2-1-2016

Socializing English-Speaking Navajo Children

Christine B. Vining

Christine B. Vining
Candidate

Department of Educational Specialties
Department

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Julia Scherba de Valenzuela, Chairperson

Susan Copeland

Cathy Qi

Tiffany Lee

SOCIALIZING ENGLISH-SPEAKING NAVAJO CHILDREN TO STORYTELLING

by

CHRISTINE B. VINING

B.S. Education, University of Arizona, 1985
M.S. Speech-Language Pathology, University of Arizona, 1988

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Special Education

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December 2015

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this research to Navajo families who are the core of our communities. They provide the strength upon which we build our lives. The intergenerational nature of families allows a connection to one another that bonds us forever. I am grateful to the families who opened their lives briefly to give me insight into how young Navajo English-speaking children are socialized in contemporary Navajo society. I also extend my heartfelt appreciation to the young children involved in this study. It is my hope that this study will positively impact their lives as well as the lives of many other Navajo children who are learning to navigate the expectations of their bicultural worlds. I wish to also thank the chapter and community of Tuba City and the Navajo Nation Human Research Review Board for allowing me to complete the study. Finally, I wish to thank my own family both nuclear and extended, my ancestors and creator for the gift of life. I thank them for their prayers, songs, and words of wisdom for a good life based on Hózhó.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my dissertation chair, Dr. Julia Scherba de Valenzuela, without whom this research would not have been realized. I thank you for your unwavering support and guidance on this journey. You inspired me to share the stories and perspectives of my community and people, and for that I am grateful. To my dissertation committee members: Dr. Susan Copeland, Dr. Tiffany Lee, and Dr. Cathy Qi, your support and advice meant a lot to me. As faculty, you modeled for me the essence of quality teaching and research, and I will strive to emulate that in my work. To faculty from the Speech-Hearing Sciences Department, Dr. Barbara Rodriguez (Department Chair) and Dr. Carol Westby, I wish to thank you for mentorship. Your support in the initial phase of my journey was invaluable. To faculty members from the Special Education Department, Ruth Luckasson (Department Chair), Dr. Loretta Serna, Dr. Diane Torres-Velasquez, and Dr. Isaura Barrera, and Dr. Ginger Blalock, thank you for your encouragement to begin this journey. To faculty members from the Department of Language, Literacy, & Sociocultural Studies, Dr. Christine Sims, Dr. Vera John-Steiner and Dr. Holbrook Mahn, thank you for your wisdom. Last but not least, I wish to thank my colleagues in the doctoral group for their support and encouragement.

SOCIALIZING ENGLISH-SPEAKING NAVAJO CHILDREN TO STORYTELLING

by

Christine B. Vining

B.S. Education, University of Arizona, 1985

M.S. Speech-Language Pathology, University of Arizona, 1988

PhD Special Education, 2015

Abstract

Understanding how young children are socialized to the process and products of storytelling as part of everyday family life is important for language and literacy instruction. A language socialization framework was used to understand storytelling practices on the Navajo Nation. This study examined how three young English-speaking Navajo children, ages 3, 4 and 6, were socialized to tell stories. The broad research question that guided this work was, "How are young English-speaking Navajo children socialized to tell stories?" The following methods were used: (a) observations of primary child participants, (b) interviews with adult family members of primary child participants, and (c) document review. Several major themes emerged including: Societal Changes, Why We Tell Stories, and Aspects of Good Stories. Analysis also revealed associated subthemes. Results of the study addressed routines, contexts, and interactions that support storytelling. As language shifts from Navajo to English, aspects of Navajo culture and culturally influenced discourse patterns remain in primarily English-speaking homes. The implication of this study is that as cultural and linguistic practices change on the Navajo Nation, so do the socialization processes and products of storytelling.

Table of Contents

List of Tables vii

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

Chapter 2 Literature Review 34

Chapter 3 Methods 68

Chapter 4 Results 95

Chapter 5 Discussion 183

References 229

Appendices 247

List of Tables

Table 1. Demographic Description of Participants 96

Table 2. Summary of Codes.....111

Table 3. Observed Features of Discourse Patterns Influenced by Navajo Culture.....179

Chapter 1

Introduction

Educators have focused extensively on accountability, all-English instruction and high stakes testing in English, yet the achievement gap for American Indian children in many reservations schools in New Mexico continues as evidenced by only 24% of the schools making adequate yearly progress in 2005 (New Mexico Public Education Department Student Assessment Bureau, 2005). In this chapter, I discuss problems with overrepresentation of American Indian children in special education, the gap in achievement, and language/academic assessment issues. These problems which contribute to school failure in American Indian education are not new and have been explained by researchers in different ways (Reyhner, 1992). For example, they have argued that the root of poor academic achievement for American Indian students is related to (a) cultural and linguistic differences (Swisher & Deyhle, 1992), (b) cultural and linguistic changes occurring in American Indian communities (House, 2002; Reyhner), and (c) educators reinforcing the ambivalence of American Indian students toward their culture when "assimilationist (Anglo-conformity)" models of education are used (Cummins, 1992). Some educators contend that "cultural loss" and "language shift to the nonstandard dialect of English" have detrimental academic consequences, and that the major cause of school failure is due to "students' failure to develop literacy and other academic skills in English or the tribal tongue" (Crawford, 2004, p. 269). These educational problems have also been explained as resulting from the discontinuity between home and school discourse patterns as well as level of English proficiency and its impact on the acquisition of language and literacy skills (Philips, 1972; Heath 1983).

Educational issues, such as these call for a better understanding of the contemporary sociocultural patterns of children and language socialization practices, particularly from an American Indian perspective.

In this chapter, I establish a need to examine the literature on storytelling practices as a means of understanding Navajo language socializing practices and ways in which the cultural discourse rules in storytelling remains even when language use shifts to English. I begin by highlighting educational issues such as the disproportionate representation of American Indians in special education, the inadequacy of assessment procedures that fail to take into consideration students' sociocultural backgrounds, and the significant achievement gaps for American Indian children in New Mexico. Where applicable, I used the term *American Indian* to refer to American Indian people of the United States. I used the term *Navajo* rather than *Diné* to describe the specific population I targeted for this study. I chose these terms as they are terms typically used by the federal government and academic institutions. I then explain these educational issues from three major perspectives: cultural and linguistic differences, the language shift to English, and discontinuity between home and school culture. Finally, I discuss the importance of understanding how children are socialized to use language such as storytelling and its implication for educational success.

Background

Disproportionate representation. Disproportionate representation includes over and under-representation of particular groups of students (e.g. American Indians) in special education. Overrepresentation of minority students in special education is documented as a longstanding issue (Artiles & Ortiz, 2002). The Bureau of Indian Affairs

(2000) reported that more than 18% of those in bureau or tribal schools were placed in special education. In 1997, more than 10% of American Indian children in public schools were placed in special education (Pavel & Curtin, 1997). There has been a significant effort under No Child Left Behind to ensure that children are appropriately referred for special education services, yet the percentage of American Indian children served under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) increased from 10% in 1998 to 12% in 2003 (Freeman & Fox, 2005). The report also noted that the majority of American Indian public school 8th-graders came from homes in which English was the predominant spoken language.

The U.S. Department of Education (2000) reported that the number of students ages 6 through 21 with disabilities who receive services under IDEA continued to grow at a steady rate, rising 28.4% since 1991-92. In 2000-2001, specific learning disabilities was the most frequent disability category followed by speech-language impairment for all racial/ethnic groups; however, students from some racial/ethnic groups were overrepresented or underrepresented in specific disability categories when compared with the entire IDEA student population. For example, the percentages of American Indian/Alaska Native and Hispanic children receiving services for specific learning disabilities were somewhat higher than the percentages for all students served under IDEA. In 2003, Freeman and Fox (2005) reported that American Indian students were often identified as having specific learning disability or speech-language impairment. Over-identification in the learning disability category could be attributed to the use of inappropriate test instruments to determine eligibility, the lack of normative data to

accurately compare American Indian children's performance, and not taking into consideration the student's sociolinguistic context.

Assessment issues. Problems with special educational assessment procedures have been documented as an educational concern for American Indian students (Cummins, 1992). Cummins identified a major problem with regard to classroom and psychological testing that he argued has historically "disempowered or disabled minority students" (p. 10) in that "achievement and intelligence tests located the cause of students' educational difficulties within the students rather than the educational interactions they encountered" (p. 10). While response to intervention programming has been added to special education referrals to examine educational difficulties, the practice of assessing students and determining their eligibility for special education has not changed significantly over the last decade.

Selecting appropriate assessment procedures for speech-language evaluations has been problematic. A number of factors, including situational bias, format bias, value bias, and linguistic bias, have been reported in the literature as having potential negative impact on assessment thus leading to erroneous diagnosis of communication impairment (Goldstein, 2000; Taylor & Payne, 1983; Vaughn-Cooke, 1986). Test bias occurs when tests that have been normed or developed for use with populations that differ culturally or linguistically from those with whom the procedure is being used (Goldstein, 2000). Standardized or norm-referenced tools may contain test items that are not culturally or linguistically appropriate thereby contributing to test bias (Goldstein). Inadequate assessment instruments contribute to problems in appropriately assessing and identifying American Indian children who exhibit language learning and academic difficulties

(Westby & Vining, 2002). Assessment instruments primarily normed on Navajo students, particularly students exposed to the native language and English, do not exist (Westby & Vining). Because there is a lack of appropriate instruments, students are evaluated using existing assessment batteries that are typically normed on monolingual speakers of English (Goldstein). Using instruments normed on students from the dominant culture with American Indian students has also been criticized because these tools merely assess how well they use standard American English (Goldstein). Standardized or norm-referenced tools may also contain test items that are not culturally or linguistically appropriate thereby contributing to test bias (Roseberry-McKibben, 1995). Because of the problems inherent in standardized test instruments, it is often difficult to distinguish whether a student exhibits language/learning disorder or whether poor academic performance is related to cultural or linguistic differences (Roseberry-Mckibben). The practice of administering inappropriate assessment measures and not taking into consideration cultural and linguistic differences on language and literacy skills may ultimately contribute to misidentification (Westby & Vining).

In addition, research suggests that the lack of normative data on oral discourse skills in American Indian children makes it difficult to utilize discourse measures such as conversational and narrative sampling in differentiating discourse patterns that are indicative of language impairment from patterns that are indicative of typical development for their speech community (Westby, 1994; Wilkinson, Silliman, Nitzberg, & Aurilio, 1993). While narrative developmental data exists for children from the dominant culture (mainstream or middle-class culture) (Westby), developmental data for American Indian including Navajo children is lacking. This is unfortunate since language

sampling is often recommended as an alternative procedure for least biased assessment (Peña & Fiestas, 2004). In addition, assessing narrative and expository discourse provides valuable information about discourse coherence, planning and organization text, and referencing skills (Justice et al, 2006; Guiterrez-Clellan, 1990; Liles, 1993), which are not only critical for determining potential for academic proficiency, but also found to be helpful in distinguishing between dialectal differences, features characteristic of English Language Learners (ELLs), and symptoms of disorder (Gillam, Peña, & Miller, 1999; Guitierrez-Clellan & Quinn, 1993; Peña & Fiestas, 2004). Assessment of communication skills of children from American Indian communities requires alternative approaches that acknowledge the differences in narrative socialization experiences to assess verbal skills that are consistent with their upbringing (Robinson-Zañartu, 1996). Specifically, assessment of narrative skills such as world knowledge, interaction skills, and paralinguistic conventions must be considered (Gutierrez-Clellan & Quinn, 1993). Data regarding patterns of discourse of Navajo children and information on how they are socialized to tell stories will be helpful in developing suitable narrative assessment procedures.

Achievement gap. Federal initiatives have also focused on closing the achievement for school age children, for example, No Child Left Behind policies impact school performance annually (New Mexico Public Education Department Student Assessment Bureau, 2005). In New Mexico, many schools fail to achieve adequate yearly performance (AYP); only 24% (45 schools out of 184) made adequate yearly progress in 2005 and 17% (or 132) of the schools with a total enrollment of 50,452 students were designated as “Schools in Need of Improvement” (New Mexico Public Education

Department Student Assessment Bureau, 2005). Many of these schools are near or on reservations.

There is also a significant gap in achievement for American Indian students in New Mexico. A report on the New Mexico Test Results and Achievement Gaps for 2004-2005 (New Mexico Public Education Department Student Assessment Bureau, 2005) revealed that American Indian students in grades 3 through 9 and 11 performed poorly when compared to other racial/ethnic groups in Math, Science and Reading achievement. In the third grade, for example, 71.1% of White students performed at or above proficiency in reading compared to 36.9% of American Indian students. The New Mexico Public Education Department (NMPED) report (2005) further revealed that economically disadvantaged students and ELLs scored lower than their peers on the standards based assessment. The report concluded that there is a sizeable achievement gap in all content areas based on ethnicity, income level, and ELL status.

The New Mexico Public Education Department (2014) provided its Tribal Education Status Report, which examined both the current conditions and recent trends in the education of New Mexico's American Indians using statistical measures that represent the current and past performance of these students. Gains in key education areas and gaps in academic performance between American Indian students and other ethnicities were acknowledged. This report showed that data provided for school year 2013-2014 revealed American Indian students in grades 3 through 8 performed poorly when compared to other racial/ethnic groups in Reading achievement. In the third grade, 67.4% of Caucasian students performed at or above proficiency in reading compared to 32.3% of American Indian students. American Indian students performed at or above

proficiency as follows: 4th grade, 29.8%; 5th grade, 35.2%; 6th grade, 28.9%; 7th grade, 35.6% and 8th grade, 42.0%. The trend relative to reading proficiency has not improved significantly.

The Tribal Educational Status Report also noted that scores on the National Assessment for Education Progress (NAEP) have increased for most students but not for American Indian/Alaskan Native students. On the 2011 NAEP, American Indian/Alaskan Native students in public schools scored 12-18 points lower than all students combined in both Math and Reading. American Indian students in Bureau of Indian Education schools scored even lower across both subjects. The achievement gap is widening especially for the lowest performing students. Large school size, lack of native teachers, inappropriate curriculum and parent access to the system were cited as factors contributing to the achievement gap.

The educational achievement gap has also been documented with students entering the school system. Concerned educators from several federal agencies and professional organizations met in Santa Fe, NM in March, 2005 to address the educational needs of American Indian students (Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, NIH, DHHS, 2005). The report indicated that David Grissmer discussed data collected on 400 American Indian children using the Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey. At a national colloquium focusing on education issues of American Indian students, he reported that American Indian children have the largest achievement gap when compared to their Anglo peers at the beginning of kindergarten. He explained that the initial gap was accounted for by family and community characteristics. Family characteristics, which contributed to the achievement

gap, included parent education, the learning environment in the home, and number of siblings. In addition to the family characteristics, he also reported that the gap in achievement is larger for children living in rural areas than those living in urban or suburban areas. He suggested that American Indian children whose parents are less educated and who live in rural communities are likely to experience poor academic achievement in kindergarten.

In summary, the achievement gap for American Indian students in elementary is significant and that language based skills such as reading, math and science are for the most part below proficiency (New Mexico Public Education Department Student Assessment Bureau, 2005). The 2014 Tribal Educational Status Report revealed that trend relative to reading proficiency has not improved significantly. Educators continue to struggle with this issue. Some educators have suggested that American Indian students from low income families, living with less educated parents and speak with limited English proficiency are likely to experience low educational achievement despite the aggressive focus on English language instruction (Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, NIH, DHHS, 2005). American Indian students referred to special education continued to grow and schools continue to struggle to make AYP (New Mexico Public Education Department Student Assessment Bureau, 2005). I will now focus on some of the major explanations given for poor academic achievement in American Indian communities.

Explaining the Achievement Gap

Blaming the victim. According to Cummins (1992), "American Indian students throughout North America have experienced disproportional school failure in educational

systems organized, administered, and controlled by members of the dominant group" (p. 3). He contended that the educational system has often blamed minority students including American Indian groups for its own failure and that the "roots of school failure lie in the ways well-meaning educators inadvertently reinforce children's conflicting feelings about both their own culture and the majority cultures" (p. 4). This bicultural ambivalence "is due to overt racism" over generations (p. 4). He argued that the minority groups that tend to experience academic difficulty such as American Indian groups "appear to have developed an insecurity and ambivalence about the value of their own cultural identity as a result of their interactions with the dominant group" (p. 4). According to him, school failure is a result of the "assimilationist (Anglo-conformity) orientation in education" (p. 4) and has "led to American Indian students being disempowered" (p. 4).

When educators explain the achievement gap by attributing this problem to family and community characteristics such as children lagging behind in the early years because they are culturally, educationally, economically and environmentally deprived as a result of where they live and their family structure (Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, NIH, DHHS, 2005), this is in essence a racist view, according to Cummins' (1992) definition of this perspective. This view suggests that because of American Indian family and community characteristics (e.g., large families, rural life, low-income, limited parent education), the learning opportunities and education for American Indian children are inferior to their peers living in urban/suburban areas. While educators may have had well-meaning intentions to address the family and home orientations to improve educational outcomes, their views could

also inadvertently reinforce the families' and children's ambivalence toward their own culture and community, as Cummins suggested. Furthermore, educators who blame American Indian parents and communities may also adopt the view that these parents also do not value schooling and may not acknowledge the role of families and communities in shaping positive cultural and educational experiences for their children. Educators who blame poor academic achievement on family and community characteristics cannot adequately provide educational experiences that reflect the needs and ideals of American Indian families (Reyhner, 1992). I believe that when cultural and linguistic experiences and values of America Indian families are not incorporated in the educational experiences of young children, stories that teach cultural values, life skills, and create connections between generations are likely to be dismissed as unimportant. Not understanding the how children are socialized to use language may inadvertently contributes to the gap between the home and school.

Rather than focusing on family characteristics such as family size, parent education, and economic status, I believe there are other more persuasive explanations for the achievement gap and over identification of children in special education in American Indian communities; specifically, the shift from ancestral language to English or nonstandard variety of English (Crawford, 2004), cultural differences (Swisher & Deyle, 1992), and the discontinuity between the language of the school and home (Heath, 1983; Philips, 1972). These factors have been documented as primary explanations for school failure in American Indian communities (Reyhner, 1992). The achievement gap in New Mexico schools reported earlier indicate that language and cultural differences are still

important considerations for the educational process, explaining academic difficulties, and illuminating the need to understand language socialization patterns in the home.

Language shift. The trend toward the use of English, including the nonstandard English (or Indian English) varieties by American Indian students and their families, has been documented (Crawford, 2004). Linguists have reported that more American Indian children are not learning their mother tongue (Crawford, 2000, 2004; Fishman, 1991; House, 2002; Krauss, 1996). Of the 154 American Indian languages spoken by American Indians in the United States, 20 are still spoken by people of all ages and considered vital (Reyhner & Tennant, 1995). English is predominantly spoken by the younger American Indian generation (Crawford, 2004; Holm & Holm, 1995). For some American Indian groups, the characteristics of the native language have been transferred to spoken English which Leap (1992, 1993) described as American Indian English. Linguists such as Crawford (2004) reported that nonstandard dialects of English have "displaced the ancestral tongue among younger generations" (p. 267) and today's parents "tend to be dominant in a variety of American Indian English; thus their children learn this dialect at home" (p. 267). To be functional in the community may then mean that use of American Indian English must be retained, and thereby reinforcing the use of American Indian English in the homes (Leap, 1992).

The status of the Navajo language today is one reason I focus on English-speaking Navajo children. In 1970, Spolsky reported that 95% of the six-year olds were reported to speak Navajo as well as or better than English and 5% were considered to be monolingual in English (Spolsky, 1970). In 1992, over half of the 682 preschoolers in Navajo Head Start centers were considered to be English monolinguals and less than half

were speakers of Navajo (Platero, 1992, as cited in Holm & Holm, 1995). In 1995, about half of the students entering school were speakers of Navajo but unfortunately many did not speak it well and some lost their ability to speak their language over time (Holm & Holm, 1995). Despite growing up in homes in which parents and grandparents speak Navajo, some children acquired little or no Navajo and choose to respond in English as a result of the decline in the "relative prestige of Navajo" (Holm & Holm, 1995, p. 163).

The shift from Navajo as an ancestral language to English (House, 2002) and to the use of a variety of American Indian English (Crawford, 2004; Leap, 1992) has had significant educational implications (Leap, 1992). Language use in the home and community is important for understanding the academic needs of Navajo students as they "resemble those of English learners" (Crawford, 2004, p. 267) in that they come to school with "little exposure to Standard English or to literate uses of English" (p. 267). According to Holm and Holm (1995), many Navajo children who do not speak Navajo well are also not yet proficient in English and this presents a dilemma for their educational performance.

The dominance in a variety of American Indian English also impacts language socialization to Navajo discourse rules (Field, 1998a, 1998b). Field (1998a) reported that even when the language shifts to English, Navajo children still incorporate Navajo discourse rules in their interactions. I believe that this also applies to storytelling in the home. It has been shown with some native languages, such as Ute, that the structure of the native language does influence narrative organization such as story structure even if the story teller is telling the story in English (Lewis, 1992). Language shift to English in Navajo communities has been reported in the literature (House, 2002) and the impact of

the shift to English on discourse skills such as triadic directives has been documented (Field, 1998b). I did not find a study focusing on the impact of English on storytelling practices by Navajo children and their families. Socialization practices with regard to narrative discourse or storytelling in predominantly English speaking families adds to the body of literature relative to literacy and language development. Understanding the impact of language shift on how children are socialized to language use such as storytelling informs educators how to build a stronger foundation for literacy and language skills. In the following, I explain the influence of culture on language use such as classroom discourse and interaction and how this can lead to conflict between the home and school culture and contribute to academic difficulties.

Home and school discontinuity. Researchers have applied the theory of cultural discontinuity to explain the disproportionate representation of American Indians in special education as well as the low academic achievement outcomes (Au, 1993). According to Au, the "theory of cultural discontinuity centers on a possible mismatch between the culture of the school and the culture of the home, which results in misunderstandings between teachers and students in the classroom" (p. 8). Au noted that the mismatch between the culture of the home and the culture of the school often work against the school literacy learning of students from diverse backgrounds. Conflict between the home and school culture is believed to contribute to academic difficulties (Philips, 1972, 1983). Because it was felt that poor academic achievement was attributed to differences between home and school learning methods, congruity between home and school is considered to be beneficial for students (Swisher & Deyhle, 1992).

Differences in classroom discourse patterns have been shown to contribute to academic difficulties. For example, Philips (1983) conducted a study on language socialization on the Warm Spring reservation which has important implications on cultural influences on discourse. According to Philips:

> Miscommunication between student and teacher in the American Indian classrooms occurred in several ways including: (a) differences in the structuring of attention and in the regulation of talk; (b) dialectal differences; (c) cultural variations were noted in the rules of discourse or for the ways a speaker builds on or relates to the utterances of prior speakers, for example, in the 'postponement of responses to questions;' and (d) differences in cultural knowledge, which contributed to the breakdown of communication when one of the speakers in discourse has no direct knowledge of what the other was speaking about. (p. 127)

She found that this lack of shared knowledge often resulted in the withdrawal from classroom interaction on part of the American Indian students. Differences in culture often led to students being told they are inappropriate as listeners and speakers and being chastised for talking out of turn, not listening, speaking too softly, and failing to talk when they were supposed to (Philips). This research strongly suggests that the lack of cultural understanding of discourse rules and communication behaviors (verbal and nonverbal) can contribute to misunderstanding, misperception and miscommunication.

Discourse skills are important for literacy learning and instruction (Heath, 1983) and stories are important for language and literacy education (Dyson & Genishi, 1990). When children arrive at school lacking the skills needed for understanding and producing discourse conventions (i.e., narrative and expository discourse), they are at risk for

academic failure because it will take time to learn the crucial links between spoken language and literacy (Gillam et al, 1999). Ethnographic studies (Heath, 1983; Philips, 1972, 1983) have shown that community and family expectations for language use, communication, and social interaction are culturally determined. These studies help educators understand that problems can occur when home discourse patterns are not consistent with discourse patterns valued by teachers and the school. Cultural and linguistic variations in discourse organization could influence academic discourse skills such as children's ability to read and comprehend text (Westby, 1991, 1994) and further impacting academic performance.

In summary, the achievement gap, the overrepresentation of American Indian students in special education, and assessment issues can be explained in a number of ways. It is clear, however, that cultural and linguistic differences, the language shift to English, and the conflict between home and school culture are still factors that can contribute to these educational challenges.

Socializing Children in Storytelling as a Foundation for Academic Success

Cultural and linguistic factors contributing to differences in discourse are an important consideration for education (Heath, 1982, 1983; Westby, 1991, 1994). In this section I provide background information on why stories are important, what has been documented relative to cultural differences in storytelling, and what we know about how Navajo children tell stories.

Importance of stories. According to Dyson and Genishi (1990), there is a need for stories in all societies. They stated that "stories provide a way to organize experiences into tales of important happenings" (Dyson & Genishi, p. 2). Stories can inform others

about our experiences and reflect the strength of our relationships to our communities and families. In sharing stories, relationships between elders and children can be strengthened and new relationships are developed which allow for new experiences and viewpoints. Stories are connected to culture and power (Dyson & Genishi) and they connect us to the sociocultural landscape of our society (Bakhtin, 1981). Through our ability to craft stories, "our voices echo those of others" (Dyson & Genishi, p. 4). Our membership in families and communities are captured in the stories of our ancestors and history. In Navajo society, children need to learn storytelling practices, beliefs and values in order to fully participate in family and community events.

Socialization through storytelling. Storytelling has a role in early childhood socialization in that parents try to make sense of everyday activities by telling stories to their children (Ochs, 1988). Children are socialized into systems of meaning by involving them in discourse genres such as personal storytelling, which occurs daily in homes by ordinary people (Miller & Mehler, 1994). From the language socialization perspective (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), children's involvement in storytelling with more experienced members of their culture allow them to both learn stories (such as traditional tales) and values embedded in them. Although traditional tales "embody the collective wisdom of a people" (p. 39) and are "powerful socializing tools, less attention has been given to the socializing potential of the less formal and more modest genre of personal storytelling" (Miller & Mehler, p. 39). Thus personal storytelling as a genre can play a powerful role in childhood socialization.

Socialization through the process of telling stories. The language socialization lens provides a valuable perspective on how children (and other novices), through

interactions with older, more experienced persons, acquire knowledge and skills to function competently as members of a community (Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). Ochs and Shieffelin (1984) claimed everyday speech activities are socializing activities and form the basis for the transmission of culture because they are linked to other social practices and symbolic forms such as gender roles, ideas about morality and how children learn. Therefore, close examination of language socialization through storytelling as means to transmit culture from one generation to another is warranted in American Indian societies undergoing social change due to colonization, such as the pueblo communities of New Mexico (Romero, 2003) and those undergoing a language shift to English such as Navajos (House, 2002).

Parents often actively participate in their children's communication development and are often referred to as their children's first teachers. As teachers, they model how to converse and tell stories (Heath, 1983). They tell their children what to say, when to speak, and what form their speech should take (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). This process allows children to acquire sociocultural competence through language (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). How a person becomes a competent member of one's family/community may involve how the individual should conduct him/herself during certain speech events such as storytelling as well as understand the role storytelling has in the process of becoming competent (Ochs, 1988). Discourse abilities, like other cultural practices, are "a set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating linguistic structure to context" (Ochs, 1988, p. 8). These verbal abilities include "speech acts, conversational sequences, episodes, rounds, speech activities, speech events, genres, and registers, among others" (Ochs, p. 8). This is the aspect of language socialization that refers to

socialization *to* use language, rather than socialization through language (Ochs & Shieffelin, 1984).

Storytelling is one way children learn the ways and world views of their families and communities (Ochs, 1988). In studying storytelling practices of adults (parents/grandparents) with their children as well as the adults' perspectives on storytelling, in contrast researchers essentially are examining socialization through language as parents and their children interact to construct their worldviews. The process of socialization takes place through storytelling or the medium through which knowledge is communicated (Ochs, 1986). Here speech is viewed as a mediating activity that organizes experience (Vygotsky, 1978). Through socialization activities, one learns about the world and develops one's worldview. During daily activities, parents communicate with their children through various discourse forms such as storytelling. The knowledge imparted through these discourse forms reflects" collaborative construction of social order and cultural understandings" (Ochs & Shohet, 2006, p. 36). In this way language socialization is a product of interaction and co-constructed by participants (Shieffelin, 1990). Cultural specific socialization activities guide a child to become competent member of his family and for family members to share their perspectives on what is valued (Ochs, 1986).

Differences in Narrative Discourse

Differences in language socialization across cultures have been found to contribute to differences in oral discourse (Heath 1983; 1986a). Gee (1990) noted that discourse can never be neutral or value free, that it always reflects values, beliefs, and social practices. He described discourse as a tool kit that participants share because ways

of acting, talking, and believing are socially shared. Narrative discourse in the home can be quite different from the academic discourse and these differences often result in conflict between the school and community's discourse (Michaels, 1981).

Storytelling, as with other communication skills, is influenced by a child's home culture and language (Gee, 1985). Storytelling is influenced by the culture in the home and shaped by family and community members (Gee; Ochs, 1988). According to Gee "one of the primary ways human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in a narrative form" (p. 11). In making sense of this experience, Gee stated that "children will use different narrative genres for different purposes, tell stories based on themes that are valued in their culture, and structure stories that reflect the kinds of stories they hear in the home" (p. 11). Children learn different ways of representing knowledge through narratives. Some children will bring an understanding of what makes a story that matches the stories they encounter at school, while others will talk about events that are consistent with their home culture (Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981).

In addressing children's socialization to storytelling, cultural differences in the norms for storytelling and the social position of children in storytelling would be important considerations. The style and structure of Navajo stories have been reported in the literature as differing from the common storytelling genres of the dominant culture (Brady, 1978a; Brady, 1981; Eder, 2007; John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992; Worth & Adair, 1972). In some Athabaskan cultures such as Navajo, a story may trigger the contribution of other stories by the audience (Scollon & Scollon, 1982, 1984). In addition, styles in storytelling by children and adults may be different. For example, Westby (1991) reported that Navajo children are not likely to engage in collaborative or

group stories because there is little conversation between children and parents, and children learn narrative style through "watching and listening" (p. 336). However, these descriptions of distinctive ways of telling stories, that may once have been accurate, may not be an accurate reflection of parent-child interaction in English. Current observations of current parent-child interactions and socializing practices are therefore needed to better inform us on how Navajo parents socialize their children to tell stories in English. Language socialization can provide a useful perspective for understanding expectations concerning children's storytelling roles, as well as the ways storytelling skills are shaped when English is the primary language for communication. I therefore used it as the theoretical framework for this study. This is important because I believe that understanding cultural and linguistic differences in storytelling and ways that Navajo children acquire narrative skills at home can help educators bridge these skills with academic expectations of storytelling.

Problem Statement

Research on early language socialization, discourse, and learning indicates that social activities at home have a powerful impact on language and literacy development (Heath, 1982, 1983, 1986a) and educational success (Westby, 1991, 1994). A dearth of literature, unfortunately, exists in the early socialization and learning of discourse skills for Navajo children. Literature exists that describes Athabaskan discourse style (Scollon & Scollon, 1984), Navajo discourse style (Brady, 1978a, 1984), the content of Navajo stories (Worth & Adair, 1972) and the context of storytelling for Navajo adults (Eder, 2007), but these ethnographic studies were primarily done with older school age children

or adults. My review of the literature did not produce any studies that described the Navajo parents' roles in socializing their children to tell stories.

Additionally, ethnographic research centering on language socialization of storytelling in rural American communities (Health, 1983) is available, but only one language socialization study focused on American Indian communities in New Mexico. Romero (2003) conducted her research on language socialization in the Pueblo of Cochiti, from an indigenous perspective. However, she did not focus on storytelling. Ethnographic studies focusing on bilingual communities undergoing social change and language shift in Navajo communities are available (Field, 1998a; House, 2002). However, the literature does not address the relationship between language shift and language socialization in Navajo homes. I was unable to identify any literature directly investigating how Navajo children are socialized to tell stories in predominantly English-speaking families. This gap in the literature is significant because Navajos value the oral tradition and storytelling plays an important role in the transmission of culture. I believe the lack of studies in storytelling practices in contemporary Navajo society has huge cultural, linguistic and educational implications for how a new generation of English-speaking children are socialized to tell stories. Especially in an era when Navajo families are undergoing change in their language use and culture (House, 2002). This documentation is especially important for educational practices as well as cultural and linguistic preservation. Therefore, I argue that research describing the activities, interactions, and contexts that contribute to socialization in narrative abilities of Navajo children is both lacking in the extant literature and needed.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine how young Navajo children are socialized to tell stories in English including both the process and the product of storytelling. My focus was on when, how, where, and why English-speaking Navajo children tell stories and how they are taught in the home and community. In order to understand how stories are told, it was important to find out what routines, contexts, and interactions support storytelling in the home and community.

Research Questions

My primary research question was:

How are English speaking Navajo children socialized to tell stories?

I broke down this larger question into four subquestions:

1. How do Navajo children participate in storytelling activities in the home and community?
2. How do Navajo children share stories in the home and community?
3. What routines shape storytelling skills at home and community?
4. In what contexts are stories told in home and community?

Research Stance

As a researcher, I addressed the questions of how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized to tell stories by using a qualitative approach to collecting data in the natural settings of the participants' homes and communities in such a way that was sensitive to the culture and language of the Navajo families and communities. The qualitative method helped me express my voice as a member of a Navajo community that continues to use storytelling to teach young children. I was able to capture the voices of several family members in their experience with the use of English to socialize children

to storytelling. In this way, I hope to further the knowledge of the role English is playing in socializing Navajo children to storytelling practices in communities that have historically used the oral tradition in the native language to transmit our cultural values and beliefs.

Theoretical Perspectives and Framework

Cross-cultural studies of language socialization (Heath, 1983; Philips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986) have demonstrated that caregiving and language use of the dominant culture are not always characteristic of groups from diverse cultures. Ochs and Schieffelin (1984) advocated for a need to "take into account the perspective of members of a social group, including beliefs and values that underlie and organize their activities and utterances" (p. 283). Ochs and Schieffelin posited that "culture is not something that can be considered separately from the accounts of caregiver-child interaction: rather it is what organizes that gives meaning to that interpretation" (p. 284). They believed that "how caregivers and children speak and act toward one another is linked to cultural patterns that extend and have consequences beyond the specific interactions observed" (p. 284). They described how caregivers communicate with their children could be linked to how children are viewed and how members of a society think children develop (Ochs & Schieffelin). These researchers argued that "communicative interactions between caregivers and young children are culturally constructed" (p. 285). Ochs and Schieffelin noted that communicative patterns could be similar or different in social groups based on facets of communicative interactions such as the social organization of the verbal environment, the extent to which children are expected to adapt to situations and the negotiation of meaning (Ochs &

Sheiffelin). All children eventually become adult members of their own social group and the process of becoming a language user is culturally constructed (Ochs & Sheiffelin). Likewise, Navajos have their own unique system of social organization, beliefs and values and the aim of this study is to describe communicative patterns relative to communicative interactions and storytelling experiences between Navajo children and their family members.

Narrative is a type of discourse that concerns real or imagined memories of something that happened (McCabe & Bliss, 2003). Narratives serve the function of making sense of experiences (McCabe & Bliss). Two common genres of narrative discourse are story (Stein & Glenn, 1979) and personal narratives (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). The definition of story emphasizes a goal directed episodic structure (Stein & Glenn) while personal narrative refer to narrative structure concerning a main event that serves two functions: reference and evaluation (Labov & Waletzky). In this study, the term storytelling was used interchangeably with narrative discourse to capture the process to telling a story as well as the product of storytelling.

Children develop narrative abilities from a focus on jointly constructed conversational narratives under the guidance of an adult to the production of independent narrations of personal experience (Sperry & Sperry, 1996). The narrations of children are context dependent in that their narratives reflect knowledge and experiences (McCabe & Bliss, 2003). Narrative skills are important for literacy skills (Miller & Mehler, 1994). To successfully structure narratives is important for a smooth transition to literacy (Heath, 1982, 1983; Michaels, 1991).

Several authors have been cited in the literature as making significant contributions to the views of language and literacy and the importance context. Vygotsky has had a tremendous impact by viewing language and literacy as emerging from social context (Kozulin, 1990). According to Vygotsky (1978), children are socialized into certain ways of thinking and of using language in particular contexts of instruction. His notion of the zone of proximal development can be conceptualized as a zone in which scientific concepts introduced by teachers interact with spontaneous concepts preexistent in children. Vygotsky recognized the need to integrate the development of concepts (word meanings) with interactions by more knowledgeable members in order to internalize language and literacy. Bruner (1986) addressed communicative competence as the ability to make utterances that that are appropriate to the context in which they are produced and to comprehend utterances in relation to the context in which they are encountered. The social/communicative context, according to these theorists Bruner and Vygotsky, is important to the process of conveying meaning and they argued that communicative competence includes sociolinguistic discourse.

I provide an overview of theoretical perspectives that influenced the study of discourse, narrative discourse, and differences in discourse socialization. Bahtin's (1981) work on dialogic utterances provided a theoretical basis for discourse as social communication. Vygotsky's (1978) work on the dialogic processes in social communication led to seminal works by theorists such as Gee (1990) and Hymes (1974). These theorists have advocated for a greater understanding of viewing language as the social construction of meaning that takes place through interactional processes. Discourse organization through social interaction in diverse communities has been the

focus of several researchers (Gee, 1986; Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981). Others have explored the theme of discourse and learning as social meaning construction, particularly in examining narrative discourse and classroom discourse (Heath, 1982; Michaels & Collins, 1984; Philips, 1982). Studies on narrative and classroom discourse drew on theories and methods used in sociolinguistics (Cazden, John, & Hymes, 1972; Hymes). The work by Hymes, Gee (1986), and Scollon and Scollon (1982), in particular, have provided early documentation of cultural discourse patterns as well as differences in discourse socialization.

Language socialization as theoretical framework. This investigation drew on language socialization as a theoretical framework for examining storytelling in Navajo society. First, the theoretical perspective of language socialization is presented, then its application in understanding how Navajo children are socialized to tell stories is addressed.

Language socialization research has provided insight into what children learn in their communities, how they learn: in particular, how children acquire ways of learning in their communities before they enter school (Heath, 1982, 1983). Historically, when children from American Indian backgrounds used language according to their own cultural values and norms, they have been regarded as deficient rather than as different by educators (Philips, 1983). Teachers may perceive linguistic minority children as having difficulties in learning, when in fact the children are learning in ways that are culturally appropriate in their own communities (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Philips, 1983). Language socialization has offered insight into how children learn, transform and lose

communicative practices as well as how they are shaped by conceptions of culture, social reproduction, and identity (Schieffelin, 1990).

Definition of language socialization. Children become linguistically and culturally competent members of their community through interactions with caregivers and other more competent members of their community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). Ochs (1986) considered socialization to be an "interactional display (covert or overt) to a novice of expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting" (p. 2). Ochs also stated that, "through their participation in social interactions, children come to internalize and gain performance competence in these sociocultural defined contexts" (p. 2). Through this language socialization, children learn the behaviors that are culturally appropriate in their community. Language socialization research provides important insight into young children's linguistic and cultural development and helps us understand the relationships between the cultural context and the use of language with and around children (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). The cultural context includes what community members believe about language and its use—values and ideas concerning language and its speakers, as well as ideas about language teaching and learning.

Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a) defined *language socialization* in two ways: socialization through language and socialization to use language. These major areas of socialization have been linked to the "interdependence of language and sociocultural structures and processes" (Schieffelin & Ochs, p. 163). Sociocultural information is carried in language use (Ochs, 1986). Ochs contended that language conveys sociocultural information and serves a medium for socialization. Ochs (1986) explained that:

> Our approach is to examine closely the verbal interactions of infants and small children with others (older children, adults) for their sociocultural structure. Our perspective is that sociocultural information is generally encoded in the organization of conversational discourse and that discourse with children is no exception. Many formal and functional features of discourse carry sociocultural information, including phonological and morphosyntactic constructions, the lexicon, speech-act types, conversational sequencing, genres, interruptions, overlaps, gaps, and turn length. In other words, part of the meaning of grammatical and conversational structures is sociocultural. These structures are socially organized and hence carry information concerning social order (as has been demonstrated by Labov (1966, 1973). They are also culturally organized and as such expressive of local conceptions and theories about the world. Language use is then a major if not the major tool for conveying sociocultural knowledge and a powerful medium of socialization. In this sense, we invoke Sapir (Mandelbaum, 1949) and Whorf (1941) and suggest that children acquire a world view as they acquire a language. (pp. 2-3)

Process of socialization. Schiefflin and Ochs (1986a) described the process of socialization by highlighting some theories in language socialization. They describe socialization as an interactive process, in which the child is an active contributing member of society. This perspective they stated, "draws on symbolic interactionist and phenomenological approaches in recent frameworks" (p. 165) in several ways. The symbolic interactionist theory, they argued, "contributes the idea that reality, including concepts of self and social roles, is constructed through social interaction" (p. 165). In

this sense, children do not automatically internalize the views of others. Children are "viewed as selective and active participants in the process of constructing social worlds" (p. 165). The phenomenological views also contribute to language socialization. Schiefflin and Ochs described these approaches as focusing on the idea that "members' perceptions and conceptions of entities are grounded in their subjective experiences and that members bring somewhat different realities to interpersonal encounters" (p.165). Within the language socialization framework, "every interaction is potentially a socializing experience in that members of a social group are socializing each other into their particular world views as they negotiate situated meaning" (p. 165). Narrative discourse or storytelling is a communication activity that can offer insight into children's worlds in how they are socialized to tell stories and how they are socialized through stories.

Underlying Assumptions

The American Indian, Navajo view of storytelling is different from the schools' view of storytelling. For Navajos, storytelling reflects a strong oral tradition and in school, storytelling is viewed as step toward literacy development. As a Navajo educator, I believe it is important to bridge these two perspectives to support all Navajo students to gain educational success while maintaining their cultural roots and traditions. In recent years, efforts have been made to revitalize the Navajo language and immerse Navajo children in the Navajo language (Holm & Holm, 1995), however, a large number of Navajo children are not learning Navajo as their first or second language. These English-speaking children are Navajo and participate in family and cultural activities such as storytelling. I believe it is important to understand how English-speaking Navajo children

are socialized in discourse practices such as storytelling in order to bridge the knowledge and experiences they bring from home and those expected from them when they enter school. The language socialization framework was used to understand what English-speaking Navajo children learn and how they learn to tell stories in their homes and communities.

Importance of the Study

This study is important to understanding the socio-cultural context of storytelling in Navajo families. Educators must be aware not only of what children need to learn, but also of the knowledge and skills that they bring from their linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Heath, 1986; Fillmore & Snow, 2002). Therefore undertaking the study was important for several reasons. First, the study could potentially help educators understand what families and community members value about storytelling and storytelling expectations, and therefore, inform their teaching practices. For example, the experiences children have in their home environment may or may not match their experiences at school. Information on the cultural aspects of storytelling might underscore the need for educators to consider the language experiences of Navajo students with regard to storytelling and identify ways to integrate their experiences in academic activities designed to develop academic storytelling skills. Second, the study may increase understanding of the cultural influences on storytelling. This may be helpful in guiding language assessment and intervention practices, as I believe it is important to identify techniques that are more congruent with the way stories are told in children's home communities. Third, in light of cultural and linguistic changes, the information may assist with cultural and linguistic preservation of the oral tradition in our Navajo

communities. Understanding parents' roles in storytelling may identify ways to support natural strategies for facilitating storytelling skills and narrative development in young English-speaking Navajo children.

Delimitations of the Study

In this section, I describe what the limits of my research and the possible interpretation of the results of this study. In my literature review, I excluded much of the literature pertaining to the macro-structure and microstructure features of narratives because I did not focus on the structure of narratives. Narrative analysis is also not the focus of the study; rather, I provided information on the extant language socialization studies related in in some aspect to storytelling of Navajo English-speaking children.

I limited this study to young English-speaking Navajo children because of the growing trend of young children acquiring English as their primary language (Holm & Holm, 1990, 1995). I did not focus on Navajo speaking children because children who were strong in their native language and cultural orientation have been reported in the literature as having stronger academic skills than children who are less proficient in their native languages (Leap, 1992). Additionally, the English-speaking Navajo children are sometimes deemed less proficient in their use of English and therefore are at risk for having academic difficulty and potential referral to special education (Crawford, 2004). Because of the sensitive, intensive, and potentially invasive nature of observing and recording children in their homes, I selected a relatively small number of English speaking Navajo children within one rural community on the Navajo Nation. I did not study children in the school system because the literature review provides some evidence of how children are socialized to tell stories in the school setting (Brady, 1978a, 1980;

Heath, 1982, Heath, 1983). My results did not speak conclusively to the experiences of all English-speaking children either living in or outside of the Navajo Nation. Nor was the results of this study generalizable to other American Indian communities.

While my study incorporated qualitative methodology, I did not use videotaping as means to record activities and interactions. I was cognizant of the need to maintain confidentiality of my participants and videotaping would have made it harder to keep data without compromising anonymity. The audio recording focused on addressing the research questions of how young English-speaking Navajo children were socialized to tell stories. I used interviews and documentation of observations in my research field notes. I described at much greater length these procedures in chapter 3.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

In this chapter I describe literature relevant to the purpose of this dissertation, which is to examine storytelling practices with English-speaking Navajo children. It is organized into three major sections: (a) overview of language socialization, (b) language socialization in American Indian and Navajo speech communities, and (c) language socialization in storytelling.

Overview of Language Socialization

Language socialization is rooted in the notion that the process of acquiring a language is part of a much larger process of becoming a member of society (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). According to Shieffelin and Ochs (1986a), the researchers who first elaborated this perspective, the discipline of language socialization describes ways in which novices are socialized into using language and socialized through language into preferences for acting, feeling, and knowing in socially recognized practices associated with membership in a social group. They postulated that language socialization provides insight into cultural and linguistic development in diverse communities and helps to understand the relationship between culture and the use of language with and around children. Sociocultural patterning of child-adult and child-child communication is beneficial for understanding what community members believe about language and its use, ideas about language learning and teaching, as well as values concerning language and its speakers (Shieffelin & Ochs). I propose that these premises provide a foundation to examine how Navajo children are socialized to use language and socialized through language into community preferences for ways of speaking and knowing with regard to

storytelling practices. Research into socialization patterns in storytelling in the Navajo community involves an understanding of adult-child interaction and communication along with an understanding of what Navajo community members believe about the storytelling practices in contemporary society.

In framing my literature review, I felt it was important to be mindful of an American Indian perspective of storytelling. In his book, *Look to the Mountain*, Cajete (1994) posited that "tribal teaching and learning are intertwined through daily interactions between the teacher and learner" (p. 33). Learning integrates the natural and social aspects of everyday life. According to Cajete, "the learner's extended family, the clan and tribe provided the context and source for teaching" (p. 33) and "every situation provided a potential opportunity for learning…which was not separated from the natural, social, or spiritual aspects of everyday life" (p. 33). Elders are considered to be key teachers of cultural values, beliefs, activities, as well as the model for norms for all forms of communicative practices. Informal teaching and learning of traditional knowledge occurs within the context of the day-to-day life experiences while formal learning of sacred songs, prayers, and ceremonies required initiation rites (Cajete). Transfer of sacred knowledge to the learner occurs in stages, depending on growth and maturation, with new levels of knowledge transferred to children when they were ready physically, psychologically, and socially, such as the end of early childhood, puberty and adulthood (Beck & Walters, 1977; Cajete). Cajete stated that in tribal life:

> The cultivation of all one's senses through learning how to listen, observe, and experience holistically by creative exploration was highly valued. In addition, the ability to use language through storytelling, oratory skills, and song was highly

> regarded by all tribes as a primary tool for teaching and learning. This was because the spoken or sung word expressed the spirit and breath of life of the speaker, and thus was considered sacred. (p. 33)

Storytelling has had and continues to have a vital role for teaching and transferring cultural knowledge to children.

Similar to many other American Indian cultures, the Navajo people value their stories, language, customs, songs, and dances so that their ways of thinking and learning are preserved for cultural continuity. Through stories, knowledge is passed from one generation to the next. Stories have played a vital role in sustaining individuals, families, and communities and as Cajete (1994) eloquently stated that "it is especially stories that integrate the life experiences and reflect the essence of the people's sense of spiritual being; it is the mythic stories of a people that form the script for cultural process and experience" (p. 41). The way knowledge is transferred, what knowledge is transferred, who participates in transferring this knowledge, and the context in which knowledge is transferred as it relates to storytelling was the essence of this study on language socialization through and to storytelling. In the next section, I describe the work by a number of researchers who have advanced the language socialization framework as well as theoretical perspectives on narrative discourse with respect to racial/ethnic diverse communities.

Language socialization premises. There are major principles in language socialization research. First, language socialization studies focus on naturally occurring interaction with and around children and analyze the ways that community's norms are expressed (Schieffelin, 1990). Second, language socialization sheds light on how children

learn, what they learn, and how they acquire ways of learning before they enter the school system (Shieffelin). Third, through verbal interactions such as "every day speech activities" (Ochs & Shieffelin, 1984, p. 3) between children and caregivers, sociocultural information is transmitted and language becomes "powerful medium of socialization" (p. 3). Fourth, verbal activities are linked to other social and cultural practices, as children become competent members of their communities (Ochs, 2002). Verbal activities involve how children conduct themselves in socially appropriate ways and what the role of language is in this process (Ochs).

The values and beliefs held by community members and families influence ways of speaking and the ways that children develop their ideas of who they are (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Schieffelin and Ochs further stated that the essence of language socialization is a process whereby children are socialized through language and socialized to use language appropriately. Socialization is a product of interaction that is co-constructed (Ochs, 2002). Through everyday situations, children learn early on preferred communication practices, who they are in relation to others, and how to behave (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1986) reported that by 18 months of age children among the Kwara'ae, Melanesian people in the Solomon Islands, know how to "call out" and can repeat most of the phrases given to them in the routine. Three-year olds undergo intensive instruction on how to speak and behave, with heavy dosages of imperatives, corrections, and explanations for behavior, accompanied by praise for adult-like behavior and criticisms for childish behavior. This intensive instruction ends before age 5. Thereafter children learn primarily through observation, practice, and counseling sessions held by the parents (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo).

The language socialization framework has been revisited by its originators over the years (e.g., Ochs 1988; Och & Schieffelin, 1995; Schieffelin, 1990; 1994; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1996). It focuses on the relationship between language and culture and between speech and conduct and is grounded in ethnographic research (Ochs, 2002). In this ethnographic orientation, the framework relates individual developmental processes to the sociocultural contexts in which they are embedded (Garrett & Banquedano-Lopez, 2002). This framework draws on anthropology and sociology traditions including Baktin's (1981) ideas about the dialogic nature of talk and psychological traditions including the work of Vygotsky (1978) and his ideas on acquiring knowledge. The framework has been advanced by major scholars including Clancy (1986), Heath (1983), Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1986) and continues to draw new researchers (e.g., Field, 2001). The language socialization framework has been demonstrated to be robust enough to address new theoretical and methodological challenges posed by language socialization research with culturally and linguistically diverse populations (Garrett & Banquedano-Lopez).

According to the language socialization framework, language and its use, being inherently interrelated, must be studied together in context (Ochs, 1988). This holistic approach to the study of language and its use in context has been called the study of discourse (Ochs, 1988a), or communicative practice (Hanks, 1996), and adopts the analytical perspective of the ethnography of speaking (Hymes, 1974). As this analytical perspective focuses on how cultural values are expressed through interactions, social interaction provides insight into not only what children are being taught about language and culture, but the relationship between the two as well (Schieffelin, 1990).

From the language socialization perspective, one acquires a set of communicative and interactional practices that enable one to live in a society (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Discourse practices (verbal activities), including storytelling practices, are a form of knowledge, "a set of norms, preferences, and expectations relating linguistic structure to context, that the speakers-hearers draw on and modify in producing the interpreting language in context" (Ochs, 1988, p. 8). Discourse practices are a major source of information for children learning the ways and worldviews of their culture. All utterances are said by one person to another at a particular moment of some specific socially organized and culturally meaningful activity (Schieffelin, 2002). As such, talk is one medium through which the interactional process of socialization and representation takes place (Ochs, 2002). Following Vygotsky, Duranti (1992) contended that speech is seen as "a mediating activity that organizes experience" (p. 45); thus, it is through participating in socialization activities that worlds and worldviews are created. In becoming communicatively competent, one comes to know and experience communication and interaction in culturally specific ways (Ochs, 2002). In this study, the focus was on how Navajo children become competent in one aspect of discourse, which is storytelling. I discuss the theoretical perspectives of narrative discourse in the next paragraph.

Narrative discourse theoretical perspectives. The understanding of narrative discourse (including storytelling) in communication and learning has been advanced by a number of researchers. First, discourse organization or thematic content of the texts produced through social interaction has been the focus of several researchers (Gee, 1986; Heath, 1986a; Michaels, 1981). Others have explored the theme of discourse and learning as social meaning construction, particularly in examining narrative discourse and

classroom discourse (Heath, 1986a; 1986b; Michaels & Collins, 1984; Philips, 1982). Second, Bahtin's (1981) theoretical basis for social communication and Vygotsky's (1978) perspective that meaning is socially constructed support the notion that language acquires meaning through social usage and mediates learning. Bahtin's and Vygotsky's perspectives provide a useful framework and philosophy for language learning in educational contexts. Vygotsky's work (1978) on the dialogic processes in social communication has also led to seminal works by theorists such as Gee (1990) and Hymes (1972, 1974) who advocated for viewing language as the social construction of meaning that takes place through interactional processes. Geertz (1973) argued that interpretation of meaning should be the basis for examining the links between language and learning in social contexts. Finally, narrative discourse work draws on theories and methods used in sociolinguistics (Cazden et al., 1972). The work by Hymes (1974), Gee (1986), and Scollon and Scollon (1982), in particular, have provided early documentation of cultural discourse patterns, variations in narrative organization, content, and style as well as differences in discourse socialization. In the next section, I will discuss language socialization studies documenting variation in how children are taught to use language in interactional processes.

Language socialization in interactional patterns. Language socialization studies on interactional routines across cultures have provided a basis for understanding cultural and linguistic foundations across cultures (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). An understanding of the extant literature is first needed to understand language socialization patterns in other cultures and how this body of knowledge informs our understanding of interactional processes, communication practices, and storytelling practices. I highlighted

a few studies on interactional routines to illustrate early language socialization in several racial/ethnic communities.

Studies on interactional routines have shown how linguistic routines are learned by children to acquire sociocultural knowledge (Peters & Boggs, 1986). Predictable and recurring contexts provide opportunities for children to learn communication skills (Peters & Boggs). Interactional routines have contributed to our understanding how children acquire language and culture at an early age as they learn to interpret social activities and verbal behaviors that are expected in order to demonstrate social competence (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b). Interactional routines such as *prompting*, *calling out* and *repeating* are found in Western Samoa, in Kaluli and Kwara'ae communities of New Guinea and contribute to development of communication such as socially acceptable forms of teasing, banter, asking questions, joking, that contribute to aspects of adult discourse in interaction (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1986). These linguistic strategies (e.g., prompting, calling out, and repeating) provide interactional routines needed to develop competence in social activities (Schieffelin & Ochs). Cross cultural language socialization research such as those conducted with the Kaluli and Kwara'ae communities have provided helpful insight into tacit knowledge related to communicative practice in routines for interaction and expectations for communication, and verbal behavior across cultures (Peters & Boggs; Schieffelin & Ochs; Schieffelin, 1979). In the next section, I elaborate on the importance of understanding some interactional routines occurring at the tacit level.

Aspects of interactional routines occurring at the tacit level. Since narrative discourse such as storytelling involves interaction, research on interactional routines

occurring at the unconscious level or tacit level is important for understanding the beginning patterns of language socialization (Field, 2001). Research suggests that communicative practices involve unconscious and conscious processes or tacit knowledge (Bourdieu, 1977). Interactional norms are evident in all cultures and reflect communicative practices that are based on beliefs about speaking and language and expectations about participant roles and relationships (Bourdieu; Hymes, 1962; Schieffelin, 1979). Bourdieu explained that communicative practice is a subjective system that includes cognitive schemes of perception and bodily posture. Schemes of perceptions and beliefs are aspects of communication that work at an unconscious level (a tacit level) in interaction, and speakers in a speech community may not be aware that differences exist in interactional norms (Field, 2001). According to Field, tacit knowledge contributes to the ideology (beliefs, schemas, and models) of a speech community that informs its language use. Beliefs regarding speaking and language (Kulick 1992) and expectations about participant roles and relationships (Schieiffelin & Ochs, 1986b) are examples of tacit knowledge in communicative practice. The distinction between systems of communicative practice that are conscious and unconscious has been studied with regard to interaction in language socialization research. Storytelling practices may reflect cultural specific beliefs and schemas about narrative performance, as well as expectations about participants' roles and relationships. I assumed that tacit knowledge contributed to beliefs and schemas of storytelling of the Navajo speech community and observed how it informed language use.

Tacit knowledge can be represented as cultural models for interaction using lexical signs or indexical signs. Field (2001) explained that lexical signs are words

representing relationships and other signs such as address terms and kinship. Indexical signs, on the other hand, are not encoded in language, depend on context for their meaning and are communicated through channels such as intonation and nonverbal cues (Field, 1997; 2001). Field (2001) also reported other examples of nonverbal signals or indexical signs including: proxemics (e.g., gestures, proximity, body orientation, and eye gaze); paralinguistic cues such as pitch, intonation, voice quality, and volume (Gumperz, 1992; Ochs 1988); and norms for the organization of participation within a speech event, or "participation structure" (Philips, 1972; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982). In addition, nonverbal signals for silence in interaction (Basso, 1970; Tannen & Saville-Troike, 1985; Field 1998a) and for the interpretation of speech acts such as questions, directives, or requests (Grice, 1975; Ochs, 1984; Field 1998a) are important aspects of speaking function that work at a tacit level in interaction. In storytelling, indexical signs or nonverbal signals such as paralinguistic cues, proxemics, and silence are important considerations for cultural influence on interaction and storytelling practices. And, as such I observed the proxemics and paralinguistic cues during storytelling events. In the next section, I discuss language socialization studies with Navajo speech communities as well as other American Indian communities experiencing a shift to English. I also discuss interactional patterns that have been the focus of ethnographers examining language socialization practices in American Indian and Navajo communities (e.g., Field, 2001; House, 1997).

Language Socialization Patterns in Navajo and Other Speech Communities

The language socialization framework has been beneficial in identifying socialization patterns in American Indian communities in the Southwest (Field, 1998;

House, 1997; Romero, 2003). In this section, I review several studies on interaction patterns and communicative competence in American Indian children. The studies I selected are from American Indian communities that have experienced or are experiencing a shift to English as the preferred language of children, as this was the focus of my dissertation research. Among these communities are the Pueblo of Cochiti and the Navajo Nation.

American Indian communities throughout the contemporary world face many challenges in their efforts to perpetuate their cultural worlds and ancestral languages (Romero, 2003). For hundreds of years, American Indian communities in the Southwest such as the Pueblos have successfully maintained their cultural and linguistic integrity by passing their intellectual traditions as well their social and cultural knowledge on to the youngest members, despite continual pressures to abandon their unique way of life from within and without – particularly from the federal government (Romero). Despite efforts to protect and preserve the American Indian way of life, a closer examination of these contemporary societies revealed that what was once believed to be impermeable native societies have not been immune to external forces of change in the past and present (Romero).

One of the most alarming outcomes of these changes has been a shift to the exclusive use of English language in speech communities (Krauss, 1996). English has become the first and only language spoken by many American Indian children and intergenerational language decline is found among most American Indian speech communities across America (Krauss). Of the 175 languages still spoken in the US, 155 (87%) are classified as moribund or in linguistic decline (Krauss) only 20 (17%) of these

languages are “healthy” and are still spoken by children. This decline is a reflection of the language shift that is evident in American Indian communities around the world (Krauss). According to Krauss, 3,000 out of the 6,000 languages currently spoken world-wide are “moribund,” meaning they are spoken only by adults and are not being passed on to the next generation. Holm and Holm (1995) documented the decline of Navajo preschoolers entering Head Start speaking the Navajo language.

House (2002) was one the first linguists to address the language shift from Navajo to English and the dilemma of contemporary Navajos who she described as attempting in numerous ways to be like mainstream Americans while concurrently maintaining their distinctive Navajo identity. Her interviews with Navajo participants revealed a strong emphasis on Standard English because it is associated with power, prestige, status, respect, and economic benefits. She provided an accurate picture of contemporary Navajo society without romanticizing Navajo life. She described how the contemporary sociolinguistic environment of the Navajo Reservation impacts education and how children learn to bridge their Navajo and English-speaking worlds. House found that the language shift revealed discrepancies between belief and practice. For example, while Navajo society values the beauty of oral tradition and oral teachings passed down from elders, children speak predominantly English. According to House, the shift to English is a problem that needs to be solved by Navajos themselves. Some of these problems she described include how to preserve the oral tradition, the cultural values/beliefs, and the tacit knowledge of storytelling, while supporting the literate style of the school culture. While the Navajo language is not yet entirely lost, it is in danger of being lost, more children are coming to school with English as their primary language (Holm & Holm,

1990). The Navajo speech community is gradually losing its mother tongue due to both internal and external pressures (Fishman, 1991).

Fishman (1991) explained that the process of language shift occurs gradually over many years and begins from within a community of speakers although external factors instigate the change. He also argued that Internal change occurs when native speakers experience a shift in their language loyalties; people in these communities abandon their own language in favor of a higher status language initially because they believe that higher status language is more socially "useful" and beneficial (Fishman). Additionally, eventually they come to believe consciously or unconsciously that their own language is inferior, and therefore speaking that language makes them inferior too, whereas speaking the higher status language confers on them a higher social standing Fishman further contended that there are external forces including societal pressures to adopt the societal language including influences of consumerism, mass media, education, economic development, and out-marriage. When a person adopts another language, bilingualism can occur with both languages being maintained, or the first language can be displaced by the newly adapted language (Fishman). In the latter situation, he noted that intergenerational language transmission weakens. Specifically, the passing on of the language to the next generation through speaking the language to children decreases as use of the higher status language increases (Fishman). The mother tongue weakens within each successive generation to a point that the prestigious language becomes the only language of the children, and eventually, of the community (Krauss, 1996).

Language shift in American Indian communities presents a challenge for language socialization. Language plays a significant role in shaping children's knowledge of their

family and community. In tribal communities, children acquire American Indian social and cultural knowledge when they acquire the language of their community (House, 2002). Through everyday social interaction within speech contexts, children develop cognitive skills that will enable them to be members of the community. During these social interactions with their caregivers and other adults, children learn ways of communicating that are appropriate for their age and gender (Peter & Boggs, 1986; Snow & Ferguson, 1977; Wong Fillmore, 1991). When a language or code shifts to English, it presents a dilemma of how language plays a role in the transmission of cultural knowledge.

As a means of understanding the dynamics between language shift and child socialization patterns and practices, Romero (2003) examined the changes in circumstances both inside and outside of Cochiti pueblo that affect the Keresan community of New Mexico. The study involved an examination of the primary contexts and forms of knowledge acquired by children in these contexts. A crucial aspect of this study was the documentation of the continuation of the traditional socialization patterns and child rearing practices of Cochiti people. The study also revealed how these socialization practices and patterns have changed over time. Most significantly, Cochiti people are continuing to socialize their children in ways that prepare them to become responsible and competent members of the community and to perpetuate those things that make them Kuchite-me (Cochiti), even as there is a shift to English.

The questions of how the language shift to English impacts socialization in Navajo society has also been a focus (Field, 1998a; House, 1997). Field's (1998a) work was concerned with the process of language socialization and the role it plays in the

conservation of American Indian norms for language use in a community undergoing language shift. Her study pertained to the maintenance of American Indian ways of speaking despite language shift to English in the language socialization of Navajo preschoolers. Field believed that cultural patterns, schemas, or American Indian knowledge about the nature of social interaction have social meaning for the community and provide social processes through which culturally meaningful forms of interaction are transmitted to the young through language socialization. She discovered that these patterns of practice in social interaction are maintained even when the language shifts from Navajo to English (Field).

Field (1998a) viewed *socialization* as a dynamic, socially negotiated process where in learners as well as experts play an active process in co-constructing sociocultural knowledge. She explained that from the perspective of practice theory, this means that children internalize sociocultural norms and expectations concerning interaction in particular contexts through experience with interactional contexts, in social practice. Not only do children take part in joint negotiation of social activity, but they also internalize knowledge of social roles and relationships within a dialogical framework (Field). I believe that in a similar way, storytelling is shaped by social activities. Interaction patterns and norms for interactions have been found to be essential for language socialization in American Indian children (Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Philips, 1983; Field, 2001).

Field (1998a, 2001) argued that aspects of speech community's interaction or communicative practice that are tacit are the most resistant to change when the linguistic system shifts to English. She stated that they are maintained through routines and forms

of everyday communicative practice. These also happen to be the preferred context for research on language socialization. It is not surprising then that researchers concerned with American Indian patterns of interaction have used the language socialization framework to examine participation structure in an Odawa classroom (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982) and norms for participation structure in a school on the Warm Springs reservation (Philips, 1972). In addition, Scollon and Scollon (1981) documented conversational interaction focusing on norms for turn-taking and pausing in a Chipewyan community. Researchers note that interactional norms are hidden dimensions or hidden culture (Hall, 1959), reflect an invisible culture (Philips, 1983), and "typically not accessible to conscious reflection" (Field, 2001, p. 250).

Triadic Participation Structure

In this section, I discuss triadic participation structure as an example of study on language socialization of Navajo preschool children. Socialization patterns focusing on interactional routine between Navajo adults and preschool children has been the focus of research by Field (1998, 2001). Field's analysis focuses on a particular interactional routine: the giving of directives involving a triadic participation structure between caregivers and children in a Navajo community. Triadic directives are defined as adult giving directives to a child through another child. Field (2001) described how triadic directives help to constitute the social roles expected of Navajo children and the way that these directives fit into an overall pattern for Navajo interaction. Field's (2001) analysis focused on how a particular type of interactional routine involving a triadic participation structure for directive-giving works to socialize children into culturally appropriate language use.

Through the routine of triadic directive-giving, children are socialized into culturally appropriate roles and relations that embody the traditional values of self-determinancy, autonomy, and respect, all of which are captured in the Navajo concept of k'é (Field, 1998b). This interactional routine reflects a traditional pattern of language use that is also employed by adults in certain social relationships (Rushforth, 1981; Field), as a strategy for indirection, where politeness is called for. The giving of directives indexes solidarity and an intimate relationship in Athabaskan cultures (Field, 1998a; Lamphere, 1977). The use of this type of interactional routine socializes Navajo children into a relationship of solidarity (Field, 2001). Field (2001) concluded that the interactional routine of triadic-directive-giving encourages Navajo children to be responsible for themselves and their peer group, socializing them into perceiving themselves and their peers as a source of authority. She found that this interactional routine reflects the Navajo concept of k'é, and is transmitted through repetitions in everyday interaction between Navajo caregivers and their children at a fairly low level of consciousness. So much so that it is a seemingly natural aspect of language socialization. She argued that triadic directives within Navajo speech community are an integral part of the larger pattern for interaction, such that they persist and are continually employed in everyday forms of interaction, as an important social tool in the repertoire of Navajo speakers, despite the fact that the code (e.g., Navajo vs. English) being used is currently shifting (Field, 1998a). Based on the work of Field (1998b, 2001), I argue that in addition interactional routines that are sustained with the language shifts, the beliefs community members hold about their interactions are also maintained when discussing discourse practices such as storytelling.

Navajo values and beliefs about speaking and interacting. Cultural values of individual autonomy and self-determinacy have consequences for language use and are reflected in various aspects of Athabaskan interaction, such as the value placed on silence (Basso, 1970; Scollon & Scollon 1981; Saville-Troike, 1989), avoidance of direct eye gaze (Hall, 1959; Saville Troike; Chisolm, 1996), use of low volume and slow tempo in speaking (Basso, 1970), avoidance of direct questioning (Scollon & Scollon) and indirection in the use of directives (Lamphere, 1977; Basso, 1970; Rushforth & Chisolm, 1991; Field 1998a). Scholars of Navajo culture (e.g., Leighton & Kluckholn, 1948; Lamphere; Chisolm, 1996) have discussed how the general value on autonomy is related to local concepts of authority, respect, and responsibility. Chisolm (1996) discussed how important the concept of respect, or k'é (understanding one's kinship relations and how one should comport oneself in relation other persons) is to Navajo child socialization. Chisolm explained that "the most crucial manifestation of respect is honoring others' individual autonomy by demonstrating behavior that is 'restrained,' 'controlled,' and 'nonintrusive,' in short respectful" (1996, p. 78). These values are not only embedded in interaction but also discourse such as conversational discourse and narrative discourse. In the next section, I discuss how Navajo children are socialized through stories that reflect these Navajo beliefs and values as well as what we know about storytelling as a process and product in the language socialization of children in Navajo society.

In summary, the language socialization framework can be helpful in addressing questions and concerns raised about the impact of English language use on storytelling as well as on understanding interactional routines, social activities, and communication

practices in Navajo communities. Romero (2003), a scholar from Cochiti pueblo raised a number of questions for her study:

> What happens when an indigenous speech community switches from its heritage language to English? How does such a change affect the socio-cultural and sociolinguistic structures of the community? How do these changes in turn affect socialization patterns and practices? When children are no longer socialized in the heritage language by parents, are they still learning the social and cultural knowledge necessary for becoming a competent member of their cultural world? (p. 8).

The question germane to this study was how the shift to English impacts socialization patterns in storytelling and ways that Navajo parents and their children co-construct knowledge, beliefs, and practices of storytelling in contemporary society. Language socialization is beneficial in addressing the question of how social change and shift to English impacts verbal (discourse) practices such as storytelling. In addition, it helps us understand what aspects of social and cultural knowledge of storytelling practices are maintained when English replaces Navajo as the primary language of the home. Narrative discourse practices are a major source of information for children learning the ways and worldviews of their culture (Ochs, 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). This dissertation was concerned with how Navajo children who are English speaking are socialized to tell stories and therefore, I focused on children who predominantly speak English. I used the framework of language socialization to examine storytelling practices in Navajo speech communities, particularly with regard to expectations and norms related to adult and child roles and relationships. Language

socialization is a useful perspective for understanding how Navajo children become competent members of their speech community in telling stories. In the next section of this literature review, I examine the literature relative to language socialization in storytelling and what we know about stories and storytelling practices in Navajo communities.

Language Socialization in Storytelling

Differences in narrative socialization. Children learn early the types of narratives valued by their parents. According to Gee (1989), "children develop unique ways of representing events" (p. 83) and "develop narrative skills that reflect the discourse patterns of their homes and communities" (p. 83). Children are socialized to preferred communication styles as they recognize and learn patterns of story-structure that mark different types of genre (Westby, 1994). Westby defined *genre* as a "map or plan for a discourse or text" (p. 183). Narrative genres vary and serve a variety of functions such as telling stories to teach or entertain.

Heath (1986a) provided a way to compare narrative across culture and documented variation in text genres. She identified four universal types of narrative genres: recounts, eventcasts, accounts, and stories. According to Heath, *recounts* tell about past experiences in which the child participated or observed and is the most common in school performance as children are often expected to explain chronological events with causal-temporal relationships expressed through grammatical relations. Children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds may, however, have little experience with recounts (Westby, 1994). *Eventcasts* are used to describe or explain some current or anticipated event (Heath). For example, telling about how to bake a cake

is an eventcast. *Accounts* are spontaneous narratives of personal experience. This may involve sharing an experience such as telling about a trip. *Stories,* in mainstream culture, have a known structure where the main character must overcome a problem or challenge in a fictionalized narrative.

Heath's ethnographic research in three communities in the North Carolina Piedmont revealed that children participate in different kinds of social events or "ways with words" as well as stories that differ in form or structure, content, and functions. The Anglo working class in Roadville, the African American working class in Trackton, and the mixed middle class in Maintown demonstrated varied patterns of interaction around the telling of stories. The white working class community in Roadville favored factual stories with little exaggeration, while the African-American community used reality only to tell fictionalized accounts (Health, 1983). People in Roadville used stories to reaffirm group membership and behavioral norms, while the people in Trackton told stories to assert individual power. Stories in Trackton served the function of entertaining and drew on the interaction of the storyteller and audience. Children heard different kinds of stories and developed competence in telling stories in different ways.

Westby (1994) provided an in depth description of cultural variation in narrative genres and ways that children are socialized to these genres in mainstream and nonmainstream cultures. In mainstream cultures (Anglo middle class communities), children are taught to retell events succinctly in past tense, whereas in non-mainstream cultures such as African-American and Hispanic cultures, children may retell events with role-playing and use of present tense (Westby). While eventcasts are frequently used in mainstream classrooms, they are rare in nonmainstream cultures (Westby). Accounts may

be used in both mainstream and nonmainstream cultures to share experiences (Westby). In mainstream cultures there is greater stress on the organization of accounts such as show-and-tell (Michaels, 1981, 1986, 1991).

Researchers have found that narrative genres such as stories are used for different purposes in Anglo-middle class communities or mainstream cultures and racially/ethnically diverse communities (non-dominant cultures) (Heath, 1982, 1983). In some cultures such as African American homes, bedtime stories are not told and children hear fictional stories read from storybooks only after they enter schools (Heath, 1986b). Mainstream parents socialize their children to read bedtime stories as children are expected to develop habits and values that attest to their membership in a literate society (Heath, 1986b). Heath (1986b) reported that:

> Children learn certain customs, beliefs, and skills in early enculturation experiences with written materials such as the bedtime story, which is a major literacy event that helps set patterns of behavior that reoccur repeatedly through the life of mainstream children and adults. (p. 99)

She also found that parents in mainstream homes engage their children in routines of structured interactional dialogue (e.g., engaging them in labeling games and scaffolding when reading stories) to prepare them for the learning and knowledge expected in school (Heath). The norms for storytelling routines and interactions with English-speaking Navajo children are lacking and it is difficult to assume that the expected oral skills will be substantially different from the ways literacy is taught in schools. Therefore, this study on ways Navajo families interact with their children during storytelling routines added to our understanding of what is expected of Navajo children and whether they are socialized

in ways that are congruent with common expectations of school personnel. In the next section, I discuss language socialization practices in speech communities experiencing a shift from the American Indian linguistic system to English, particularly, the importance of the ideological aspects (beliefs, schemas, and models) of speaking for maintaining cultural and linguistic integrity in these communities (Field, 2001).

In framing this section, I first address what we know about what Navajo children are expected to know to competently engage in storytelling practices and what type of adult models are provided. This entails knowledge of cultural values and beliefs and an understanding of the purpose and how stories are told by adults. I then discuss Navajo thought and traditions embedded in storytelling practices and its relevance to a contemporary perspective of language socialization, and the dilemma this poses for education. I then review research that indicates that when children are socialized differently, the stories produced may differ markedly from the stories produced by children from the dominant culture and that this may impact educational performance.

Navajo Storytelling Tradition

Meyer and Bogdan (2001) stated that education for American Indian children begins at home with traditional storytelling and this "first education was done the Indian way" (p. 208). Elders believe their children are the bridge to the future, while they are the bridge to the past and therefore are concerned with how children learn what they are told (Johanna, 1993). Parents and elders play a vital role in teaching their values and Indian traditional way of knowing. Stories are told for moral and life instructions when children are mature enough and can understand traditional teachings (Meyer & Bogdan). Stories teach children how to act or behave and include taboos and social mores, social rules,

ceremonial knowledge, and historical events (Meyer & Bogdan). In this way, American Indian children, including Navajo children, are socialized through stories to learn the expectations of their communities.

Rather than lecturing their young about right and wrong, Navajos "tell stories to illustrate what they desire to teach, allowing the children to grasp for themselves what is appropriate behavior" (Mabery, 1991, p. 13). In Navajo society, an individual is responsible for his or her own development although older members of families may offer advice indirectly. Creation stories have been passed down through generations and expose Navajo children to stories of characters and animals who through their mistakes suffered the consequences of their actions (Mabery). These creation stories address moral values such as beauty, harmony, and balance, referred to as *hozho* (Mabery). Navajos believe that it is the responsibility of all to maintain hozho so it not surprising that it is the goal in discipline of children (Mabery), cultural instruction, and living well. The concept of "sa'a nághaí bek'é hózhó" reflects "wholeness, continuity of generations, one's relationship to the beginning, to the past, and to the universe, responsibility to future generations, life force and completeness" (Eder, 2007, p. 279). This concept and philosophy is embedded in teaching through stories.

Stories also give meaning to traditional Navajo ceremonies and both creation and coyote stories are used in conjunction with chants and ceremonies for all ages (Toelken & Scott, 1981). Stories are the means by which Navajos have constructed the meaning of life, of human beings, and of the universe and are the way knowledge is passed from adult to child and from one generation to the next (Eder, 2007). Principles such as an understanding that all things have a purpose and the holistic nature of life are taught

through stories (Eder). Families use stories to teach children important life principles of how to live the right way and these stories often reflect the deeper meanings of the Navajo culture (Eder). Understanding the Navajo worldview and living by its principles is an expectation that children must learn to be a member of Navajo society.

Eder (2007) examined storytelling practices among Navajo adults and discussed the perspectives of Navajo storytellers concerning the importance of the context of Navajo storytelling practices. Eight storytellers in New Mexico, Utah and Arizona were interviewed about storytelling practices in the past. She noted that these interviewees related childhood memories of storytelling in particular and that "key aspects of the storytelling context include the oral tradition, the role of elders, the emphasis of honoring relationships (k'é), interacting with the natural world, conveying meanings implicitly, and a cyclic model of life" (p. 207). Specifically, Eder discovered that the context of storytelling reflected: (a) an oral culture; (b) stories were told by elders; (c) stories emphasizing relationships of respect, having moral responsibility to self, others, and the environment by providing models of how to live; (d) a direct interaction with the natural world; and (e) a cyclical nature. Storytelling traditions then reflect patterns of thinking and cultural learning. Storytelling from a Navajo perspective differs from what is known about storytelling practices in the dominant culture. In the next section, I address some of these assumptions about storytelling practices and narrative patterns and provide examples of studies on narrative skills of Navajo children and adults.

Assumptions about Storytelling Practices in the Dominant Culture

In my review of the literature on Navajo storytelling, I found myself frequently returning to views on narrative production based on the practices of the dominant culture.

I attempted to make sense of storytelling through this framework and discovered that there are different storytelling traditions cross-culturally. Therefore, analysis using story grammar (Stein & Glenn, 1979) or high-point (Labov, 1972) procedure on Navajo storytelling, even in English, may not be appropriate because of these differences. Before I discuss findings about Navajo storytelling conducted in English using some of these procedures, it is important to mention that the patterns we look for in Anglo mainstream culture may not be evident in Navajo narratives. I provide several contrasts between storytelling practices in the dominant culture and Navajo to highlight the rich and fluid aspects of the Navajo oral tradition, to view orality as a distinct way of learning and communicating and "not as an incomplete, or imperfect use of the mind awaiting the invention of literacy" (Egan, 1987, p. 454).

