DOCUMENT RESUME

ABSTRACT
        This issue of the 1971-72 series of "Language in
American Indian Education" contains articles on bilingual education
and the testing of language skills. The first, "The Language of the
Sioux," is a bibliographic essay dealing with the studies that have
been made to date of the Sioux language and its dialects. A Title 7
bilingual education project at Loneman Day School in Oglala, South
Dakota, and a Title 1 bilingual education program in the Bethel
Agency, Juneau Area, Alaska, are reported. Other articles examine
means teachers use to evaluate their students' progress in English.
They include: (1) "Testing Language Skills," (2) "Common Errors in
Constructing Multiple Choice Items," and (3) "The Language of Tests
for Young Children." A section on Indian languages contains a story
in Papago and a sample of the Cree materials presently being
developed by the Title 7 bilingual project on the Rocky Boy
reservation in Montana. An information exchange section concerning
Indian education is also included. (RL)

LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

A Newsletter of the Office of
Education Programs
Bureau of Indian Affairs
United States Department of the Interior

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

William R. Slager, Editor
Betty M. Madsen, Assistant Editor

SPRING 1972

1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
Louis R. Bruce, Commissioner

OFFICE OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS
James E. Hawkins, Director

DIVISION OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT
Otis J. Morgans, Acting Chief

LANGUAGE ARTS BRANCH
Robert Rebert, Chief

ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

4

FOREWORD

This is the final issue of this Newsletter for the present school
year. From the outset LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION has
been produced by the Language Arts Branch for the teachers in
schools for Indian students. The Newsletter has met with enthusi-
asm from those teachers it reached in the Bureau of Indian Affairs
this year. However, we are not satisfied that its full impact can
be measured until we have done everything possible to assure our-
selves that it is mailed directly to the teachers in BIA schools.
In the past, we have sent multiple copies to the key administra-
tive offices in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Education network.
This has not proven to be efficient. In some cases, school admin-
istrators have viewed this publication as too esoteric for the
classroom teachers and have distributed it only to language spe-
cialists. We disagree with this attitude since the very purpose
of the publication is to inform and stimulate the classroom teach-
ers regarding the languages of Indian children.

In the coming year we will attempt to send LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN
INDIAN EDUCATION directly to the individual teachers. We will
need the cooperation of all interested readers to keep our sub-
scription lists in order. We ask your assistance in the issues
we are planning for the coming school year.

Robert Rebert, Chief
Branch of Language Arts

v/vi

INTRODUCTION

In this last issue of the 1971-72 series of LANGUAGE IN AMERICAN
INDIAN EDUCATION, the longer articles are directly related to two
subjects of current concern in the designing and planning of lan-
guage programs: bilingual education and testing of language skills.
The first article, by William K. Powers, who is a doctoral student
at the University of Pennsylvania, is a bibliographic essay deal-
ing with the studies that have been made to date of the Sioux lan-
guage and its dialects.   Such surveys of the literature provide
useful background information for all those who are developing
curricular materials for students who are speakers of an American
Indian language. Hopefully, general surveys of this kind will soon
appear for other language families. Mr. Powers's article is fol-
lowed by two reports on bilingual programs that are well underway:
The Title VII program for speakers of Lakota (a Sioux dialect) in
South Dakota and the Title I program for speakers of Yuk in Alaska.

The remaining three articles will be of special interest to teach-
ers who are looking for more efficient means of evaluating their
students' progress in English. In "Testing Language Skills," Dr.
John W. Oller, Jr. who is currently on the staff of the Southwest-
ern Cooperative Educational Laboratory in Albuquerque, on leave
from the University of California at Los Angeles) points out the
crucial distinction between discrete-point testing (for example,
testing the contrast between /s/ and /z/) and integrative skills
testing (for example, giving dictation). Oller emphasizes that
integrative skills tests reveal more accurately the student's
ability to communicate in English, even though such tests are
more difficult to grade and evaluate consistently. Another arti-
cle by Oller is on "Common Errors in Constructing Multiple Choice
Items." Teachers who are obliged to construct their own tests
will profit from a careful study of Oller's examples. The last
article is by Graeme D. Kennedy, who is presently teaching at
Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. While pursuing
a graduate degree at the University of California at Los Angeles,
Mr. Kennedy had occasion to examine in detail some of the lan-
guage tests in common use for younger children. His study convinc-

ingly points up, the fact that these tests do not take into account the significant differences between child and adult language.

The final section on Indian Languages contains a story in Papago and a sample of the Cree materials presently being developed by the Title VII bilingual project on the Rocky Boy reservation in Montana. We would like, as a regular feature in future issues, to present samples of work being produced in bilingual projects throughout the country. The preparation of classroom materials for American Indian languages is, as all those involved well know, a particularly demanding and challenging task. Since the languages have not been used to date as media of instruction (and since many of them do not as yet even have an agreed upon orthography), a number of basic decisions must be made about content and approach even before actual lessons are written. By publishing samples of materials along with the addresses and names of the people in charge, we hope to encourage a sharing of insights into common problems.

This is the sixth issue of the Newsletter to be prepared at the University of Utah. As we have assembled materials for these issues, we have been impressed increasingly by the number of interesting and innovative approaches to language teaching that are being developed for American Indian students. Unfortunately, however, we are obliged to report that information about programs and materials seems almost as hard to come by as it was in the beginning. This is why we conclude by urging our readers to send us announcements and reports. It is only in this way that the Newsletter can eventually become a genuine forum for the exchange of ideas and information.

