

## Meskwaki族的案例 ▶

# 美斯夸基族語言保存的回顧與展望

メスクワキ言語保存の回顧と展望

Look to the Past to See the Future: Preserving the Language of the Meskwaki

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I recently watched a movie about the Seediq people. This movie entitled ‘WARRIORS OF THE RAINBOW’ told the story about an uprising against the Japanese invaders who subjected them to indignities and humiliation through the abuse of authoritative power. After suffering much humiliation at the hands of the Japanese, the Seediq finally could not take it anymore and this led to a fateful decision, one of heroic pride. The Seediq people knew they were going to be hunted and killed if they rose up against the Japanese invaders, yet, they chose to fight for the honor of their people.

My people also have suffered at the hands of foreign invaders. as tribal people, we share an understanding of that decision to fight. A Meskwaki chief was once quoted as saying to his Warriors, “*It is my duty as your chief to be your father while in the paths of peace, and your leader and champion while on the war path. You have decided to follow the path of war, and I will lead you to victory if the Great Spirit prevails. But what shall we do with our old and infirm, our women and children? We cannot take them with us upon the war path, for they would hamper our movements and defeat us of our vengeance. We dare not*

最近我看了一部電影《賽德克·巴萊》（國際版片名為《彩虹勇士》），內容是有關台灣原住民族反抗日本侵略者的故事，日本侵略者借濫權侮辱及羞辱賽德克人。在遭受日本人百般屈辱後，賽德克人忍無可忍，導致一個關乎命運的決定，一種英雄式的驕傲。賽德克人知道，若起而反抗，他們將被逮捕和殺害，然而，他們選擇為族人的榮譽而戰。

我的族人也因外來侵略者受苦，身為原住民，我們能理解為何做出反抗的決定。美斯夸基族一位酋長曾對本族勇士說過：「當在和平路徑上，扮演父親角色是我做為酋長的職責；當在戰鬥路徑上，則扮演領袖及戰士。你們已決定走上戰鬥路徑，若偉大神靈戰勝，我將帶領你們邁向勝利。但我們該如何處置族內老弱婦孺？我們不能帶他們共赴戰鬥路徑，因為他們會阻礙我們的行動，使我們的復仇敗戰。我們不敢拋下他們，導致他們死於飢餓或成為白人俘虜，白人會殺了老幼，卻留我們妻女活口，遭受比死還慘的命運。」



繪畫作品：美斯夸基族的婦女。  
(圖片提供：Craig Evan Klafter)



繪畫作品：美斯夸基族的舞者。  
(圖片提供：Craig Evan Klafter)



繪畫作品：美斯夸基族將南瓜屬植物瓜果曬乾。  
(圖片提供：Craig Evan Klafter)

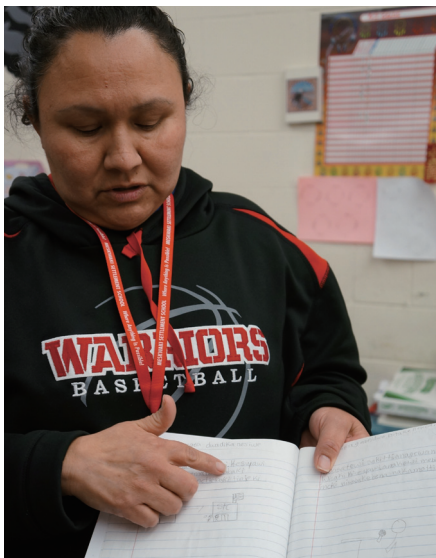
*leave them behind doomed to perish of hunger or fall captive to the palefaces, who would murder the old and the young, but reserve our wives and daughters for a fate worse than death itself.”*