Stories in the dominant culture can be read, while Navajo stories are oral in nature (Eder, 2007). Navajo stories reflect ways of knowing, while narratives in the dominant culture often reflect literate, text-based knowledge (Eder; Heath, 1983). Navajo stories are not accessible for everyone's use whereas in the dominant culture, when stories are written, they become accessible to just about everyone (Eder). As Eder noted, Anglos often make the assumption that Navajo stories can be translated without restrictions on when, where, or who tells these stories. While stories in the dominant culture are told anytime, some Navajo stories, such as the coyote and creation teaching stories are only told in the winter time. Traditional stories have seasonal significance. In addition, the structure of stories may be different. According to Eder, "many other Western assumptions and criticisms can be found in Anglo studies of Navajo stories" (p. 281). Navajo stories have a cyclical structure in that events and actions are linked and occur

simultaneously, while Anglo or Euro-American stories follow a linear pattern where the plot develops based on events that happen over time. Navajo stories may not produce plot structures typically seen in stories of mainstream, Anglo children (Brady, 1981, 1984). Children from Athabaskan communities, such as Navajo, may periodically tell narratives consisting of repetition sequences (Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Beyond the knowledge that Navajo stories are not linear, there are enormous gaps in our knowledge of the structure of stories in Navajo culture. Westby (1994) and Silliman, Diehl, Aurilio, Wilkinson & Hammargren (1995) argued that children from nonmainstream groups may have culture-specific story structures that can pose a problem when applying story grammar, event-chain, or high-point analyses with children who are not socialized to comprehend and produce linear story structures. They contended that the use of narrative analysis, such as story grammar, with children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds may lead to erroneous conclusions about narrative competence when their narratives lack expected story elements and causal connections typical of dominant culture stories.

In short, there are distinct differences in storytelling in Navajo and the dominant culture. Educators may make assumptions that Navajo children are socialized to tell stories are similar to children in the dominant culture. The experiences of Navajo children can be described in very different ways. McCabe (1997) compared one's storytelling to one's accent, in that differences in how one tells a story is as much a part of accent as are differences in pronunciation. She stated that "few people hear differences in storytelling styles as part of accent. Instead, they sometimes dismiss stories from different cultures as simply 'not making sense' as if that property were an objective, culture free one" (p.

462). In the next section, I review several studies on Navajo storytelling to give a sense of what is known about themes embedded in Navajo stories and stylistic features.

Navajo Storytelling Patterns

Storytelling, as with other communication skills, is influenced by a child's home culture and language. According to Gee (1985, p. 11), "one of the primary ways human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in a narrative form." In making sense of this experience, children will use different narrative genres for different purposes, tell stories based on themes that are valued in their culture, and structure stories that reflect the kinds of stories they hear in the home. Children learn different ways of representing knowledge through narratives. In the following discussion, I highlight some forms of storytelling valued in Navajo culture

Narrative competence in Navajo children has been documented by researchers such as Brady (1978a, 1978b, 1980, 1984) who examined narrative performance of Navajo children to determine the ways the skills of competently structuring a narrative are learned within the peer group. In Brady's (1978a) study, 10- and 11-year-old Navajo children, living near Window Rock, Arizona, told stories about the most traditional figures of Navajo belief, skinwalkers (the Navajo equivalent of werewolves). Brady (1978a) collected the stories from the children as they gathered in self-selected groups within the classroom. The narratives were told in English, the first language of most of the children in her study. She concluded that narrative competence in ordering and structuring a narrative remains intimately connected with the interactions of a narrator's peers. Through peer group interaction Navajo children learn what is acceptable, what is exciting and involving, and what is culturally meaningful.

Themes. Underlying cultural values are reflected in narrative themes and types of stories told. For example, themes of villainy, lack or loss, and trickery are culturally universal (Sutton-Smith, 1981). The "skinwalker" stories (Brady, 1981) reflect the theme of villainy. Evidence of culturally specific themes also has been documented (John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992). In their investigation of thematic variations, American Indian adolescents in high school (Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, Pueblo, and Urban American Indians) were asked to tell a story using pictures. The investigators found thematic differences among stories by children from the different speech communities. The cultural themes that emerged included: intergenerational continuity, notions of harmony, visions, and adventures that benefited one's people (John-Steiner & Panofsky). Students who used cultural themes imaginatively constructed the most sophisticated stories. The researchers concluded that the strong cultural and tribal variation in narrative production reflects cultural schemas specific to each cultural group. This study however focused on older American Indian students and it also did not describe the ways young Navajo children learn to participate in routines and activities that then support their narrative skills.

In Navajo storytelling, the thematic content may lack a plot with goal directed behavior (Worth & Adair, 1972). The focus on descriptions of events appears to be related to perception and conception of ideas. Worth and Adair examined the cognition and values of Navajos through their conception, photography, and sequential arrangement of motion pictures. They discovered the patterns for visual communication (i.e., selection of subjects, themes, organizing methods) provided an understanding of Navajo values. The six Navajo participants (ages 17-25 years) primarily focused on "walking" as an event, and walking became a necessary detail in telling a story. For example, the Navajo

film maker participants verbalized in their films that "My brother, mother, etc., goes…, then goes…, then goes…" (p. 24). When the "going" stopped, the story stopped. Worth and Adair reported that Navajo narratives such as myths contain "descriptions of walking, the landscape, and the places he passes, and dwells only briefly on what to us are plot lines" (p. 24), referring to themselves as members of the dominant culture.

The Navajo film-makers focused on describing landscape and walking, which contrasts with the Anglo perspective of telling a story which frequently includes explicit goals and plans. As adults, the stories produced reflect cultural values and themes. This study indicated that Navajo children may be socialized to produce narratives that are descriptive rather than the use of narratives with plot structures with explicit goals and plans. The themes of travel and movement are therefore important for Navajos (Worth & Adair, 1972) and the theme "walking in beauty" is referenced in most traditional stories and chants. Motion pervades the Navajo language (Kluchholn & Leighton, 1974). In myth, ritual, and conversation, Navajos describe the circumstances of travel in great detail. A mental set predisposes the Navajo to think in terms of travel, and words related to travel often appear more frequently in Navajo stories (Worth & Adair). Colby (1966) tested this with a travel word-group in an analysis. In comparison to Zunis, Navajos scored significantly higher. Colby noted that "the words walk –s, -ed, -ing, wander –s, -ed, -ing, travel, -s, -ed, -ing, sail, horseback, and creep were primarily used to indicate actual travel" (p. 379). It appears that adult themes emphasize travel in stories and perhaps children are also socialized to produce stories with these themes.

The cultural values and beliefs influence the kinds of stories that are told. As Navajo children become more acculturated, knowing how their values are expressed

through narratives as well as about the themes they have learned from their culture and history will be important. As the language shifts from Navajo to English (House, 2002), it will be important to understand how Navajo ways of knowing are maintained and the type of contextual support that is needed. In Navajo communities, the stories that were used to teach values and to reinforce social norms are connected to the vitality of their native language. For Navajos, narratives continue to have an important function in teaching and entertainment. Stories are often translated to English, which presents other challenges such as maintaining the "poetic" patterning reported by Hymes (1974, 1977, 1982). This patterning has been considered to be tacit knowledge that is resistant to change even when the language changes to English (Field, 1998, 2001).

In summary, there is a gap in the literature on how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized to tell stories. The study by Brady (1981) focused on skin-walker stories with 10 to 12 year olds and the importance of peer groups in evaluating narrative competence. In addition, John-Steiner and Panofsky (1992) used pictures to elicit themes in their study with students in high school. Worth and Adair's study (1972) focused on adults. None of these studies give us information on ways children learn to tell stories and do not include adult-child interaction in storytelling contexts. They also did not focus on language socialization i.e., how children are socialized and what children are socialized to do.

Narrative style. Narrative discourse style refers to how stories are told. In this section I address specific features of the Navajo and Athabaskan narrative discourse style including prosodic and pausal patterns (Hymes, 1982), audience involvement (Scollon &

Scollon, 1984), and paralinguistic features (Brady, 1978b). These features provide some examples of how children may be socialized to tell stories based on the adult models.

Use of paralinguistic features. Brady's (1978a) dissertation provided numerous examples of the way Navajo children used paralinguistic features to heighten the narrative performance. Navajo children's narration of skinwalker stories "do not manipulate linguistic features" (Brady, p, 191) such as syntactic or semantic features, instead "they emphasize the paralinguistic proxemic, kinesic, and interactional features in creating highly effective and artistic performances" (p. 191). Some of the paralinguistic features that were emphasized to draw the audience in included intonation, rhythm, and stress. Changes in intonation pattern indicated different speakers within a dialogue; the vocal quality provided a secretive tone; and the rhythmic flow as well as the stress of words and phrases highlighted important points. The use of sound effects, visuals through descriptions, facial expressions and gestures added to the stylized performance to involve the audience (Brady).

Features of performance-audience interaction. Narrative competence also requires an ability to understand and demonstrate the use of narrative discourse rules. In Brady's (1978b) study, this involved rules for getting and holding the floor, taking turns at storytelling, and interrupting. She described how Navajo children applied these rules. Everyone was allowed to have a turn as long as their story was thematically relevant to ensure thematic continuity. Once the storyteller began, the narrator had the floor until he/she is finished unless the audience becomes confused or insufficient information was provided, the audience was allowed to interrupt the narrator. The narrator responded either by choosing to ignore the comment or question, answering the question, or

chastising the interrupter and proceeding. Brady concluded that Navajo children evaluate and assess the competence of narrative structure and form of their peers by the storyteller's responsibility for a wide range of social and cultural knowledge, such as knowledge about the nature of social relationships, about the symbolic function of the skinwalker with the world, about the appropriate selection of listeners (usually relatives), and about the culturally defined functions of such stories.

Audience involvement. Story tellers from culturally and linguistically diverse communities such as Athabaskans often assume shared knowledge between the speaker and listener and expect that the listener will infer the meaning of the story (Scollon & Scollon, 1984). Scollon and Scollon found that both bilingual English/Athabaskan and monolingual Athabaskan students intentionally left out information in their story retellings and emphasized narrative events that were salient in their lives. That is Athabaskans left out information but assume the listener knows enough be make meaning. The Athabaskan children's stories were brief summaries of events, contrasting with the detailed narratives expected in American schools. Oral narration for this group involved the listener as audience. It may be that Navajos, like their Athabaskan relatives, also assume shared knowledge with their listeners and do not provide redundant details that is not needed to make sense of their story.

We know very little about how Navajo children are socialized to Navajo style of storytelling. Brady's study (1978b) focused on the peer-evaluation in storytelling and did not focus on style of storytelling as her research objective. I provided descriptions of Navajo narrative discourse style to show that children exhibit some of the paralinguistic features to add to narrative performance. However, it is not clear how they learned to

produce these stylistic features (i.e., using intonation and stress to keep their listener's attention). Scollon and Scollon (1984) demonstrated that Athabaskan children, show preference for audience involvement, and perhaps this applies to Navajo children as well. These studies did not provide information on how children are taught these the rules for getting and holding the floor, taking turns at storytelling, and interrupting, which are unique stylistic narrative features Navajo children demonstrate by 10 years of age.

In summary, because of the lack of research on how children are socialized to tell stories in Navajo families, a study addressing these issues would add to the growing body of knowledge language socialization in storytelling and on cross-cultural differences in narrative discourse. The existing literature does not adequately address the problem of the lack of documentation on how English speaking Navajo children learn to tell stories in contemporary Navajo society from their experienced members of their communities. A study of language socialization in storytelling practices may reveal much about how Navajo children interact with other experienced members of their families to learn how to tell stories that meet the expectation and norms for storytelling.

Chapter 3

Methods

Overview

The purpose of this study was to examine how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized to tell stories, including both the process and the product of storytelling. The focus was on when, how, where, and why English-speaking Navajo children tell and learn to tell stories in the home and community. In order to understand how stories are told, it was important to find out what routines, contexts, and interactions support storytelling in the home and community.

The research questions that guided this work included a primary question and subquestions. My primary question was "How are English speaking Navajo children socialized to tell stories?" The subquestions were:

1. How do English-speaking Navajo children participate in storytelling activities in the home and community?
2. How do English-speaking Navajo children share stories in the home and community?
3. What routines shape storytelling skills at home and community?
4. In what contexts are stories told in home and community?

I used language socialization as the theoretical and methodological frame for this study. According to Denzin (1989), the "theoretical perspective (behaviorism, critical theory, etc.,) and values affect what you look for and consequently, how you describe what you 'find'" (p. 28). My intent with this study was to use the language socialization framework to increase understanding of how English-speaking Navajo children are

socialized to tell stories.

Research Design

Qualitative research is an "umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry that help us understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible" (Merriam, 2001, p. 5). According to Glesne (2006), qualitative studies are best at contributing to a greater understanding of perceptions, attitudes, and processes. According to Maxwell (2005):

> Qualitative research helps achieve the following goals: (a) understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, experiences, and actions they are involved with or engaged in; (b) understanding the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions, and; (c) understanding the process by which events and actions take place. (p. 22)

As Merriam stated, "the major strength of qualitative research is getting to the processes that led to the outcomes" (1988, p. xii). This study intended to provide a greater understanding of perceptions and processes of socialization practices regarding storytelling within Navajo families. Therefore, I conducted a language socialization study employing observations and interviews as primary research methods.

Description of Methodology

This study focused on storytelling practices and how children are socialized to the process and products of storytelling as part of everyday family life. Therefore I used a variety of data sources including observations, interviews, documents, audio recording of stories, researcher journal, field notes and demographic/contextual information. It was

important to ensure cultural and ecological validity of observations. As a Navajo researcher observing Navajo families, I drew on my cultural experiences and knowledge of the community in interacting with families in such a way that is congruent with local cultural norms. The majority of the interviews and observations were conducted in the summer. Due to the timing of approval of my consent forms, data collection related to interviewing and home observation did not coincide with the winter storytelling season as expected. I made several visits to the community during the winter season and looked for community events related to storytelling. There were no public announcements or invitations to traditional storytelling. In the homes observed, there was no mention of them during member checking.

Site Selection

I chose Tuba City, Arizona, a community on the Navajo reservation, as a site for my study. My initial proposal referred to the community using a pseudonym, however, the Navajo Nation Research Review Board requested that I use the actual name of the community rather than the pseudonym, so that change was made and approved by UNM/IRB. One primary reason I selected Tuba City is that it is my home community. I was born in the community and lived there until high school. I return to visit immediate family members periodically throughout the year. My intimate knowledge of this community and memory of its people allowed me to conduct this study in the least intrusive manner possible, as my presence at community events and family gatherings is an expected pattern of occurrence. Most children of Tuba City speak predominantly English while some of the parents and grandparents are Navajo speakers. Most families living in Tuba City community have close ties with grandparents and other extended

family members. If parents work outside the home, the children are often cared for by a relative or the grandparents. In the early years of life children in this community generally maintain physical proximity to their parents and other family caregivers.

General description. Tuba City reflects a typical Navajo community in which community functions include seasonal cultural, ceremonial events that involve group participation and storytelling. The community is primarily comprised of Navajo tribal members and is located in the Western agency of the Navajo Nation. The community has public and Bureau of Indian Education schools and early childhood programs such as Head Start programs are available within the community. While tribal efforts have been made to maintain the language and culture in this community, English has become the common language in the schools. Another reason I chose this site was because the Navajo people of the Western part of the Navajo reservation continue to maintain many cultural practices even in light of the growing trend toward predominant English use in the community of Tuba City.

Social climate. Since Tuba City is a small community, people generally know one another. This community has a mixture of more traditional and bicultural families, with some families are more assimilated or acculturated to Western views of parenting. Navajo is commonly spoken by the elders and used in community and family functions. Navajo families continue to practice k'é (respect for kinship) within their extended clans. In some families, such as my own, young children have their parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and great-great grandparents. My maternal grandmother interacted with the fifth generation. Sadly, because most of her great and great-great grandchildren speak English primarily, her communication with them was limited.

Organizational structure. The community has a chapter house, a local government comprised of tribal officials that is part of the larger tribal governance. The leadership for the community is established by the officers who serve as the governing board at the chapter level. It has a relationship with the central government of the Navajo Nation, and the community is included in major decisions for the people through elected council members. Chapters receive funds from the Navajo Nation to address the needs of the community members.

Participant Selection

I used a purposeful sampling strategy to find a representative sample for conducting family interviews and observations of selected children and their families. The families of the young children I selected primarily included parents, grandparents, and an aunt who spent time with children selected for the study. I recruited two families of English-speaking children within the target age range (three to six years of age) for this study. My initial goal was to recruit 2-3 families. The primary child participants were one 3-year old female from one home, and two male siblings, ages 4 and 6 years of age from a second home. There were two secondary child participants. One was a 13-year old female who was an aunt to the two boys and the other child was 1-year old boy and a brother to the female child participant. There were six adult females who participated in the interviews and all but one participated in the observations as well.

Only adult family members participated in the interviews and I was able to recruit multiple adults (two to four) from each family to participate in interviews. Two adult family members were recruited for the two siblings. Four adults were recruited for the other primary child participant. Recruiting multiple informants from each family allowed

for multiple perspectives and richer description of the language socialization practices within each family. Adult family members were observed as they interacted with their child or children during home observations. All participants who initially consented to participate in the study continued through the end; no participants withdrew from the study.

My plan was to recruit 2-3 children between 3 and 6 years of age for in-depth observations. I recruited three children who were 3, 4 and 6 years old. Initially, I gave a range of 2-3 children to account for any attrition of participants that may occur. I had planned to limit the number of primary child participants to three because I was anticipating that I would engage in intensive observation in the homes over five days. Other children were present during these observations, therefore, I obtained parental consent and child assent (if older than seven) for these participants. I did not include the children in the interviews. I had planned to remove a child participant if he or she missed two consecutive days of focused observations in the home. In the event the primary child participant was ill, I had planned to reschedule the observation in the home. Fortunately, I did not remove any participants and was able to reschedule visits as needed.

Recruitment methods. Recruitment occurred through dissemination of an approved flyer describing what the study was about and who to contact. See Appendix A for the flyer. I gave flyers inviting family members (e.g., parents, grandparents, etc.) of potential participants. I disseminated fifty flyers to informal networks of extended or clan relatives. To identify potential families with young children, I also disseminated flyers through formal networks such as posting in frequently visited places in the community such as the post office, stores, Head Start offices and early intervention programs. I

provided sufficient information to the participants so they knew who to contact about the study. Four families expressed interest but after I provided a statement of purpose to inform potential participants of what their role would be and how information collected from him or her would be used, two families declined.

Participant selection. In the initial contact with potential participants, I screened adult and primary child participants to determine whether they met the following inclusion criteria. The children I selected for home observations met several criteria. Because of the focus of the study, child participants were Navajo, between age three and six, spoke English predominantly, and lived in or near the community of Tuba City. I was able to include two boys ages 3 and 6, and one girl, age 3, in my sample. I engaged each child in Navajo to determine whether they met the language criteria; all three children were English speakers.

Adult participants also had to meet the criteria of being Navajo. They lived in or near the community, spoke English, and spent at least 8-16 hours a week with the primary child participant participating in the study. I selected six adult participants who were family members of a child who met the selection criteria. All but one adult family member who participated in the interviews also participated in home observations. I verbally informed those adult participants whom I selected for subsequent interviews and home observations that they were eligible and gave them an opportunity to review the consent form, ask me questions, and determine whether they would like to consider participating in this study. None of the adults were removed from participating in interviews or the study for missing appointments. I also verbally informed two families who did not meet the selection criteria that they were not eligible to participate in the

study. One parent indicated her child was two so she did not qualify and another parent lived outside of the community. I informed participants that they were eligible or ineligible based on the criteria for participant selection.

Informed consent/assent. Because I conducted this study on the Navajo Nation, I followed all requirements for conducting research including obtaining informed consent and assent, stipulated by UNM's and the Navajo Nation IRB committees. When I recruited a prospective participant, I reviewed information about the study. Copies of my approved informed consent/assent and child assent forms were available to participants. I obtained informed consent from the adult participants by presenting the research orally, obtaining written consent on the IRB approved consent form and documenting the consent process in the participant research file. I also obtained informed consent from the parents of the child participants, as well as their assent to participate. I discussed the processes for obtaining informed consent and assent in the following sections. I stored the signed consent forms in a locked file drawer in my office located at UNM's Center for Development and Disability. Also I provided copies of consent forms to participants for their records.

Informed consent. I gave the consent form to potential adult participants for review and consideration to consent to participate in interviews and/or home observations. The consent form was written in English and I read the consent form in to the potential adult participants when it was necessary. The consent form described the purpose of the study, procedures, and potential risks, and I followed UNM IRB guidelines as well as Navajo Nation requirements. I answered questions about the study in English but was prepared to answer in Navajo, depending on individual preference.

Parental consent and child assent. Since the study involved children or children under the age of eighteen, I obtained children's assent to participate in the study. Therefore, I talked to the parents before having the child decide whether or not to be in the study. I gave the consent form and child assent form to the parents to discuss with other family members and address any concerns and questions about the research. I told children and family members that their participation was voluntary, and that they could decide not to participate at any time. Since no participants withdrew, no data was returned to any participants. I minimized the possibility of coercion or undue influence by allowing the parents to come to a decision about enlisting their child in the study on their own. I obtained consent by the parent for prospective children participating in the home observations once the parent had an opportunity to review the form.

I ensured that the child assent process took place with the parents present in sessions with me. With parental permission and one parent present, I approached potential children who were three to six years of age to inform them of the study. Once the primary child participants were selected, parental consents were obtained. Other children in the family who were present during the observation also required parental consent for participation. One child assent form was completed for a participant who was eleven years of age. I presented the assent form in a way that was understandable. I read the assent form to the child and used check boxes on the assent forms for children ages 7-11 to indicate whether the child agreed to participate or not.

Risks and benefits. A potential risk to an identifiable community was that the cultural and community events, once revealed, could be scrutinized by community members and other researchers. Due to a breach of privacy and or confidentiality,

participants and their family could risk having family information open to the public. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), "agreeing to participate is not equivalent to agreeing to be quoted" (p. 254). They contend that "quoting individuals exposes them to special risks because other locals may, because of their special knowledge, be able to identify the respondent" (p. 254). To mitigate this, I maintained my use of pseudonyms even when quoting participants.

I maintained anonymity and confidentiality. I took measures to prevent raw or processed data from being linked with a specific informant. I made every effort to protect the identity of the participants and their families and maintain their privacy by using pseudonym names on field notes, digital recording labels, transcripts, and files. I did this by coding all of the items and kept the key to the code in a locked file drawer, separate from the data. The study would have been terminated in the event that the community leadership no longer endorsed and supported the study. Given these precautions, I believed the risk for harm relative to physical, emotional distress, or economic hardship was not likely and more than minimal.

Expected benefit. The expected benefit to the participants was learning about storytelling practices in their family and an increasing awareness of the storytelling in development and preservation of cultural practices. In accordance with the Navajo Nation IRB policies, I developed a dissemination plan, which included presentations to appropriate tribal communities and programs regarding the data findings. In the future, I will share the importance of my findings and continue to look for ways to support the role of storytelling in socializing children to language use. For educators, the benefit of the study is a better understanding of storytelling in teaching. Teachers might be able to

match materials they use to the language experiences of children when they understand how Navajo children are socialized to use the language. Community members will also benefit directly by finding ways to preserve storytelling practices and socialization in the English language.

Data Collection and Recording

I used the following methods for accomplishing the goals of this qualitative study: participant observations, interviews, research journal, and document review. The rationale for these techniques was to ensure that the more sources I tap, the richer my data and the more believable my findings will be. I chose these techniques because they were likely to elicit data needed to gain understanding of the phenomenon of language socialization in storytelling and these techniques were likely to contribute different perspectives on my topic. In this section, I described procedures for each of these methods. I began with the most general procedure (document review and research journal) then discussed observation in the community, interviewed family members, and ended with in-depth observation of children in the homes. The review of documents, writing field notes, and journaling were ongoing in the community for eight months.

Document review. I reviewed public documents and artifacts pertaining to storytelling events in the community. During the participant recruitment phase of the study, I described the community context by visiting common public places and community events. I spent a day in the community during this period to view bulletin boards and post flyers in such places as the chapter house, hospital, stores, post office, library, and community center. I took pictures of artifacts using a digital camera and described the context in which they were presented in my research journal at least twice a

month for rich description. When in public places or participating in community events, I did record or take pictures of sacred cultural objects, or faces of people or events that would identify the people and the community.

Research journal. I used field notes from interviews and observation for subsequent analysis. As suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) I maintained three forms of notes in a journal format. These include "a log of day-to-day activities," "a personal log" and a "methological log" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 281). The day-to-day log entailed date, time of day, and activities taking place. The personal log contained personal reflections about what was happening in the field, expectations about what happened next, my own biases, and questions. The methodological log recorded decisions made relative to the methods I used.

Janesick (2000) stated that "a researcher can own up to his or her perspective on the study" and "track its evolution by keeping a critical reflective journal on the entire research process and the particular role of the researcher" (p. 385). As a participant researcher in my own community, a research journal allowed me to capture my experiences as a member of the community and my own experiences with storytelling with family and community members. I used the journal to capture and explore my own memories, beliefs and values related to storytelling events and processes. I used a journal to describe my reflections and note why certain things were valued and important. I also recorded my own reflections of my personal experiences with community members in a public context.

In addition to recording periodic reflections, I also recorded field notes in my journal following major data collection events. I recorded my reflections and

observations in the journal on a weekly basis during the six to eight month data collection period. I used a notebook to record my reflections and observations following any major data collection effort (e.g., interviews, interaction with the family, and observations). When I returned to my home office, I typed my notes on my laptop, labeled the document with the date of reflection, and saved as a password protected MS Word document. I categorized the journal entries and kept the flash drive and hard copies in a locked filing drawer in my office.

Community observations. Drawing on ethnographic procedures, I used participant observation procedures in the community of Tuba City to document activities attended by community members, particularly if the events relate to storytelling.

One purpose for my participant observations in the community was to gain entry into the community and identify events that incorporate storytelling activities to determine the context in which stories were told, who told the stories, and what the stories were about. According to Glesne (2006), participant observation requires observation and analysis of observations for meaning and for evidence of personal bias. The researcher consciously records in detail aspects of his/her experiences (Glesne). Fieldwork early on may require spending time in various places to get to know people and becoming more comfortable with the researcher (Glesne). Getting to know the people may involve entry to closed places that are controlled by a person or group (Glesne). In Navajo communities, elders are considered the "gate keepers" of knowledge and stories. In addition, in studying "members of a culture-sharing group or individuals representative of the group," (Creswell, 2007, p. 120) it is also important to "gain the confidence of informants" (p. 120). The informants in my study consisted of family members of young

children. Gaining acceptance by elders and family members was important to observing in homes and various places in the community. I used field notes to document how I gained entry into storytelling contexts in the homes.

The second purpose of my participant observations was to document the setting, people, and community events related to storytelling. I conducted observations and gathered field notes of public activities related to storytelling in the community. In accordance with Creswell's (2007) suggestion, I gathered field notes first by observing as an "outsider" and then by moving into the setting and observing as an "insider" (p. 130). As a participant observer, I immersed myself in the community to develop an "insider's" perspective by participating in cultural and storytelling activities.

As a participant observer, I observed community members including families with children in public places during the six to eight month period including winter season. I recorded my observations in my research journal to capture descriptions of public places, community events, and community activities that are pertinent to the focus of this study.

I observed the setting, took note of the participants in the setting, took note of the events and looked for acts and gestures that occurred within them (Glesne, 2006). While maintaining the anonymity of people in public places by using pseudonyms and descriptions that would not identify them, I used field notes to record information about the setting, people, and community events and activities. I used field notes to describe storytelling interactions among children, between children and adults, and among adults in general. I used these notes to reflect, create research memos, and makes notes about patterns that were emerging.

Interviews. I used another ethnographic procedure, interviewing, with adult family members only. My goal in interviewing adults was to gain an understanding of their role in storytelling as well storytelling practices in their home from their perspective. My hope was to obtain information related to storytelling in the home from the adult perspective. I confirmed the time and place of the interview with the participants. I obtained informed consent from each of the respondents selected for the interviews as I discussed in the prior section.

I interviewed each of the six interview participants from the two families selected at the time and location of their choice. I had planned to interview at least three individual family members per primary child participant. I interviewed four family members for one child participant and two family members of the two siblings. The individual interview with each family member was approximately one hour. I conducted one follow-up interview for three participants to either provide more time for the interview or clarify any responses.

I used a semi-structured interview approach to gather information on the adult's experiences with how they engaged their children in storytelling activities and how they shared or used stories in the home and community. I designed the interview questions to capture the perspective of storytelling of each family member interviewed. See Appendix B for the interview protocol. The interview began with some grand tour questions (Spradley, 1979). For example, "What do you think of when you hear the word 'storytelling'?" This allowed the participants to feel more relaxed and provide information about the context of the home.

The questions helped me better understand the interviewee's social situation:

people involved in their lives who they see as good story tellers, places where stories are told, activities or routines which were related to storytelling, oral expectations for telling a story, the interviewee's feelings about stories, storytelling, and the story teller in relation to time, activities, events, places and people. I explored storytelling practices such as types of stories told as well as where-, when-, who-, and how-questions relative to storytelling. These topics were important for understanding how each family member viewed storytelling in general but also how their life experiences were tied to their views.

I supplemented the digital audiorecording with field notes during the interview to capture nonverbal cues and flag items I may want to return to later. Field notes were preferred over recordings by Lincoln and Guba (1985) because "field notes provide ready access to the investigator who may wish to return to an earlier point and refresh both his or her own and the respondent's memory of what was said or seen; finding the right spot on the tape for this purpose is a difficult task" (p. 241). And they reported that field notes "permits the investigator to record his or her own thoughts, whether an insight that has occurred that should be followed up or simply a comment on the disjunction between the respondent's verbal and nonverbal behavior" (p. 241).

At the end of the interview, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested summarizing for the respondent what the interviewer believes has been said. They believe that this process "invites the respondent to react to member check the validity of the constructions the interviewer has made" (p. 271). I thanked the participant for her cooperation and informed the participant that if there was a need to clarify exchanges that were not clear, I would contact them to schedule a follow up interview. I personally thanked each participant for participating.

Recording and transcription of adult interviews. I recorded the interviews if permitted using a digital recorder. I transcribed each of the digital recordings verbatim using transcription software. I followed transcriptions conventions using a simple transcription sheet. See Appendix C. I translated and tried to keep the Navajo wording if a person said something in Navajo. If I had questions about the recordings, I contacted the respondent to clarify the utterance. After transcribing the interviews, I displayed the contextual information and adult responses in separate files because it was difficult in MS Word to display both the verbal responses and the nonlinguistic context. I tracked my notes and recording to accurately reflect the nonverbal context. Transcriptions were given to participants for review and input on the accuracy of the interview. There were no questions or need for clarification based on these reviews.

Observation of children in the home and community. My goal was to document and interpret language socialization relative to storytelling in the households of English-speaking children. Therefore, I supplemented my observation of social practices in the community and my interviews with family members regarding their experiences with daily in-depth observations of children in the home over a two day period to obtain an understanding of social and cultural practices underlying storytelling events. My initial plan was to record my observation of each of the two to three children over a period of five days. For the first three days, I had planned to observe in the home and look for specific routines in the home when stories were shared. The last two days of the home observation were to focus on audiorecording some of those events. My plans changed when it became too obtrusive to observe for a week. It was more comfortable and feasible

for the family to have me observe over two days. During these two days, I observed interactions between the adults and three child participants.

I observed and recorded each of the three children in this study at regular intervals over a period of two days. I observed each child in the home for up to 16 hours. I had hoped to have 6 to 15 hours of audio-recordings of children and their family members. I was able to get 7 hours of audio recordings for both families. One of the reasons for reduced audio recording was because most of the recording occurred in the home of a female child participant. There was more verbal communication to record in her home. In the home of the two boys, they were more physically active and less verbal. I did not videotape interactions between children and their family members.

***Focused observations*.** I used the participant observation technique in the home as I focused on recording and observing a single child in each family. I observed two three year old Navajo children and one six year old in their homes with family members present. I recorded my observations of each of the children over a period of two days. In my participant observation in the home, I focused on children's storytelling experiences and activities with family members. I observed and wrote notes concerning the social setting, activities, events, actions or behaviors of children and their family members. I also took notes on behaviors and events that occurred in the home as it related to storytelling.

Operational definition of story. My definition of story entailed talking about events that were consistent with the home culture (Heath, 1983). Narrative is described as a personal account of something that happened that serves the function of making sense of the experience (McCabe & Bliss, 2003). I was interested in the production of

narrations of personal experiences for the purpose of sharing experiences. The literature suggests that two types of narrative genres (recounts and accounts) are common in non-dominant cultures (Heath, 1986a; Westby, 1994). Recounts refer to retelling of events in past tense and accounts refer to sharing experiences (Heath; Westby). I recorded narrations that entail sharing personal experiences in the form of accounts or recounts.

Recording of stories. By talking to the family and observing the family, I was able to schedule and observe storytelling routines and interactions and record with a digital recorder. The language samples or observed speech behavior focused on storytelling preferences displayed by the novices (children in the study) and competent members in the community (adult family members) following Schieffelin's and Ochs' (1986b) terms. My observations primarily occurred in the home. There were no opportunities to follow the child and his/her family in the community due to transportation issues. Parents did not have their own vehicles.

In my document review in the home context, I specifically looked for sources of storytelling by examining materials such as books, pictures, drawings, props, or anything in print associated with storytelling that are in the home. I took pictures of these items and recorded information about them in my research journal, with the permission of the family. I made sure that I did not take pictures of items or people that would be identifiable.

Recording and transcription. I synchronized my field notes and digital recording to capture any storytelling activities. I transcribed all of the digital recordings from the home observations.

Data Management

Methods by which I managed qualitative data entailed how the data was organized and stored. I maintained a filing system for field notes, journaling, and recordings. I backed up the information on flash drives and stored them in locked file drawer. I used a computer with encryption to maintain electronic copies of the information collected.

Data storage. I protected each of the participant's identifying data including name, parent names, addresses, telephone number, and home location by using pseudonym names for child and adult participants, including parents. I kept contact information such as telephone numbers, addresses, in a locked file drawer. Each participant's contact information was necessary for scheduling and conducting the interviews and observation in the homes. I maintained privacy and confidentiality during participant recruitment, consenting, and research procedures, and follow-ups by creating a link between participants and pseudonyms. I kept this link on a flash drive with a password in a locked file cabinet and I kept the list until the data analysis was complete. The Navajo Nation Human Research Review board required that all data be turned over when the data is no longer needed after the dissertation defense, including all digital images on a flash drive that was encrypted and any documents including photographs, photocopies and hard copies of printed materials in the locked file cabinet. I coded the data (e.g., field notes and transcriptions) by pseudonyms to protect it against disclosure to the public or to other researchers or non-researchers. I have limited access of others to the data. Only my dissertation committee and the IRB members may have access to the data upon request. Navajo Nation Human Research Review Board requests the data after the study. I do not plan to use results from this study that are identifiable or linked for future

studies. I have maintained some of the data on my personal computer and a flash drive and both required a password to access the data. I have kept hardcopies of data in the locked file cabinet.

Recordings. I kept all digital recordings of the interviews in a locked cabinet. I kept the recordings of the interviews with by participants through the duration of the transcription, coding, and analysis in a locked file cabinet with pseudonyms. My dissertation advisor had access to the transcripts. The Navajo Nation Human Research Review Board mandates that all data belongs to the Navajo Nation, therefore, all data and recordings will be turned over to the tribe once the recordings have been transcribed and the data has been analyzed.

Data Analysis

According to Creswell (2007), "data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organizing the data (i.e., text data as in transcripts…) for analysis, then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion" (p. 148). These core elements of qualitative data analysis involve detailed procedures for analysis.

I drew on LeCompte (2000) for analysis procedures. LeCompte recommends looking initially for the source of bias. She stated that "selectivity cannot be eliminated, but it is important to be aware of how it affects data collection, and hence, the usefulness and credibility of research results" (p. 146). LeCompte likened analysis to an assembly of a jigsaw puzzle, in which researchers "determine how to organize their data and use it to construct an intact portrait of the original phenomenon under study and second, to tell readers what that portrait means" (p. 147).

Organizing data. According to LeCompte (2000), "tidying up is an absolutely necessary first step to coding and analyzing data" (p. 148). In order to "tidy up," I typed into a digital file and stored all data in two locations. I put all field notes and interviews into a file in order of their dates of creation. I developed files for data such as transcripts, researcher journal and field notes. As she suggested, I organized to "create other files based on type of data (e.g., interviews, field notes, artifacts), participants (e.g., data separated into files for community members, family members, and children), and topic (e.g., recruitment of families, home characteristics, etc.,)" (p. 148). It was also important to "catalog and store all documents, create an index or table of contents for all data" (p.148) as she recommended. I compared research questions against the data collected and look for data that might have been missed as she recommended.

Coding and analysis. I began developing initial codes from research memos and transcripts. In accordance with LeCompte (2000), I identified "items or units of analysis" in the data set which I coded. LeCompte described this coding process as sifting and sorting data "by repeated readings through field notes, interviews, and text to identify items relevant to the research questions" (p. 148).

I drew on steps used by Strauss (1998) for "open coding," "axial coding," and "selective coding" of field notes. Open coding refers to scanning the field notes and then focusing on the first few lines; axial coding requires more intense coding around single categories, and selective coding refers to coding that involves linking categories and subcategories (Strauss, 1998).

Once the items or units were identified, I organized them into groups or categories by comparing and contrasting items (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The purpose of these

mixing and matching activities was “to clump together items that are similar or go together” (LeCompte, 2000, p. 149). As I engaged in this grouping process, I looked for items that were similar and different to begin describing the emerging patterns. Spradley’s (1979) set of guidelines that reflect semantic relationships was helpful at this stage of my analysis to create taxonomy categories.

Once I had categories or taxonomies of similar items, I began to look for patterns. According to LeCompte (2000), the process of creating patterns is analogous to linking similar pieces in the jigsaw puzzle, in that “locating patterns involves reassembling them in ways that begin to resemble a coherent explanation or description of the program, event, or phenomenon under study” (p. 150). Once I identified the related groups or linked patterns, I was able to describe my findings with regard to how English-speaking Navajo children were socialized to tell stories. Finally, I developed tables to organize my data. To provide a visual depiction of the patterns, I created diagrams to capture the relationships among patterns.

In an effort to categorize my data into patterns as a basis for organizing and reporting my results, I used Dedoose an online qualitative data analysis software. Initially I planned to use NVivo 9 a qualitative data analysis software however, due to the cost of renewing its use, I switched to Dedoose. Dedoose was a more cost-effective way to complete my coding and analysis. Dedoose also allowed for sharing my ongoing analysis with my research advisor. Following transcription of the interviews, I uploaded my transcripts into Dedoose. I identified and coded themes from the transcripts using Dedoose online qualitative analysis software. Coding involved reviewing the data, demarcating segments, and labeling the segment with a code. The content of interviews

and observations were segmented and coded. In Dedoose, the term “codes” are labels (words or short phrases) used to attach meaning to the data. I engaged in an iterative process of hypothesis generation, modification, and reconsidering until I captured what was meaningful to the participants. In the coding of the transcripts, I identified meaningful units in each transcript and coded them. I then reviewed the codes and looked for similar codes and grouped similar ones. I merged the codes into progressively larger groupings to create themes. There were three different levels in the hierarchy: parent codes, child codes, and grandchild codes. The parent codes helped define major concepts related to my research questions and helped organize the story. Child codes provided richer details in the data which help to tell the story. Grandchild codes allowed for anecdotal stories. In the results section, I presented examples of excerpts I identified and codes used to organize into themes and subthemes. The codes developed helped to answer my research questions.

Coding of narrative features. Drawing on the literature, I developed a checklist of observable features of Navajo storytelling themes and style. See Appendix D for preliminary categories of narrative productions influenced by Navajo culture. I used these categories as potential categories to analyze narratives, rejecting those that do not appear and allowing and allowing new categories to emerge from the data.

