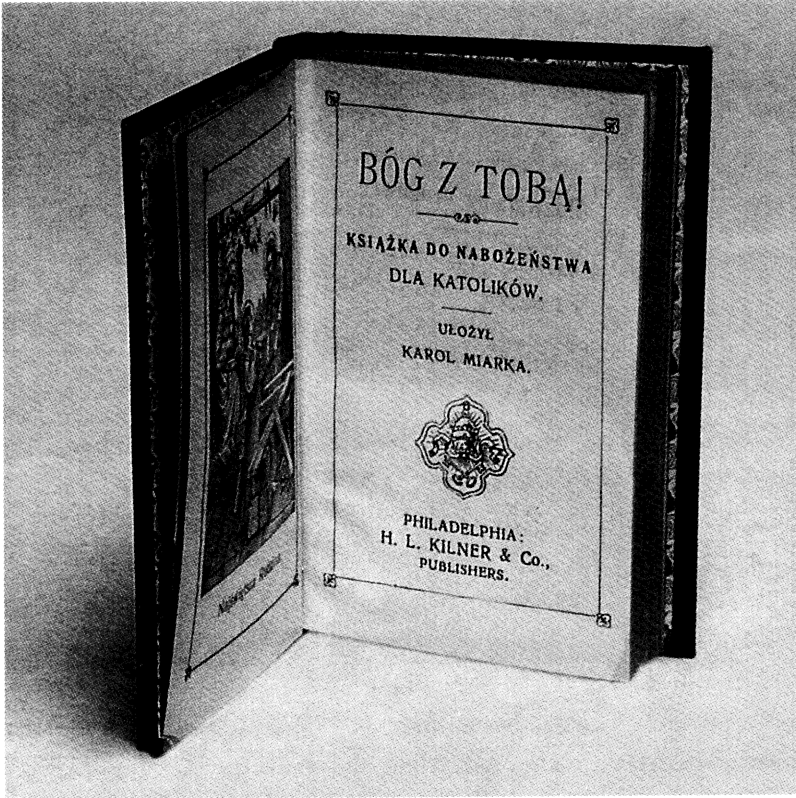


Plate 6

In time, however, as Heath points out, "as churches began to realize the youth of their congregations would increasingly insist on the use of English in services, religious leaders sought other means to preserve their culture and language. Schools and newspapers gradually took over this service" (12). The Polish language school report card (Plate 7) of a donor provides a good example of efforts at language maintenance through education of the young, while the Italian newspaper *Abuzzo-Molise* (Plate 8) published in Pueblo, Colorado, in 1925 reflects the needs of adult readers. Other artifacts with religious affiliations include a Hebrew almanac (Plate 9), dating from the 1890s, and a Slovenian Catholic Congress postcard announcing an event in Lemont, Illinois, July 1929 (Plate 10).

Teachers of any age level and their students would benefit from foraging in attics and basements to locate family language and literacy treasures lest they be lost. Artifacts of family heritage languages that are found could also add to our historical knowledge of the process of language maintenance within families

Plates 7 & 8

SZKOŁA ŚW. WOJCIECHA
ST. ADALBERT'S SCHOOL
ELIZABETH, N. J.

Adrasko Ryta

Klasa 4 Stopień 4

Rok 1937 1938	WRZESIEŃ	PAŹDZIER.	LISTOPAD	GRUDZIEŃ	STYCZEŃ	LUTY	MARZEC	KWIECZEŃ	MAJ	CZERWIEC
Zachowanie	95	100	100	100	100	90	95	90	95	100
Dni Opuszczone		-				2				
Msza Sw. Opusz.		-								
Religja	90	95	95	95	96	95	95	95	95	95
Arithmetic	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
English	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Spelling	95	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	95	95
Geography	90	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
History and Civics	90	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Reading	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Penmanship	96	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Drawing	90	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Music	85	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Phys. Train. Hyg.	90	90	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Nature Study	90	100	100	100	100	100	100	95	95	95
Gramatyka Polska	90	96	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Czytanie	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Historja Polski	90	96	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95
Ost. Wynik Aver	90	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95	95

96-100 Celujace, Excellent 86-95 Bardzo Dobrze, Very Good
81-85 Dobrze, Good 75-80 Dostatecznie, Fair
Ponizej 75 Niedostatecznie, Poor

PROB. PRZEW. KS. PR. V. J. MASNICKI

Nauczycielka Siostra Eleonora

L'ABRUZZO-MOLISE
FORMERLY — GIA'
MARSICA NUOVA
Gazzetta Settimanale diretta da Vincenzo Massari

PUEBLO, COLO. U. S. A. MERCOLEDI' 22 LUGLIO 1925 — TELEFONO 458 — 318-320 So. Victoria Ave.