### The Meskwaki Fought Against the French

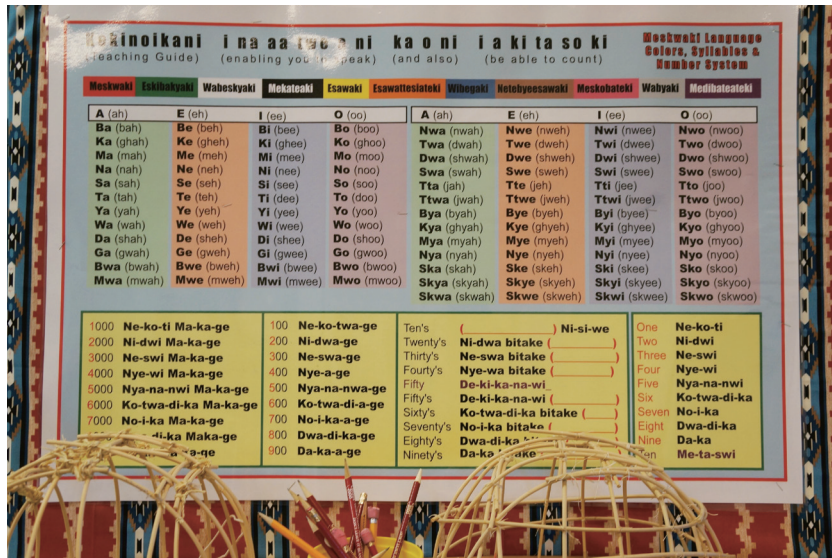
The tribal name giving to me at birth is kwaskwami which means Jumping Fish. I am of the Fish clan of the Meskwaki nation. We call ourselves Meskwaki, meaning, “People of the Red Earth”. We fought for our land and we were nearly exterminated. Our history tells that we fought the French and the Americans at different times. The French went as far as creating a doctrine calling for the extermination of the Meskwaki people - the only doctrine ever made by an act of legislation by a foreign Monarchy against a Native American tribe. In 1730, the French nearly succeeded by attacking a fleeing Meskwaki Nation with an overwhelming force of French Soldiers combined with Warriors from five Native tribes on the grassy plains of Northern Illinois. The reason for the attempted extermination of the Meskwaki nation lies in the fact, the Meskwaki disrupted fur trade on the Mississippi

### 美斯夸基族對抗法國人

我一出生就有的族名是kwaskwami，意思是「跳魚」；我屬於美斯夸基族的「魚」氏族。我們自稱美斯夸基，意謂「紅土地的人」。歷史上，我們先後與法國人和美國人打過仗。法國人甚至創造出呼籲滅絕美斯夸基族的論調，這是唯一由外來帝制經立法途徑促成的對付美國某一原住民族之論調。1730年，法國人以法國士兵結合美國5族原住民族勇士的壓倒性武力在伊利諾州北部的草原上追擊逃亡的美斯夸基族，險些成功。法國人之所以意圖消滅美斯夸基族的原因在於美斯夸基人破壞法國人與美國其他原住民族間在密西西比河上的毛皮交易之事實，美斯夸基族要求法國的毛皮交易商支付穿越美斯夸基土地的通行費，而當這些交易商拒絕付款，美斯夸基人就搶奪其財貨或殺了他們，法國人稱美斯夸基族為「新世界的禍害」。但美斯夸基族並未因法國人的論調而滅絕，如今他們提到法國人，常說：「我們還在這裡，他們到哪裡去了？」



美斯夸基族學生的族語筆記。(圖片提供：編輯部)



美斯夸基族的字母練習與基本數詞。(圖片提供：編輯部)

river between the French and other tribes. They demanded tolls from the French fur traders for crossing their lands and when the traders refused to pay, they were robbed of their goods or killed. The French called them, “Scourges of the New World”. The Meskwaki survived the doctrine and they often mention of the French, “We are still here, where are they?”

### The Meskwaki Met Christianity

As time passed, the Meskwaki settled in the State of Iowa purchasing land along a river. The Meskwaki are noted for this shrewd move to buy the land they choose to live upon in the year 1857, the only tribe to have purchased their own land as other tribes were being placed onto Reservations by the United States Government. Villages grow into towns and towns into cities surrounding the tribe with a foreign flood of humanity, the Meskwaki people remained a tribal people within the boundaries of their small parcel of land. A Private People who shunned the Religious overtures brought to them by the various sects of Christianity. The Meskwaki would be civil hosts and treat these Christians with kindness and would listen to what they preached and they would eat the meals offered them by the