Building Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, establishing trustworthiness or research validity is critical (Glesne, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In planning for how I would collect, organize, and analyze my data, it was essential that I consider and implement techniques for ensuring trustworthiness in my data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) offered four

trustworthiness criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. First they state that "credibility" is an equivalent to the conventional term "internal validity," "transferability," is equivalent to "external validity," "dependability" is equivalent to the "reliability" and finally "confirmability" is equivalent to "objectivity" (p. 300). Verification procedures were developed by Lincoln and Guba to help researchers build trustworthiness. To make sure that my data was credible, I employed their procedures particularly triangulation of data, external checking on the inquiry process and member checking. Lincoln and Guba suggested the following techniques:

> Activities that make it more likely that credible findings and interpretations will be produced (prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation); and activity that provides an external check on the inquiry process (peer debriefing); an activity aimed at refining working hypotheses as more and more information becomes available (negative case analysis); an activity that makes possible checking preliminary findings and interpretations against archived "raw data' (referential adequacy); and an activity providing for the direct test of findings and interpretations with the human sources from which they have come-the constructors of the multiple realities being studied (member checking). (p. 301)

To meet the transferability criterion, Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that the researcher has "the responsibility to provide the data base that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers" (p. 316). The researcher can "provide only thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a

possibility" (p. 316). In my writing of the results, I provided rich descriptions so that the reader would be able to gain insight of the research context.

To meet dependability criterion, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that the research "examine the process on the inquiry, and determine its acceptability" (p. 318). As a researcher, I examined the "product such as the data, findings, interpretations, and recommendations" (p. 318) that was supported by the data.

To meet confirmability criterion, Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend keeping a journal for confirmability which can "dovetail with the audit process" (p. 319). A research journal was therefore important for establishing trustworthiness in all areas: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (p. 328). According to Lincoln and Guba:

> Triangulation of data is crucially important in naturalistic studies. As the study unfolds and particular pieces of information come to light, steps should be taken to validate each against at least one other source (for example, a second interview) and/or a second method (for example, an observation in addition to an interview) (p. 283).

In my analysis, my advisor and dissertation committee served as "auditors" by examining my research process and products by reviewing my field notes, research journal, coding and analysis. I also shared my emerging analysis with the members of a critique group composed of doctoral student peers and advisor several times. I conducted member checks throughout the study. One way "member check" can be done is that the researcher writes a report of his analysis and then it is "taken to the site and subjected to scrutiny of the persons who provided information (Lincoln & Guba, p. 236). Lincoln and Guba

stated “the task is to obtain confirmation that the report has captured the data as constructed by the informants, or to correct, amend, or extend it, that is, to establish the credibility of the case” (p. 236). I shared my transcript with the participants. I discussed my analytic research memos with my advisor and shared my report with the adult participants to make sure that I represented their views and practices accurately.

In summary, I used my field notes to describe the setting, participants, and events and transcribed the interviews to create text for analysis. I coded and analyzed the data for relationships and patterns (themes). I examined the themes and subthemes that emerge through the initial coding and categorization of the field notes, journal, and transcripts. I interpreted and made sense of the findings of “how the culture works” (Creswell, 2007, p. 156) regarding how Navajo children are socialized to tell stories and thereby answered my research questions.

Chapter 4

Results

The purpose of this study was to examine how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized to tell stories in English including both the process and the product of storytelling. My primary question was "How are English speaking Navajo children socialized to tell stories?" The specific questions addressed were:

1. How do English-speaking Navajo children participate in storytelling activities in the home and community?
2. How do English-speaking Navajo children share stories in the home and community?
3. What routines shape storytelling skills at home and community?
4. In what contexts are stories told in home and community?

In this chapter, I present my research findings which are presented by themes (parent codes) and subthemes (child and grandchild codes).

Before I present the findings, I will describe the context of the research so that background information about the participants and the context of the community and households provide a clear picture of context in which data was collected. This study was conducted in two homes in Tuba City, Az. There were three primary child participants including two male siblings in one home, Kyle, age 4, and Tommy, age 6 and a female in another home, Sarah, age 3. In addition to the three primary participants, two secondary child participants and six adults were included in the study. See Table 1 for participant descriptions in both homes. The table lists participants in Sarah's family followed by Kyle's and Tommy's family. Michael and Amanda are secondary child participants.

Table 1

Demographic Descriptions of Participants

	Name	Age	Gender	Relationship	Language
Sarah's	Michael	1	Male	Brother	English
Family	Anna	24	Female	Mother	English
	Rhonda	46	Female	Grandmother	English
	Jennifer	43	Female	Great-Aunt	English
	Linda	67	Female	Great-grandmother	Navajo/English
Tommy's	Amanda	13	Female	Aunt	English
& Kyle's	Ella	24	Female	Mother	English
Family	Georgia	46	Female	Grandmother	Navajo/English

I interviewed members of the two families in their homes. In each home, I sat down with a member of the family who agreed to participate. In Sarah's home, I conducted the interviews at the kitchen table. In the home of Tommy and Kyle, I went to quiet areas of the home to avoid the interruptions from the boys. I took a recorder out and placed it in sight. As the questions were presented, each person took as much time as they needed to talk about her experiences with storytelling.

The first observation and interviews were conducted with Holmes (Sarah's) family. I spent two days in the home. All the interviews were conducted in the home and it took about an hour to an hour and half to complete. I interviewed Rhonda, Sarah's grandmother, first in the month of April. I then interviewed Rhonda's mother, Linda, and Rhonda's daughter, Anna on the same day a few days later in the month of May 2013. I interviewed Jennifer, Sarah's great-aunt, later in January 2014 even though she consented in May 2013, due to scheduling conflicts. Two of the days (16 hours total) in the month of May were spent just observing Sarah and her brother in their daily interactions with family members. The verbal interactions were related literacy and shared-story telling. I

did not obtain a narrative sample from Sarah as there was not an opportunity where she told a story or retold a story. At the end of the second day, it became apparent that the family was beginning to feel uneasy with my continued presence so I ended the observations.

I observed and completed the interviews in the Begay household in late July 2013. I interviewed Georgia and her daughter, Ella, Kyle and Tommy's grandmother and mother, respectively, on the same day. The interview with Georgia was longer, about an hour and half, while the interview with Ella was short, less than an hour. Ella was frequently interrupted by her children although we tried to find a quiet place in the home. I observed Tommy and his brother, Kyle, for two days in July 2013. Amanda, a secondary child participant, was in the home during this time and offered information about her experiences which I recorded. Although the boys were in preschool and school programs, they were out for the summer when the observation took place.

My analysis includes coding of transcripts of my interviews with Sarah's mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, and her maternal aunt. I also included transcripts from Sarah's interaction with her family during my observations. I transcribed and coded the data from interviews with Tommy's and Kyle's mother and grandmother. A brief interview with Amanda was also included in the analysis. My observation of Tommy and Kyle revealed reduced verbal interaction. They interacted by playing and engaging in physical activities. They both enjoyed watching television. When I inquired about their quietness and use of phrases, Ella indicated that both boys were language delayed. My observation of their activities included field notes which were used to document activities they engaged in.

Social and Cultural Context

In my community observation, I documented some community settings, specifically the library and the new museum. I also documented materials in the homes by taking pictures of books the children were exposed to. I took field notes to document activities in the homes and general observation of the community sites and events. The data I collected from observations and interviews revealed social and cultural changes in the communities in which the families now live and where the families originally lived (Coalmine Mesa and Howell Mesa). This background is important in understanding the social, linguistic and cultural context for storytelling in the homes and community.

History of relocation. The communities of Coalmine and Howell Mesa are important to the families who were involved in this study. The community of Coalmine, is about 25 miles east of Tuba City and Howell Mesa is about 40 miles east of Tuba City, near Coalmine. Elders from both families had settled and lived in Coalmine and Howell Mesa region following the return to Navajo land from Bosque Redondo, which is located in New Mexico, in 1868. The ancestors of these families were held captive by the U.S. military for several years before they were permitted to return to Arizona. This was known as the first Long Walk.

There was a sense of community for the families who lived in the Coalmine and Howell Mesa area as described by participants. Families lived the old way, in their hogans, English word for Navajo traditional dwelling pronounced “hooghan.” Some people lived in hogans that were round, made with timber and packed with earth or mud on top. The homes typically faced east. These hogans were energy efficient, cool in the summer and warm in the winter. In addition, other dwellings included brick homes often

without utilities. Most community members had livestock such as horses, sheep, and cattle. Many grew their own crops, such as melons, corn, and squash. There were peach orchards and people made use of many variety of medicinal herbs. Families engaged in farming and ranching. Community members gathered to help one another during round-ups, branding and harvest.

People traveled to Tuba City to do their shopping, get their check-ups at the local Indian Health Service, and get their mail at the post office. At one time, boarding schools were the only means for families to send their children to school so they would go to Tuba City to drop off or pick up their children from the boarding school. During the school year, children attended the boarding school or public school and returned home to Coalmine or Howell Mesa on weekends. Georgia, for example, related her experiences of attending boarding school in elementary and middle school in the latter part of this chapter. Some of the old boarding school buildings still stand today. In the summer when school was out, there were opportunities to work at the chapter house and attend cultural and ceremonial events. One of the highlights in the community was a rodeo that was held annually.

Coalmine and Howell Mesa are important because both families and their extended relatives were uprooted from these communities they called home in the mid 1980's. This relocation is sometimes referred to as the second Long Walk. Both families were impacted by the long history of Hopi and Navajo tribal dispute over land. In 1978 the dispute over land became a serious concern between the tribes. The federal government addressed this dispute by forcing Navajo families to move from land known as Hopi Partitioned Land (HPL) or Joint Use Area (JUA). By 1988, many families were

relocated to nearby communities such as Tuba City or relocated to distant communities such as Sanders, AZ where a new community (New Lands) was established. Others relocated to border towns such as Flagstaff, AZ, Farmington, NM, and Gallup, NM or to major cities such as Phoenix, AZ. The connection to Coalmine and Howell Mesa serves a crucial marker in time when life changed drastically for both families.

Community environment. I conducted this study in Tuba City, AZ in the Western part of the Navajo Nation. Tuba City is a community located near the Hopi village of Moenkopi. There have been many changes within and around the town of Tuba City. The town reflects images of the Past such as old federal buildings and landscape. Old dilapidated buildings line the main street, known as Main Street. Trees that were once vibrant are now old. Tuba City was a major hub for health, education, social, and community services in Western agency, and was always a busy place. As a major hub for educational, commerce, and schools, people from remote, rural communities utilized services in the community.

Although, parts of the town are run down, there have been recent changes. The Trading Post has been upgraded and now has a restaurant and a coffee shop. A new museum features videos dedicated to the service of veterans. New businesses have emerged including McDonald's, Taco Bell, and Subway. A new hospital was built adjacent to the old hospital. A diabetic treatment center is open daily. A large facility now houses programs for juvenile delinquency. A new boarding school was built and it now shares space with the old dormitories. One of the big events that continues today is the annual Western Navajo Nation fair that is held in October each year. Along with a parade, there are community events, including country Western dances, a carnival, a

pow-wow, and rodeo. One traditional Navajo event that takes place over nine days is the Yeibichei ceremony. This ceremony is held in the winter time and requires a great deal of preparation. The number of homes has increased over the last 30 years partly due to homes being built for families who were relocated from nearby communities as a result of land dispute between the Hopi tribe and Navajo Nation.

Community norms for parent-child interactions. Generally, adults keep an eye on their children. In large family gatherings, children prefer to hang out with each other. Teenagers will find a place to talk and younger children run off with siblings or cousins to play with toys. The adults sometimes play board games and include children who are able to join. During formal family gatherings for ceremonial preparation, men and women have roles. The focus is on cooking and cleaning. The men complete their chores outdoors such as chopping wood. A respectful interaction generally requires a quiet voice indoors. Elders are generally treated with utmost respect. When an elder speaks or prays, everyone gets quiet. In such occasions, yelling or running around is considered disrespectful. Talking back is generally not tolerated. When children don't listen to adults, parents may take them away from the social gathering. Discipline is generally the responsibility of the parents. However, in the absence of the parents, an aunt or uncle may step in to control a child.

Family background. Families participating in this study lived in separate neighborhoods in Tuba City. Each family lived near other close relatives. According to tradition, Navajo families typically live in close proximity to relatives based on their matrilineal clans. Both families lived near their extended clan relatives. At the time of data collection, Rhonda's Nali (paternal grandmother) and Georgia's Masani (maternal

grandmother) lived in the community near them. The younger family members generally checked on older relatives. Because of health issues, the elders did not get out to visit much. The two families live in clean homes with modern conveniences such as gas stoves, plumbing, and electricity. Keeping their homes dust-free was, however, a constant battle because of the windy days.

Both families have a role in the community. Sarah's family frequently help the local church and generously help other families in time of need. Tommy and Kyle lived with their mother and grandparents. Their grandfather participates in the Native American church while their grandmother, Georgia, prefers to practice her Navajo belief system. Georgia and her siblings carry on some of the ceremonial practices. Some of her relatives are involved in various ceremonial activities year-round.

Linda and Georgia, the eldest in both homes, are bilingual. They learned Navajo first and then English in boarding school. Sarah's grandmother, Rhonda; both mothers, Anna and Ella; Sarah's great-aunt, Jennifer; and Ella's younger sister, Amanda were more proficient in English. Rhonda and her sister Jennifer understood some Navajo but generally did not speak it. Ella and Anna spoke mostly in English to their children. Sarah, Tommy and Kyle spoke and understood English.

The mothers (Anna and Ella) both graduated from the local high school. At the time of data collection, Ella was taking classes at Diné College in town. Anna returned from prestigious college on the East coast after one year of study. Their parenting styles may have been influenced by level of educational experiences and general life experiences. Ella never left Tuba City while Anna was able to live on the East coast for a year. Both stay home with their children as single parents and live with their parents.

Ella's parents and Anna's mother work for the school district. During data collection, Ella and Anna did not have a car and relied on their parents for transportation.

Schools. There are several schools in the community that serve Navajo families. The schools have a long history in the community and play an important role in teaching Navajo language and culture. The Tuba City Unified School District serves the primary, intermediate, and high school. The Bureau of Indian Education supports the Tuba City Boarding School (TCBS) and Grey Hills Academy. Grey Hills Academy is a grant school. In each of these schools, there is emphasis on partnership and providing the tools needed for students to be successful in school and life through a curricula enriched with Navajo/Diné culture.

Information about TCBS, its history mission and vision was obtained from the school website. Its school history reads:

> Tuba City Boarding School was established in 1898 under the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) for the education of Native American children in Northern Arizona. The first school was located in Blue Canyon, 25 miles southeast of Tuba City and was known as the Blue Canyon School. Later, the school was moved to Moenave, AZ just four miles west of Tuba City. Finally in 1901, the school relocated to its present location in Tuba City, AZ. From its beginning up until the 1940s, the school was operated by the Department of the Army. Then in the 1950s the school came under the direction of the Department of the Interior.
>
> Today, the school is operated and funded by the United States Bureau of Indian Education. Originally, Tuba City Boarding School was a self-sustaining and self-

> supporting school designed to teach children practical skills such as baking, agriculture, livestock care, gardening, cooking, and laundry care. Up until 1980, all TCBS students resided in the school's dormitories. Today, Tuba City Boarding School has 55 General Education classrooms, 8 Special Education classrooms, 2 Gifted and Talented classrooms, 5 Native American Education classrooms, and 6 large Computer Labs serving approximately 1200 Pre-Kindergarten through Eighth grade students. The new buildings occupied houses all grade levels from Developmental Kindergarten through Eighth grade, the cafeteria, the library, and the school.

The boarding school's mission is described:

> At Tuba City Boarding School children are first, important, unique, responsible, and nurtured. Opportunities are provided for positive, life-long learning, healthy growth, success, and self-worth. A quality education is supported in a safe and culturally competent environment. Parents, community and school, together, educating the whole child for life.

In its vision statement, culture relevancy in education is mentioned as important goal. It states "Students will be provided opportunity to attain proficiency in the written and spoken language, and attain knowledge of Navajo history and culture." In addition,

> Students will attain, retain, and maintain self-esteem through: Knowledge of self; Knowledge of Navajo history; Knowledge of the Navajo language and culture; and Knowledge of other tribal groups.

The boarding school, exemplifies a huge change in its focus in educating Native American students. Its mission and vision indicate a renewed focus on integrating Navajo history and culture.

In addition, the Tuba City Unified School District (TUSD) on its school website highlights its emphasis on incorporating cultural philosophies into the schools.

> Our Vision – The *Center for the Advancement of Indigenous Cultural Studies* (CAICS), specifically the Dine' and Hopi Language and Cultural Studies revamp, is fundamentally a culture-friendly learning redesign to: embrace and incorporate community cultural values and wisdom; use our indigenous languages and cultural knowledge to empower and promote harmonious concordant personal, social, and educational growth; and engage and stimulate the minds with traditional Native Cultural knowledge and wisdom.

The district website further describes the Diné Philosophy of Learning (DPL) and Hopilavayi Project (HP) as being the cornerstone for education.

> We place the *Dine' Philosophy of Learning* (DPL) and *Hopilavayi Project* (HP) at the center of our district educational programs to advance the education of all people. No other educational program is given priority over our indigenous ontological and epistemological philosophies of learning. All other cultures and teachings are built around these core indigenous canons of teaching and learning. To do well in any life endeavor, which includes attaining academic distinction, we must first acknowledge and accept the need for a fundamental sense and importance of indigenous cultural stability, coherency, and continuity. If we are to successfully transverse the rapidly evolving technological culture and information

> society, it is essential that we first cultivate an abiding collective strength based on our indigenous culture as well as to establish or re-establish a strong personal sense of indigeneity, a self-identity as a cultural anchor.

The district not only targets increasing a sense of identity but also aims to reverse educational practices that have previously devalued Native values and teachings.

> Our CAICS will reverse the disharmonious and discordant imported educational system and practices that continue to be documented as inconsequential for our Native Peoples. To come to a sense of completeness, our goal is to come into compliance with the empowering languages and practices of Native Peoples using traditional Native values, wisdom, and teaching and learning standards.

The district draws on the Navajo and Hopi cultural philosophies as foundations to for a high quality education.

> Our Cornerstones – The centerpieces for our program redesign stem principally from the fundamental ontological and epistemological Navajo and Hopi cultural philosophies. While Pan-Indigenousness is emphasized, two local cultural indigeneity are used to advance the education of all people who come to our school district. With the Dine', or Navajo People, the, "*T'aa Dine' Bo'O'oo'aah Bindii'a"*", or the *Dine' Philosophy of Teaching and Learning*, plays a most critical and powerful role in a healthy life ways of the Dine', the Navajo. … These core cultural canons serve not only as a cultural lighthouse but form the foundation for high quality and rigorous teaching and deep learning.

In describing the strategies for quality education, the district aims to infuse cultural identity.

> Our program design and strategy will transform cultural education to allow a child to, 'know who it is, what it is expected to do, in what way, and how to relate itself to the kinship structure and the neighborhood.' (ibid, p. 9) An educational environment of this depth and breadth welcomes a child to learn, 'a tremendous amount about nature and develops emotional bonds with its different seasonal manifestations. All this knowledge, gathered at first hand, infuses self-confidence in the child and forms its cultural identity.' (ibid, p. 9).

The program highlights the role of families in language acquisition. It indicates that students will engage in rich oral learning environments in the homes. The district strives to provide real-world experiences through hands-on activities and trips. In school, the goal is to stimulate students' thinking with oral traditions.

> Our students will be exposed to a rich and varied series of hands-on, real world Native cultural experiences to illuminate the significance of DPL and HP in one's life and in the American education system although fundamentally we believe that this form of intimate relationship with language acquisition begins within our own family and lives. Our students will actively engage in authentic, orally rich and expressive home and family learning environment, and for the upper grades to read widely, access a rich variety of print and non-print sources such as artifacts and material cultural objects, including photographs and original documents. Our students will visit and tour historic places, think deeply about their experiences, talk, write and create cultural artifacts and products. Our objectives are to actively engage and stimulate our minds with oral traditions and teachings possessed by our elderly as well as those with expertise and/or specialists.

By placing tribal philosophies at the center of education and recognize the value for indigenous teachings, the district aims to immerse students in learning their culture and language.

> Our Outcomes – Our ultimate goal is to add a deep humanistic educational dimension and approach to the rapidly evolving scientific and technological global education. By placing DPL and HP at the center of our educational programs, we take our rightful place in the education of our children and youth as all other cultures and teachings take their proper place in a formal educational setting.
>
> Our students will reflect upon critical themes of DPL and HP and continuing new development, broaden and deepen our understanding our Native Peoples, and interact with a core of visiting specialists with specialized Native Cultural knowledge.
>
> In this manner, our immersion education program will begin to re-connect the humanities, the cultural teachings, the evolving global technologically-based education, and we will rebuild inter-generational education. Most Native peoples have shown the fortitude, vision, and foresight to see the significance of an education of this depth and breadth. Accordingly, we strive to acknowledge, accept, and respect the fundamental importance of our traditional values, beliefs, and philosophy to The Good Life.

I provide this extensive description about the how the schools portray their goals for education to the public because one of the biggest changes has been the transmission of knowledge related to culture and language in the schools. Participants reported that

school staff are teaching cultural philosophies and cultural practices. I did not have approval from the University of New Mexico Institutional Review Board or the Navajo Nation Human Research Review Board to interview school staff, therefore I could not explore the connection between the mission and the implementation of DPL and HP as it relates to storytelling.

Home environment. In the first home, which I refer to as the Holmes' residence, Sarah was the primary participant and was 3 years old at the time of data collection. She speaks English and lives in the Holmes household with her parents, 1-year old brother, grandmother and great-grandmother. Her aunt lives nearby with her cousins. I interviewed four female adults in the Holmes household.

Kyle and Tommy are the primary child participants and are brothers in a big household. I refer to this second home as the Begay household. Kyle was 3 years old and his brother, Tommy, was 6 years old. Amanda is Tommy's and Kyle's aunt and is a secondary participant who was 13 years old. She lives with their mother, and grandparents. I interviewed two female adults in this second home.

The Begay household. In Tommy's and Kyle's house, there is an open porch where the boys play. As one enters, there is a big living room area connected to the kitchen. Two bedrooms and a bathroom are off to the left. The boys and their mother share a room and Amanda has the other room. Ella's parents have the master bedroom. The boys were frequently running from between the bedrooms and the living room. The living room is crowded with large sofas, a big screen TV and toys. Tommy and his brother often sat on the sofa in front of the TV or stood in front of the screen. They enjoyed watching cartoons. Along the walls in the living room, family photos depict

family members and relatives from the youngest to the oldest. Navajo rugs and paintings are also hung neatly. The living room can accommodate about six people comfortably when the family gathers in the evening to watch a game or a movie. The house is small enough that you one can talk in the kitchen and be heard in the living room. Most of the interaction occurred in the living room or kitchen. A large dining table accommodates the family and it is the place where they go when food is served. The boys sometimes will open the fridge or pull food off the table and run into the living area to eat. During activities, the extended family will often gather at Georgia's home. A hogan nearby is typically used for family gatherings such as celebrations and ceremonial activities. Family members come and go. The family live with pets. There are toys to play with but not very many books. When I inquired about books, Ella went to her room and brought out four Baby Einstein books.

The Holmes household. Sarah's home sits along a road a few miles from church. The house has a garden in the back. The wind was not blowing the first day I visited, and Linda had just come in from sweeping the sand off her porch. There is a fence that circles the property that allows Sarah and her brother to go outside with their mother. Jennifer and her children live nearby. As one enters the house, there is sense of living space for preschoolers. There is a big cardboard box in the entryway with toys that belong to Sarah and her brother. In the living room, there is a big TV screen and fireplace. The kitchen is connected to the dining area. In the dining room, there is a large wooden table that pretty much takes up the space. Against a wall in the dining area is a tall bookshelf with many books. Children's books, coloring books, and children's bible story books are stacked neatly. All the bedrooms are down the hall past the bathroom. During my visits, Sarah

and her brother moved back and forth from the dining area to their bedroom most of the time. They often sat in the laps of their mother, grandmother, or great-grandmother at the dining room table as they looked at books or adults shared books with them. The family members were active in church and so the whole family attended activities on Sunday and Wednesday. This provided Sarah and her brother exposure to the community life.

Results of Thematic Analysis

Following the process of capturing what I thought represented the participants' perspectives and experiences, I identified 457 total excerpts in the transcripts and used 17 codes. I applied the codes a total of 501 times. I organized the codes into three themes or parent codes, and subthemes (child codes) associated with them. Grandchild codes cluster under four of the child codes. Table 2 shows how the themes are organized.

Table 2

Summary of Codes

Parent Codes	Child Codes	Grandchild Codes
Societal Changes	Cultural Transmission in School	
	Obstacles in Storytelling	
	Activities	
	Demands on Young Mothers	
Why We Tell Stories	Importance of Oral History	Grandparents' Roles
		Way of Life before Relocation
	Stories about Growing Up	Boarding School Experiences
	Teaching Through Stories	Bible Stories
Aspects of Good Stories	Context of Storytelling	Stories in Everyday Activities
	Good Story Elements	
	Good Storyteller Characteristics	

I identified three major themes (parent codes) and I describe them in the following order (a) *Societal Changes,* (b) *Why We Tell stories*, and (c) *Aspects of Good*

Stories. I provide information about the number of times the codes were applied to the themes and subthemes. These themes and subthemes describe salient storytelling practices in the homes and communities. Two themes (*Why We Tell Stories* and *Aspects of Good Stories*) have child codes and grand-child codes. I provide examples to represent the themes and subthemes that capture what was meaningful for the participants. The pseudonyms of the participants are provided with their quotations. The themes are organized in such a way to tell a story of how children are socialized in the face of Navajo societal changes, why families tell stories and what Navajo families consider aspects of good storytelling. In describing storytelling experiences in the homes of English-speaking Navajo children, I address my purpose and research questions.

Societal Changes

The *Societal Changes* theme represents changes in the community. The theme of societal changes reflects the intergenerational perspectives on culture and language and how storytelling practices in the community are changing. I applied the codes for this theme a total of 28 times. This parent code has three child codes including: 'Cultural Transmission in School', 'Obstacles in Storytelling Activities', and 'Demands on Young Mothers'. I used 'Cultural Transmission in School' 30 times, 'Obstacles in Storytelling Activities' 30 times, and 'Demands on Young Mothers' 29 times.

In this section, I describe the theme of societal changes. First, I describe how schools have taken on a greater role in providing language and cultural instruction. Then I describe some of the major obstacles in family life that interfere with storytelling activities. Finally, I end the section with focus on the demands placed on young parents

in their struggle to balance their own desires to go to school with parenting responsibilities.

It is important to mention that increasing violence was mentioned by one participant and coded in *Societal Changes*. Violence in the form of youth engaging in self-harm, suicides, gang activities were noted. These activities may be related to the alcohol and drug use in the community. It may be that violence and gang activities are reflections of the changes in society in general, not just in the community of Tuba City. Nonetheless, the rise in violence is change in society that many communities are grappling with. In the next section, I describe the participants' experiences with what their children and grandchildren learned in school and their views on the schools' focus on culture and language.

Cultural transmission in school. This child code described how the school has taken on a greater role in teaching Navajo language and culture. It includes cultural activities promoted in the school. Two participants, Georgia and Linda, indicated that they have observed the trend of Navajo culture and language increasingly being taught in school. Georgia, a bilingual grandmother, stated that because of the language and cultural loss in the homes, Navajo culture and language are being taught in schools:

> We see in our school system. Well for me for one, our culture isn't there no more but we do have teachers that teach you know Navajo culture, Navajo language. We try and carry that on but it's the first speaking you know that they speak at home. And what they take to school and what they learn over there. It's kinda hard.

Several participants described ways that Navajo culture and language are being transmitted through the school. Here, I describe the context in which children are taught and the kinds of activities they engage in to learn about their language and culture. Then I provide examples of how the community and school collaborate to promote cultural and language retention.

***Language classes*.** Language classes were described by participants as a primary way for teaching language and culture across the school system. One participant shared that students "take Navajo and Hopi so they are learning the language." In these classes, "They are learning how to read and write in Navajo." One young mother, Anna, shared that she took these classes in school and that were offered every year:

> I think it was more that it was repetition, you know, cuz we had Navajo class every year like throughout the year. So, it's like you kinda learn the same thing… you know they help you learn more than the Navajo language … and you get that reiterated over and over you know.

In these Navajo language classes, students get exposed to traditional Navajo stories. Anna who came from an English-speaking home and who also spoke English as her primary language reported that she heard a lot of stories in these classes. She recalled "being in the first or second grade, watching those Coyote tales and like the little lizard and like the beaver and everything like that." And for her, when she thinks of storytelling, Coyote Tales come to mind. Ella, whose mother is bilingual, reported that in sixth grade, "my teacher told me about a Navajo story about Monster Slayer and the four sacred mountains." Traditional stories such as Coyote stories and Monster Slayer are typically

told in the winter time along with creation stories. It is interesting that they are now shared in a school setting.

The school and community library have also become a resource for traditional stories. The town library is a busy place. Adults bring their children to hear stories as well as to log on to computers. Parents are able to check out books. Georgia shared that she tries to expose her young grandchildren who primarily understand English to Navajo stories through DVDs.

> We go to the library and check out DVDs. This is just during the winter time. We get the Coyote and the Lizard, that kinda thing. And we share that with them. To them it's a cartoon and it's funny.

Presenting stories in videos and in books appear to be strategies to expose children to Navajo traditional stories. In addition to traditional stories being incorporated into the school, students also engage in hands-on activities.

Activities. In the Navajo classes, students from preschool to high school learn about their culture. Preschoolers bring home what they have learned. Georgia proudly shared how her grandchild learned about moccasins and the Navajo basket in school. She said, "You know Tommy has a picture … that states what he learned about the basket." She continued to describe how he learned his clans at school.

> And they use their hand and the palm of their hand and what it all means as far as their clan all the way to their fingertip. That's what Tommy learned at his school. He tells us five every time he comes over he says "five." He gives everybody high five and he says "Dine" that's what it stands for. That's what he was taught so he learned that from kindergarten.

Clans are traditionally taught at home. It seems the school staff are now reinforcing this knowledge even with preschoolers and kindergarteners.

In the upper grades, students are continuing to learn about culture such as organizing their knowledge of medicinal plants in charts. Georgia described how her daughter, Amanda, produced a chart on Navajo herbal plants for science by consulting with her uncle. Amanda described how "Each plant was used for different medicine." It appears based on the descriptions of activities and events, students are expose to many different opportunities to learn. The school provides cultural and language instructors who are well-versed in the culture to teach Navajo concepts such as the use of medicinal herbs.

Linda who had been in a sweat house once with her mother in their home community had observed that students can now also access sweathouses at school. She said, "They have those in the schools now so they can go there." So even, sweathouses are available for learning in schools. Members from both families shared that many cultural activities and stories are now shared and taught by teachers in the school setting. The teachers in the language classes have provided language and cultural instruction for students in the school district and this has become an important means of cultural and language transmission in the schools.

Collaborative efforts. Participants also described "dress up days" and "cultural camps" in the community and as well as academic settings to promote culture and language. District employees are encouraged to dress up. Georgia who is employed by the school district, reported "we have a lot of kids throughout the district that dress up" and "even us employees, we dress up." Dressing in traditional clothes promotes cultural

awareness and cultural pride. Linda also stated, “My grand-daughter … has a Navajo class. She used to dress up every Friday.” Linda’s role was to help her get dressed. She commented, “Every Friday, Grandma tie my hair.” So, every Friday, Linda knew she would be tying her granddaughter’s hair up in a traditional Navajo bun, in accordance with how Changing Woman, a deity, presented herself. Young children were told by elders not to cut their hair or they would cut short their knowledge. Today, traditional elders (men and women) are sometimes seen with a bun. Dressing up in traditional native clothing is one way the school and community promote cultural preservation.

In addition to dress up days, the school and community collaborate to sponsor “cultural camps.” Georgia reported that the purpose of these camps was to bridge the inter-generational gap in cultural knowledge and reinforce knowledge of Navajo philosophy. She said, the focus of the camps was to learn about “the life-hood of how far they came from back then to now, the big changes that came up all that, and … their philosophy.” The message in these camps was intergenerational continuity relative to Navajo language and culture. She added that it was important to “to tell our generation now to carry on you know all this they are learning from these camps.” These camps are arranged by age groups and are held in the community. They are implemented if there is funding to staff the program. In some of the camps, they have guest speakers or specialists who talk about the culture. Sometimes videos are used to viewing children speaking Navajo. Some activities involve students learning about their clans. Students also participate in other cultural events including pow-wows.

This subtheme, ‘Cultural Transmission in School’ reflected how the use oral tradition to teach and cultural practices related to storytelling are viewed by families as

the role of schools. In this way, the responsibility of teaching culture and practicing oral traditions were described by some of the participants as belonging to the school. This relinquishment of these traditional home practices in the home is a change for Navajo society. While the families interviewed continue to share their cultural experiences in the home, the schools are also involved in supporting cultural instruction. The concern is that families view the schools as leading efforts to maintain Navajo oral tradition, language and culture. These efforts have been received with mixed feelings. Georgia, Linda, and Jennifer supported these initiatives. However, Anna's personal spiritual beliefs were not consistent with teaching of traditional Navajo practices in the school system. Efforts to maintain and promote Navajo culture and language currently ideally should be shared-responsibilities among the school, home and community.

Obstacles in storytelling activities. This second subtheme or child code describes some of the things that get in the way of families coming together to share stories. Difficulties accessing traditional stories as a result of lack of cultural knowledge, lack of proficiency in Navajo, and lack of shared experiences were also coded here. Lack of family time also contributed to limited storytelling activities. The intergenerational experiences across four generations were captured with respect to changes in storytelling practices and stages of cultural and language loss. The greatest intergenerational gap between English-speaking family grandchildren and their monolingual Navajo-speaking elders were evident in these homes. Due to aging of elderly grandparents and poor health, monolingual Navajo-speaking great-grandparents and great-great grandparents were not in the home during the visits.

Adult participants (mothers, grandparents and a great-grandparent) all noted that Navajo children are growing up in a bicultural world. Navajo children are less exposed to traditional Navajo stories in the home as a result of loss of Navajo language and culture. As the monolingual, Navajo-speaking elders increase in age, their ability to connect with their grandchildren lessens, even more so with their English-speaking grandchildren. Each family had a great or great-great grandmother who spoke only Navajo but because of physical or cognitive decline, they no longer took "center stage" in telling traditional stories. In my visits to the homes during data collection and observation of events when I returned to the community throughout the year, traditional stories were rarely mentioned and shared in homes with English-speaking children. In the community, some of these stories are still shared among and by Navajo-speaking elders, particularly in the winter time or during ceremonial events. The cultural reality is that traditional stories were told by elders in their language, but now young English-speaking families face two obstacles: not having the language to access them and not being able to access the contexts in which they are told.

The types of stories that were shared in homes observed and how they were shared reflect changes in Navajo society. In the homes visited, I observed the bilingual grandmother (Georgia) and a bilingual great-grandmother (Linda) share personal stories and historical accounts in both Navajo and English. They gave oral history of their growing up years and those of their parents. Yet, their daughters did not give similar accounts. Their daughters shared personal stories such about growing up in English. Because children and grandchildren spoke primarily English in the two homes, personal stories were primarily told in English in both homes. Obstacles to storytelling especially

for traditional stories appear to be related to difficulties with native language proficiency, lack of cultural knowledge, spirituality, as well as the lack of shared knowledge.

Spirituality. Anna, for example, shared how her own socialization now impacts how she socializes her children to storytelling. Her attitude toward the Navajo language, her own experiences growing up and her spirituality, her views on development, and spiritual beliefs influence reflect her identity as a member of Navajo society and as a mother. Anna, who grew up speaking primarily English, stated, "I'm Navajo and I kinda know what my traditions are but I'm living in a different world you know, kind of going between." As a result of living in a bicultural world with strong Christian beliefs, she seems to be ambivalent about her children learning the native language. She stated, "I don't want them to feel like they should only talk Navajo." It is important for Anna to raise her children to learn about the outside world and just not about Navajo culture and language. She wants "to integrate them to the world and the world's culture" so that they can "be open to other people and what they've gone through." Her attitude toward Navajo language use is also tied to her family's view on religion and Navajo beliefs and practices.

Anna has strong Christian beliefs which sometimes makes it challenging to be open to traditional Navajo stories and cultural practices in the home because of the underlying belief system. Anna provided an example of when a cousin tried to tell her daughter stories about "traditional stuff" and explained to her cousin that, "you know that's not necessarily what we believe in." Anna stated:

> If you do tell her (Sarah) those things you have to kinda explain it in terms of where it's in Christian. Like going along with the bible and stuff as opposed to like being traditional you know cuz that's a different belief.

For Anna, lack of proficiency in Navajo and her personal belief system were obstacles in creating a home environment where traditional stories could be shared. Instead, she provided many different opportunities for her children to engage in home literacy activities in English and spent a lot of time telling stories about the bible.

***Lack of cultural knowledge*.** The lack of cultural knowledge to engage in traditional storytelling in Navajo was reported by several participants as another obstacle to storytelling. Linda, the eldest of the participants, reported her own limitations in her knowledge of Navajo culture. Linda was raised in a traditional Navajo home but she left home to attend boarding school at a young age and therefore had limited opportunities to learn about traditional Navajo ways including traditional stories. Consequently, she had a difficult time sharing and teaching more traditional stories. It was also challenging to convey the importance of Navajo beliefs and practices with her family. In particularly, her daughter, Rhonda, and her granddaughter, Anna, were socialized to adopt similar attitudes toward the use of Navajo language and cultural practices in the home. Linda explained:

> To me, not knowing any of the Navajo legends, Navajo traditions. It was hard for me to explain to the kids. Just like I took them out to our grandpa's house. My kids got into his things. They unraveled all his tadidíín (corn pollen). They wondered what was inside. He was upset the kids got to his things. … See these things I didn't know.

After she got married, she relied on her husband who was more informed of traditional Navajo lifeways. She related how her husband possessed knowledge of Navajo culture: He told about things (in Navajo). And me I listened. But he had all the knowledge. The Navajo and Indian way. I didn't know anything about bijį (Blessing Way Ceremony), hatal (Ceremony), yeibichei dance (Nine Night Ceremony). I knew they were there but I did not know a thing about it. And to this day, I go there just for curiosity. And not having to participate in any of it, it was hard. And my mom was completely Navajo way, all traditional. But I did not spend much time at home. I was always out. Even my sister's kids. They wanted to know who I was. They asked, "Háádęę́'sh naniná?" ("Where are you from?") I said, I'm the only sister to your mom.

Linda's experience suggests that while she retained her language, her cultural knowledge and relationship with relatives were impacted by leaving home at early age. Her spouse passed away and she had to raise her family. In her family, her siblings were also impacted in a similar way. She discovered that being married to a spouse with more knowledge of culture did not make up for the loss of culture as a child. Sadly, her sister also did not learn about Navajo cultural practices. She explained:

> She's married to the traditional side. They are more exposed than we are. It seems like she doesn't know much either, same as me. "Díí ha'át'íish oolyé?" ("What is this called?") Haash yít'éego choo'į? ("How are they used?") She doesn't know.

The experiences shared by Linda and her grand-daughter suggest changes in Navajo society such as adoption of non-Navajo beliefs and language loss continue to impact how young children are socialized to traditional cultural knowledge and practices. The knowledge of kinship, Navajo ceremonies, stories, herbs, and the importance of corn

pollen in prayers are sacred practices that have been lost or in the process of being lost. Cultural changes and language loss have also limited access to traditional stories in homes. This was notable in both homes, and perhaps other homes in the community.