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Un anno $2.00
Sei mesi $1.25
Estero il doppio.
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provocazione ben retribuita

fferi di montagna, rimangono.... suonati

Commemoreremo anche noi il quattro luglio. Nel nome di Giuseppe Garibaldi andremo al — Pantheon di Staten Island a depositarvi una corona di fiori e tenere un comizio commemorativo in memoria del grande altruista profanato dagli scherani di Mussolini. Parleranno agitatori antifascisti appartenenti a tutti i credi politici. LUOGO DI RIUNIONE SARA' PIAZZA DI SOUTH FERRY — bassa città di New York — alle ore nove A. M. precise. Di là muoveremo per Rosenback ove trovasi il Pantheon di Garibaldi.

Non filosofare, rispondi all'...

...grieri si erano radunati, fino alle 11 rimanevano ostinatamente irreperibili tra la più grande costernazione nostra, ansiosissimi di conoscere i benemeriti civilizzatori della Terra del Fuoco......

Appena le associazioni patriottiche finirono la loro commemorazione cominciò il fuoco di fila degli oratori nostri decisi a parlare fino alla mezzanotte, ora in cui sarebbe terminata la giornata commemorativa, — pur di rimanere sul posto ad attendere i gaglioffi in camicia nera. Fu la volta del compagno Antonini dell' International La-...

...za, che, al fine, mandò tutte le riserve sul posto.

E l' atteso miracolo avvenne!

Solo allora i conigli ripresero coraggio — ed era tempo, erano le 1.30 p. m.! — ed allineati dietro ad essa apparvero a rispettabile distanza dal Panthe! on. Parlamentavano attivamente con il capo della polizia nella speranza di ottenere l' ingiunzione contro di noi, ma nemmeno questo sortirono l' effetto stante la fermezza nostra nel non permettere a nessuna camicia nera di profanare il Tempio sacro agli amanti della libertà.

Ricorsero allora ...

...di dollari 30 per ognuno e tre liberati sotto cauzione di dollari 500 per ciascuno in attesa del processo.

VITTORIA

Il compito era assolto. Spauriti, sgominati i fascisti erano spariti dalla circolazione. Il sacro Tempio, che, per decisa volontà di tutti gli antifascisti doveva essere incontaminato dalla presenza degli insultatori della memoria del grande, fu gelosamente custodito. No, non potevasi permettere il supremo oltraggio a chi rappresenta l' antitesi del fascismo, a Garibaldi ...

...papato mentre il fascismo ne è il più strenuo valorizzatore; chi amò nel socialismo il sole dell' avvenire mentre i bravi di Mussolini ne sono il contrasto, il — più profondo.

E non fu permesso; e restammo sulla breccia, imperterriti decisi a tutto.

La vittoria ci arrise. Dopo che l' avvilente ritirata era avvenuta, padroni assoluti del — campo, restammo ancora qualche tempo in previsione di eventuali sorprese, possibilissime data la natura dell' avversario, abituati a saperlo infingardo, vi-...

or the lack thereof, which precipitated language shift and loss. Other projects might include collecting oral histories and writing in families and communities, as well as research papers about language loss and the process of Americanization, or about the influences of the labor history of the region on its linguistic varieties (including varieties like African American English from plantations in the American South, and Hawai`i Creole English from plantations in the Hawaiian Islands). The value is in teachers seeing students' lives in this context, and students seeing their own lives in this context. Topics are endless as students and teachers uncover forgotten stories.

Plate 9

Plate 10

Personalizing the Intangible: A Heritage Language Artifact Project

In an effort to test some of the ideas mentioned above, I recently included a Heritage Language/Cultural Artifact Project in tandem with the language autobiography project that is now a standard requirement in my classes. This asked students to do one of two things:

> A) Material Artifact: Locate an object that represents some part of your linguistic/cultural heritage(s) and share this with the class; or
> B) Oral/Written Artifact: Identify words, phrases, and/or sayings (English or non-English) that reflect some part of your linguistic/cultural heritage(s) and share these with the class.