### 與基督教相遇

隨著時光流逝，美斯夸基族定居愛荷華州，在河邊買了一塊地。美斯夸基族因為在1857年買下決定居住生活之土地的精明之舉而出名，是在其他原住民族被美國政府安置到保留區之時唯一已買下自有土地的民族。美斯夸基族周圍的村莊成為小鎮，再變成城市，湧進外來人口，美斯夸基族依然是自己小小一塊地裡頭的原住民。基督教不同宗派開始向美斯夸基族傳教，但他們並不改信，族人會接待這些基督徒，以友善相待，會聽他們宣教，會食用教會供給的膳食，但僅止於此，他們會返家，然後興趣很快就喪失，因為這些正直基督徒一心想拯救他們的靈魂、講述有關魔鬼以及印第安人不會想住在魔鬼像火一般的王國之事，他們告訴美斯夸基人，魔鬼的家灼熱，牆是火打造的，他們告訴美斯夸基人必須避免詛咒，避免詛咒之道是悔改和讓基督教上帝及其兒子進入他們心中，忘卻偉大神靈。文獻記載，一位印第安男性曾與一位基督教宣教士交談：「誰殺了上帝的兒子？是白人或印第安

church, but that would be it. They would go home and soon interest would be lost for these righteous Christians bent on saving their souls, telling of a devil and how the Indian would not want to live in his fiery kingdom, they told the Meskwaki that the devil's house is hot and the walls are made of fire. The Meskwaki were told that damnation must be avoided. The way to avoid damnation was to repent and take the Christian God and his son into their hearts, and to forget their Great Spirit. It is written an Indian man once had a talk with a Christian preacher, "*Who killed the son of God? Was it white man or Indian? (Preacher answers, "White man.") Then let the white man repent. If God had sent His son to the Indians they would not have killed him.*"

The Meskwaki knew that eventually the Christians would leave. The Meskwaki have seen these efforts since the first trickling of Jesuits arrived in the 1600's, they would come, stay for a period of time, then they would leave, but always another sect or group would arrive to take the place of the ones who left.

### What Meskwaki Religion Teaches

The Meskwaki believe in a Creator who they call Ketti-maneto, a Great Spirit that created them with red clay and after taking a breath, he blew life into them. Ketti-maneto showed them how they were to live in this world, how they would pray. He showed them a spirit world and everything they needed to know to be in harmony with their mortal world and the spirit world. He taught them to care for the land. He taught them to respect life.

In private, the Meskwaki continued to practice the way Ketti-maneto showed them. Eventually, each in turn, the Churches gave up and they left the homelands of the Meskwaki. The Churches did not fail wholly. They managed to convert some Natives. Sometimes, Native preachers would come to talk with the Meskwaki people. The talks were mostly pleasantries which were more focused on the preacher, as the Meskwaki had a curiosity about the men who were Indian just like them. Seeing that the Meskwaki did not actively pursue instruction on Christianity as a people, the Indian

人？（宣教士答：「白人。」）那麼就讓白人悔改，如果上帝派遣祂的兒子到印第安人當中，他們不會殺了他。」

族人知道，基督徒終究會離開。自從首批耶穌會人士於1600年代抵達，族人就一直看到基督徒宣教的努力，基督徒來此、待一段時間，然後就離開，但總有另一宗派或團體會抵達，取代之前離開者的位置。

### 本族信仰的教導

美斯夸基族信仰族語稱作Ketti-maneto的造物主，祂是用紅黏土造他們的偉大神靈，祂吸一口氣，賦予他們氣息。Ketti-maneto示範給他們看往後將如何在世上生活、如何祈求，祂讓他們知道靈的世界和他們應該知道的一切，以便與凡人世界及靈的世界和睦相處，祂教他們照料土地，祂教他們尊重生命。

美斯夸基族私下繼續遵行Ketti-maneto的教導。到最後，教會陸續放棄，離開美斯夸基族的家園。教會並非全然失敗，他們成功地使部分原住民改信。有時，原住民宣教士會來和族人攀談，這些談話絕大部分是詼諧有趣的，焦點多放在宣教士身上，因為美斯夸基族對這些看起來就如他們的印第安人感到好奇。看到美斯夸基族並不積極主動追求基督教教導，這些印第安宣教士最後也離開了。

教會的努力是想征服他人的入侵者所做的首波入侵，這些行為終將侵蝕美斯夸基族的生活方式。美斯夸基族及美國其他原住民族接下來面對的是帶著各種論點、法案及法律的政府，這些是一直就住在這塊土地上的人所不能理解的。這些法律和法案使整個印第安民族流離失所並近乎滅絕，它們讓原住民失去土地，他們的生活方式和文化被強力犧牲，且因進步與同化之名奄奄一息。印第安人文化資產的最核心——語言，不被講述，並漸被遺忘。有

preachers eventually left also.