Lack of shared experiences. The loss of land also has created an obstacle in the continuity of oral tradition. As "relocatees," there is a shared history about a place once considered home by individuals who have been displaced. The shared knowledge supports the retelling of family stories. Stories about special places have significance and certain events are held in memory. In retelling stories, family members who have shared in the experience may give short descriptions of events and still connect with the story. Family members who do not have experience feel left out when stories about the past are told. Anna, for example, did not quite understand the adventures of having livestock and living in Coalmine with no utilities, as shared by her mother. She did not have the same experiences as her mother, aunts, uncles, grandparents and great-grandmother because her family was relocated before she was born. She knows of the family's experiences at the "special place" only through stories. She stated:

> And then like my mom kinda telling us stuff when … they were out in Coalmine … it just made it seem like it was just like an amazing place … but …we grew up here (Tuba City) and it was great but you know like so far as having cows and horses and getting stuck in the middle of nowhere or you know like stuff like that … like you know we didn't have that.

The young mothers in the study reported similar lack of shared experiences about the past and lack of cultural knowledge to fully appreciate their cultural heritage. The difficulties they have in relating to certain cultural experiences and past experiences contribute to a

breakdown in shared experiences across generations. The way the young mothers describe their own socialization to and through language now impacts how they socialize their children. Children also socialized to develop an identity about who they are as members in Navajo families. For the young English-speaking mothers, socializing their children to use language and through language occurs in the language they know best. They identify with Western ways of learning and teaching. Their home environments provide the contexts for teaching what they value. Family time is an important value for both these families.

Making time. Finally, another major factor that impacts families coming together for story time is limited interactions. Some of the participants indicated families are not spending time with each other as much. Just finding time to talk to children is a challenge. One grandmother, Rhonda, was very concerned about this and shared her experiences both in the home and at school:

> One thing we are missing for kids is that there is lack of talking. People are not talking to their kids. They're not explaining why. You hear a lot of kids that are in trouble or doing things that they're not supposed to. It goes back to this is why you're not supposed to do that. I guess it's just back to basics. We are not spending time with our kids at the dinner table or waking them up in the morning and actually talking to our kids. A lot of parents aren't talking to their kids. It's easy to just text mom and dad. It's easier to reach the parent through the internet than to physically tell them 'Hi mom,' 'Hi dad,' 'This is what I'm doing and what I'm going to do today.'

Rhonda has also observed that talking to students is also lacking in schools. She believes there is a great deal of focus on scholastic achievement and less on the emotional well-being of children:

> We are lacking it in schools too. You go to school and I've seen this. Kids are being taught but the child is thinking, 'Why?' A child needs explanation. We are so focused on testing and like AIMs testing. Teachers are so focused on that they forget there's a child right there with a brain that's absorbing everything. They get very anxious about things in the school.

For Rhonda, supporting students at home and school is important. Caring for them means spending time with them and explaining things. Socializing children to learn the "right" behaviors such as not talking back involves talking to them. Texting and communicating electronically is not sufficient for parent-child communication. Rhonda was very concerned about the lack of time families spend together.

Georgia also related that she had to make changes just to make time for her family. Quitting a job means less income for the family. Georgia stated:

> I had to quit my job because I had to work very odd hours. I wasn't spending enough time with my grandkids and Amanda. I had to just stop and think, 'I have to quit this.' 'I have to put all this aside, worry about my children.' Why? Because their mind is young and they're growing.

Georgie and Rhonda recognized the need for families to come together to talk, but also to teach children. In a fast-pace society, technology has been both an asset and a barrier to family interactions and communication.

In summary, these examples reflect how Navajo society has changed relative to family interactions and storytelling. The shift to English, the lack of cultural knowledge, lack of shared experiences when families are displaced, and just the lack of time to talk and spend time with children has made it difficult for families to engage in traditional storytelling activities in the home. In the summer, one might hear stories of related to the significance of the corn and its uses, or stories related to livestock and the environment. During the winter season, Coyote stories are typically told in homes. In my visits to the community during the winter time, there was very little mention of these families engaging in traditional stories. There was a public invitation to attend a shoe-game but not traditional storytelling. In the next section, I describe another societal change that is impacting young single mothers raising their children and the demands to juggle to their own aspirations for schooling while also trying to do what's best for their children.

Demands on young mothers. This third subtheme or child code illustrated the challenges young mothers face especially as single parents trying to balance educational aspirations, independence, and parenting. Anna and Ella are living with their parents while raising their children as single parents. They both described the pressure of pursuing their own education while raising their children. Anna and Ella had some college level classes but their primary responsibilities were to care for their children with help from their parents.

Anna shared her dreams of going to college as early as second grade. She knew she wanted to go to a certain prestigious college. She said, "Like low and behold that was the only college I applied to in my senior year." She went to college on the East coast for a short time. As a young woman, she encountered family struggles and that impacted her.

She stated, "each day that I live, I try to do better because there was drugs around me. There was drinking around me…abuse around me." These are examples of challenges that are sometimes beyond the control of youth. It was important for her to not allow the negative experiences to hold her back and not "go through the same cycle." She believes young people should pursue their dreams regardless of their circumstances. She stated "you know if they want something…not to allow the things that around them to hold them back." Her attitude of openness and intellectual curiosity allows her to create a positive learning environment for her children. She approaches her parenting by bringing the world to her children.

As a young mother, Anna values exposing her children to different experiences and even some words in languages she knows, "like teaching them…Chinese letters, Chinese, French, Italian, and Navajo." At the time of data collection, she was reading several books (including *More Than Meets the Eye* and *How Hearing and Memory Works*). She enjoyed learning and stated she reads these books because she "likes the science of it." Anna challenges her children to engage in literacy activities and has high expectation for them to verbalize what they know. She understands the importance of learning and pays close attention to learning strategies. She stated, "you know different people learn in different ways. Some people can read it and get it. Some people can hear it you know and get it. Some people have to actually see it to get it." During my observation, Anna seemed to enjoy being home with her children and engaged them in various learning activities each day.

The demands on Ella was a little different. Ella reported that she wanted to be independent and have her own place and own a vehicle. She planned to take a few classes

at the local community college (Dine College) and stated, “I’m gonna be learning about math and about reading.” Because of economic hardship, she has not left the community but desires to someday move away. Currently, she lives with her parents. Occasionally she works part-time. She devotes her time to her children. She indicated that her children were in school and were receiving services to support their development. At the time of the interview, her main goal was to accommodate her children. She said, “I want a place for him to run around.” She described her desire for them to communicate well. She stated, “we're trying hard to understand them.” Being a good parent was important and she had taken a parenting class. She described it as “mostly we told stories about our kids and did things in the community with our kids.” During my visits, Ella was often cleaning, picking up toys, making snacks or cooking, and keeping her children occupied with toys or watching cartoons.

In summary, the demands placed on single-parents impact their ability to integrate both Western and cultural knowledge in teaching their children. Anna and Ella both value education, yet had the responsibility of raising their children. Both, like other teens and young adults, experienced social challenges related to abuse and alcohol and drug use in the community. They both prioritized raising their children and helping their children to develop. The concept or goal of integrating traditional cultural practices into their children’s development was not perceived as a priority.

There were several concepts cutting across the subthemes under the theme of *Societal Changes*. Concepts related to colonization and oppression appeared to be related to societal changes. Both families were forced to relocate, which led to loss of connection with the land. Along with this, certain cultural practices and shared knowledge about the

homeland were lost. The families both experienced the impact of boarding school, which disrupted the flow of cultural knowledge to young mothers, particularly for Linda and Georgia. The themes suggest a connection between changes in society and the way children are socialized. As Navajo society changes, so do the ways young mothers socialize their children. There are elements of cultural imperialism impacting young parents' views that the Western ways of rearing children is ideal in comparison to Navajo ways of knowing. The bicultural perspectives on the family roles, religion, identity and language vary with every generation. The expectations of integrating Western and Navajo ways of knowing in rearing children is complex and challenging. The experiences in the home is connected to experiences and practices in the larger community, tribal society and Nation. The most alarming discovery is that the schools are perceived to know what is best in teaching culture, language and oral tradition. Families are struggling just to make time for their children. In the next section, I describe the second major theme, reasons for sharing stories.

Why We Tell Stories

The second major theme, *Why We Tell Stories*, illustrated the many reasons for storytelling in the home and community. The child codes ('Importance of Oral History' 'Stories about Growing Up' and 'Teaching through Stories') described major reasons for storytelling. I applied the codes for this theme a total of 14 times. I used 'Importance of Oral History' 31 times, 'Teaching through Stories' 38 times, and 'Stories about Growing up Years' 31 times.

In this section, I present the child code with their associated grandchild codes. The child code, 'Importance of Oral History' included two grandchild codes

('Grandparents' Roles and 'Way of Life before Relocation'). The 'Grandparents' Roles' reflected the role of elderly and grandparents in preserving the Navajo culture and language through stories. The other grandchild code, "Way of Life before Relocation' captured the sense of loss with the connection to the land, the people, the culture and the language when both families experienced relocation. This experience gave some of the participants a good reason to learn what they can and share what they know to the younger generation. The relocation of the families was a significant devastating event that led to the disruption of the communities where the families grew up. Most of the participants shared stories about their growing up years as indicated by the child code, 'Stories about Growing Up'. This child code included one grandchild code, 'Boarding School experiences'. The subtheme captured two of the participants' experiences in the boarding schools as part of their growing up years. The final child code, 'Teaching Through Stories' reflected that another reason for sharing stories was to teach children, particularly values that are important in the home. Under this child code, the grandchild code 'Bible Stories' reflected the use of biblical stories to teach appropriate behavior and explain why certain behaviors are not acceptable.

All research participants interviewed discussed several reasons for telling stories. Some reasons for storytelling did not rise to the level of being coded as a subtheme. Participants mentioned entertainment as a function of stories. Linda shared that "in the old time, it was a way to pass time." Some of other reasons for why stories are told included connecting to the past and bridging generations. One participant, Jennifer, provided the most comments. She shared that stories were told to share past experiences and connect generations. She stated, "a lot of the things they tell us are bridging the gap

between generations." She added that stories are shared "so we can learn about what happened and so we can learn more." Anna also noted that by passing knowledge, people give of themselves. She explained:

> They're telling you maybe their side of the story or something they heard or giving a piece of themselves. You know like something they knew. They're helping another person or if it's negative you know they're giving a piece of themselves like anything like … sharing. And it could be good or in a bad sense you know. It's like passing of knowledge. It's existing I guess in a sense.

These are examples of reasons for telling stories. Next, I describe one of the major reasons for storytelling. That is, in a culture that values oral tradition, oral history was reported to be essential for cultural and linguistic preservation.

Importance of oral history. This child code included descriptions of the importance of maintaining intergeneration connection, preserving culture, and keeping the language alive as an important reason for telling stories. Some of the participants mentioned that there was an expectation to carry on the life ways of their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. They feel there is an expectation to keep the culture and language alive. It is important to remember what elders have taught their children and grand/great-grandchildren. Jennifer, for example, shared:

> So in my opinion … the teachings I have, have a lot to do with storytelling. Going back to what the grandparents told us. You know a lot of the traditions, they tell in songs, chants, and prayers you know a lot of the things what they did centuries ago. It has to do with the songs and prayers. That's for native people. And I guess it's the same for nonnative people but they have different way. Our tradition is alive

> because of the language and a lot of um the cultural ties. And that's how they just keep the information I guess from generation to generation. They keep stories and everything alive through storytelling.

Georgia also shared that expectation to carry on the role of storytelling. She shared that she tries to carry on what her parents have taught her. She said, "we carry that on to our future generation." She compared herself to her elderly mother and wondered if she will be able to fill her shoes and be able to tell stories when she becomes an elder. Georgia stated:

> And for me at her age I think when I get at the age, am I'm gonna look and think wow I did this. This is how I carried myself with my children. Am I gonna be telling stories like my mom or is it gonna be different? Those are the things I think about now. How it's gonna affect me when I get at her age. So yeah but that's why I think we tell stories ... you know how it'll affect us you know later on.

There is a strong sense of responsibility by participants to carry on the oral tradition and the need to bridge the generation gap. They expressed a desire to hold onto a traditional way of life by maintaining knowledge of songs, prayers, and other cultural practices.

The child code, 'Importance of Oral History', had two grandchild codes including 'Way of Life before Relocation' and 'Grandparents' Roles'. The two grandchild codes overlapped. I will now describe what participants shared about the roles of grandparents or elders in maintaining cultural activities and connections.

Grandparents' roles. This grandchild code, reflects the role of grandparents in preserving historical accounts and cultural activities. There are two parts: (a) what

grandmothers say they do regarding their role in perpetuating Navajo culture and language, and (b) what children say they learned from their grandmothers or grandparents. These two sections provide insight on the valuable role of elders as keepers of oral traditions and cultural knowledge.

Grandparents' role as told by grandmothers or great-grandmothers. The role of grandparents in storytelling and supporting cultural activities is significant in Navajo society. Along with many stories that grandparents share of their growing up years, they also engage in a variety of cultural activities as well as teaching language. I highlight the experiences of Linda and Georgia, as they are now in the role of teaching their children and grandchildren.

Linda, the only great-grandmother interviewed, reported that her youngest grandson comes to her and she sings for him in Navajo. Linda shared, "the little guy when he was alts'isigo (small), I used to sing. I used to put him in my knees and sing. That's the reason why he wants to come to me. She has also used her sewing and crocheting skills to make Navajo outfits for her grandchildren. They often wear these outfits on cultural dress days at school. She has helped fix her granddaughter's hair in a traditional Navajo knot. She commented with pride how she made a traditional Navajo dress for her grand-daughter, "I crocheted her biil (rug dress) and she won the baby contest."

Georgia reported that when she spends time with grandkids, she teaches them about plants when they take walks in the evening:

> For me, I take them out we do walks here and there and I tell them that's a yucca, its medicine or cedar. They use it for burning. The sage and all that. I tell them all

> that's medicine. And each one them they have different feel to it and I make sure they feel it. And they smell it, they all have different smells to it.

Georgia also exposes her grandchildren to Navajo Coyote Tales through DVDs even though sometimes they may not fully grasp the stories:

> I'm trying to teach Navajo and it's all in Navajo. But they're busy just watching looking at the pictures sliding down and it runs over the coyote. I tell them its bad bad ma'ii (coyote). And they're like "no" "no" you know. But they're catching on. Stuff that the coyote is doing bad they know not to do that. So I'm trying to teach them Navajo here.

Both Georgia and Linda are actively engaged in integrating Navajo culture and language in the home. In contrast, Rhonda primarily spoke about sharing stories about growing up experiences with her children but did not provide specific ways she was promoting the Navajo culture. It appears that the grandparents who expose their grandchildren to Navajo "ways" are those who had more experience living in the traditional way and learning Navajo as their first language. The knowledge that is shared is based on what is valued.

Grandparents' role as described by grandchildren. The grandchildren (Ella, Jennifer, and Amanda) offered several examples of how their grandmothers and great-grand mothers taught them various cultural crafts and skills. Ella, for example, stated she learned "Mostly just cleaning and cooking" from her grandmother. She also described how her grandfather taught her about helping people. She said, "my grandpa always took me to traditional peyote meetings." According to Georgia, her daughter, Amanda, learned several things about the basket and loom from her grandmother and great grandmother.

Georgia added, “all this she learned from grandma [Name of maternal grandmother], the loom, the tools and the tools that are used have names for them.”

In addition to learning cultural crafts, grandparents have an important role in maintaining the Navajo oral tradition. For her, she was able to learn from her grandmother seasonal activities such as harvesting. Jennifer commented that stories from her grandparents were valuable in giving her certain knowledge and experiences. She stated, “so they share their knowledge and experiences in hopes that our younger our younger people will learn from them so they don't have to go back and you know really they don't have to learn things themselves.” Storytelling is about learning from elders about native ways.

Anna also shared how she reveres her grandmother as a “leader of the family,” for “taking care of her kids” and “being able to fend for them.” She described how she traveled with grandmother. She recalled how her grandmother sat her and her cousins down and spoke to them. She described that her grandmother “may even say “jiní” (“it was told”) you know.” Anna added:

> She’ll sit there and tell us like (.) um about something that happened before or she’ll see something and have a memory and like say oh yeah this happened or you know just keep on going from one story to the next story to the next story. So it’s like you get little pieces and I actually made her sit down a couple of times and made her like tell me her life story.

She related how her grandma would come and offer one story which would lead to “another story and to another story and to another story.” She said that “it just links on and sometimes they don’t even link but they just keep going.”

These participants expressed how fortunate they were to have their grandparents. Spending time with elders is important. Georgia related how she tries to support this as busy as she is. She encourages her grandchildren to spend time with their great-grandmother:

> They have a grandma over here and she's wanting them all the time over there. I try to get them to walk over there and spend time with. We try to spend more time with grandma and my mom you know… I try to tell them go over there and spend time with grandma (dog barking outside). And they like that; they enjoy it. And she likes seeing the little kids over there running around causing chaos, screaming and. You know she really enjoys that.

A time comes when grandparents or great-great grandparents lose their abilities to share stories and their cultural knowledge. Georgia explained that when her elders remember stories from their childhood, it is emotional. She said of her elderly mother who cannot recall recent events but can still recall childhood memories. She stated, "it just it brought tears to my eyes that she remembered all this clearly but now she can't remember what's going on now, she forgets. But she remembers like a book way back." Georgie teared up as she said, "I cherish her stories." Like Georgia's experiences, the roles of elders in connecting with the younger generations and their accounts of oral history are important reasons for why Navajos tell stories. It is essential that elders tell their stories, share their experiences, and teach what they know about culture. Next, I will describe another grandchild code 'Way of Life before Relocation' under the subtheme of 'Importance of Oral History'.

Way of life before relocation. The grandchild code, 'Way of Life before Relocation', described concepts related to the importance of community life, references to Coalmine and Tuba City, or other reservation communities. Life before and after relocation were coded here. In addition, any mention of changes in degree of connection and identity with Coalmine was captured under this grandchild code. How life was before relocation to Tuba City came up in conversation with interviewees across the grandparents' and great-grandparent's experiences in both families.

As described earlier in this chapter, Coalmine and Howell Mesa provided a connection to the land and traditional Navajo life ways. Some of the participants recall experiences visiting their grandparents or growing up there. The relocation from Coalmine and Howell Mesa had a major impact on the stories they tell. With the exception of the mothers, all the grandmothers, aunt, and great-grandmother interviewed had a connection to Coalmine and had experienced life related to farming and ranching. Life in Coalmine did not include many modern day conveniences that children and parents in Tuba City have in contemporary society. The before-and-after life in Coalmine as well as how Tuba City as a community has changed overtime were discussed by participants.

The perspective of the mothers who had not known life in Coalmine is different from their mothers and grandparents. The mothers, Anna and Ella, who are now in their twenties were born after their families had relocated to Tuba City. Their mothers (Rhonda, Georgia), Anna's aunt (Jennifer), and Anna's grandmother, Linda, had either lived in Coalmine or visited frequently. Linda, as the eldest of the participants interviewed, remembered a great deal of what life was like when she first visited

Coalmine. Her husband was from the area and she described time spent on taking care of livestock. Georgia, Rhonda, and Jennifer were children when the land dispute was taking place but families were still living the old way. Their parents and grandmothers frequently gathered together as families and engaged in farming activities (planting, watering, and harvesting). They took care of livestock such as herding sheep and rounding up cattle for branding.

The families had to haul water from nearby wind-mills for domestic use such as drinking, cooking, washing, cleaning as well as for watering the cornfield, and filling the troughs for the livestock. Taking care of livestock and farming consumed a great deal of everyone's time because they were essential for maintain self-sufficiency throughout the year. Rhonda, for example, often visited her grandmother and on these visits engaged in various activities, such as, farming and ranching. Rhonda shared:

> A lot of stories we tell are probably oral history. What we did when we were kids growing up. Certain times of the year, when we did certain things. Like spring watching what grama would do. In the fall, watching grama harvesting.

Georgia also recalled her experiences growing up in Coalmine and shared:

> Everybody all thought about one thing getting out there and getting their duties done getting home. At home we would have a little play time you know we would do little things get chased back inside, get dinner ready, set the table, feed everybody, wash the dishes again, go to bed. The next morning, it was just an ongoing thing but certain days it would change. Mom and dad would take off to a ceremony. Me, I would be there by myself sometimes and I had the whole place to myself but yet we had duties again.

When the families were moved to Tuba City, they lost contact with Coalmine. They could no longer maintain livestock or plant in their cornfields. Many of the families were dispersed and so it became harder to recognize kinship and understand clanship. The elders moved with their families to various communities and were no longer centralized in one area.

Anna, Linda's granddaughter, was too young to remember life in Coalmine. She pieces what life must've been like from the stories she has heard and continues to hear from her parents and grandparents. She stated:

> And hearing my mom … I know like I never lived in Coal Mine but it makes me feel like I was proud to be from Coal Mine (.). And like you know when people um ask where you're from I'm like oh I'm from Coal Mine and um Tuba City like you know I put those together … I just take pride in it.

Just as life changed in Coalmine so had life in Tuba City. There were many changes in the use of land. Linda described some of these changes, "I saw [Town] turn from what it is today from what it was before. I went through the depression years in the school. … There was nothing all the way down to Van's." She added:

> The places where people were living was all government land. That's where they planted squash, corn, whatever. //Mhm// The area where the hospital and the schools were, that was all vegetable garden //Hm// like cucumbers, tomatoes that was planted in the summer time for the school. //wow// So, the school harvest all those for the winter. They were put in the basements. And at the same time they were teaching a lot of other things, more vocational. //yeah//. There was only that

school the boarding school plus we only had one church, the Presbyterian Church. Everybody went there.

The way of life before relocation involved connection to the land and to one another as community members. Life also changed for the participants and their relatives in being able to herd sheep, plant, maintain livestock and subsist off the land. Modern conveniences replaced the hardship of hauling water, riding on horseback, and even growing vegetables. Elders no longer had the context to teach the next generation how to live off the land and the importance of Navajo ways of knowing such as knowledge of herbs, names of special places, and cultural practices related to naming ceremonies, puberty ceremonies, etc. For some of the participants, growing up in this context of rural life provided unique experiences. For them, it is important to keep these special memories alive by retelling growing up stories.

Stories about growing up. This child code reflected another reason for sharing stories. Participants reported that they share their childhood experiences with their family members including young children. The child code 'Stories about Growing Up' also included growing up experiences of grandmothers and great-grandmothers. The grandchild code 'Boarding School Experiences' reflected the growing up experiences in boarding schools. For some of the participants, boarding school experiences overlapped with stories about their growing up years.

This child code 'Stories about Growing Up' was mentioned by all adult participants. It overlapped with 'Teaching through Stories' and 'Aspects of Good Stories' and 'Grandparents' Roles'. Participants shared that to them storytelling was about sharing

stories about growing up. Several participants shared that oral history included stories about what they did as children.

Rhonda stated that storytelling was about "what we did when we were kids growing up." She has many memories and stories about, "where we grew up, how we grew up, what we did when we were little." Rhonda noted that "my mom tells us a lot of stories about when she was growing up. Oral history, in her mind, were related to stories about growing up. This was verified by her mother, Linda, who shared that she tells her grandkids "how I grew up." Her grandchildren love the stories she tells of her growing up years. Linda shared:

> When my grand-daughter ask something about your life, they we sit down. She gets a big kick out of it. I tell them when they gave us pants they were knee high. We had to wear uniforms. We only had one church. I looked forward to it. I got into the choir. They had me sing at Easter.

Linda's stories were about how people lived and what was considered customary practice. For example, she explained she had an arranged marriage. She said "and when I reached 18 was gonna be 19, I went back one year to public school. I came back that year. And they told me they were gonna marry me off. //oh no// (laughing).

Georgia explained that she heard many of her parents growing up stories. She stated that "my mom and my dad, they used to tell us stories about you know way back stuff they did when they were kids." In turn, Georgia shared some of these stories with her daughter. Amanda stated "my mom tells me about (...) about what happened when she was a girl. She heard a bunch of stories being told. She used to tell me about them."

Storytelling about growing up has an intergenerational element as illustrated in the lives of these two families. Their stories keep alive memories of special activities and special places, such as growing up in Coalmine and Howell Mesa. Stories about growing up allows grandparents to teach what's important based of their experiences. In this way they are able to 'Teaching through Stories'. Stories about growing up especially about what life was like before relocation and the boarding school experiences also make good stories.

Boarding school experiences was a grandchild code. Experiences in boarding school were coded under this code. Georgia and Linda had gone to boarding school and had the much to share. Linda attended Tuba City Boarding school as well other boarding schools out of state. Georgia attended the local boarding school from Kindergarten through eighth grade. Linda also shared a great deal about her father's experiences with boarding school, and also elaborated on her own experiences growing up in the boarding school system as she was growing up.

In the following example, Linda related the experiences of her elderly father who was in his 90's when he came to stay with her. He spoke some English but mostly spoke Navajo. He experienced hardship in early years when his language was forbidden and he was punished for speaking Navajo. She explained:

> Like my dad, he was in his 90's. I had him here. They brought him to me and they said, "Take care of your dad." So I had a mattress right here. Naabidiskid (I asked), "Shizhe'e, Háálá yít'éego niyaa hoo'a'?" ("Dad, how were you raised when you were little?") //Mhm//. T'aa sahi bił sikego (When we're alone). He would tell it in English. He went to school in [Name of place]. //M//. He made 5

> or 6 years there. Hait'éego lá t'áádoole'é íhwíiníl'ą́ą́? (How were you was taught). He said, "Naashnish ńt'ę́ę́' ("How to do certain jobs"). Ba'ólta'í léi nihaa nádááh ńt'ę́ę́' (A teacher used to come out). Ólta'di ashdla' shinááhai (I spent 5 years at school). He spoke some English. He knew his teacher, Ms. Tyler. Da hotałish nit'ee? (Did you sing songs?) And if they learned in Navajo? "Dine bizaah nihichi baa hochi nitee, bininaa nanihidinil ghał nit'ee" ("Navajo was forbidden and we got punished"). It sounds like it was pretty harsh. It was just English. His English was not the way it should be. He learned how to take care of himself such as how to dress. "Dine bizaah nihichi baa hochi nitee, bininaa nanihidinil ghał nit'ee" ("I got tired of it and used to run away"). He ran away and he was from [Name of community]. He changed his last name so they would not come looking after him… I did not spend time with him. My mom and dad were separated when we were tiny kids. I was born on top of [Name of place in Navajo. What do you call it? Akwe'e k'eh dadilyeeh nit'ee (We used to plant around there). I went out there, "Why didn't we stay here?" It was my mom and dad, they didn't stay together.

Linda told of her own experiences with going to school at an early age and pretty much growing up in the system. Her story was long so they are reported here in brief descriptions based on major events. Linda began her story with how she started school near her home then later enrolled in boarding school in Tuba City. Linda's story related how young she was when she began her schooling. She recalled many details that address a process of colonization and assimilation efforts. In her story, there are many examples

of devaluing her Navajo culture, fear of separation, loneliness, and not really knowing where she was going. She began with walking several miles to a school with her sister:

> There I walked several miles to school. My sister [Name of sister] got me to school… And uh my sister [Name of sister] went and said "Let's go" so I said ok. //great-grandson vocalizing//. I was about 5 years old. She said, "ti oltago ditash" ("let's go to school"). It was ok with me. I tagged along. We were supposed to take the sheep to the water hole. Instead we turned around and we got the sheep in. Watered them. We turned around and she said "Let's go." We headed down the road. I had no idea where I was going and what I was gonna do. And half the time she was packing me. Red Lake was quite a ways from where we were living. So we walked, and walked and walked. I guess she got tired. There was a place there. We got tired so we slept there. She knew where she was going, what she was doing. So I trusted her. We slept there and early the next morning, we started out again. And we played all the way. We didn't have no lunch or breakfast or anything. Then evening time, we passed the school. She said, "We're gonna go to my grama's Hogan, shibizhi (paternal grandmother)."

Linda and her sister arrived at their grandmother's place and spent the night. The next day she started school. In hindsight, she retells her experiences with a sense of humor and adventure. She added:

> [Name of sister] told them, "We're just going to school," she said. She got busy and she fed us. We just practically ate her out that evening. (laughing) And the next morning she got us up. She said, "wake up." "I'll take you down there." I was only five. We got to the school, and she enrolled us. Now they're very strict about

> who's bringing you in. This was just a grandma that I knew. So we got in. And but with me, they couldn't take me. I was too young to go to school. I cried and cried and wouldn't let my sister go. So they just enrolled me as a 6 year old. //as a six year old//. I was only 5 then. From there it was military base like you know. Got us here, got us there. That summer is when Mr. Kinney came along. He said, "Ti" ("Let's go") get on the bus." I had little idea about what I was going to be doing.

She described her first time on a bus and experiencing a new way of life:

> During that summer before my mom left, we were all playing there. A bunch of us 8, 9, playing. The sheep was out grazing. There was a little hill right by the hogan where we were at. We were all playing there. And here came the bus, school bus. This must have been about September sometime. Yeah. Anyway we were there. And uh Mr. Kinney drove up. He said, "All right kids, get on here, let's go onto to school." Before we knew it, about 5:00, we were over here at [Name of town] Boarding School. And he got us off. He said, "The boys go here and the girls go there," so that's where we went.

For a young child, the tall boarding school buildings must have appeared massive:

> We got out and I looked up and there was the biggest a great big, giant building. To us all we knew was hogans, chahaooh (shack). That's all we lived in. So when we got off the bus, we went and marched over there and one of the dorm aides met us. Got us all in line. He gave the list to the aide. First of all, they combed our hair. We smelled like kerosene. They fine-combed our heads.

She described the militaristic nature of schooling, marching, lining up, obeying everything she was told. She wanted to leave because it was hard but managed to get into high school:

> First grade is when I got to [Name of town]. From there on I never left school. I stayed there. Our upbringing you know was we obeyed everything they told us to do and we were happy. (laughing). And I used to think, someday I'll leave the school and never come back. I'll stay away as much as I want. So I stayed in there until 4th or 5th grade.

Linda described her desire to go to Richfield to attend a boarding school there:

> One summer, my mom and my sister. It was just my sister. My mom didn't want to go. We were going to work in Richfield. … Again, I disobeyed my parents. //mhm// My sister said, "You better tell your mom you're going with us". I had it all planned. I packed my clothes ready to go. //mhm// Just a small bag. "Richfield di nida dinish jine, akoo atah diya" (There is work in Richfield and I'm going to join a group to go"). My mom said, "No you're not going, you're too young to go." And I got on the bus anyway. My sister said "hanidi atah yigał, hodołtseł" ("Let her go, let her see the place"). Oh I got on. (laughing)

Linda described how missionaries approached her to discuss school:

> While they were working, we were playing on the side. We didn't even work. Everybody else was working and I was just playing around on the side. It went on all summer. And then when it came time for school, well I'll just skip school and stay around here.
>
> Chris: You thought. (laughing)

I thought. And they were working on carrots, they were gathering carrots in the field. We were playing there again. Here this lady came up to us. I guess they were missionaries. Mormon missionaries. //mhm// She said, "Do you want to go to school? I said, "Yeah, I probably skip school this year"

We probably won't go back til the winter. I'll be going back to the boarding school in [Name of town]", I said. I found out she was from Navajo Mountain somewhere. She said, "No you're not gonna skip school if we can get you in school here. Your parents can keep working," she said. I said, "I'm with my sister, my mother's home." (laughing) So I got myself in. I thought it was gonna take 2 or 3 days you know. I got home and gathered up my stuff and stuffed it into my bag. I said, "She might come back again sometime." I told my sister about it. //mhm// She said, "haii niyee?" ("Why?") "What about your mom, you didn't even tell your mom." I told her, hoghan di nenidzago shi taani bił hodil nih ("You can tell her when you get home"). So, we were playing around in the cafeteria and she came in. "Your bus is gonna come tomorrow, you're gonna get on. You better be ready". My sister got me ready all showered and everything. She said, "nitsi nayi shoh" ("Let me comb your hair"). Shi tsi sha ji sho (She hair combed my hair). She okayed my schooling and everything.

Linda continued her story as she traveled alone to a new school. As she told her story about these new experiences. As a listener, I acknowledged her statements by saying /hm/ to encourage her to keep going. She continued:

So the next morning they put us on the bus. There were two girls that we got on the bus. Lo and behold I didn't know where I was going or who I was going to

> stay with or how I was going to be treated or anything. Just as long as I was going back to school it did not matter. It was now or never. So the bus went with me. That lady told me, “When you get to Gunnison, someone's gonna be waiting.” “The Wonder bread man is gonna pick you up,” she said. //child vocalizing//. I understood, I said, "Okay." So when the bus stopped, I got off the bus with my suitcase. And there was a man there. He picked me up. The other girl was gonna stay some other place so she got in with another crowd. //hm// I was by myself with that guy. I talked and talked. The bus went that way and we went this way. I thought, "Gosh I wonder how far it is." "It's gonna take 2 or 3 hours to get there," he said. "I have to make deliveries." So I was helping him deliver the bread. By 4:00, I was there. And uh the people that were gonna stay with me, we got to their house. //hm// And she said, “you’re gonna be staying here, they have a room for you, a bed and everything.”

Linda did not return home while she was in school. The longer she stayed in school, the more educated she became. She, however, also described becoming very lonely being away from home:

> I didn’t come back. I came home for the summer for about a week. They would bring me home then come back and pick me up when they were going back. The Martin's, they kept me. The man I stayed with was a doctor. I just stayed there. So I stayed out there. The last year I was there. I told them, “I was going to go to school there.” (inc.) I spent a year there. I was more advanced than the kids. There was a mixture of all tribes. /All tribes, oh wow.// I really liked it but I was really lonely.

When Linda was done with her schooling, she took a job as an aide at a boarding school. She indicated that boarding school started change after she had worked there for close to 20 years. Students had more rights and staff felt they had no recourse when students complained about them. Linda's tone changed as she described the sadness in the changes:

> They taught me, instead of me teaching them. It was fun working with them. The changes that took place from the time I started. It was so different by the time I left. //Hm// We were the instructors. Then the kids started taking over, the kids started ruling. The parents had no say so. It was the kids did everything (.) they ran the school, they ran us off. I could tell when it was changing. We couldn't say anything mean to them. We were having them work the job we were supposed to be training them like cleanliness. We were doing their laundry their cleaning. But in turn they would complain to their parents. Parents would then complain. (In Navajo) "He/she came back saying this." That's when I retired. There was a lot of change. Even now you can't talk mean to them. Harsh words. (inc.) It changed a lot. The kids rule in the families. The parents go along with the kids. With us, it was always the dorm aide and teacher. Whatever they said, you did.

Linda's story reflected the impact of the boarding school era. For her, these experiences were memorable and closely tied to salient relationships. She spent more time with missionaries than her own family one year. She had to leave her home to receive an education. She endured a great deal which led to her becoming very independent at a young age. Her life experiences, in the board school system, has helped her appreciate the

hardships. Today, she uses her stories to teach her children and grandchildren values such as being self-sufficient and not to take for granted life's conveniences.

Teaching through Stories. This last child code 'Teaching through Stories' pertained to how stories used to teach values such as how to behave, self-sufficiency, and self-determination. This child code, teaching through stories, included concepts related to what elders have valued and tried to instill in the younger generations. Valuable lessons from the past and what stories tell us about the past were coded here. The great-grandmother and grandmothers shared examples of living in hardship long ago and how in contemporary life, everyday life is made easier through modern day conveniences. It also included examples of using stories as a teaching tool for developing life-skills. A grandchild code 'Bible Stories' illustrated the use of bible stories to teach morals and behavior. Older informants emphasized how stories can be the mechanism for teaching important values. Teaching through stories overlapped with 'Stories about Growing Up' and was a common subtheme shared across all participants.

Some of the participants, particularly Linda and Georgia who had experienced living off the land, shared important lessons from the past. Their experiences led to developing self-determination, self-sufficiency because life was hard. Linda for example, described how as a young woman, she had to fend for herself off the reservation as she pursued schooling and employment. Linda shared through her story the importance of hard-work, self-motivation, independence to be able to support herself and her family. In order to support herself, she had to not only learn how to work but also learn crafts such as crocheting, sewing and weaving:

> I was 14, 15 somewhere around there. And I was ...used to being by myself, motivating myself, getting myself going. Cuz my mom was the only one that was working. And my brother enrolled in the marines. He had a chance to help me out with the money too. I had a hard time. I had to really work hard. I always tell my kids. These are the things I went through, it's back breaking. But I learned a lot to support myself. They even taught me how to do sewing. They taught me how to crochet. It's like how we learn how to weave. In the summer time, when I came home, my mom just strung one for me. And I tried. (laughing) I had no patience. Yeah I learned a lot.

Linda's stories showed how her life experiences provided valuable lessons for her children and grandchildren:

Even in the last 30 years, when Georgia and her relatives lived in Howell Mesa and Coalmine, she realized how hard life was without running water. She recalled how much the family had to work to subsist on what they grew, their livestock, and drawing water from local wind mills. She also explained the valuable lessons learned when she has to weave and rise early to herd sheep. These lessons helped her to realize the importance of self-sufficiency. Georgia who grew in an environment where the family maintained livestock and cared for a cornfield. Consequently, she learned to herd sheep, plant, dye wool and weave. These experiences were captured in stories she shared with her children who have little knowledge of what it means to not have electricity and running water. Georgia's experiences growing up were different from her children's and grandchildren's childhood experiences. While she was expected at a young age to fulfill her chores, her daughter did not have the same experiences and was not expected to fulfill

similar chores. Georgia shared the following experiences that compared life then and life now, and how her grandmother taught her. She said:

> Water, we don't have to haul water. We had to plant everything. Everything we planted, we ate. Um we used to go down to a well and haul back little white rocks that made dye with grandma. And she would … sheer the sheep and get mohair, dye it, and use that white dye and make different colors. She taught me that and how to weave according to spinning the yarn and all that. That's pretty much what I learned as a child. And on my dad's side he taught us how to you know get out there early in the morning before sun up and get the sheep out, herd sheep, don't come back until evening. Take some snacks with you, bread whatever you name it and go. We don't come back until evening. And we're out there herding sheep all day we come back we eat and the next day it's the same thing again.

Georgia reported she was independent at age 14 and was already working. The work ethic instilled supported her to get a job. She stated "at age 14 you know I was already working at the chapter house, and I had to make my own money for my school clothes, school supplies, everything." She talked about how much easier life is now:

> Water was scarce, wood was scare you know to make fire to cook. They had to get their own wood for fire. Now it's like you don't have to worry you just run to the nearest store down the street, get what we need and come back.

When asked whether young people today are learning the value of hard work, she replied, "right now we are in a time where we have to you know deal with school and it's a lot more stressing if kids are not doing well." She noted that there was more focus on the mandates of "No Child Left Behind" and this made her feel like "they're making us hurry

up and learn." She added that when she was growing up, parents did not have the same pressures to review classwork and there was no retention. She stated, "back then we didn't have that, we were just put in the dorm" and they dealt with the educational needs.

Linda also sees a very different world in which her children and grandchildren are growing up. Modern conveniences and technology has made life easier. She stated:

> They have everything at their finger-tips. They don't have to go out and search for someone to say, "Hey pass this word on to so and so." They pick up their phone and dial it. I always tell them how lucky they are to be able to do what they do now.

Her granddaughter, Anna reported that she appreciated what her grandmother has experienced. She admires her grandmother for taking care of her family. She stated "you know she was the leader of the family. She had to be able to take care of her kids. You know being able to fend for them

The message and lessons from the past is that you have to make do with what you have. Anna explained that she will someday explain that to her children. She incorporates what her grandmother shares into teaching to her children She stated that she would:

> Explain to them that we may not have the nicest things. We may not have the best things. You know when I grew up, I would give them example but not til they're older. We weren't poor and we weren't rich. And my grandparents my parent my grandma had to make do.