For their brief class presentations, students were asked to bring in their artifacts to display or to describe them in detail, and to explain the significance of the artifacts to their language histories, by providing a narrative context for it and incorporating appropriate course terms into their analysis.

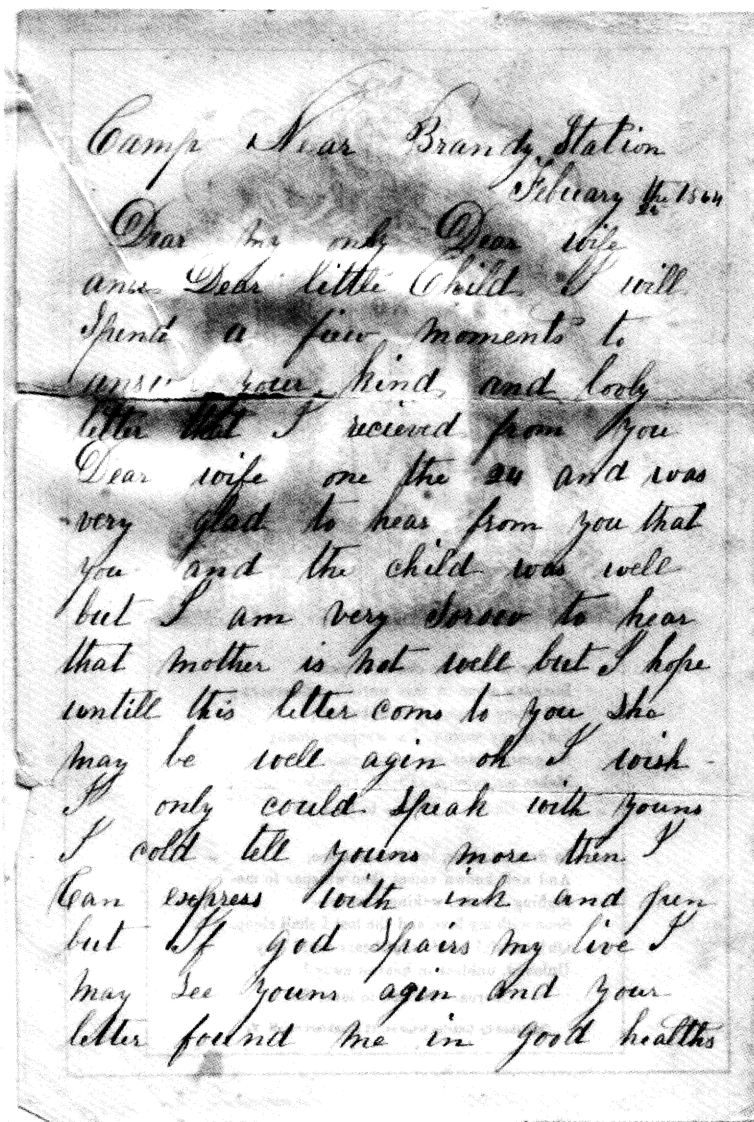
Although some students had some initial difficulty with the project, their persistence often paid off. Lynn's search led to her locating a family journal written in Ashtabula, Ohio, in the 1800s, reflecting the family's cultural and linguistic origins in the British Isles (Plate 11), while Elaine located a Hungarian hymnal belonging to her grandparents that was copyrighted in 1947 and republished in 1960, reflecting the relatively recent language maintenance of the Hungarian community in the region.