The efforts by the Churches were the first intrusions made by the conquering intruders which would ultimately erode the way of life for the Meskwaki tribe. What followed for the Meskwaki and the Native tribes of this land - a Government with doctrines, acts and laws not understood by the people who had been living on this land since the beginning of time. These laws and acts displaced and nearly decimated a whole race, leaving the original inhabitants without land - their way of life, their cultures forcefully sacrificed and left to die in the name of progress and assimilation. The Native language's which are the very core of their cultural heritage, unspoken and becoming forgotten. For some tribes, their languages became extinct.

The Meskwaki people lived through those times and fared a little better than most tribes in that their language and culture came out of all the turmoil mostly intact up into the middle of the twentieth century due to the fact that they secluded themselves on their land and let few outsiders see their religious ceremonies. They guarded their Religion. A Religion dependent on the practitioners' ability to speak their language, ceremonies where the tribal language is the only one heard. They had almost become a closed society only speaking English when they spoke to the Government on Indian issues.

### The Meskwaki Language Have Been Threatened by Modernization

In the middle of the twentieth century, the people still spoke the Meskwaki language including the children. What the Churches and the Government could not accomplish through conversion efforts and Indian acts, a threat appears, one far more destructive to the culture and its language. Electricity was introduced to the Meskwaki homelands. With electric power came technology, television. In the space of one lifetime after the introduction of modern amenities, the Meskwaki language becomes endangered. A reversal of events occurred in this short space of time. Before electricity

些原住民族的語言已經消亡。

美斯夸基族歷經那些時代，族人在讓其語言與文化擺脫所有動盪，幾乎完好無缺地保持至20世紀中期這點上，做得比大多數原住民族還要好一點，原因是他們在自己土地上把自己孤立起來，而且幾乎不讓外面的人參與宗教儀式。他們守護他們的宗教，一個依賴信眾能夠說族語的宗教，在儀式中只能聽到族語，美斯夸基族幾乎成為封閉社會，族人只在與政府討論原住民族議題時才講英語。

### 民族語言面臨現代化的威脅

20世紀中期，美斯夸基人包括兒童尚能講美斯夸基語。教會和政府無法透過使人改信的努力與印第安法案做到的事，卻出現了一項威脅，一項對文化和語言的毀滅性遠遠超過前者的威脅。美斯夸基族的家園接電，電力來了，隨之引進科技、電視。在現代設施引進後，美斯夸基語逐漸瀕危。局面在短時間裡翻轉，引進電力和電視之前，所有美斯夸基兒童均會講會聽族語，接電50年後，本族兒童甚至無法用族語組成簡單句子。

古老的話語現正面臨消失，未來30年對美斯夸基族是關鍵期。能說流利族語的美斯夸基人今已是祖父母年紀，30年內，這些人絕大多數將不在世。接電之前，美斯夸基人住的是一房小木屋、燒木頭取暖、使用煤油燈照明；彼時，外面的人將美斯夸基族歸類為「貧困」，並未達到白人訂定、用以判定原住民在其被竊家國當中誰是富人而誰又是窮人的準則。回顧起來，我們現在可以瞭解，美斯夸基族實在是一個健康社會裡的全方位富裕民族：族人有心靈顧問解決心靈需求，他們的凡人之軀有藥士醫治，他們有教育族人的哲學家，土地提供族人生存所需的糧食、野生動物和族人種植的玉米以及其他作物如南瓜屬植

and the introduction of television, all the children spoke and understood the language. Fifty years after the introduction, the children no longer can form even a simple sentence in their language.