Both grandmothers and parents reported that they use stories as a teaching tool. This means that storytelling is used as tool to explain what is expected and to shape behavior and skills at home and school. Ella reported that stories are used to help teach

her children “how to behave.” In the home, adults “tell a story when they are cleaning up the room and tell them where things go.” For Anna who exposes her children to many different experiences such as “classical music,” “different artists,” “different facts,” she uses stories to explain. She added, “I’m always naturally explaining to them what this is … how this came to be, um where this came from.” The stories are presented in a way that her children can understand.

For Rhonda, storytelling is a “way to explain things to a child or anybody” which includes “how, who, why that are incorporated in a daily basis.” When children ask “why,” she feels it “is easier to explain something to a child by putting a story behind it.” In her role as a nursery worker, she uses storytelling to provide explanations about what is acceptable behavior:

> My experience is um I use a lot it as a nursery worker. I use storytelling in the classroom where I explain to the kids why we don't do certain things. Why we shouldn't be bad or why we should be good. Answering a lot of why.

Rhonda has also observed that storytelling as a teaching tool is missing in the home and schools. As a result, children do not get the benefit of having things explained to them. I asked “so you think storytelling as a teaching method is missing in some homes?” Rhonda replied “I think its missing in most homes. I think in a lot of ways. We are lacking it in schools too.” Rhonda spoke from the experience with students who get in trouble because they do not understand what is appropriate behavior and they do not spend time talking with their parents. She also has observed that lack of using storytelling to instruct young adolescents who apply to work at the store. She said some come without

adequate knowledge of basic job skills including conversational skills and ability to complete tasks such as cleaning that they should already know. She shared that:

> I work with kids in my job. A lot of kids are not knowledgable. They don't have basic information about life. Like um I had to set up a bank account. How to sweep a floor, clean the bathroom, or bag groceries. Kids come in and they're afraid to have a conversation with someone or talk to someone. When they first come, they tend to be reserved and quiet. They don't know how to express themselves. If they are going through problems and I'm working with them, you can kinda see it. You want to express yourself back to them in explaining things. I tend to take the mother or teacher role. My job is a trainer where I'm at and I train a lot of kids that come in. So just using it on daily basis (..) something is done or how to do something.

These experiences have helped Rhonda to see the invaluable role of parents spending time talking with their children as well as using storytelling skills to explain the right way to do things. In Sarah's family, bible stories were mentioned frequently as a way to use stories to teach the right ways to do things.

Bible stories. This grandchild code included examples of how bible stories are used to teach appropriate behavior. Rhonda sees the value of using bible stories in teaching why children should listen to their parents. Her grandchildren are exposed to bible stories and they are taught at home based on the bible. She remarked that "we teach our kids bible stories" and "rules in the home are based on the bible." She has observed her daughter, Anna, enforce rules with her 3 year old and explain why she is not to do

certain things, such as watch certain things on TV. Rhonda shared how her daughter uses a story to explain “no.” Rhonda described the use of story:

> Like I said, we try and explain to the kids why. If you tell a child "no," they're gonna want to know why is it a "no." With my daugher, she tells her kids why she is saying "no." It goes back to who and why are we saying "no." Theres always got to be a story why we are saying "no." Theres a reasoning behind why you are telling a child "no". Because that child is gonna remember why she's not suppose to do it.

Anna stated “my kids are Christian so the bible stories are told.” Raising her children so they don’t stray from their beliefs was one reason why she reiterated teachings from the bible. Anna disciplines her children by using bible stories. For example, she when Sarah gets in trouble, she will share what the bible says about her behavior:

> There are times when she’ll get in trouble or she’ll do something that I tell, she’ll do something and I’ll tell her not to do it. Or I’ve told her before not to do it and I t* like I say [name of daughter] you’re not supposed to do that and I’ll explain exactly why where it says possibly in the bible what, where, where I showed her before. Um, and a story in itself like if she gets if she does it again like I actually sit her down and talk to her and discipline I guess in a way and explain to her exactly why and that way it’s a story. You know, like so far as you know the commandments or psalms or you know where different things it says like um what Jesus says about certain situations or how to apply it in that way. And I try and do that as much as I can I’m not saying that I know like everything um but just to show her okay this is where it says it.

Bible stories are embedded in the daily routines. Anna shared for example, “we’ll try to read proverbs as much as possible in the morning and that’s while they’re eating.” She added that they may not be attending but they are hearing it. Anna commented that it’s important to raise her children in an environment of love, “there’s all these people around them that are the same you know with that positive environment showing them the love and that love from God.” Bible teachings occur frequently in the home and at church.

In summary, the theme ‘Why We Tell Stories’ involved major reasons for storytelling. The concepts of connecting generations, preserving culture, and remembering a way of life were highlighted in this theme. The concept of intergenerational continuity in the face of adversity, colonization, cultural change, and loss of land was evident across the subthemes of the ‘Importance of Oral History’ ‘Stories about Growing Up’ and ‘Teaching through Stories’. This theme underscored the important role of grandparents in sharing oral history. When they share about how they grew up, they are teaching values through their stories.

Aspects of Good Stories

This child code, *Aspects of a Good Stories*, illustrated what makes a good story. The child codes include ‘Context of Storytelling’, ‘Good Storyteller Characteristics’, and ‘Good Story Elements'. There was one grandchild code, ‘Stories in Everyday Activities’ associated with the ‘Context of Storytelling’. I applied the codes for this theme a total of 29 times. I used ‘Context of Storytelling’ 27 times, ‘Good Story Elements’ 38 times, and ‘Good Storyteller Characteristics’ 23 times.

In this section, I describe the final theme by first describing the context of storytelling and then provide additional information on the use of stories in everyday activities. I then describe what makes a good story followed by characteristics of a good storyteller. I end this theme with examples of themes, structure, and style of Navajo narrative discourse.

Context of storytelling. The context of storytelling has been described by the participants and places where stories are told. They include community, school, home and church. The context also includes with whom stories are shared. There are places where stories are told. Participants mentioned places in the community such as where elderly gather. Jennifer stated that stories are told "when elderly people get together at gatherings." These gatherings in the community could include cultural events, community chapter meetings, and family gatherings.

Sarah's family reported that for their family stories are told in the school and the community church. Rhonda said "stories in the community for me and my kids it's at school…in a school setting." She added "for my girls it's the same thing in a school setting, even church. When asked where in the community, her granddaughter, Sarah, is exposed to stories, Rhonda replied "probably in church. As young as she is, she's not exposed to a lot of places. There's no babysitter or there's nobody that will take her to and drop her off." Anna, Rhonda's daughter, also agreed that her children hear stories in the community "mostly from church." Because of her age, "that's pretty much the only other place we go."

On the other hand, Georgia stated she takes her grandchildren to the cornfield and teaches them about planting and taking care of the cornfield. She said "we have a corn

field down at [place] and we take them down there too and show them the field." She explained that her grandchildren helped in the planting "they helped us plant melons" and "they learn how a corn grows." For the most part, young children are limited to certain places such as the store, the church, preschool, nursery and sometimes the cornfield. They are likely to spend more time in the home.

In the home, stories are told in the evening and typically around the dinner table. Several participants reported that stories are shared in the evening. In Sarah's home, her great-grandmother, grandmother, and mother all reported that the stories were shared at the dinner table. Rhonda said "in our home, I think a lot of stories are told at our dinner table. That's the time we are together. We sit down and we make sure we are eating dinner so we have time together." Rhonda's daughter, Anna shared it was the same when she was a child. She said "we've always had dinners together (.). Um ever since we were little. We had like where we all sit down and um eat together." Anna stated that dinnertime is when the family comes together and that this is a tradition. Rhonda laughed as she shared that the "dinner table" is where "we tell each other what's going on." Jennifer also added stories are told "when we sit down to eat or when we sit down and were together." Dinner time is important for Sarah's family. Rhonda said, coming together is especially important now "because sometimes people don't make time for their families."

Similarly, in the home of Tommy and Kyle, their grandmother, Georgia shared that the dinner table is the place her family comes together for sharing stories. She stated, "just like [Name of brother in law] every time we are at the dinner table, he'll tell how his

day was." Georgia explained how her children and grandchildren get together with their grandfather. She continued:

> They eat at the table and talk about how our day went. He'll ask each one of us, 'How was your day?' And we tell 'this is what we did and this is what we learned' or my day would be, 'We had traffic here and so & so was thrown in or crazy stuff like that.' We share our day. From day to day we do that almost every day. We even ask the little ones you know, 'How was your day [Name of grandchild]?' 'How was your day [Name of other grandchild?' You know.

All the participants mentioned context as being important for storytelling. Georgia, Rhonda and Anna all agreed the dinner table was an important place to share stories in the home.

***Who tells the stories*?** In addition, the participants shared that children are primarily with their families so it was not surprising to learn that children primarily hear stories told by family members and relatives. Rhonda said, her granddaughter, Sarah, hears stories told in the home by her mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother. Rhonda said of her granddaughter, "She has family members around her all the time, so mostly it's just the family" She also added, "Anna sits down with her children in the morning and she'll talk with them." Sarah's great-grandmother (Linda) reported that family members all take turns especially with bible stories. Linda, said "it's not just me. We all take turns. We talk about bible stories. The little girl is good with that."

Anna, Sarah's mother, shared that she spends most of her time at home and that Sarah and her brother are around mostly family. When asked where her children are exposed to stories, she replied, "here at home, um from me or my grandma or my dad like

anybody who's here." Anna also shared her daughter sometimes is exposed to stories when "her grandma and grandpa take her to Flag." Flag is short for Flagstaff, which is a town about 75 miles away. This is where families typically do their shopping. Anna described her family as outspoken. She said "well, my family can talk [chuckles]. They can really talk. Um and they're not so reserved." This outspoken quality helps them to be open and share what is on their minds.

The participants shared that storytelling occurred in the community and home. For young children it was mostly at home. It is the family who primarily shared stories with children. The dinner table was reported to be a common place where stories were told. In the next section, I describe some of the ways stories are shared in everyday activities.

Stories in everyday activities. 'Stories in Everyday Activities' is grandchild code under the child code, 'Context of Storytelling'. There was overlap of excerpts between these two codes. This grandchild code reflected how stories are embedded in activities, routines, and interactions on a daily basis.

Stories are embedded in daily routines. Rhonda stated that stories are told "in our home, year round on a daily basis." These stories are about "everyday things, everyday life." Her grandchildren hear stories "on a daily basis" and "base their stories on a movie they saw or something they heard on the radio." These stories are embedded in daily routines. Rhonda described a typical routine:

> Anna sits down with them in the morning and she'll talk with them. She'll read with them too. In the morning, they put on the music and she'll sit down with them and talk and explain things to them.

Linda also stated that Sarah's mother, Anna, engages her daily with "a lot of books that she reads and just everyday things that she does with them." Anna reported that stories occur all day long. When asked when stories are shared, she stated:

> All day. All day [chuckling] well I mean I'm not going to give one specific time like oh one ten minutes or one thirty minutes later it's just like, it's just whatever comes up and is present within our view.

She stated that stories reflect life experiences. She said:

> For us though it's a lot of that like on a daily basis like daily, like life lessons sort of or uh associating a story with something that goes on you know and trying to put it in a positive light. That's what I do with my kids.

Anna gave an extensive narrative that illustrated how stories are embedded into daily routines. This narrative is followed by observation of shared-reading between Sarah and her mother. Anna described how her daughter experiences events and was beginning to recall events through daily activities and events:

> But for us it's not only in the home it's when we go out, when we go everywhere. It's everywhere, I couldn't even explain like as being one place. It's everywhere cuz we can go outside and we could see a plant or a bug or something and something could pop in my head or they could start talking about it, and the bug and like say oh this one time like you know like Sarah is getting better at that like recalling events (.) where she's like that bug bit me or you know she told a little bit about it and you know even to doing some fabrications where she's like "it was so big."

Stories are about everyday events. Whether stories are made up or real-experienced events, they provide young children opportunities to learn to sequence events, describe details, and retell experiences. Anna stated that "and just like even making up stories um like fairy tales and stuff like that um and besides that you know going through our everyday lives like going to the store you know." Anna shared a situation that provided an opportunity for her daughter to experience an event and then retell what she experienced. Her ability to recall what she sees at three years of age is amazing. Anna shared that:

> Like the other day, yesterday we um got locked out of our car [chuckles] and I left the keys in there and we had to wait for a while and the kids were waiting for me until my auntie came. And then like maybe like thirty or forty minutes after that is when they got the door open. Um but Sarah came back and she was telling my Anna and talking to her and telling her about everything they did and she was like Michael was licking the machine Michael was laying down on the ground and I got tired you know and she just told like a lot of the details not I mean she picked up things that you're just like okay you know not necessarily like the actual like the event like okay we're, we're locked out of our vehicle. She knew what was going on physically around her and was able to recall that and tell someone based off of what she saw. She's like yeah 'I know we're locked out of the van but I'm standing here right here in this moment I'm standing here I'm tired I see my brother licking a machine like licking the floor you know' and she gets really good at recalling those types of things.

Anna was the only mother who could describe daily activities in the daily routines. She was able to describe what she did with her children. In describing a typical day, Anna provided examples of what occurs in the morning through the day and ending with the night. She mentioned that her grandmother reinforced good behavior by telling a story of consequences of being naughty. Then taking the time to make up stories with her children:

> Well we get up and it'll just be me and [name of son] you know we're walking around the house and he's just like you know he's just so hyper and just so happy. And you know we'll just kinda play, and just do what he's doing you know. Once Sarah gets up she (.) um, she's not very happy so we kinda have to like get in the function of "okay we're gonna watch like Dora or something" for us like to help her wake up you know and that's a story in itself.

Anna continued her description:

> And from there it could go to like us sitting down at breakfast and you know grandma telling us stories. You know it's like it's always Sarah, me and Michael and grams over there, all the time. And that's how we eat um we're used to our own spaces. Um, and she'll tell them a story like if they're naughty or something she'll like oh, you know what, this happened when this person was naughty.

Anna described how she engages her daughter in making up stories:

> Um, and we'll go anywhere from there to like dancing like we turn up, like this morning. That's one thing we do um, but when we listen to classical we're running around we're dancing and we're being like ballerinas, hopping back and forth and um she, she kinda makes up stories and I make up stories too. I'm like

> are you a ballerina or are you the fairy or are you, you know then sh* she'll go in detail. And I keep asking her questions and we build, build on it to where we get to a place of like oh we have story line. And then I'm going to go over here and dance this way and you're going to go that way and this is how we're going to happen and the action comes forth with the story we made in a sense.

Stories involve explanations:

> Um, then usually they take a nap and you know my daughter. She will not go to sleep. She gets so fussy and I have to explain to her why she has to go to sleep and that's a story in itself like you know the last time you did it, it's just everything, it's so weird like, it's in everything, honestly.

Anna indicated that reading to her children is huge part of her routine at night.

> Um, at night time we do read, I usually do read them a book, they pick out a book each and we'll go read it. And um like I'll explain like I'll read it and kind of explain the pages um of what's going on give examples of different things and um then we'll go through in um Sarah will get a book. Michael will get a book and he'll hold it and like he'll be sitting next to us and he goes, "La la la la" and he goes, "ahh" and he's pointing at the pictures and talking you know babbling. And, his sister is like No, that's what it is this is you know and she's telling him. What I try and do with them is you know I go through a book we read a book and I start to ask them questions about each page. You know like oh what was this, it's not even the main stuff but to get them to be able to see the bigger picture and um that and we actually do prayers you know before we go to, I try and make sure.

Anna stated that stories at bedtime may involve a pray and recapping the day:

> If they don't fall asleep right away uh I sit them down and say "okay we, you have to pray" you know in essence that could be another story you know praying and telling about like God what we need and you know what happened in our day and who needs help and in what way or you know how we need to change within ourselves. Then of course go to sleep and then like in the middle of the night my, sometimes my daughter gets up and she's scared so I have to like be able to calm her down and tell her, (.) give her comfort.

Daily routines provide many different opportunities to embed language and literacy activities. These routines gave naturalistic ways to support communication and provided daily socialization experiences. Activities were also important to daily routines and provided specific ways parents and adults engaged with young children.

Activities. Every day, Sarah's mother was interacting with her with many different learning activities. These activities were related to literacy such as shared reading, sounding out, labeling pictures or pointing to pictures in books, and expanding concepts (numbers, letters and colors). Activities also include songs and dancing, and play and physical activities. They also include educational cartoons such as programming on literacy skills (e.g., ABC's, numbers). Anna provided many different literacy activities in home. Below is an example of my observation of interaction around children's books. The following scenario occurred between Anna and her daughter:

> Anna brought out some books that Sarah likes.
>
> Anna: Where's puppy? (Sarah points). Good Job!
>
> Anna: Where still water? (Sarah points). Anna adds, "Still water means calm, it doesn't move." (Anna reads book, Sarah looks on).

Anna: Which one's big? Sarah points.

Anna: What's this for? (Referring to a block with U). Anna adds, "This is 'u'!"

Anna: Sheep, dibé [Navajo word for sheep] (Anna is looking at the book jointly with her children). She read more … asked, "What's this?" (Referring to sheep) How do you say Red (in Navajo)? łichii? How about with Dora? Rojo. (Sarah picks up a book on ABCs).

Anna: A stands for Apple, say, "ae."

Anna: Books are read and explained. Anna likes to buy books to feel it and see it (like the ABC book).

Anna: Books are read and explained. (Sarah is building with a block and books).

Anna: We sit down and eat together and talk and stuff

Sarah's home is rich with many opportunities to embed storytelling about everyday activities. These activities focus on literacy: reading, colors, shapes, letters, sounding out letters, and counting. In addition, Anna engages Sarah in make-believe stories and family stories. The interactions are intense with frequent expectation for Sarah to verbalize. Anna stated she made up stories:

Okay there was this one princess that came along and she was very pretty and she had very long hair but she couldn't tie up her hair so she had to have this man walk around with her, you know like and hold her hair. And that would be a story you know.

In Ella's home activities are not as structured but the children are exposed to children's books such as Einstein books. Ella shared that stories are told in English:

Interviewer: What about at home? Do you have story time?

Ella: Once in a while.

Interviewer: Do you read to them?

Ella: Yeah they like to read on their own unless you point to a picture.

Interviewer: So when you look at books you mainly point to pictures? Like what's this? Show me ball?

Ella: Yeah.

Ella stated,

When the boys show us a book, we read to them. Like Winnie the Pooh. Sometimes, this happens every day.

Ella reported that "they even like stories with songs." And that "at school they learn about dogs, mostly pets. And numbers. And they all sit in a group a little circle or they all sing. They all move their hands like this (gestures)." Ella and her mother, Georgia, both reported that Tommy and Kyle enjoy watching cartoons, arts and crafts, learning their numbers and letters and being active. Georgia reported that:

So the kinds of stories they hear are cartoons, what else do they hear? Mostly in English. Um (.) we have (.) what was it called? They're trying to learn their ABCs, 1,2,3s, jump, throw, catch, just the basics with them

Ella said her children enjoy playing with cars and coloring. She added,

Well they have toys too that teaches them stuff. They have a bus they play with. They have some books you touch it and you'll know what it is. And they have a car, what button to push "Push Go" that tells how to start it, but they're learning.

Ella also shared that it was important for her children to be active and tried to keep them busy. She said that:

> Um they mostly play, jumping. And they clean, they help us clean. And later on we all go for a walk at the high school. And they like it out there. They get to run and stuff. They like being in a wide open area.

While the two mothers have slightly different approaches, books were common available in both homes. There were more books, particularly bible story books, in Anna's home. In Ella's home, there were several Einstein books. In addition to stories being embedded throughout the day, family members were also engaged in other activities. These activities included stories, singing, play, and cartoons in Anna's home and play and cartoons in Ella's home.

In summary, the child code, 'Context of Storytelling' revealed community settings such as the church and school as important places for relating stories. The cornfield was an important place for Georgia's family, while Rhonda's family valued activities in the church. The grandchild code, 'Stories in Everyday Activities' reflected how stories are embedded in everyday activities, routines, and interactions on a daily basis. They include shared activities related to literacy such as shared reading, sounding out, labeling pictures or pointing to pictures in books, and expanding concepts (numbers, letters and colors). Activities also include songs and dancing, and play/physical activities. They also include educational cartoons such as programming on literacy skills (e.g., ABC's, numbers).

Good story elements. This child code, 'Good Story Elements' described the content of good stories or what makes a good story. Participants gave varied answers to the kinds of stories they liked and what they thought makes a good story. Some reported story themes, books they enjoyed, bible stories, movies they've seen. This code was

mentioned by all participants interviewed. The excerpts for ‘Good Story Elements’ overlapped with ‘Aspects of Good Stories’.

In describing what makes a good story, there were different perspectives based on experiences, age, and degree of exposure to the Native language. Stories were perceived and expressed by individuals in unique ways. I compared the perceptions of Anna and Ella to understand what they thought made a good story. I describe Ella’s perspective first then Anna’s thoughts about story elements.

Ella’s idea of storytelling is “reading a book.” She enjoys reading by herself. Ella reported she enjoyed “stories from books.” When asked what kinds of stories she liked, she said “probably children's books I've read so far.” She was very vague and I kept trying to probe for more on her views of story themes. She also shared early literacy books with her children. She mentioned books with characters such as Winnie the Pooh were good stories. Ella’s reticence to elaborate may have been related to her reserved personality. Her ability to socialize her boys to different kinds of stories may have also been challenging because of their language abilities. Her mother, Georgia, provided more information on what makes a good story including themes for stories.

On the other hand, Anna had a lot more to say about the different kinds of stories she liked. Anna indicated people vary in what they like in stories. She stated that:

> Like nobody is the same. So all stories are different. Like it could be the same story but it has different meaning for a person. They take it in. They perceive it a certain way and they give it out a certain way. They tell others a certain way and they may tell it the same but within themselves.

During a visit with Anna, she showed me several books including: *More than Meets the Eye, How the Body Works, How Hearing and Memory Works*. Anna enjoyed reading books about anatomy and stated that she likes the science of it. She was also reading other books and gave a descriptions of them:

> And then now like it's, (.) I hear stories from people and you know I read books that give different perspectives like I kind find it. I'm reading that um *Two Old Women*. The story um it's about the Athapaskan … um it tells about how what they went through and hardships they went through and that's a pretty good book. I just can't find it. Then I read um *The Diary of a Half Indian Half White Boy* or something and that gives the perspective of this little boy who was on the reservation and he moved off the reservation. And just get these perspectives I guess you know from reading cuz I like reading a lot [background Anna] … and just like listening to people.

Anna elaborated about her views on what made a good story which were associated with words such as: "explanations" "emotions" "details" "ambience" "senses" and "descriptions". She said the best stories were those that came "from a natural place" such as "love" or "hurt." She liked stories with "deeper meanings" which were related to how the story was presented. She elaborated:

> I guess that is hard to tell but sometimes when you hear stories and they have, you can tell when they have a deeper meaning sometimes. The way they say it, the way they talk, the way they move their hands you know, the way their facial expressions are you know if they're breathing heavy or like you know just everything. How they act and how they show you the story. You know, not just

> through the words but like the actions and the feelings and every single thing that goes on.

Anna also shared that a lot of the stories that she has heard has given her strength. The books she's read also pertained to her religion. The stories have taught her "how to be a strong person, how to love people how to be caring, how to be a good human being … through Christ." Stories that have themes related to beliefs and values are important for Anna and she socializes her children through these types of stories.

Anna also reads the bible to her children. The themes from bible stories were shared in the home. She shared that she told bible stories to teach and explain. She related the following example:

> Jesus died on the cross [laughs] we've covered that a lot, um, and we* I'll bring it up in different ways based off of you know if it's that time of year or you know like a certain situation. That's a lot of things like explaining, you know, what the trinity is, why Jesus died w* you know, why he died for us and you know. It all being a part of love and God wanting us to find him and things like that. But that has, that in common. That's kind of something we bring up a lot, or I bring up a lot. Well, I don't bring it up its just like my mind goes that way you know and that's what I'm gonna say. My mind is going that way. [phone rings]

The bible themes dealt with explaining appropriate behavior. Anna explained things in terms of the bible throughout the day.

In addition to stories in books, Anna also shared that she makes up stories. Her stories could be funny or serious. She said "I make stories up all the time." She is creative with the stories she makes up especially with her children. She added, "and sometimes

it's not necessarily true stories it's just stuff I put … to help her (daughter) see it." Stories she says come from personal experiences. She said "it's really up to the person and what they've experienced and what they went through." Most of the stories Anna creates begins with an encounter or observation. She explained:

> Something could pop in my head or they could start talking about it. …Sarah is getting better at that like recalling moments where she's like that bug bit me or you know she told a little bit about it and you know even to doing some fabrications where she's like it was so big. And you know she gets that from seeing something and of course like my mind going back and forth all the time. I um I see different things all the time and I have a thought about it and though about it until I'm always naturally always explaining to them what this is, … how this came to be um where this came from you know and just like even making up stories um like fairy tales and stuff.

Anna also shared that she did the same thing as child. She said "that's how it was when I was little." As she grew, the oral stories became written stories. She described this process as sitting and writing. She said "I see something and like I write a story about it, and it would be like the funniest thing." Her ability to create stories growing up were based on her interest in Disney characters. She said "I was really into Ariel, the little mermaid, so like doing the princess stories, princess um movies um things kind of like that like Barbie different um more majestic or you know um, like stuff a little girl does." For Anna, stories themes were based on her own experiences growing up. She now creates and shares story themes with her children in a similar way. Anna also shared the

themes in movies make good story elements. She said “I think movies are stories they could tell stories and they give you impression like um place.”

Stories that incorporate themes from the culture and told in both Navajo and English were of interest to some participants. For example, Amanda said she enjoyed stories that were told in Navajo and English. She said “they make it really interesting because they either speak in Navajo or English. And having to with our culture. And I want to listen to them.” Her mother, Georgia, reported that it is important to include the native language. She said “I just make up stories as I go along but they're all in Navajo. And I tell them (her grandchildren) what the story is about.” Her Navajo words may include colors and names of animals. She believes bilingual stories are captivating. She tries to integrate Navajo words with English in stories when she tells them to Tommy and Kyle. Georgia said “I just make up stories as I go along but they're all in Navajo. And I tell them what the story about. And they know it’s all about colors. And they know the animal.” For Amanda, these stories help her learn about her culture and community. She believes stories have themes that teach identity. She said “it’s all about our community and to learn where we came from.”

In summary, good stories are related to themes in books, movies and made up stories. Examples of what makes a good story were also shared in the previous section when I described stories about childhood. Past shared experiences were commonly mentioned as making good stories. Stories shared by elders about history and cultural activities were also mentioned as important. Next, I describe the last subtheme related to good storytellers.

Good Storyteller Characteristics. This child code described the characteristics of good storytellers. The use of animation, use of language, and how attention is maintained all reflect how a good storyteller holds the listener's attention. Excerpts from this child code overlapped with 'Aspects of Good Stories'.

Observation of stylistic features. As participants shared their experiences with good storytellers, they displayed several pragmatic behaviors. The preferred seating was sitting at the corner of the table. The participants chose to sit adjacent to another rather than across from them. They responded to questions sometimes after a thoughtful pause. There were very little interruptions or talking over one another. When several adults were in the table talking, participants took turn at storytelling and conversation by allowing people to contribute their perspective about a topic. When a participant started to talk, others got quiet as if to say "you have the floor." As stories were shared, there was a sense of humor. Participants laughed and as they shared in the story, particularly the bilingual participants who added vocal parameters (e.g., rhythm, stress and intonation) to maintain the listener's attention. When topics became serious, the conversation became quieter with less eye contact. The participants used multiple gestures with their hands as they conversed and told a story.

Gestures. The use of gestures while telling a story is important. Rhonda reported that she supplements stories with the use of gestures:

> I think a lot of the stories come from different people in different ways. Like me, I use a lot of gestures. I have to remember I'm telling a story to my granddaughter so I have to be animated and make it interesting. Um if it comes from grama, it's

> precise and to the point. If it's from her Anna, it's more based on fact or something very um I guess helpful (..) the story would become more helpful.

For Rhonda, being animated, using gestures and incorporated exaggerated facial expression capture and keep her grandchildren's attention when she is telling a story. Interaction with audience, even little children, requires stylized performance:

> I think the animation you put in it. If you make it interesting. If you make it something they are gonna stop and listen to. If you use the right words and the technique. If you remember who you are telling the story to. If you forget that you are talking to a three year old and talk to them like a teenager or an adult, then they don't hear the story. They just hear you talking.

Her daughter, Anna, also uses a lot of gestures. She said, "I'm with them all the time you know and … like I'm animated." Consequently, Sarah also uses gestures as she begins to share an experience. Rhonda provided an example of Sarah's use of gestures. Rhonda stated "yeah, she uses big motions and hand gestures. She'll tell me, "grama he hit me really hard' and she uses gestures." Use of gestures and vocal patterns were mentioned frequently as good storytelling styles. For young children, sitting in an adult's lap allows ease in communicating with the adult. Sarah's younger brother, for example, sat in adults lap when there was interaction at the table. He vocalized and pointed to a picture to get them to talk about something in a picture.

Make it sound real. Participants also reported that stories need to be natural. The storyteller should strive to make the story sounds real. Linda said "make it sound real." A storyteller should to tell the story "just the way it is." This may mean drawing on life

experiences and giving sufficient descriptions. Linda added “make it look like they can see you doing it.” She gave an example of how to make it vivid:

> When I was small, they used to hide sugar from us anything sweet. They hung it up high (in Navajo). We managed to get it down. If it was sucked, we knew it was [names of brothers]. Make it sound like it’ really happening, they'll just laugh about it. My brother's teased me. They said, we had to hide the knives, because she killed lizards (in Navajo). I used to cut off their tails just to see it wiggle. I don't remember that but it must be true since they said it.

Anna, her grand-daughter agreed that it’s important to be real and natural. She stated:

> I think it’s just like has to do with the person being honest to themselves like being able to open up and I think those do make the best stories, um, because they come from a natural place. They come from a place like it could be love it could be hurt it could be anything but it’s an actual emotion that they experience as opposed to being like real.

Details are important. Several participants commented on the use of details to create stories. Anna said “…details you know getting the ambiance, …using words like descriptive words … to see something not just with your eyes, not just put it in your brain but feel it with all your senses”. Another participant, Ella, stated “a good story teller … tries to draw things out and help you understand what they are talking about.” She added “someone who tells a good story is someone you can … explain details very well.”

Storytellers have been described as someone who can hold the audience’s attention. For the participant, use of animation is important for younger children. Details

and descriptions are important for older individuals. Painting a picture so one can see what's being described is important so the use of words for telling a story.

Finally, being able to relay true life experiences to the next generation was an important aspect of what a good storyteller does. Jennifer, for example, expressed that "it's only somebody who can tell stories who can share what actually happened." True life experiences based on being a witness to things of the past is essential to relay information to the next generation. For Jennifer, accurately relaying experiences is essential so "that's what makes it go on to the next generation accurately." The storyteller has that responsibility of accurately informing the listener when oral history is based on actual accounts.

In summary, the use descriptions, details, and use of gestures are examples of stylistic features that provide contextual support for a story. If done well, the story in interesting and captivating. Discourse rules for conversation and storytelling were similar with regard to allowing the person who has the floor to talk with little interruption. In the next section, I present a brief sample of story and summarize Navajo narrative features that I observed.

Results of Coding Narrative Features

Drawing on the literature, I developed a checklist of observable features of Navajo story telling themes and style. See Appendix D. I used the checklist to code categories such as function of story, type of story, themes of story, narrative structure, and narrative style. I list the categories and features of discourse patterns influenced by Navajo culture and language which I observed in the adult stories. See Table 3.

Table 3

Observed Features of Discourse Patterns Influenced by Navajo Culture

Category/Features	Observed Categories and Features
Function of Story	Teaching, entertainment, sharing experience.
Type of Story	Personal narrative, historical tale Not observed: Fictional narrative, myth
Themes	Lack or loss, intergenerational continuity, notions of harmony, themes of travel and movement.
Narrative Structure	Content lacks a plot with goal directed behavior; Story focused on descriptions of events.
Narrative Style	Prefers contextual support by group and audience involvement. Use of features: • Facial expressions and gestures • Assumes shared knowledge; listener infers meaning of the story • Rules for getting and holding the floor • Gives turn to others if relevant to the theme • Limited interruption • Narrator's knowledge of social and cultural knowledge – nature of social relationships, appropriate selection of listeners (relatives), general knowledge of culturally defined functions of stories • Use of paralinguistic features e.g. proxemics, vocal patterns (e.g., prosody, intonation, stress) to keep listener's attention.

Sociocultural Influences

The results above suggest that Navajo language and culture influence narrative discourse skills. To further illustrate the use of these culturally influenced discourse patterns, I describe Georgia's bilingual story samples. When stories are told about the past experiences, they may reflect humor as in the story shared by Georgie. Georgia shared:

> Kojígo dah dii'nééh níigo (They started traveling this way). Half way oonéélgo (traveling) she remembered Lena still sleeping in there. AyishwołI, łíį' ła' bił dédéél ni' (I caught a horse). Ídą́ą́' shį́į ayóo honishyói ńt'ę́ę' (I must have been

very agile then, she said). (Laughing). She jumped on one of the horses and brought Lena back. Oonéélí bitahdęęʼ łįįʼ nihił yilwoł (Through the caravan we came riding). Hatsiiyéél ayóo dah naatsʼidgo, kótʼéego (Her big knot/bun bouncing up and down like this). (Georgia moves her hand up and down). (Laughing). My mother was just mad us she said. Haʼatʼíish, náji'! (What now, get out of the way!) Kojí nihił níigo nidi łįįʼ nihił dah diilwod (She said over here but we rode off). (Laughing).

In Georgia's retelling of a story shared with her by her mother, she described a sense of community, value for relationships (kʼé), and respect. She gave descriptions of landscape and places where the extended family traveled to and some of the things they did. The journey of relatives, who are now gone, provided a sense of connection to the past. Georgia retold her mother's story with English and Navajo words interspersed. The English words include names of people, concepts that are easier to say in English ("half" vs "ałnįįgo), and statements that quickly inform. In Navajo, the word such as "oonéélgo" (traveling in a caravan) is a term that implies traveling by wagon. She also used words that an elder would say about their ability as a youth in a humble manner "Íídąąʼ shįį ayóo honishyói ńtʼęęʼ (I must have been very agile then"). A description of Lena with her "Hatsiiyéél" (Her hair tied in a bun) bouncing up and down, along with Georgia's gesturing to show how it was moving up down, made the story funny. Georgia's prosody changed as she emphasized certain words and laughed. The story was about finding humor in the mischief of two young girls.

Another story shared by Georgie also reflected a sense of the family on its journey. The details and description of place of birth suggested a connection to the land.

Georgia shared:

> There's one too where she was um (inc.). They had to move quickly from there. Because Kiis'aanii kéédahat'ínígíí shi'dizhchį́ ní (I was born where the Hopis now live, she said). Késhmishgo ayóo deesk'aaz (During Christmas when it was very cold). Beeldléí bídin hooyéego (blankets were scarce). They just wrapped me up in a rag/cloth éé' ádingo (no blanket). By the time they got there it was mid-February. Hooghan ádayiilaa (They made a hoghan). Íídą́ą́' kót'éego hooghan ałhídanii'áago ál'įį'ńt'ęę' hashtł'ish bee ilyaago. (At that time homes were made of poles that came together at the center and covered in mud). That was their first house.

Her description gave a sense of how cold it was in the winter time and how rare blankets were. The Navajo word "bídin hooyéego" reflects a prized possession because of its scarcity. Her story gave an understanding how people used to live in a Hogan-like structure that was hastily put together because of how fast the family had to move and make shelter. This was another example of a story that was tied together by descriptions of events. When one knows the Navajo words and has shared knowledge, the story made sense and provided a visual of what happened and how it happened. These bits of stories reflect where our elders and ancestors traveled and what life was like. Georgia's stories reflected her sense of history and knowledge of cultural activities. She provided an understanding for values such as group support and appreciating the conveniences now because our ancestors experienced hardship. Such stories teach and reinforce social norms and are very much tied to the language. If the story was retold only in English, it

would likely have lost its effectiveness in relaying the underlying values while also using them to entertain with humor.

The theme *Aspects of Good Stories* illustrated the importance of context, content, and style of storytelling in Navajo homes. While there was more emphasis on the context of everyday personal stories and historical tales, they show the oral tradition in contemporary society is vital. However, the lack of use and references to more traditional stories such as folktales was concerning as these are stories traditionally used to teach values of the right way to live in Navajo society. The context for storytelling has shifted from the hogan floor to the dinner table for many English-speaking Navajo families. I observed Navajo influenced narrative discourse and conversational discourse patterns which suggests culturally specific content and stylistic preferences. Some of these features were also noted in narratives told in English. It appears certain aspects of sociocultural knowledge and practices continue to be embedded in stories despite the primary use of English. This then is transmitted to English-speaking Navajo children even into the fourth generation following the introduction to the English language.

Chapter 5

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine how Navajo children are socialized to tell stories in English, including both the process and the product of storytelling. My focus was on when, how, where, and why English-speaking Navajo children tell stories and how they are taught in the home and community. In order to understand how stories are told, it was important to find out what routines, contexts, interactions support storytelling in the home and community. My primary question was "How are English speaking Navajo children socialized to tell stories?" The specific questions addressed were:

1. How do English-speaking Navajo children participate in storytelling activities in the home and community?
2. How do English-speaking Navajo children share stories in the home and community?
3. What routines shape storytelling skills at home and community?
4. In what contexts are stories told in home and community?

These questions were addressed using qualitative methods. I used a variety of data sources, including observations, interviews, documents, audio recording of stories of adults, researcher journal, field notes and demographic/contextual information. I conducted interviews with six adult participants and observed interactions between three primary child participants and their caregivers, and two secondary participants.

In Chapter 2, I provided an overview of language socialization and its premises. According to Shieffelin and Ochs (1986a), the researchers who first elaborated this perspective, the discipline of language socialization describes ways in which novices are

socialized into using language and socialized through language into preferences for acting, feeling, and knowing in socially recognized practices associated with membership in a social group. They postulated that language socialization provides insight into cultural and linguistic development in diverse communities and helps to understand the relationship between culture and the use of language with and around children. Language socialization, the process in which children are socialized both through language and to use language within a community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984), provided a framework for this study. The focus of the study was to better understand cultural realities that influences when, how, why young English-speaking Navajo children learn to tell stories. I proposed that these premises provide a foundation for a study on how Navajo English-speaking children are socialized to use language and socialized through language into community preferences for ways of speaking and knowing with regard to storytelling practices. In presenting a summary of my results and discussing them, it is important to explain my findings not only in terms of how my research questions were addressed but also how they add, support as well as challenge other research on early language socialization patterns with regard to storytelling practices.

Summary of Findings

The experiences shared in the interviews and observations were captured in the identified themes in their stories. I integrated the data sources to provide a picture and reflect what is meaningful to the participants in the context of their home and community. I described my findings in-depth in Chapter 4. To answer the questions related language socialization and storytelling, I found three major themes that impact how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized to tell stories. These themes were: *Societal*

Change, *Why We Tell Stories*, and *Aspects of Good Stories*. The themes and subthemes addressed my research questions. Discussion of my findings follows this summary of my findings. The theme *Societal Changes* addressed how children participate in storytelling in the home and community and how this is changing. This theme addressed the forces that impact storytelling for Navajo society as well as children. The themes *Societal Changes* and *Why We Tell Stories*, best addressed how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized through stories. The theme *Aspects of Good Stories*, addressed how children are socialized to tell stories. *Aspects of Good Stories* also addressed my other research questions: How do Navajo children share stories in the home and community? What routines shape storytelling skills at home and community? and In what contexts are stories told in home and community?