This Book
baught the 14 day of July 1831 of L
Moffett price fifty cents; baught rasor of
L Moffett price ten shilings; baught one
silk handkerchief price six shilings; baught
one pennife price forty four cents;
Baught a pair of calfskin boots of [illegible]
Turner January the 21 1832 Price $5,00
Broadcloth coat cost me — — — $14.37
Broadclath pantaloons cost me — $6.7
Silk vest cost me — — — — $1.50
Baught a Trunk of J Alesworth Price $4.0
Baught a Colt June — 1831 of R Bagley price $26.00
Baught a kittle of H [illegible] Price $ [illegible].00
Baught a [illegible] [illegible] of my own
Barmy Sillebridge Dr to me fifty cents
For notarys at Monroe Township
October the 11 — 1832 baught of Samuel
Moffett Twenty yards of wlen cloth
Too dollars and eighty cts — baught eight
Pounds of nails eighty cents baught pair
of Gloves fifty six cts baught Pair of
Suspenders Thirty seven and a half cents
Baught 14 oz steel price — — 31 [illegible]

Plate 11

Another classmate Bruce, who described himself as being of predominately Danish heritage, found little among his family belongings, but located a Danish/English language newspaper that continues to be published in Chicago, revealing some attempts at language maintenance, but documenting the obvious language shift of the Danish community. Denise searched repeatedly and came up with nothing to represent her cultural or linguistic history until her aunt brought out a shoebox, containing among

other things a letter written by an ancestor who sought to communicate with his family at home while he fought in the Civil War (Plate 12). His use of the non-standard form *youns* reflects



Camp Near Brandy Station
Febuary the 26 1864
Dear my only Dear wife
and Dear little Child I will
Spend a few moments to
answer your kind and lovly
letter that I received from you
Dear wife on the 24 and was
very glad to hear from you that
you and the child was well
but I am very sorrow to hear
that mother is not well but I hope
untill this letter coms to you she
may be well agin oh I wish
I only could speak with youns
I could tell youns more then I
Can express with ink and pen
but If god spairs my live I
may see youns agin and your
letter found me in good healths

Plate 12

the language variety common to his region of Pennsylvania. In a subsequent section of the same course, Tamika, a young woman who knew only that her grandmother had migrated north from Tennessee and that her family consisted only of her mother and maternal grandmother, learned in the process of her research that she had family members extending around the United States; she now is in close touch with this family that she had never known before.

The net effect of students sharing their brief stories with the class was the richness of linguistic and cultural heritages being revealed on the individual and the collective levels—that despite their current monolingualism, the students' histories were far more complex, linguistically and culturally, than many realized. Themes of language loss are particularly poignant. My hope that such realizations—almost visceral, at least in some students—will change their language attitudes is supported by former students like Jeanine, who was in my class six years ago and has indeed become a teacher in a local urban middle school where she works with predominately African American children. In a recent interview that I conducted with her, she cited learning about linguistic equality and African American language issues, particularly through the work of Keith Gilyard, as contributing to her being more receptive and prepared to work with her students.[15] As the autobiographical passage quoted earlier suggests, Jeanine's increasing understanding of her own language history developed in her a depth of understanding of the relationships between language and identity and the profound effects of language loss.

Personalizing the Intangible: What's At Stake?

Living in what professes to be a free and democratic society requires tremendous diligence and vigilance among its citizens. A footnote to the Japanese American story discussed earlier seems relevant here, for it is also the footnote to the German American story or the stories of Native peoples, or the story of any other

ethnic/linguistic group that finds its integrity threatened in a democracy. When the oligarchy and Territorial governor in the Hawaiian Islands attempted to impose legal restrictions on the Japanese language schools mentioned previously, some leaders in the Japanese American community recognized the violation of rights provided under the U.S. Constitution and appealed their case to the U.S. District Court of Hawai'i, which, in turn, placed a temporary injunction on those controls. The subsequent judgment of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals regarding *Farrington, Governor of Hawaii, et al. v. Tokushige et al.*, on March 22, 1926, cited an earlier judgment against foreign language school laws in Nebraska, Iowa, and Ohio and is worth quoting:

> . . .the individual has certain fundamental rights which must be respected. The protection of the Constitution extends to all; to those who speak other languages, as well as to those born with English on the tongue. Perhaps it would be highly advantageous if all had ready understanding of our ordinary speech, but this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution—a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means. *Meyer v. Nebraska*, supra. (1926, 714)

Referring to the Hawaiian Territorial government's justification for imposing regulations against the foreign language schools, the Court's judgment asserts that assimilation

> is in part a matter of choice and in part a matter of necessity, *because one cannot assimilate alone.* No doubt the Japanese tongue will be spoken on the Islands for generations yet to come, . . ., but we took the Islands cum onere and extended the Constitution of the United States there, and every American citizen has a right to invoke its protection. You cannot make good citizens by oppression, or by a denial of constitutional rights. . . . (emphasis mine, 1926, 714)