An ancient way of speaking is now on the verge of being lost. The next thirty years are critical for this tribe. The Meskwaki who are fluent are now Grandparent aged. In thirty years, most of these speakers will be gone. Before the coming of electricity the Meskwaki lived in small one room shacks and warmed them with wood and used kerosene lamps for light. At this time the outside world classified the tribe as 'impoverished', not meeting the guidelines the Whiteman created which determined who were the haves and who were the have not's of their stolen nation. In retrospect, we can now see that the Meskwaki were actually a wealthy people with all the aspects of a healthy society. They had their spiritual advisors for their spiritual needs and they had their medicine people for their mortal vessels and they had their philosophers who educated the people. The land provided the necessary provisions for the people to survive, the wild animals and the corn they cultivated along with other crops such as squash and beans. They had water and they had wood for cooking and heating. They lived a communal life which provided for the ones who could not provide for themselves such as the elderly. Hunters would provide meat, sharing their kills with the old people. The ceremonial seasons provided a place for the people to come together to pray and to converse with each other in the ancient tongue. The people would dance for the Ketti-maneto. They prayed for good health, for good weather and for protection against bad happenings and there was much to eat. The people lacked nothing. The Meskwaki only became aware that they were living in poverty when the Whiteman told them, they were poor.

During the long nights especially during the cold winter months, families would talk in their language and tell stories of Meskwaki cultural heroes and mythologies of the spirit world - they would talk for hours before



物瓜果、豆類，他們有水及木頭煮飯和取暖，他們過著能供養無法養活自己者（如老人）的社區生活，獵人供應肉類，與老人分享獵物，節慶季節提供族人聚在一起祈禱以及用古老語言彼此對話的地方，族人跳舞獻給Ketti-maneto，他們祈求健康、好天候、免於遭厄、食物夠吃。族人無所欠缺，美斯夸基族只在白人告訴他們說他們很窮的時候才發覺自己活在貧困之中。

長夜期間，尤其是在寒冬月分，美斯夸基家庭成員用族語交談，講述美斯夸基文化中英雄的事蹟以及靈的世界的神話，他們聊好幾個小時，最後才去睡。老人家才能講話，小輩傾聽，打斷人家講話被認為是粗魯無理的，這是習得語言的方式。這個方式是學會語言的真實與原始形式。在始於20世紀晚期的現代，美斯夸基人開始瞭解到本族兒童喪失族語能力，這樣的語言喪失可沿著在引進現代設施後的世世代代做追溯。1960年代初期起的第一代很可能是最後一批能說流利族語的人，這些人現在50幾歲，整個世代是祖父母年紀，進入1970年代的下一代是二手族語使用



美斯夸基族的報紙——Meskwaki Nation Times (美斯夸基族時報)。

finally going to sleep. It was the elders who were allowed to speak and the younger people would listen and interruption was considered rude. This is how a language is learned. This method is the true and original form of language acquisition. In modern times, starting in the last half of the twentieth century, the Meskwaki started to realize the language loss of their children. The language loss can be tracked along generational lines after the introduction of modern amenities. The first generation from the early 1960's is probably the last fluent generation. They are now in their fifties, a whole generation of grandparents. The next generation into the 1970's, would be the passives, ones who understand but don't speak. Later generations are on various levels of comprehension from understanding a good amount of words to understanding few. As the technological gadgetry became more complex - the less time Meskwaki families spend talking together.

Trying to Save Our Language

As we work to try and save our language, we recognize that it will take a lot of hard work and a commitment from the people. A people must want to save their language. In the early 1980's the Meskwaki recognized the language loss in their children and implemented a bilingual program in their tribal school to try and stem the loss. The program never produced any language speakers. The solution we seek lies in looking at the past and looking for ways to simulate the environment of the true and original method. We must immerse our children in our language and immerse our community with language events and instructional opportunities. In 1972, a care giver made a statement to a newspaper reporter that recognized the need in that time. As a daycare worker and a fluent speaker, she had the right idea. She is quoted as saying, "I think we should talk Indian to the children all the time. They should be learning our culture while there is still time