The practices of storytelling and how children are socialized to tell stories are changing in Navajo homes and communities. The theme of *Societal Changes* described how the language shift to English has also impacted the role of who teaches culture and language. The subtheme 'Cultural Transmission in School' revealed that the adult participants have witness the schools taking on a greater role in teaching cultural knowledge and language which were previously relegated to families in the context of the home. Then the subtheme 'Obstacles in Storytelling activities' revealed aspects of family life that interferes with time for storytelling. Finally, the subtheme 'Demands on young parents/mothers' reflected the struggle young parents including young Navajo mothers face in contemporary society. These themes and subthemes illustrated the impact of changes in the cultural contexts on how children participate in storytelling in the home and community.

The theme, *Why We Tell Stories*, captured some of the major reasons for storytelling. It included three subthemes: 'Importance of Oral History' 'Stories about Growing Up' and 'Teaching through Stories'. The subtheme, 'Importance of Oral History' included two grandchild codes ('Grandparents' Roles and 'Way of Life before Relocation'). The 'Grandparents' Roles' reflected the roles of grandparents and elders in preserving the Navajo culture and language through stories. The other grandchild code, 'Way of Life before Relocation' captured the sense of loss with the connection to the land, the people, the culture and the language when both families experienced relocation from Hopi Partitioned Land to Tuba City. This experience gave some of the participants a good reason to learn what they can and share what they know to the younger generation. The relocation of the families led to most of the participants sharing stories about their growing up years as described by the subtheme 'Stories about Growing Up'. The grandchild code 'Boarding school Experiences' captured two of the participants' experiences in the boarding schools as part of their growing up years. The subtheme 'Teaching through Stories' reflected another reason for sharing stories, which was to teach children, values that are important in the home. Under this theme, the grandchild code 'Bible Stories,' reflected the use of biblical stories to teach appropriate behavior and explain the reason certain behaviors are not acceptable. These themes and subthemes provided information about how Navajo English-speaking children are socialized through language with a Navajo community focusing on culturally relevant practices and activities.

This theme or code, *Aspects of Good Stories*, provides examples of what makes a good story. The child codes included: 'Context of Storytelling', 'Good Storyteller

Characteristics', and 'Good Story Elements'. There was one grandchild code under context of storytelling, which was 'Stories in Everyday Activities'. This theme and subthemes were helpful in addressing the how children are socialized to use language such as storytelling within a Navajo community.

Discussion of Results

Analysis of my findings led me to understand the cultural realities in the socialization of English-Speaking Navajo children to storytelling practices, which was my goal. The focus on how children are socialized to the process and products of storytelling as part of everyday family life provided an understanding of what storytelling means to the two families I had the privilege to learn from. Their experiences and voices were captured and developed into four main perspectives: (a) reasons for telling stories, (b) the changing context for storytelling, (c) the co-construction of self and social roles, and (d) becoming a competent storyteller.

Reasons for telling stories. This perspective described "why" storytelling is important and ways adults socialize their children on its importance. Forces related to colonization and cultural imperialism such as forced relocation, loss of land, and loss of a way of life impacted participants' reasons for storytelling. The reasons they believe stories are told include the need to maintain oral history, bridge generation gaps by sharing growing up stories, and teach important cultural values based on life experiences. The reasons why stories are told captured participants' strong desire to maintain oral tradition.

I found that each of the adult participant through their growing up years had internalized the sociocultural expectation for why they should tell stories in their families.

Their value for oral tradition and their sense of what the function of stories are in everyday life is very strong and very much alive. It is almost like a sociocultural norm that to be Navajo is to have an understanding that you will carry on your heritage, language, culture even if you have to do it in English. The adults carry on what has been passed to them in terms of past experiences and do their best to teach their children on what is expected of them in their community.

The use of stories to teach was consistent with findings in the existing research literature. Research by Meyer and Bogdan (2001) reported that the function of stories was to teach children how to behave through understanding social mores, social rules and taboos. Mabery (1991) added that because of the value for autonomy, Navajo children grasp for themselves what is appropriate behavior and that Navajo traditional stories were used as an indirect way to teach what not to do. My finding that adults used stories to teach also suggests that in the absence of traditional stories in homes and communities, families can still teach values and behavioral expectations to their children through stories. The findings in the study reinforced the importance of the role of grandparents in telling about their own growing up years and major events that impacted the lives of families. They inform children how family members faced challenges and endured hardships. The lessons and values they teach are unique, based on what families have experienced. Where and how stories are told relate to the unique ways children are exposed to stories.

The changing cultural context for storytelling. The changing communicative practices and storytelling activities in home and community shape the way adults socialize their children to tell stories. I found perspectives of a changing Navajo society

and that these changes were impacting storytelling practices. The changing cultural realities regarding storytelling practices were attributed to external and internal forces. These included the schools' role in teaching Navajo culture and stories, barriers to storytelling in the home and community, and demands placed on young parents.

Adults identified several external forces that impacted how cultural and linguistic practices in the home and community. This research suggests that the experiences of the two families involved in this study were similar in that they experienced significant changes in the Navajo culture and language. This societal change reflected the impact of forces such as cultural and language loss on how adults including mothers, grandmothers, and great grandmothers now socialize their English-speaking children to storytelling.

First, the families expressed mixed feelings about the schools taking on a greater role in teaching language and culture in the schools including use of storytelling to teach Navajo concepts and cultural practices. This finding supported the work of Eder (2007) who argued for maintaining the integrity of Navajo storytelling in school settings. She advocated for not only including Navajo stories in the school curricula but maintaining the integrity of Navajo culture by considering the context such as who tells the story, season in which it is told and manner in which it is told. While I agree that cultural integrity should be maintained, it is also important to support parents understand their role(s) in perpetuating storytelling practices that reflect Navajo values in the home and community.

Second, the sociocultural landscape for storytelling is also impacted by the demands placed on young mothers as well as other difficulties described by participants that pose a challenge for families to engage in storytelling. Difficulties accessing

traditional stories as a result of lack of cultural knowledge, lack of proficiency in Navajo, and lack of shared experiences were expressed by participants. The intergenerational experiences across four generations were captured with respect to changes in storytelling practices and stages of cultural and language loss. The greatest intergenerational gap between English-speaking family grandchildren and their monolingual Navajo-speaking elders were evident in these homes. In both homes, grandparents were involved in the care of young children. The demands placed on English-speaking single parents to get an education while parenting impacted their ability to integrate both Western and cultural knowledge in teaching their children. Anna and Ella both aspired to go to college but were also committed to raising their children. They relied on their family's support in raising their children.

Young adults also face other societal changes that are impacted by alcoholism, drug use, and domestic violence. Both Ella and Anna witnessed some form of abuse and alcohol/drug use in the community. Suicidal ideation among teenagers was mentioned by one participant as a concern in the community. Participants shared these experiences as they described how the community is changing and how families including young parents and families are coping. Trying to balance Western and Navajo views in socializing their children is not an easy process.

Denetdale (2007), a Navajo historian, examined "how Navajo histories as Western cultural constructions have served to keep structures of inequalities and injustices entrenched" (p. 14). She expressed concerns stating "we continue to experience consequences of colonialism including language loss and knowledge of cultural ways,

especially as a result of Western education" (p. 21). There is recognition of changes in Navajo traditional lifeways. She stated:

> The Navajo nation shares the concerns of other indigenous nations about the loss of language and erosion of tribal traditions even as we look to our own traditions for answers to issues and problems. We experience some of this country's highest rates of unemployment, violence toward women and children, alcoholism, and poverty. Nevertheless, Navajos exhibit resilience and determination to retain traditional beliefs and values. In many sectors of our society, Navajo parents, teachers, counselors, Navajo Nation employees, and others are committed to conveying our traditions to the next generation. (p. 14)

The perspective shared by the young mothers and their families raised new concerns that when a tribal community undergoes language and cultural shifts and societal changes, families are impacted. Ultimately, young children are impacted by their environment. Clearly, language socialization is impacted by societal changes. At a time when the power of stories could help with social control, traditional storytelling is not easily accessible for English-speaking families.

Denetdale (2007) shared similar thoughts. She said "the centrality of oral narratives to Navajo identity, to Navajo well-being and to the ability to cope with the stresses of life, especially the effects of colonialism, is well-known" (p. 24). She emphasized the use of oral narratives to cope with changes and believed oral tradition still permeates Navajo communities. I concur that oral tradition continues in ceremonial life and certain cultural practices by traditional families, but there was a sense of detachment in the use of oral traditions by the families I interviewed. In Sarah's family,

in particular, socializing to storytelling refers to family life and family experiences because they do not participate in these cultural activities.

In light of the broader changes in Navajo society, I believe the community and family contexts for storytelling have also changed. As a child, I recall my parents telling traditional stories such as how our clans emerged, creation stories and many different Coyote Stories in the evenings after dinner. During ceremonial events, elders, particularly men, told stories about how ceremonies came about. My mother also shared that she and her family would join other families for story camps weeks a time. In this traditional context, the value for stories was so great that families literally left their homes to travel to places where stories were shared. Storytellers in these contexts must have been like rock stars. They held positions of honor. In comparison to the past, storytelling contexts in the community and homes look a little different in contemporary Navajo life. The current cultural, social, and linguistic context reflects what communities and families believe about storytelling and its use.

While adults described community settings such as the church and school as important places for relating stories, other community settings were not mentioned as frequently as sites for storytelling for children. The parents described storytelling in the context of dinner time when the family was together. They also viewed the storytelling context as activities involving books. Anna, in particular, engaged her children in literacy experiences with books, such as labeling pictures, sounding out words, and pointing to pictures in the home.

Perhaps the traditional storytelling setting, such as coming together in a hogan to hear the elders tell stories, is no longer a practice in the homes of English-speaking

Navajo families. It may be that the children I observed are still too young to take to public places. Cajete (1994) described the transfer of knowledge occurs in stages depending on maturation. When children are ready psychologically and socially, they are able to use language through storytelling and demonstrate their oratory skills. Learning how to listen and observe is important at younger ages. In the home and community context, young children are listening and observing. In the home, like Sarah, Tommy or Kyle, they may sit in their grandmother's lap and listen to her stories about growing up while observing how she tells the story in English.

Everyday activities and routines. These findings suggest that everyday activities and routines can be used to support children's participation in storytelling. In the home, stories are told in the evening and typically around the dinner table. Several participants in both homes reported that stories are shared in the evening. In Sarah's home, the great-grandmother, grandmother, and mother all reported that the stories were shared at the dinner table. In the home of Tommy and Kyle, their grandmother, Georgia reported that her family comes together for sharing stories at the dinner table. This is the time when stories are exchanged about how the day went. Most of the participants indicated that dinner table is an important place to share stories. Children are primarily with families so it was not surprising to learn that children primarily hear stories told by family members and relatives.

Furthermore, stories are embedded in daily routines. Stories are about what children hear and see every day. The activities they engaged in provided a basis for stories, such as movies or cartoons they saw, what they heard on the radio, or what they read together. Stories were about every day events, such as going to the store and getting

locked out. Children then practice giving an account of what happened to another family member. These everyday activities shaped storytelling skills in the beginning form of personal narratives.

Reading to children as part of daily routines differed between the two homes. Ella used play to engage her children, while Anna routinely read with her children. Anna modeled how to hold a book, read and explain, and give examples. Her daughter, in turn, told or corrected her younger brother if the answers to their mother's questions were not on target. In my observation, Sarah selected a book and listened while her mother read the book. Her mother asked questions and explained various words. From Anna's perspective she was engaging her children in stories. Using shared reading as a routine may be new to some Navajo homes and is it a Western form of using storytelling to prepare children to become literate in English. This observation of the context for social interactions related to storytelling lead to more in-depth discussion later on views of storytelling from Navajo and Western perspectives and I believe it is connected to constructions of self and social roles.

It is also during daily interactions, activities and routines when young children (primary participants) received instruction on how to speak and behave. The context of storytelling at the table helped me to see the relationship between speech and conduct. Corrections for behavior were sometimes implicit through stories shared by grandparents or great-grandmothers. Correction for behavior was also explicit through explanations of behavior or criticisms for behavior. Anna gave examples of activities and routines throughout the day where stories were embedded sometimes for teaching purposes. For example, grandmother, Rhonda or great-grandmother, Linda would tell a story related to

being naughty and what happens when one is naughty at breakfast. The consequences for being naughty is shared implicitly through the story.

The stories at the table appeared to be a recurring context in the home that provided opportunities to learn and teach storytelling skills as well as to teach or explain appropriate behavior. As children listen, they quietly sit as adults talk. They do not ask questions or contradict what is being said. This finding adds to previous understanding of the context in which stories are told. According to Peter and Bogg (1988), predictable and recurring contexts provide opportunities for children to learn communication skills. These recurring contexts, according to (Ochs, 1986b), also support young children acquire sociocultural knowledge, language and culture, as they learn to interpret social activities and verbal behaviors that are expected in order to demonstrate social competence.

Co-construction of self and social roles. In this study, I found family members participating in the process of developing their worldview and ways of knowing. Storytelling and social interaction reflected unique ways each family member was socialized develop an understanding of who they are and why they developed certain beliefs, values and storytelling practices. Shieffelin and Ochs (1986a) refer to the process of socialization as in interactive process where members participate in constructing their social worlds. Ochs (2002) also explained socialization as an interactive process and product of co-construction of child and adults interactions. This is the process of how children and members acquire their worldview (Shieffelin & Ochs, 1986c).

Through my observations of interactions between the primary participants and adult caregivers and interviews, I identified several values and beliefs that were important

to the families. The use of storytelling in constructing the worldview of families and communities was evident in several ways. The families described valuing oral tradition, teaching values through stories, respecting the roles of elders or grandparents in storytelling, and using storytelling to understand concepts of self.

Value for oral tradition. Storytelling has served as a medium for socializing Navajo children to learn Navajo ways of knowing and speaking for centuries. Participants stated oral history was important for maintaining intergeneration connection, preserving culture, and keeping the language alive. Some of the participants mentioned that there was an expectation to carry on the life ways of their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. Others stated that is important to remember what elders have taught their children and grand/great-grandchildren.

Being that the Western agency is viewed as more traditional in terms of retention of language and culture, I was surprised that I did not see as much focus on storytelling events throughout the year. Traditional stories were not accessible in either language. The library was busy with people on computers, reading and even young children being read to. There were posters of public events related to visiting authors. Yet, there was very little public promotion of Navajo storytelling or cultural activities. While Navajo communities express a strong value for their oral tradition and the need for it to teach values, the oral tradition that children were exposed to were literacy related storytelling activities in the library, schools, and even homes. The stories shared by grandparents were about the past, their growing up years, such as boarding school experiences. What does this mean for how we bridge the value for oral tradition, the role of

parents/grandparents, promoting storytelling practices, and incorporating everyday activities and routines?

Teaching values through stories. Through the interviews and observation I was able to see and listen to what adults do to use storytelling to impart values and beliefs. Personal stories were used to teach values such as how to behave, self-sufficiency, and self-determination. Concepts related to what elders have valued and tried to instill in the younger generation as were shared through reflections of growing years. The great-grandmother and grandmothers shared examples of living in hardship long ago and how in contemporary life, everyday life is made easier through modern day conveniences. The use of stories as a teaching tool for developing life-skills and the use of bible stories to teach morals and behavior were shared by some participants. Older informants emphasized how stories can be the mechanism for teaching important value implicitly. The younger informants, the parents of primary child participants, also used explicit instruction to teach values.

Social roles of elders. The roles of grandparents in storytelling was also an important value. The study revealed the importance of (a) what grandmothers say they do regarding their role in perpetuating Navajo culture and language, and (b) what children say they learned from their grandmothers or grandparents. These perspectives provided insight into the valuable role of elders as keepers of oral traditions and cultural knowledge. The bilingual grandparents gave examples of helping their grandchildren dress up for cultural days, made their traditional outfits, and talked about plants and herbs. Grandchildren spoke about learning to help people from their grandparents. They also learned about crafts, such as about the loom and basket from their grandmothers.

Through stories, grandchildren stated they learned about seasonal activities as well as what can be shared. The stressed that is was essential that elders tell their stories, share their experiences, and teach what they know about culture.

Understanding concepts of self. The intergenerational nature of the study provided insight into what children were taught but also how members of both families viewed their own identity and their role in socializing children.

Both parents (Ella and Anna) were proficient in English. Anna's mother (Rhonda) was proficient in English, whereas Ella's mother (Georgia) was bilingual. Anna could communicate with her great-grandmother, Linda, in English because Linda was bilingual. Ella could not communicate with her great-grandmother because her elder was a monolingual Navajo speaker. Although both Ella and Anna were similar in age, graduated from high school, stayed at home to care for their children, and spoke mostly English to their children, their views about the Navajo language and Navajo culture and its integration into everyday life were limited. It was the bilingual family members who brought those elements into the interactions and stories. While Anna and Ella could identify with their family members' perspectives to some extent, they preferred Western views of parenting and chose to engage their children in English. This process of Anna and Ella socializing their children in English began with previous generations. Western parenting practices now include taking children to the library, making up stories, reading, and watching TV. Anna and Ella praised their children for labeling pictures correctly and Anna looked at books to create stories.

Social interactions between parents and their children in both homes were slightly different. In Kyle's and Tommy's home, they observed their environment and listened to

what was happening around them. When they engaged with adults, it was around play. They had autonomy to turn on cartoons, go outside to play or find snacks in the kitchen. Sarah and her mother, on the other hand, had extensive verbal interactions. Anna talked constantly and frequently engaged her children in literacy related activities, sometimes incorporating the bible. Anna's social interactions and the language she used with her children indicated a strong preference for her children to develop emergent literacy skills.

The discourse used including storytelling and conversation also reflected values of parents and family members. In Sarah's home, adults valued talk. Whereas, in Tommy's and Kyle's home, there was less talking. Anna modeled for Sarah a clear and strong preference for verbosity associated with many different activities such dance, singing, conversation and storytelling. For Ella and her children, there was less need for extensive conversation and stories. The interactions focused on attending to the boys' requests, needs and desires. Ella quietly played with them, sat with them as they watched TV, kept them safe, and kept the house orderly.

The study helped to reveal the relationship between language and culture expressed through interactions. There are elements of cultural imperialism impacting young parents' views that the Western ways of rearing children are ideal in comparison to Navajo ways of knowing. The bicultural perspectives on family roles, religion, identity and language vary with every generation. Young English-speaking mothers are generally aware that Coyote stories are told in the wintertime, however, they may not be cognizant of elements of storytelling about Navajo traditions or understand how traditional stories could be used with their English-speaking children year-round. The expectations of

integrating Western and Navajo ways of knowing in rearing children is complex and challenging.

Becoming a competent storyteller. The last section of my discussion of my findings addressed "aspects of good stories" which are ways in which children learn about what makes a good story and what makes a good story teller. This section also includes examples of sociocultural information embedded in stories for children to learn the ways of speaking.

Aspects of good stories. Children learn about what makes a good story by listening to the stories they hear. The adults interviewed indicated that story themes they enjoy come from many different sources such as books and movies. Anna read a lot of science books while Ella mostly enjoyed sharing children's books. However, there was a clear preference for growing up stories. All the adult participants had story about growing up and this was common theme in stories shared. Adults in Sarah's home also shared bible stories. Anna read the bible to her children and discussed themes such as the importance of listening to parents. Anna also made up fairy tales which could be funny or serious. She also engaged her children to retell events they have experienced.

Children also learn about what makes a good storyteller. Adults described the use of animation, use of language, and strategies that maintain attention. Good storytelling involves making the story sound real and natural. Making the story vivid based on life experiences is a good strategy. Explaining details well and helping the listener understand what the story is about were also important. For older children and adults, stories in both Navajo and English are enjoyable. Embellishing stories with Navajo words makes the

story interesting. The use of gestures to supplement stories was also described as important especially for gaining and maintain young children's attention.

Sociocultural information embedded in stories. In listening to family members tell stories, there were clear examples of culturally specific themes and style. Stories of events that were salient to the experiences of family members were common themes. The themes reflected intergenerational continuity, harmony, travel, relationship to the land, places and landscape, and family life. The stories told by adults were loosely structured, unlike the story grammar used at schools. The stories did not reflect story structure observed in mainstream culture, such as having a clear beginning and ending and plot development.

There were stylistic differences. The storyteller drew in the listener by the use of gestures, intonation, and stress. The person telling the story gave a visual image through their descriptions. At the dinner table, when the person began to share a story, others got quiet. There was a sense that the storyteller had an audience as the storyteller involved them in the story with acknowledgement of "uh huh" "oh yeah" "really" and other words or phrases to keep the story going.

The stories shared reflected cultural and linguistic differences. These findings support other research. Ochs (1998) stated children are socialized to acquire language and that language is a tool for conveying sociocultural information. Labov (1972) stated that discourse (conversational and narrative) carry sociocultural information such as lexicon, morpho-syntactic constructions, speech acts, genres, turn-lengths, interruptions, etc., Children then acquire ways of speaking that are influenced by how they are socialized to use language.

I gained insight into how through language children are shaped by culture to develop preferred storytelling practices. Children begin early to become competent storytellers as members of their speech community by listening to how stories are told. Even in the midst of language and cultural shifts, English-speaking children still hear storytelling and conversations that encode sociocultural information. Social interactions such storytelling help children learn ways of speaking that are valued in their homes.

Concepts that Cross Themes

In light of this changing cultural and linguistic landscape, there were three concepts that crossed the three major themes. These concepts were *intergenerational transmission* of knowledge; *colonization*; *maintaining identity* in the midst of cultural and language shifts, and the struggle *to balance Western and Native ways of learning*, such as adults' approaches to teaching developmental skills such as storytelling.

Intergenerational transmission. This concept reflects the value and importance of intergenerational transmission particularly in a society that has undergone change and continues to experience cultural change. The concepts of connecting generations, preserving culture, and remembering a way of life were mentioned particularly in the theme, *Why We Tell Stories.*

Colonization. The concept of intergenerational continuity in the face of adversity, colonization, cultural change, and loss of land was evident across the subthemes of the 'Importance of Oral History' 'Stories about Growing Up' and 'Teaching through Stories'.

Maintaining identity. This concept crossed themes as each adult participant expressed ambivalence about their knowledge of Navajo culture and language and their role in Navajo society as they raise their English-speaking children. Even the great-

grandmother and grandmother who were bilingual participants relied on others to share cultural teachings.

Balancing Western and Navajo ways of learning. This concept also crossed themes and highlighted the struggle to balance Western and traditional Navajo ways of thinking, learning, and teaching. Each participant described what they did as well as what was difficult for them in teaching their children about their Navajo culture and language.

These concepts suggest that socialization through language and to use language in the context of storytelling in Navajo homes with English-speaking children involves continual negotiation of the past, present, and future, balancing education with cultural retention, and seeking supports from within homes and community. Families are aware of how much Navajo society has changed and they are looking for strategies, information, and resources to help hold on to the values that make them Diné. The issue is who determines what makes one Navajo and what is the process for reclaiming a Navajo identity in contemporary society.

Connections to Other Research

Research has shown that differences in language socialization can contribute to differences in oral discourse (Gee, 1989). Gee (1989; 1990) noted that discourse always reflects values, beliefs, and social practices. He described discourse as a tool kit that participants share because ways of acting, talking, and believing are socially shared. Storytelling, as with other communication skills, is influenced by a child's home culture and language. According to Gee (1985), "one of the primary ways human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in a narrative form" (p. 11). In making sense of this experience, children will use different narrative genres for different purposes, tell

stories based on themes that are valued in their culture, and structure stories that reflect the kinds of stories they hear.

In this study, I found differences in the way children were being socialized to make sense of their experiences. My findings illustrated the grandparents' role in telling about their own growing up years and major events that impacted the lives of families. The lessons and values they teach are unique, based on what families have experienced. Children may sit in their grandmother's lap and listen to her stories about growing up while observing how she tells the story in English. The families described valuing oral tradition, teaching values through stories, respecting the roles of elders or grandparents in storytelling. Children learn different ways of representing knowledge through narratives. These results suggest there are differences in the way Navajo children are socialized to storytelling, even when they are speaking English primarily.

Although the families in this study primarily spoke English, they retained aspects of culture that makes them uniquely Navajo. It is important to emphasize that even when language seems lost, culture is not lost. One always has a culture and cultures are always changing. In the study I found that there are less traditional cultural events taking place in the community and homes. However, there are many strengths in Navajo communities: spirituality, relationship with the land, connection through kinship and clans, cultural preservation, and language preservation. These are some of the values the families in the study expressed. English-speaking families still hold on traditional teaching and cultural beliefs. They understand that Navajo spiritual practice is about restoring health, balance, and harmony to a person's life. Elders are thought to have knowledge of stories and songs. Families listen and respect the cultural things they do for their family members

and often join to help extended family members. Parents and elders may seek answers for developmental or health conditions turn to traditional healers while a doctor gives medical reasons for the causes. Navajo worldview entails a view of the universe as interconnection between man and all things. Spirituality is an integral part of Navajo life. These beliefs and values are closely tied to cultural practices.

In my work with the Navajo Birth Cohort Study, I had the privilege of working with Dr. David Begay and Ursula Knoki-Wilson. In our work, they reminded me of how rich our Navajo teachings are. I share some of these teachings as it pertains to women to demonstrate that Navajo culture is still vital even though, the capacity to use the Navajo language may have diminished. It is important to recognize that the teachings of our ancestors continue today, especially in regard to womanhood such as pregnancy, child birth, and child rearing. Child birth and development is one of the most sacred events for a Navajo family. Today, women still hear umbilical cord stories and maintain Navajo cultural practices related to pregnancy and birthing. Grandparents still teach we are connected universe, mother earth and father sky and k'é (respect for relationship and order) is essential. During pregnancy, women are told to keeping good thoughts and speaking gently. There are many beliefs that both expecting parents adhere to during pregnancy. Blessing way ceremonies may be done for a safe delivery. Women are encouraged to breastfeed their babies and may smear the baby's first stool on their face when the baby is born to bond with their baby. Umbilical cords are sometimes buried in the sheep corral or some other special place depending on what the parents think will help the child grow. A child comes in to the world, a beautiful gift from the creator, and

is encourage to grow in beauty. These are examples of how Navajo families, even though they speak English, may continue to carry out their roles as Navajos.

Also discourse style continues to be different, even in English. In the transcriptions, I reviewed, I identified many examples of the use of non-standard English by family members. Leap (1992) believed the use of a variety of English is influenced by the native language and also by inadequate acquisition of standard English. He describes Indian English as "having rules of grammar and discourse that have a close association with ancestral language traditions which provide the basis for grammar and discourse in Indian English, even in instances where speakers are not fluent in their ancestral language" (Leap, p. 281-282). The term English Language Learners has been used to refer to students who do not demonstrate proficiency in English. These students may have difficulty meeting the State's proficiency level of achievement on state's assessments (Leap, 1993).

Discourse rules for interaction are culturally influenced such as greetings, conversational rules between adults/children and adults/adults, and culturally sensitive topics. Field (1998a; 1998b) argued that even when the language shift to English occurs, Navajo children were still able to incorporate Navajo discourse rules in their interactions. Field (1998b) in her study with Navajo preschooler found the use of "triadic directives" in their interactions.

In narrative discourse, the structure of the native language influenced narrative organization such as story structure even when the Ute storyteller told the story in English (Leap, 1993). In this study, I found evidence of sociocultural information being expressed through stories. The storyteller drew in the listener by the use of gestures,

intonation, and stress. The person telling the story gave a visual image through descriptions. At the dinner table, when the person was beginning to share a story starts, they were given the floor. These were examples of stylistic differences. Stories shared had series of descriptions that gave vivid descriptions of places, landscape and movement. The narrative structure of the stories differed from the narrative structure typically used in mainstream, middle class homes. These stories did not contain a clear beginning or end, nor did they contain a plot. The use of gestures and descriptive details were designed to hold the listener's attention.

Carr (1996) reported in her paper similar description of Navajo stories. It was interesting that she organized Navajo stories similar to the theme I identified 'Aspects of Good Stories'. She organized her paper according to "Why we tell stories" "What makes good storytelling?" "What makes a story worth telling?" and "Listeners Who are Partners." Each of these topics are discussed in the order mentioned:

> Why we tell stories: Legends were told to explain things that people did not understand. … Creation stories explain the origins of the earth, sun, moon, stars, and all of nature. Other stories tell about gods and heroes and remind people about how they should act and rules they should follow. Some stories are told just for fun, while others teach lessons or morals. Through stories each generation passes its religion, ideas, and traditions to the next generation. Native American tales give information about how and where a tribe lived, the foods they ate, and how they got their food. (p. 6)

Carr also explained "what makes good storytelling?" She wrote "a storyteller's place is one of honor. The storyteller's job is to pass traditions and history through stories from

one generation to the next" (p. 7). In addition she mentioned "Words" and "Voice, Face and Movement" were important for good storytelling. She stated "a storyteller's tool are words." So it is important to "work with words to create moods, and to help you imagine pictures, called images, in your mind." In addition, "storytellers use their voices, facial expressions, and body movements to make stories more interesting and to express the moods and feelings in stories. Stories can change slightly with each telling." She described:

> What makes a story worth telling? A good story keeps your attention. Usually the story is short. Its characters and events are interesting. Something unexpected happens that keeps listeners interested. Many stories have a lesson, or moral, which teaches something about life. A good story makes you think. (p. 7)

And finally, she described "listeners who are partners." She stated:

> Storytelling is a shared experience. It is a partnership between the storyteller and the listener. As the listener, you agree to be a partner in the storytelling. Listening to stories is different from watching TV or a movie. You are in the same room with the storyteller. Inappropriate talking and noise can distract the storyteller and disturb other audience members. (p. 7)

Carr's perspective was consistent with what I found in this study. The descriptions of "What makes good storytelling?" was similar to my subtheme "what makes a good story." Her description of 'why we tell stories" was similar to what I discovered. The function of stories are to explain, teach lessons or morals, pass on traditions to the next generation, and give information about cultural customs.

The Navajo oral tradition has been compared to Western views of storytelling. In the study, I saw a strong desire on the part of Anna to incorporate Western values related

to storytelling. In comparing the two homes, Sarah was exposed to more books, stories including bible stories, and other literacy activities similar to those in dominant society. Sarah was beginning to retell events and ask questions about stories. Research on early language socialization, discourse, and learning indicates that social activities (story or book reading, games, etc.) at home and preschool have a powerful impact on literacy (Heath, 1982; 1983; 1986). According to this research, Sarah's orality or verbal skills is viewed as step toward literacy. For Sarah, storytelling skills and early literacy activities will likely lead to positive educational outcomes.

There is, however, a value for oral tradition. Stories convey a deeper meanings in Navajo culture such as cyclical model of life and interacting with the natural world. Across the themes, family members in this study expressed concepts related to continuity of generations, maintaining identity, and balancing Western and Navajo views toward parenting and child socialization. The ability to use language through storytelling and oratory skills is "viewed as sacred as the words expressed the spirit and breath of life of the speaker" (Cajete, 1994, p. 34). Moving toward Westernized, written forms of storytelling could lessen the practice children have with oral abilities. Orally shared stories about growing up and life experiences of family members at the dinner table is just as important as reading children stories. The values of Eder (2007), stated:

> Orality entails a set of powerful and effective mental strategies to fix patterns of meaning in the memory. Stories carry a charge of emotion that greatly enhances the likelihood of retaining the meanings conveyed because memorable events tend to be those associated with strong emotions. (p. 282)

In the oral and literate language dichotomy, young mothers are told to value Western views of literacy development. Orality, unfortunately, may be viewed by some as "an incomplete or imperfect use of the mind awaiting the invention of literacy (Egan, 1987, p. 454). Eder (2007) concluded that some of the key aspects of storytelling include the oral tradition, the role of elders, emphasis on harmony relationships (k'é), and conveying meanings implicitly. Even though, we have seen a shift from traditional storytelling in the Hogan to stories about every day activities at the dinner table, the power of personal storytelling in childhood socialization is still powerful.

Navajo discourse has been emphasized for centuries as a valuable aspect of Navajo oral tradition and culture. It has been the basis for showing respect and socializing. Using language for the purpose of greeting, joking, explaining, conversing or telling stories is influence by Navajo culture. It is important to be aware of these rules for interaction to support Navajo English-speaking children. It is also important to maintain them learn know how to 'code switch' between discourse styles. For too long, Navajo children and youth like many other American Indian tribes have been given the message that their cultural style of communicating was not only different but in some ways inferior to that of their English-proficient peers. As a result of different discourse styles, American Indian students have been misunderstood and told they are inappropriate as listeners and speakers and being chastised for talking out of turn, not listening, speaking too softly, and failing to talk when they are supposed to (Phillips, 1983). Mothers and grandmothers in this study exhibited culturally influenced-discourse patterns. Whether they were aware or not, they were sharing rich sociocultural information. Their discourse carried many aspects of what is valued by the culture. More than the language spoken

(whether English or Navajo), it is important to maintain Navajo influenced-discourse style as it carries valuable cultural information about values and beliefs regarding language use. Children need to learn these communication styles to learn to value oral tradition, as they grow to become competent communicators as a member of their family and society.

Limitations

As a qualitative study, the results of this study are not generalizable in the way a quantitative study can be applied. The findings, however, are potentially transferable depending on how similar the environmental and participant characteristics are to those of this study. The findings may be generalized to other English-speaking Navajo homes and communities across the region. However, it may not be generalizable to all Navajo families. For example, in the cultural and linguistic contexts in which families speak primarily Navajo, children may be socialized differently with regard to storytelling. In the cultural and linguistic context that supports Navajo language use daily, there may be evidence of frequent sharing of traditional stories such as creation stories and Navajo folktales with young children who understand the language.

Another limitation was that I was only able to observe two families which may have been related to the potentially invasive nature of the research design. I also recognize that I was not able to recruit men for the interviews. While women are the primary caregivers in a matrilineal society, the voice of men would have added greatly to the study as they are bearers of Navajo traditions and leaders. I had anticipated enrolling more families, however, it was difficult to recruit families in the time frame necessary to complete the study. I initially thought gaining entry into homes would be easier for me as

I am Navajo and from the community. In reality, going into a home is intrusive, especially in the role as observer. I sensed after the second day that the participant observation process was making the families feel uncomfortable. As invisible as I tried to be, having someone in the home was disruptive to the coming and going of family members. For example, they began asking how much longer I was going to be in the home. They told me they needed to leave for various reasons, politely implying that they would not be home for continued observation. This is the major reason for not observing the five days as I had planned prior to data collection. Changing my observation protocol would have required approval by both the Navajo and University of New Mexico Human Research Review Boards, which would have added more time to the study. It should be noted that the children were fine with the observation. Nonetheless, I was sensitive to the parents' reactions so I curtailed my visits. I valued the trust and relationships I had with these families.

Finally, I wish to address the perception of gender differences in the display of verbal ability by the primary participants. Both Kyle and Tommy were quiet initially. During my observation, they would watch TV then move about the house. When they spoke, they communicated in short phrases. Sarah, on the other hand, spoke in short sentences but more frequently. I learned following enrollment that Tommy and Kyle were identified as delayed in language. Kyle was to receive services and Tommy had received services during the school year. No further information was provided. I kept these children as primary participants in the study because of the valuable information gained through the interviews with their families. The differentiation of language disorders from language differences was germane to this study so including the boys in

the study provided some insight to socialization experiences for children with developmental differences. It is also not clear how the parenting style by Anna and Ella contributed to the degree of interactions in the homes. Anna was clearly outgoing while Ella was reserved so they exhibited different personalities. Further research including children of both genders who are identified as having disabilities and are typically developing would help clarify the questions these observed differences raised.

Implications

Future research. Qualitative research, such as studies that draw on language socialization as a framework, might be appropriate for researchers in the field of speech-language pathology and special education who wish to study communication and social interaction in context. Studies on typical and disordered social patterns such as social interactions and discourse are important for clinical and educational services.

Research using the language socialization perspective may further inform our understanding of development and use of narrative discourse skills in young Navajo children in the context of preschool and school environments. Qualitative research with Navajo children may further address the complex issues of literacy, speech, language, and communication in the social context of the home, school and community. The socialization framework used in this study may also be helpful in exploring what Ochs and Sheiffelin (1986) call “ways of taking” meaning from the environment around them. I saw evidence of “ways of taking” from printed stories in books families used to teach their children, however, more research is needed to describe the way Navajo children are being socialized to early literacy events.

There is a need to explore language socialization of Navajo children with disabilities including developmental delays, communication disorders and autism spectrum disorder (ASD). As the incidence of children diagnosed with ASD increases across many communities, including the Navajo Nation, professionals need to be able to delineate behaviors attributed to differences in social communication as symptom of ASD versus those behaviors that may be attributed to cultural and linguistic differences. The social and cultural construction of ASD in Western and Navajo cultures are vastly different. Parents of children with ASD often struggle to understand the social-communication deficits, as a core deficit of ASD. Identifying culturally appropriate strategies focusing on bolstering communication and the use of language in everyday social activities may help Navajo families understand how they can support children with ASD.

In addition, this qualitative study highlighted issues related to identity. Understanding the construction of cultural identity and its relationship to language use and cultural knowledge may provide a unique perspective that could help educators, parents, and community members better their roles as socializing agents. Concepts related oppression and cultural imperialism in early language socialization and education emerged in this study. Further studies that explore concepts of identity and language socialization in the context of homes, communities, and schools may assist educators and researchers to understand how best to address these concerns and inequities.

Finally, there is a need to collaborate on research designs that address questions regarding development, early socialization, language use, education, cultural knowledge, identity and impact of colonization in indigenous communities such as the Navajo

Nation. Navajo ontology and epistemology models have been proposed to address some of these issues and are currently used by some schools across the Navajo Nation. It is incumbent upon researchers, using both qualitative and quantitative designs, to evaluate the appropriateness and effectiveness of these models. By providing the full picture, the pros and cons of such instructional models, the Navajo community of educators, learners, and families are able to make informed decisions. Furthermore, they are able to share in the responsibility of what is best for their families, communities, and schools. Through research and evaluation of indigenous models of instruction, Navajo educators are able to determine whether the steps they have taken and are taking are effective for maintaining and transmitting the language and culture including oral traditions. These issues reflect the need to study culture and language in context and importance of indigenous and nonindigenous researchers to dialogue and share perspectives in cross-cultural research endeavors.

Practical applications. This study has implications for practical activities for social communication and language development for young Navajo children in the context of daily routines and interactions with family members. It has important implications for family and community members to support storytelling practices in the community. It also has implications for educators and speech-language pathologists who work with Navajo children in early childhood and school settings.

Suggestions for family members. Cultural and linguistic differences in parenting sometimes have been viewed as detrimental to developmental and educational outcomes for Navajo children. As highlighted in the first two chapters of the study, cultural and linguistic influences on academics and language use have been viewed as one of many

reasons for poor educational outcomes. Social messages and misguided advice to parents were to avoid the use of the native language and to refrain from speaking their native language to their children so they will not confuse the two languages (Hill, et al., 1998). With the focus on improving school achievement, the social messages to young parents is to engage their young children in literacy activities. While I support exposure to literacy skills, it does not carry the same level of sociocultural knowledge that will guide a young child in life. The interaction between the child and parent or grandparent so the child learns the behavior, skills, and knowledge that is valued in community is invaluable. The wisdom, life instructions, and morals is passed on to the child through stories; and it begins at home with storytelling.

The results of this study confirm the shifting or Navajo oral traditions toward Western ways of learning and speaking in young English-speaking Navajo children. Family members have important roles in maintaining language and culture including storytelling practices. House (2002) cautioned that "although the teachings and the language are still present in Navajo life, still accessible through middle-aged and elderly Navajos, there are great difficulties in making them available and meaningful to the younger generations of Navajos" (p. 54). She cited a number of reasons for why it is harder for young adults, such as the young mothers in this study to want to learn the Navajo language, culture, and identify with being Navajo. Like the young mothers in this study, House explained some young adults were not taught the language and culture while growing up. Young parents have many demands placed on them and may not have the time to devote to learning about their heritage traditions including oral traditions. For some families, learning cultural knowledge including the language is not a priority. These

are important considerations in moving forward with continual efforts to enhance transmission and maintenance of Navajo culture and language, including oral traditions, in the home.