The Appeals Court affirmed the injunction against governmental regulation in favor of the language schools, their students, and teachers. Furthermore, when the Territorial government appealed its case further to the U.S. Supreme Court, the justices, including William Howard Taft, Chief Justice, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Associate Justice, unanimously affirmed the judgment of the Ninth Circuit Court, upholding the Constitution and its protection of individual rights against infringement by government regulation. The gravest irony of this seemingly clear-cut and certain decision about language and individual rights is that it essentially dissolved in the hysteria of World War II. As mentioned earlier, Japanese language school principals and teachers, men and women, were arrested as "potentially dangerous alien enemies" and incarcerated, many for the duration of the war, raising the question of whether determining guilt by reason of race and not action could happen again.

Personalizing intangible and abstract concepts like language attitudes, language loss, and language rights may lead us to a deeper understanding of who and what's at stake in our own judgments. Raising the language awareness of teachers and students alike presents the possibility of changing attitudes about our own and others' languages and rights as human beings within a given grocery line, a given classroom, and a given community.

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Notes

[1]Despite the extensive research of linguists on various fronts, the prevalence of restrictive official English/English-only legislation and the Ebonics controversy throughout the country reflects a continued lack of "knowledge of itself with regard to language."

[2]Especially for German Americans in World War I, Japanese Americans in World War II, and Arab Americans since conflicts began with Arabic-speaking countries, language differences and prejudices have added fuel to the flames of xenophobia in U.S. society at large.

[3]See Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Human Rights*.

[4]In "From 'Bad Attitudes' To(wards) Linguistic Pluralism: Developing a Reflective Language Policy among Preservice Teachers" (*Language Ideologies*, Volume I, ed. by R. D. Gonzalez, NCTE 2000, pp. 276-296), I suggest ways of raising metalinguistic awareness as a means of developing reflective and responsible language attitudes, including linguistic tolerance and respect for self and others, especially among future educators, and describe how writing assignments like language autobiographies can aid learners in this process. In "'Resurfacing Roots': Developing a Pedagogy of Language Awareness from Two Views" (*Language Diversity in the Classroom: From Intention to Practice*, 2003), I examine the interplay between self-awareness and language awareness in developing the perspectives of teachers, generally, and teachers of color, specifically.

[5]In order to protect the privacy of this student, a pseudonym is being used to refer to her writing and experience. Quoted in Okawa, "Bad Attitudes," p. 282.

[6]See Molesky and Hernández-Chávez for discussions, and Crow Dog for a first-person account.

[7]This photo is courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History, Division of Cultural History. Unless otherwise indicated, subsequent photos are mine with objects courtesy of the National Museum of American History's Division of Cultural History.

[8]See Takaki, Fuchs, and Coffman.

[9]See Act 30 [Senate Bill No. 32], "An Act Relating to Foreign Language Schools and Teachers Thereof," in *Laws of the Territory of Hawaii passed by the Eleventh Legislature, Special Session 1920*, November 10-24, 1920; and Act 171 [House Bill No. 139], "An Act to Amend Section . . . of Act 30 of the Special Session Laws of 1920 . . . a New Section . . .Relating to Foreign Language School" in *Laws of the Territory of Hawaii passed by the Twelfth Legislature, Regular Session 1923*, February 21-May 2, 1923. For descriptions and discussions of linguistic, legal, and educational implications of these events, see Tamura, Hawkins, and Kotani.

[10]See Butler, 700.

[11]See Linkon and Mullen.

[12]Biased views of Native and other non-white people are exemplified by references to "savage tribes" as received knowledge.

[13]Due to the personal nature of such information and the Smithsonian Institution's policy on privacy, donors will remain anonymous.

[14]This photo is courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History, Division of Cultural History.

[15]In 2003-04, I conducted a study to follow-up on selected students in past Introduction to Language classes, who are now teachers. The purpose of this research was to explore how preservice teacher learning about language translates into classroom practice, that is, how learning about such concepts as language history, language acquisition, language development, and language attitudes influences (or does not influence) how relatively new teachers work with their students.

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