者，意即他們會聽但不會說，其後世代對族語的理解，程度從懂得許多詞彙到幾乎不懂不等。隨著科技裝置變得更為複雜，美斯夸基家庭成員花時間聊天的時間變得更少。

努力挽救族語

當我們努力嘗試要拯救族語，我們意識到這要付出許多努力並需要族人的獻身投入。一個民族必須有想要拯救其語言。1980年代初，美斯夸基人意識到本族兒童不會講族語，並在民族學校實施一項雙語計畫，試圖阻止族語喪失。此一計畫並未成功使本族兒童會說族語。我們尋求的解決方法在於回顧過去並找尋可模擬出一個能以真實且原始方式習得語言的環境之道，我們必須使兒童沈浸在族語當中，用族語活動與教學機會使社區沈浸在族語當中。1972年，一位幼保員向一位意識到當時此一需要的報社記者說了一段話，由於幼托員會講流利族語，因此她有正確的觀念，她說：「我認為我們應該隨時跟小孩談印第安，當還有時間，當他們在上白人學校前夕，他們應學習印第安文化。」



and while they are little before they go to white schools.” (It should be noted) There currently is no institutional daycare available on Meskwaki homelands.

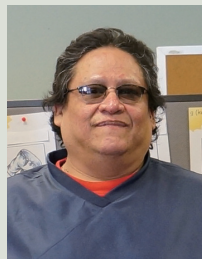
### May a Beautiful Rainbow Shine Down Upon the Red Earth

An implemented daycare would give a chance for our children as young as one year to come in contact with our remaining elderly speakers on a continual daily basis for eight hours a day in an immersion environment. When it is time for these children to enter our tribal school, they will have a working knowledge of our language which would be further expanded upon by the language and cultural program of the Meskwaki School system. A campaign to inundate the community with learning booklets and posters placed in strategic locales such as waiting rooms and other places of public contact. The idea is to make our language highly visible. A force to contend with, it is mandatory that we make an impression on our people, ideally, young parents, so that they will want to learn. The Meskwaki would be smart to implement a language website and stream it into the Meskwaki homes using their computers and create applications for the iPads and iPods. This will give access to the entire membership of the tribe to study at their own pace in the privacy of their homes. At home, they will not be afraid to try with each other. A recreational facility would be desirable to house the daycare center and to offer different avenues to the people. Potential exists for boys and girls clubs, word game playing, and intramural sports programs along with the traditional olden games of the people. A meeting place for the women to teach girls how to sew traditional Meskwaki clothing and for the old men to teach young men and boys the arts and traditional crafts. The vision is to create an ambiance of language. The key: Join the old and young people together in organized activities. The only rule – English be left at the door. We have three decades to make it work. May a beautiful rainbow shine down upon the red earth.

(值得注意的是)目前在美斯夸基家園並無機構幼托。

### 願美麗的彩虹映照紅土地

實施幼托能讓本族小至1歲的兒童每天持續在沉浸式環境中與尚活著的耆老接觸，1天8小時。等到這些小孩要進入民族學校就讀，他們即懂得如何使用族語，之後藉由美斯夸基學校體系的語言文化課程增廣族語知識。使部落充斥著學習小冊和海報的運動啟動，在候車室、候診室及其他公共接觸的地點，這些戰略場所放置，這個點子旨在提升族語能見度。這是強制性的抗衡力量，我們讓族人留下深刻印象，理想上是讓年輕父母想要學族語。美斯夸基人應夠聰明，會去架設族語網站，並將之串流至使用電腦的美斯夸基家庭，為iPad和iPod撰寫應用程式，這將使全體族人在自家依自己速度學習族語，族人在家將不怕試著與家人說族語。族人會想要一項包含幼托中心及提供族人不同的族語學習途徑的康樂施設，可能會有男童與女童社團、字詞遊戲、校內體育課程以及族人傳統古老遊戲，是婦女教導小女生縫製美斯夸基傳統服飾、男性耆老教導年輕人和小男生美術及傳統手工藝的聚會場所，此一願景是為創造語言氛圍，關鍵在於：以組織化活動聚攏老幼族人；唯一規則：英語不進門。我們有30年推行之，願美麗的彩虹映照紅土地。◆



#### Milton Conrad Brown

美斯夸基族，1961年生。現任美斯夸基民族語言計畫的資源開發師。族語流利，從事族語教育。與妻子Joni結婚35年，育有3名子女，孫子女4人。