As the digital age continues to expand into the most remote Navajo communities, parents face greater challenges in ensuring that the families spend time together and children have daily access to activities that promote cultural knowledge and language use appropriate for their speech community. Of utmost importance is the sharing of stories that integrate essential Navajo values and beliefs. Technology use is prevalent in almost every home on the Navajo Nation and sometimes it limits opportunities for children to engage with elders and family members. It is important to remember that our elders did not have sophisticated electronics or participate in literacy events (e.g., shared-book reading, fairy tales, and nursery rhymes), yet were able to grasp and master oral tradition. The social message to families could be simply to encourage communication that emphasize the use of everyday activities to promote the social use of language, including storytelling, in the context of the home and community. The following recommendations were created for parents to reinforce communication, social interaction and language use in the home based on the experiences of families in this study:

1. Spend time with your children. For some homes, this may mean turning off the electronic devices, cell phones, IPads, game-boys, and television to gain quality time with children. Time spent engaging children is critical for how children relate to and connect with family members. By interacting and talking with your children, they get to see what is important to your family. They will learn to value what is important to you.

2. Encourage your children to attend to what you do. Attention and imitation are foundational skills that are precursors to all languages. As your child grows, model how you want your child to listen. They are observing and copying what you do. Show them the cultural skills that are important, e.g., making traditional meals, taking care of livestock, taking walks to make sense of the world around them, or making crafts such as beading, painting, drawing, etc., Use language for different purposes. Teach them simple Navajo words to greet, acknowledging elders in a formal way (e.g., handshakes, hugs, and addressing them by their status (e.g., “shimásání” “shichei” “shinálí”). Model how children should express their needs and desires. In addition, teach them the right way to make comments, describe what is happening or what happened, and offer information. As your children grow, they will become proficient speakers in whatever language you value.
3. Help children learn to converse and tell stories. Show your child what is expected when others talk and what is expected of them. Talk about everyday things at the dinner table. Model how to take turns and interrupt when everyone is talking. Teach them to ask questions in a way that is respectful for your family. Share stories about growing up. Have a parent or an elder tell a story and break it down into comprehensible chunks. Scaffolding, modeling, and repetition of stories will help a child learn how to structure stories and develop themes for stories. Record these stories and replay them to retain the life histories and personal stories of your family. Remember, storytelling activities and conversational skills are important for transmitting your cultural values and beliefs, and your views of and use language.

It takes practice and time for young children to learn verbal skills and cultural practices that are consistent with what is valued by their community. Many stories about the past are passed down through matrilineal clans. Women have a significant role in teaching and conveying messages about traditions, values, and beliefs. The results of this study suggests a need to target early socialization to storytelling as a vital foundation for maintaining oral traditions in Navajo families. Oral traditions in the home impact a child's development, learning and identity. Whether children are reaching their developmental milestones or using English primarily, caregivers need to be aware that the home context in which all children function everyday matters in shaping them to recognize the value of oral tradition. Cultural values and beliefs embedded in stories have guided families to remain connected to their communities.

Suggestions for community members. The implication of the study for community members is to be vigilant and make a conscious effort to embed culturally-specific values, beliefs, and practices into activities designed for young children. The study suggested other than the home, church and school, families may have little opportunity to socialize their children in community events focusing on young children. Navajo teaching often correlates the growth of child to that of a corn. It begins as a seed, and it grows with nurturing and support, into a full stalk adorned with a tassel. The tassel releases corn pollen, "tadidíín", which is used in prayers as offering to the Holy People. Likewise, a child grows in the home and community and is nurtured by family members and community members to grow into beautiful children, youth, adults and elders. The community has a responsibility to families to ensure that they have the support to bring up children who value their culture and language, as well as identify themselves as a

member of the community. Socialization of children begins early. Community gatherings and events need to include activities tailored to the youngest members of the community and help young parents with the cultural knowledge and cultural practices that will help them build a strong family and a strong community. Community members may need to be creative in how to bridge generations so that the cultural ways of knowing reaches young parents to benefit the generations to come. It is important to maintain and transmit cultural knowledge and practices in the home and community. For centuries, storytelling has been the means by which that was accomplished. Skilled storytellers "hold an important position because of their oratorical skills and their ability to convey cultural knowledge in a way that can be easily assimilated and remembered" (Meyer & Bogdan, 2001). The community members need to consider strategies for promoting oral traditions in the community that can include even the youngest children as part of larger language socialization plan. Perhaps, this plan may delineate family, community, and school roles and so that the hope and responsibility of cultural and language maintenance is indeed a shared responsibility. The lifeways, historical lessons, ceremonial knowledge, knowledge of kinship are all embedded in stories. Community members have this powerful teaching tool to strengthen intergenerational connections and support the cultural education of the youngest members.

Suggestions for educators. Educators have taken on a greater role and responsibility in recent years to integrate Navajo and culture into the schools. Manuelito (2005), a Navajo educator, believed changes in educational practices involves the inclusion of indigenous epistemologies in public education can strengthen the development of self-determination which she contended includes community planning,

maintaining awareness of self while honoring relationships, being proactive, and persevering. We already see evidence of indigenous practices being incorporated into the public schools systems in an effort to respond to the diverse cultural knowledge and experiences Navajo students bring to school. The school now includes curricula that includes storytelling to reinforce knowledge of Navajo culture and language.

Cajete (1993) called for greater use of storytelling in schools. In doing so, schools adopt responsibilities for socializing students to what is deemed culturally and linguistic appropriate storytelling. Integrating Navajo storytelling practices into the schools requires partnership with families and communities. While I support Eder's (2007) suggestion to change educational practices to better match Navajo storytelling practices, it is important to link stories with cultural practices by contextualizing the stories rather than decontextualizing them so that young children are able to grasp the complexities oral traditions. In addition, it is incumbent upon educators to recognize the unique features of Navajo storytelling. The use of these unique stylistic features as well as culturally determined narrative themes and structure should be encouraged and not be devalued because it does not match Western instructional expectations. The educational challenge is promoting and valuing the unique storytelling patterns that are consistent with students' home culture while helping students learn narrative forms that are expected for academic achievement.

The school is and has been a major source for socialization. Regardless of beliefs about language and culture, schools on the Navajo Nation have a vital role in the future. Educators have an important role in reclaiming indigenous learning, while challenging the ideologies that aim to oppress. The work of Freire (2000) and Smith (1998) may help

educators understand the nature of oppression as well as understand the history of colonization so that educational inequities can be addressed effectively. In addition, the work of Navajo researchers (Lee, 1999; Lee, 2004; and Werito, 2010) may provide invaluable information regarding the impact of colonization on schools and education and what can be done.

At the classroom level, it is important to examine children's literature and when appropriate incorporate stories that that reflect the culture. Carr (1996) developed a guide designed for teachers to use students. This guide, developed by a Navajo storyteller, has helpful strategies to contexualize and scaffold stories so that even young children and children with developmental delays can follow along. The guide may be adapted for home and preschool settings. Carr explained:

> The performance guide or cue sheet contains: activity sheets that address: (a) The Storyteller Tells Her Story (where the storyteller describes the importance of storytelling, (b) Telling Stories (discussing why tell stories, what makes good storytelling, including words, voice, facial expressions, and body movements, and listener who are partners, and what makes a story work telling; (c) The Stores (providing some information about two stories and offering a Venn diagram for story discussion); (d) Picturing a Story (with an illustration activity for students based on the performance they attended); and (e) What Did You Learn? (an activity sheet to show what students learned about Native Americans from listening to these stories). (p 5)

The components of this guide supports the findings in this study that storytelling is important, that children need to know why stories are told, what makes a good story, and

what makes it worth telling. The guide reinforces the use of stylistic features including body movements and facial expressions to supplement the story. The added value of reflecting on values and beliefs that are embedded in a story provides opportunities to make sense of stories. This is one example of how storytelling can be used for to teach life lessons. However, caution is also needed, especially with the all-too-common practice of hiring non-Native teachers, including those with little to no formal teacher preparation, to work in schools with a high percentage of Native American students. It is critical that implementation of these storytelling practices in schools should only be undertaken by those who are themselves members of the community and are capable of providing models of storytelling that are consistent with community norms and values.

Suggestions for special educators and speech-language pathologists. This study has importance for understanding the socio-cultural context of storytelling in Navajo families. The experiences children have in their home environment vary depending on external demands on parents and amount of exposure to cultural activities and cultural experiences. Understanding the perceptions of storytelling and the experiences with storytelling in Navajo homes have implications for how children's verbal skills are assessed and how they are taught. It is recommended that special educators and speech-language pathologists take into consideration the differences in the way English-speaking Navajo children are socialized to storytelling and as well as the narratives they may produce.

What is considered "normal" narrative ability differs not only across cultures but across tribal members; what is acceptable in one culture or home might be unacceptable in another. Linguistic influences may promote deficit perspectives about Navajo-

influenced English as well as narratives produced with culturally specific structures, themes and styles. This study highlighted use of narrative discourse variations by family members that may be considered unacceptable when compared to mainstream standards. We must be cautious in viewing discourse differences as deficits.

Children with exceptionalities impact and are impacted by their environments (e.g., community, family, and school), and these contexts within which they function each day, must be considered in instruction as well as assessment. It is important to recognize the interaction of social, cultural and linguistic contexts in the social construction of disability when addressing the needs of Navajo students in special education. Disabilities are not really objective, isolated constructs, but rather social, political, historical, and cultural constructions that carry inherit perceptions about language use (Hill, Valenzuela, Cervantes & Baca, 1998). We cannot assume intrinsic language impairment, learning disabilities or developmental disabilities can be isolated from social, cultural, and linguistic influences.

Conclusions

I began this study by discussing educational issues such as the disproportionate representation of American Indians in special education, the inadequacy of assessment procedures that fails to take into consideration students' sociocultural backgrounds, and the significant achievement gaps for American Indian children. I argued that these educational issues described in the research called for a better understanding of the contemporary sociocultural patterns of children and language socialization practices, particularly from an American Indian perspective.

I examined the literature on storytelling practices as a means to understanding Navajo language socializing practices. I was unable to identify any literature directly investigating how Navajo children are socialized to tell stories in predominantly English-speaking families. I believed this gap in the literature was significant because Navajos value for the oral tradition and the role storytelling plays in the transmission of language and culture. I believed the lack of studies in storytelling practices in contemporary society, as Navajo families are experiencing change in their language use and culture (House, 2002), could potentially have huge cultural, linguistic and educational implications for how a new generation of English-speaking children are socialized to tell stories. This documentation was especially important for educational practices as well as cultural and linguistic preservation. Therefore, I argued that research describing the activities, interactions, and contexts that contribute to socialization in narrative abilities of Navajo children was both lacking in the extant literature and needed.

My purpose at the beginning of this study was to examine how young Navajo children were socialized to tell stories in English including both the process and the product of storytelling. My goal was to understand what routines, contexts, and interactions supported storytelling in the home and community of English-speaking Navajo children. My primary research question was, "How are English speaking Navajo children socialized to tell stories?" In carrying out the study, I drew on language socialization as a theoretical framework for examining storytelling in Navajo society. I relied on this framework to understand how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized to tell stories in contemporary society.

In Chapter 2, I provided an extensive review of the literature including: (a) an overview of language socialization, (b) language socialization in American Indian and Navajo speech communities, and (c) language socialization in storytelling. In Chapter 3, I explained my research design and methods for accomplishing the goals of this qualitative study. I derived my data from four data sources: participant observations, interviews, research journal, and document review. The study underwent extensive review and was approved by both the University and Navajo Nation Human Research Review Boards. I was able to collect data in two homes with three primary participants, two secondary participants, and six adults.

In Chapter 4, I presented my analysis of data derived from four data sources: participant observations, interviews, research journal, and document review and presented my findings. I coded and analyzed data collected from document reviews, interviews with six adults from two families, observations with three children, and my research journal. I highlighted three major themes which emerged from the data analysis. These themes were: *Societal Change, Why We Tell Stories*, and *Aspects of Good Stories*. The themes and subthemes addressed my research questions. The theme *Societal Changes* addressed how children participate in storytelling in the home and community and how this is changing. This theme addressed forces that impact storytelling for Navajo children. The themes *Societal Changes* and *Why We Tell Stories*, addressed how English-speaking Navajo children are socialized through stories. The theme *Aspects of Good Stories*, addressed how children are socialized to tell stories including: (a) How do Navajo children share stories in the home and community? (b) What routines shape

storytelling skills at home and community? and (c) In what contexts are stories told in home and community?

The changing communicative practices and storytelling activities in home and community shape the way adults socialize their children to tell stories. I found perspectives of a changing Navajo society and that these changes were impacting storytelling practices. The changing cultural realities regarding storytelling practices were attributed to external and internal forces. These included the schools' role in teaching Navajo culture and stories, barriers to storytelling in the home and community, and demands placed on young parents.

I gained insight into how through language children are shaped by culture learn preferred storytelling practices. Children begin early to become competent storytellers as members of their speech community by listening to how stories are told. Even in the midst of language and cultural shifts, English-speaking children still hear storytelling and conversations that encode sociocultural information. Social interactions such storytelling help children learn ways of speaking that are valued in their homes.

Much emphasis has been given to language revitalization. Language has such vital importance in the Navajo culture. Because language is lost in some homes, many cultural practices are also not emphasized. Language is the means through which one is able to fully participate in important cultural events. Knowing the language of our ancestors is critical to maintaining cultural practices, such as our songs, dances and stories. Without our Navajo language, who are we? This question makes children question their identity.

This study showed that all is not lost when a language is lost. Children are still socialized to be Navajo and they carry on aspects of culture. As I have discussed, cultural values and beliefs impact cultural and language identity and how family members socialize their children. Membership in a Navajo family is not determined so much by the language spoken, but learning the cultural rules for communication as well as the culture valued by their family. More focus is needed on the value for oral tradition and awareness of its power in Navajo homes, particularly in homes where English is the primary language. The elders teach clans so children can know who they are in Navajo society. The concept of k'é is embedded in child socialization at birth and sustains a child through life. At the heart of every home is a need to connect with one another. Connection to families, community, and relationship with the environment makes him or her a child of the universe, Diné.

There is a phrase, "To know where we are going, we must first know who we are and where we have come from. Our past is our future." I don't know where it came from, but it is a positive message that we have much to be grateful for. Our oral tradition has provided a way to link our past and future. The responsibility for how our children are socialized to be Diné in each home and community rests with each family. It is they who have the power to change their own direction and history, through the power of oral tradition, regarding their culture, language, identity, and education.

References

Artiles, J. A., & Ortiz, A. O. (2002). *English language learners with special education needs: Identification, assessment, and instruction*. McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems Co, Inc.

Au, K. H. (1993). *Literacy instruction in multicultural settings*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

Bahktin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M. Bahktin*. Austin, TX: University of Austin Press.

Basso, K. H. (1970). "To give up on words" silence in Apache culture. *Southern Journal of Anthropology, 26*, 213-238.

Beck, P. V., & Walters, A. L. (1977). *The sacred*. Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Brady, M. K. (1978a). *Navajo children's narratives: Symbolic forms in a changing culture* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Texas, Austin.

Brady, M. K. (1978b). Peer group evaluation of narrative competence: A Navajo example. *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics*, (47), 2-39.

Brady, M. K. (1980). Narrative competence: A Navajo example of peer group evaluation. The *Journal of American Folklore, 93*(358), 158-181.

Brady, M. K. (1981). Narrative competence: A Navajo example of peer group evaluation. *Bilingual Resources, 4*, 2-13.

Brady, M. K. (1984). *"Some kind of power ": Navajo children's skinwalker narratives*. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Division of School Program Support and Improvement (2000). *Special education eligibility document*, PL 105-17. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Interior. Online: http:// www.oiep.bia.edu/eligibility document.htm

Carr, G. (1996). *Geri Keams: "Coyote and spider woman and other creation stories" cue sheet*. John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, DC.

Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the mountain: An ecology of indigenous education*. Skyland, NC: Kivaki Press.

Cazden, C. B., John, V. P., & Hymes, D. (1972). *Functions of language in the classroom*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Chisolm, J. S. (1996). Learning "respect for everything:" Navajo images of development. In P. Hwang, I. Sigel, & M. Lamb (Eds.), *Images of childhood* (pp. 167-183). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Clancy, P. M. (1986). The acquisition of communicative style in Japanese. In B. B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), *Language socialization across cultures* (pp. 213-250). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Colby, B. N. (1966). The analysis of culture content and the patterning of narrative concern in texts. *American Anthropologist, 68*(2), 374-388.

Crawford, J. (2000). *At war with diversity: U.S. language policy in an age of anxiety*. Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters.

Crawford, J. (2004). *Educating English learners: Language diversity in the classroom*. Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five traditions* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cummins, J. (1992). The empowerment of Indian students. In J. Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching American Indian students* (pp. 3-12). Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Davidson, J., & Jacobs, C. (2008). The implications of qualitative research software for doctoral work. *Qualitative Research Journal, 8*(2), 72-80.

Denetdale, J.N. (2007). Reclaiming Diné history: The legacies of Navajo chief Manuelito and Juanita. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive interactionism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Dresing, T., Pehl, T., & Schmieder, C. (2012). Manual (on) transcription. Transcription conventions, software guidelines & practical hints for qualitative researchers (2nd English ed.). Marburg, Germany. Retrieved from: http://www.audiotranskription.de/english/transcription-practicalguide.htm

Duranti, A. (1992). Language and bodies in social space: Samoan ceremonial greetings. *American Anthropologist, 94*, 657-691.

Dyson, A. H., & Genishi, C. (1990). Introduction: The need for story. In A. H. Dyson & C. Genishi (Eds.), *The need for story: Culture diversity in classroom and community* (pp. 1-10). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Eder, D. J. (2007). Bringing Navajo storytelling practices in schools: The importance of maintaining cultural integrity. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 38*(3), 278-296.

Egan, K. (1987). Literacy and the oral foundations of education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 57, 445-472.

Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, HIH, DHHS. (2005). Improving academic performance among American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian students: Assessing of learning and identification of learning disabilities. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office. Online: http://nichd.nih.gov/publications.

Erickson, F., & Mohatt, G. (1982). Cultural organization of participation structures in two classrooms of Indian students. In G. Spindler (Ed.), *Doing ethnography of schooling: Educational anthropology in action* (pp. 132-173). New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Field, M. (1997). The role of factive predicates in the indexicalization of stance: A discourse perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics, 27*, 799-814.

Field, M. (1998a). *Maintenance of indigenous ways of speaking despite language shift: Language socialization in the Navajo preschool* (Doctoral dissertation). University of California, Santa Barbara.

Field, M. (1998b). Politeness and indirection in Navajo directives. *Journal of Southwest Linguistics, 17*(2), 23-34.

Field, M. (2001). Triadic directives in Navajo language socialization. *Language in Society, 30*(2), 249-263.

Fillmore, L. W., & Snow, C. E. (2002). What teachers need to know about language. In C. A. Adger, C. E. Snow & D. Christian (Eds.), *What teachers need to know about language* (pp. 7-54). McHenry, IL and Washington, DC: Delta Systems, and Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fishman, J. (1991). *Reversing language shift*: *Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Freeman, C., & Fox, M. (2005). *Status and trends in the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives* (NCES 2005-108). U. S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washinton, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Freire, P. (2000. *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* (2nd ed.). New York: Continuum.

Garrett, P. B., & Banquedano-Lopez, P. (2002). Language socialization: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 31*, 339-361.

Gee, J. P. (1985). The narrativization of experience in the oral style. *Journal of Education, 167*, 9-35.

Gee, J. P. (1986). Units in the production of narrative discourse. *Discourse Processes, 9*, 391-422.

Gee, J. P. (1989). Two styles of narrative construction and their linguistic and educational implications. *Discourse Processes, 12*(3), 287-307.

Gee, J. P. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses*. New York, NY: Falmer.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of culture*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Gillam, R. B., Pena, E. D., & Miller, L. (1999). Dynamic assessment of narrative and expository discourse. *Topics in Language Disorders, 20*(1), 33-47.

Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago, IL: Aldine Transaction.

Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Goldstein, B. (2000). *Cultural and linguistic diversity resource guide for speech-language pathologists*. San Diego, CA: Singular.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Speech acts, syntax and semantics* (Vol. 3, pp. 41-58). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Gutierrez-Clellan, V. F. (1990). *The acquisition of causal coherence in Spanish narratives* (Unpublished Doctoral dissertation). Temple University, Philadelphia.

Gutierrez-Clellan, V. F., & Quinn, R. (1993). Assessing narratives of children from diverse cultural/linguistic groups. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools, 24*, 2-9.

Gumperz, J. (1992). Contexualization revisited. In P. Auer & A. D. Luzio (Eds.), *The contexualization of language* (pp. 229-252). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins.

Hall, E. (1959). *The silent language*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Hanks, W. (1996). *Language and communicative practice*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and at school. *Language in Society, 11*(2), 49-76.

Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words*: *Language, life and works.* Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, S. B. (1986a). Taking a cross-cultural look at narratives. *Topics in Language Disorders, 7*(1), 84-94.

Heath, S. B. (1986b). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. In B. B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), *Language socialization across cultures* (pp. 97-124). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Holm, A., & Holm, W. (1990). Rock Point, A Navajo way to go to school. In C. B. Cazden & C. E. Snow (Eds.), *English plus: Issues in bilingual education*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Holm, A., & Holm, W. (1995). Navajo language education: Retrospect and prospects. *The Bilingual Research Journal,19*(1), 141-167.

House, D. E. (1997). *Narratives of Navajoness: An ideological analysis of Navajo language shift* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Arizona, Tucson.

House, D. E. (2002). *Language shift among the Navajos: Identity politics and cultural continuity*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Hymes, D. (1962). The ethnography of speaking. In T. Gladwin & W. Sturtevant (Eds.), *Anthropology and human behavior*. Washington, DC: Anthropological Society of Washington.

Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected readings* (pp. 269-285). Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.

Hymes, D. (1974). *Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hymes, D. (1977). Discovering oral performance and measured verse in American Indian narratives. *New Literary History, 8*, 431-457.

Hymes, D. (1982). Narrative form as a 'grammar' of experience: Native Americans and a glimpse of English. *Journal of Education, 164*(2), 121-142.

Janesick V. J. (2000). The choreography of qualitative research design: Minuets, improvisations, and crystallization. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 379-399). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Johanna, N. (1993). Preventing school failure: The Native American child. *Preventing School Failure, 37*(3), 19-24.

John-Steiner, V. & Panofsky, C. (1992). Narrative competence: Cross-cultural comparisons. *Journal of Narrative and Life History, 2*(3), 219-233.

Justice, L. M., Bowles, R. P., Kaderavek, J. N., Ukrainetz, T. A., Eisenberg, S. L., & Gillam, R. B. (2006). The index of narrative microstructure: A clinical tool for analyzing school-age children's narrative performances. *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology, 15*, 177-191.

Kluckholn, C., & Leighton, D. (1974). *The Navajo*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kozulin, A. (1990). *Vygotsky's psychology: A biography of ideas.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Krauss, M. (1996). Status of Native American language endangerment. In G. Cantoni (Ed.), *Stabilizing indigenous languages* (pp. 16-21). Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University, Center for Excellence in Education.

Kulick, D. (1992). *Language shift and cultural reproduction: Socialization, self, and syncretism in a Papua New Guinea village*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Kulick, D., & Schieffelin, B. (2004). Language socialization. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 349-68). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W., & Waletsky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experiences. In J. Helm (Ed.), *Essays on the vertical and visual arts* (pp. 12-44). Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Lamphere, L. (1977). *To run after them: Cultural and social bases of cooperation in a Navajo community*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona.

Leap, W. (1992). American Indian English. In J. Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching American Indian students*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Leap, W. (1993). *American Indian English*. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press.

LeCompte, M. D. (2000). Analyzing qualitative data. *Theory into Practice, 39*(3), 146-154.

Lee, L. (2006). "Navajo cultural identity: What can the Navajo Nation bring to the American Indian identity discussion table?" *Wicazo Sa Review*, 20 (3), 79 – 103.

Lee, T. (1999). *Sources of influence over Navajo adolescent language attitudes and language use*. Dissertation Abstracts International. (UMI No. 9958143).

Leighton, D., & Kluckhohn, C. (1948). *Children of the people*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lewis, J. M. (1992). The story telling strategies of Northern Ute elementary students. *Journal of Navajo Education, 9,* 24-32.

Liles, B. Z. (1993). Narrative discourse in children with language disorders and children with normal language: A critical review of the literature. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, 54*, 356-365.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (Eds.). (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Mabery, M. V. (1991). *Right after sundown: Teaching stories of the Navajos*. Tsaile, AZ: Navajo Community College.

Maxwell, J. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interpretive approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McCabe, A. (1997). Cultural background and storytelling: A review and implications for schooling. *The Elementary School Journal, 97*(5), 453-473.

McCabe, A., & Bliss, L.S. (2003). Overview in patterns of narrative discourse: A multicultural, life span approach. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. (2001). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education: Revised and expanded from case study research in education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Meyer, J. & Bogdan, G. (2001). Our "first education." In L. Berry (Ed.), *2001 Monograph Series, Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Native American Studies* (pp. 205-228). Houston, TX.

Michaels, S. (1981). 'Sharing time': Children's narrative styles and differential access to literacy. *Language in Society, 10*, 423-442.

Michaels, S. (1986). Narrative presentations: An oral preparation for literacy with first graders. In J. Cook-Gumperz (Ed.), *The social construction of literacy* (pp. 94-116). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Michaels, S. (1991). The dismantling of narrative. In A. McCabe & C. Peterson (Eds.), *Developing narrative structure* (pp. 303-352). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Michaels, S., & Collins, J. (1984). Oral discourse style: Classroom interaction and the acquisition of literacy. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse* (pp. 219-245). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Miller, P., & Mehler, R. (1994). The power of personal storytelling in families and kindergartens. In A. H. Dyson & C. Genishi (Eds.), *The need for story: Cultural diversity in classroom and community* (pp. 38-56). Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

New Mexico Public Education Department Student Assessment Bureau. (2005). *New Mexico Test Results and Achievement Gaps for 2004-2005*. Retrieved October 4, 2005, from http://www.nmped.html

New Mexico Public Education Department. (November, 2014). *Tribal Education Status Report for School Year 2013-2014. Retrieved October 17, 2015, from http://ped.state.nm.us/ped/IEDResources.html*

Ochs, E. (1984). Clarification and culture. In D. Schiffrin (Ed.), *Meaning, form, and use in context* (pp. 325-341). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Round Table in Linguistics.

Ochs, E. (1986). Introduction. In B. B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), *Language socialization across cultures* (pp. 1-13). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and language socialization in a Samoan village.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E. (1993). Constructing social identity: A language socialization perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 26*(3), 287-306.

Ochs, E. (2002). Becoming a speaker of culture. In C. Kramsch (Ed.), *Language acquisition and language socialization* (pp. 99-120). New York, NY: Continuum.

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1984). Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories. In R. A. Schweder & R. A. LeVine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion* (pp. 276-320). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, E., & Shieffelin, B. B. (1995). The impact of language socialization on grammatical development. In P. Fletcher & B. MacWhinney (Eds.), *The handbook of child language* (pp. 73-94). Oxford, England: Blackwell.

Ochs, E., & Shohet, M. (2006). The cultural structuring of mealtime socialization. *New directions for child and adolescent development*, no. 111, 35-49.

Pavel, D. M., & Curtin, T. R. (1997). *Characteristics of American Indian and Alaska Native education: Results from the 1990-1991 and 1993-1994 schools and staffing surveys* (Report No. NCES 97-451). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 405 159).

Pena, E. D., & Fiestas, C. E. (2004). Narrative discourse in bilingual children: Language and task effects. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools, 35*, 155-168.

Peters, A. M., & Boggs, S. T. (1986). Interactional routines as cultural influences upon language acquisition. In B. B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), *Language socialization across cultures* (pp. 80-96). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Philips, S. (1972). Participant structures and communicative competence: Warm springs children in community and classroom. In C. B. Cazden, V. P. John & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Functions of language in the classroom* (pp. 370-394). Prospects Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Philips, S. U. (1983). The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press

Reyhner, J. (1992). *Teaching American Indian students*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma.

Reyhner, J., & Tennant, E. (1995). Maintaining and renewing native languages. *Bilingual Research Journal, 19*(2), 279-304.

Romero, M. E. (2003). *Perpetuating the Cochiti way of life: A study of child socialization and language shift in a Pueblo community* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), University of California, Berkeley.

Roseberry-McKibben, C. (1995). *Multicultural students with special language needs.* Oceanside: CA: Academic Communication Associates.

Rushforth, S. (1981). Speaking to "relatives-through-marriage": Aspects of communication among the Bear Lake Athapaskans. *Journal of Anthropological Research, 37*, 28-45.

Rushforth, S., & Chisolm, J. (1991). *Culture persistence: Continuity in meaning and moral responsibility among the Bearlake Athabaskans*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Saville-Troike, M. (1989). *Ethnography of communication*. New York, NY: Blackwell.

Schieffelin, B. B. (1979). Getting it together: An ethnographic approach to the study of the developmental of communicative competence. In E. Ochs & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental pragmatics*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Schieffelin, B. B. (1990). *The give and take of everyday life: Language socialization of Kaluli children*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Code-switching and language socialization: Some probable relationships. In J. Duchan, L. E. Hewitt & R. M. Sonnenmeier (Eds.), *Pragmatics: From theory to practice* (pp 20-42). New York, NY: Prentice Hall.

Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986a). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 15*, 163-191.

Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986b). *Language socialization across cultures*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1996). The microgenesis of competence: Methodology in language socialization. In D. I. Slobin, J. Gerhardt, A. Kyratzis & J. Guo (Eds.), *Social interaction, social context, and language* (pp. 251-263). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1981). *Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communication*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1982). Cooking it up and boiling it down: Abstracts in Athabaskan children's story retellings. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Spoken and written language: Exploring orality and literacy* (pp. X-XX). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1984). Cooking it up and boiling it down: Abstracts in Athabascan children's story retellings. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse* (pp. 173-201). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Silliman, E. R., Diehl, S., Aurilio, M. K., Wilkinson, L. C., & Hammargren, K. M. (1995). Getting the point: A narrative journey into the Athabaskan culture. *Topics in Language Disorders, 15*(4), 30-53.

Smith, G. H. (2000). Protecting and respecting indigenous knowledge. In M. Battiste (Ed.). *Reclaiming indigenous voice and wisdom* (pp. 209- 224). Vancouver: BC Press.

Snow, C., & Ferguson, C. (1977). *Talking to children: Language input and acquisition*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Sperry, L. L., & Sperry, D. E. (1996). Early development of narrative skills. *Cognitive Development, 11*, 443-465.

Spolsky, B. (1970). Navajo language maintenance: Six-year olds in 1969. *Navajo Reading Study Progress Report No*. 5. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico, College of Education.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Strauss, A. (1998). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Stein, N., & Glenn, C. G. (1979). An Analysis of story comprehension in elementary school children. In R. O. Freedle (Ed.), *New directions in discourse processing: Advances in discourse processes* (Vol. 2, pp. 53-120). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Sutton-Smith, B. (1981). *Folkstories of children*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Swisher, K., & Deyhle, D. (1992). Adapting instruction to culture. In J. Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching American Indian students*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma.

Tannen, D., & Saville-Troike, M. (1985). *Perspectives on silence*. Norwood, NJ: Albex.

Taylor, O., & Payne, K. (1983). African-American cultures. In D. Battle (Ed.), *Communication disorders in multicultural populations* (pp. 3-37). Boston, MA: Andover Medical Publishers.

Toelken, B., & Scott, T. (1981). Poetic retranslation and the "pretty language" of Yellowman. In K. Kroeber (Ed.), *Traditional American Indian literature* (pp. 65-116). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

U.S. Department of Education. (2000). *Twenty-second annual report to Congress on the implementation of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Vaughn-Cooke, F. (1986). The challenge of assessing the language of nonmainstream speakers. In O. Taylor (Ed.), *Treatment of communication disorders in culturally and linguistically diverse populations* (pp. 23-48). Toronto, Canada: College–Hill.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Watson-Gegeo, K. A., & Gegeo, D. W. (1986). Calling-out and repeating in Kwara'ae children's language socialization. In B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), *Language socialization across cultures* (pp. 17-50). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Werito, V. (2010). Werito, V. (2010). *The racialization of Dine (Youth) in education*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Westby, C. E. (1991). Learning to talk, talking to learn: Oral literate language differences. In C. S. Simon (Ed.), *Communication skills and classroom success* (pp. 334-357). Eau Claire, WI: Thinking Publications.

Westby, C. E. (1994). The effects of culture on genre, structure, and style of. Oral and written texts. In G. P. Wallach & K. G. Butler (Eds.), *Language learning disabilities in school-age children and adolescents* (pp. 180-218). New York, NY: Macmillan.

Westby, C., & Vining, C. B. (2002). Living in harmony: Providing services to Native American children and families. In D. E. Battle (Ed.), *Communication disorders in multicultural populations* (3rd ed., pp. 135-178). Boston, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Wilkinson, L. C., Silliman, E. R., Nitzberg, L. A., & Aurilio, M. (1993). Narrative analysis:

Filtering individual differences in competence. *Linguistics and Education, 5,* 195-210.

Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). Second language learning in children: A model of language learning in social context. In E. Bialystock (Ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children* (pp. 49-69). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Worth, S., & Adair, J. (1972). *Through Navajo eyes.* Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Zanartu, C. R. (1996). Serving Native American children and families: Considering cultural variables. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools, 27,* 373-384.

Appendices

Appendix A Flyer

LOOKING FOR PARTICIPANTS FOR A STUDY ON STORYTELLING

WHAT: The study will focus on how English-speaking Navajo children learn to tell stories. It will involve asking questions about family members' experiences with storytelling. A focused observation of storytelling activities will also be conducted in the home.

WHO: Three families of English-speaking Navajo children between 3-6 years of age will participate.

WHERE: The study will take place in the home.

WHEN: I will schedule the observations and interviews at a time that is convenient for you.

Call Christine Vining, Principal Investigator, University of New Mexico, at (505) 220-5896 if interested.

Appendix B Questionnaire

Interview Questions

1. What do you think of when you hear the words "storytelling"?
2. Tell me about your experiences with storytelling.
3. In your home and community today: Where are stories told?

   Probe: Do you think X (son, daughter, granddaughter, grandson, nephew, niece) hears stories? Where does he/she hear stories being told? At home? When s/he's outside of his/her home, where might she hear a story?
4. In your home and community today: When are stories told?

   Probe for routines and activities, especially for X.
5. What kind of stories are told these days?

   Probe: What stories do you tell X? What stories do you think other people tell X? What stories have you heard X tell?
6. Who tells stories these days?

   Probe: Who do you think tells stories that X hears? Does X tell stories?
7. What language(s) are stories told in? Probe: What language do you use to tell your X stories? What languages do other people use to tell X stories?
8. Why do people tell stories?

   Probe – Why are stories told in certain ways (e.g., certain people or certain stories)?
9. What do you think makes a good story?
10. What do you think makes a good story teller?
11. Can you share a story that you might hear or tell? Please give me an example of a typical story in your home or community?

Appendix C Transcription Sheet

Simple Transcription Sheet

Based on Dresing, Pehl, & Schmieder (2013)

1. Interviewer = I Participant = P

2. Every speaker = own paragraph

3. **Dialect and colloquial language** = standard language (unless no suitable translation)

4. **"Merged" words** = standard language

5. General construction is retained (even if it contains errors)

a. **Sentences or abrupt stops** = / (e.g., for children with/)

b. **Part words** = * (e.g., how important it is to ha* to be able to)

7. Use punctuation in favour of legibility (not necessarily grammatical structure)

a. Commas = brief pause of < 1 sec

b. Period = clear end of thought or dropping intonation

c. Question mark = rising intonation (even if the statement is not meant to be a question)

8. Pauses:

a. 1 – 3 seconds = (.)

b. 4 – 10 seconds = (..)

c. 11+ seconds = (…)

9. Consistent **vocal interjections** (e.g., ehm) by the interviewer or respondent are not transcribed.

a. 'Uhm' is transcribed

b. Monosyllabic answers are transcribed

i. Positive = mhm

ii. Negative = hm-m

c. Vocal interjections that indicate a sense of turn taking are transcribed (e.g., P: …may need extra time. I: Okay. P: You know, as far as…)

10. **Emphasized words and utterances** = CAPITALIZED

11. **Emotional, non-verbal utterances** that support or elucidate a statement (e.g., laughter) are entered in brackets

12. **Overlapping speech** = // // for each speaker

13. **Incomprehensible words** = (inc.)

a. Indicate disturbance beginnings and endings (e.g., (phone ring starts) children with developmental disabilities (phone ring ends))

b. **If a phrase is assumed** = (word?) Include time stamp if next time stamp is ± 1 sec

14. **Symbols and abbreviations** = spelt out (e.g., percentage)

15. **Contractions or abbreviations** are transcribed as said (e.g., can't; stats; SLP)

16. **Numerical values**:
    a. 0 – 12 = spelt out
    b. 13+ = numerals
17. **Direct quotes** = “ “
18. **Enumerations** = capital letter without brackets (e.g., It may be related to A gender or B age)
19. **Confidentiality:** De-identify any direct references to identifying information (e.g., [Name])

Conventions for Ensuring Anonymity in Key Informant Interview Transcripts

When transcribing the key informant interviews, it is important to keep confidential or identifying information anonymous so that no information can be led back directly to the informant. To ensure maximum anonymity for key informants, **every effort was made to de-identify any identifying information** by typing a generic term (as per the conventions listed below) to indicate that a specific location, agency or person was named. I incorporated the following the conventions listed below or used pseudonyms.

Situation	*Convention*
Informant’s, researcher’s or third party’s name	[Name]
City or town	[City], [Town]
Province or state	[Province], [State]
Region or county	[Region], [County]
Country	[Country]
Band or Reserve	[Band], [Reserve]
School or school board	[School], [School Board]
Intervention agency, clinic or hospital	[Intervention Agency], [Clinic], [Hospital]
Daycare, preschool or community centre	[Daycare], [Preschool], [Community Centre]
Advocacy group	[Advocacy Group]
Street address	[Street Address]
University or university department	[University], [University Department]

Appendix D Coding Categories and Features of Navajo Discourse

Potential Coding Categories and Features of Navajo Discourse

- **Function of Story**: Teaching, Entertainment, Sharing experience, other

- **Type of Story**: Personal narrative, fictional narrative, myth, historical tale, other

- **Themes in Story**: Villainy, lack or loss, trickery, intergenerational continuity, notions of harmony, visions/adventures that benefitted one's people, themes of travel and movement (words related to travel; descriptions of walking, the landscape, places), other.

- **Narrative Structure**: Content lacks plot with goal directed behavior, story focuses on descriptions of events (emphasizes narrative events that were salient in their lives; brief summaries of events, cyclical, other.

- **Narrative style:** Prefers contextual support by group involvement, peer involvement; shows preference for audience involvement (listener as audience), other.

- **Features of performance-audience interaction**:

    - Facial expressions and gestures adds to stylized performance, assumes shared knowledge between the speaker and listener and expect the listener will infer meaning of the story
    - Rules for getting and holding the floor (narrator has the floor until he/she is finished unless the audience becomes confused or insufficient information is provided.
    - Taking turns at story telling (given a turn as long as story is thematically relevant to ensure thematic continuity)
    - Interrupting (audience is allowed to interrupt the narrator). The narrator may respond either by choosing to ignore the comment or question, answering the question, or chastising the interrupter.
    - Narrator's social and cultural knowledge (e.g., knowledge about the nature of social relationships, about the symbolic function characters with the world, about the appropriate selection of listeners (usually relatives), and about the culturally defined functions of such stories.

- **Uses paralinguistic features**: paralinguistic proxemics, kinesic and interactional features, patterns of vocal quality: prosody, intonation, rhythm, and stress to keep listener's attention, other.