William R. Slager
Betty M. Madsen
University of Utah

THE LANGUAGE OF THE SIOUX

by

William K. Powers
University of Pennsylvania

The present emphasis on the development of bilingual programs on
American Indian reservations has created a renewed interest in
and a need for information about the languages involved. The
purpose of this paper is to provide a background to the language
of the Sioux Indians who live in North and South Dakota, Montana,
Minnesota, and Saskatchewan. The paper is divided into two parts.
Part I will discuss general characteristics of the language, its
dialects, distribution, population, and orthography. Part II will
provide a bibliography of publications in and about the Sioux
language. The general corpus of literature about the Sioux is
extensive. For a general introduction to their history one should
consult Desmore (1918), Dorsey (1894), Hassrick (1964), Hyde
(1937; 1956, 1961), Lowie (1913), Walker (1917) and Wissler (1912).

PART I

Will the Real Dakota Please Stand Up:
The Problem of Dialects

Traditionally, designations for Sioux political groups, dialects,
and the relative geographic areas which they occupied have been
rather arbitrarily combined to indicate both tribal and linguis-
tic categories. Thus, the literature abounds with such appella-
tions as "Teton-Dakota", "Middle-Dakota", "Santee-Sioux", etc.
Such combinations of terms give the illusion that somehow the
classifications are more precise. In reality, they only create
ambiguities, redundancies, or misnomers. Once integrated into
the literature, however, they have been almost impossible to
extricate lest the whole classification system fall to pieces.
There is an added complication in distinguishing between the

1

Divisions and subdivisions   Translation

1. Teton		prairie dwellers
Oglala		they scatter their own
Sicangu		burned thighs (also known by French term Brule)
Hunkpapa		end of the camp circle
Mnikoju	(TETON)	planters beside the water
Sihasapa		black foot (not to be confused with Algonquian tribe by same name)
Oohenunpa		two boilings (also called two kettle)
Itazipco		without bows (also known by French term Sans Arcs)

2. Yankton		end dwellers
3. Yanktonais	(YANKTON)	little end dwellers

4. Mdewakanton		spirit lake dwellers
5. Wahpeton		leaf dwellers
6. Sisseton	(SANTEE)	fish scale dwellers
7. Wahpekute		leaf shooters

Table A.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SEVEN FIREPLACES

2

terms "Sioux" and "Siouan". Essentially, because of the existing
classification system, all Sioux speak Siouan, but not all Siouan
speak Sioux. Similarly, all Dakota speak Sioux, but not all Sioux
speak Dakota.

To clarify these ambiguities, we must begin at the historical
juncture which found the Sioux living in the Great Lakes region,
prior to their emigration onto the Great Plains. At this time,
the word Sioux was not used. The people living in the Great
Lakes called themselves The Seven Fireplaces (see Table A), usual-
ly translated as The Seven Council Fires (Oceti Sakowin). It
may be assumed that these seven groups occasionally came together
to consolidate for purposes of economic or political pursuit but
that normally they were semi-autonomous. The largest political
division called itself Titonwan from which is derived the angli-
cized "Teton." There is some debate over its etymology; it is
usually glossed "prairie dweller," (it seems to imply the build-
ing or erection of tents). The Teton were subdivided into seven
smaller entities, the Oglala, Sicangu, Hunkpapa, Mnikoju, Siha-
sapa, Oohenunpa, and Itazipco. The seven Teton subdivisions spoke
a dialect called Lakota.

To the West of the Teton lived a political division which called
itself Ihanktonwan from which is derived the anglicized "Yankton".
It is usually glossed 'end-dweller', referring to a place in the
camp. The Yankton were subdivided into two entities, the Yankton
"proper", and Ihanktonwanna (anglicized into Yanktonais) usually
glossed 'little end dweller'. The two Yankton subdivisions spoke
a dialect called Nakota, one which they shared with a tribe that
had separated from them earlier, the Assiniboine.

The division living farther to the East, near what was called
Knife Lake, was collectively known as Isanti anglicized into "San-
tee". Isanti means 'knife dwellers', referring to the geograph-
ical area. The Santee was comprised of four subdivisions: the
Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Sisitonwan (Sisseton), and Wahpekute. The
four subdivisions spoke a dialect called Dakota (see Table B).

The Seven Fireplaces was a term referring to the 1) Teton, 2)
Yankton, 3) Yanktonais, 4) Mdewakanton, 5) Wahpeton, 6) Sisseton,
and 7) Wahpekute. They were geographically located in three areas,
Western (Teton), Middle (Yankton), and Eastern (Santee). They
spoke three dialects: Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota (See Fig. 1).
Politically, they were the Seven Fireplaces; but linguistically,
there was no collective term for the three dialects. You might
say the first attempt to "classify" these divisions of the Seven
Fireplaces came from their enemies, Algonquian-speakers (Ojibwa
and Cree) who called them nadowe-ssi-wag, 'snake-like ones' (Pow-
ell, 1891 original, reprinted 1966: 187). The Algonquian term
was later corrupted into "Nadowessies," and finally "Sioux".

3

Political Designatum	Linguistic Designatum	Geographic Designatum
Teton	Lakota	Western
Yankton	Nakota	Middle.
Santee	Dakota	Eastern

Table B.

POLITICAL, LINGUISTIC, AND GEOGRAPHIC DESIGNATA
OF SIOUX SPEAKERS

HOKAN-SIOUAN	SIOUX	SANTEE (Dakota)	Mdewakanton
			Wahpeton
			Sisseton
			Wahpekute
		YANKTON (Nakota)	Yankton
			Yanktonais
		TETON (Lakota)	Oglala
			Sicangu
			Hunkpapa
			Mnikoju
			Sihasapa
			Oohenunpa
			Itazipco

Table C.

TAXONOMY OF SIOUX DIALECTS

4

11
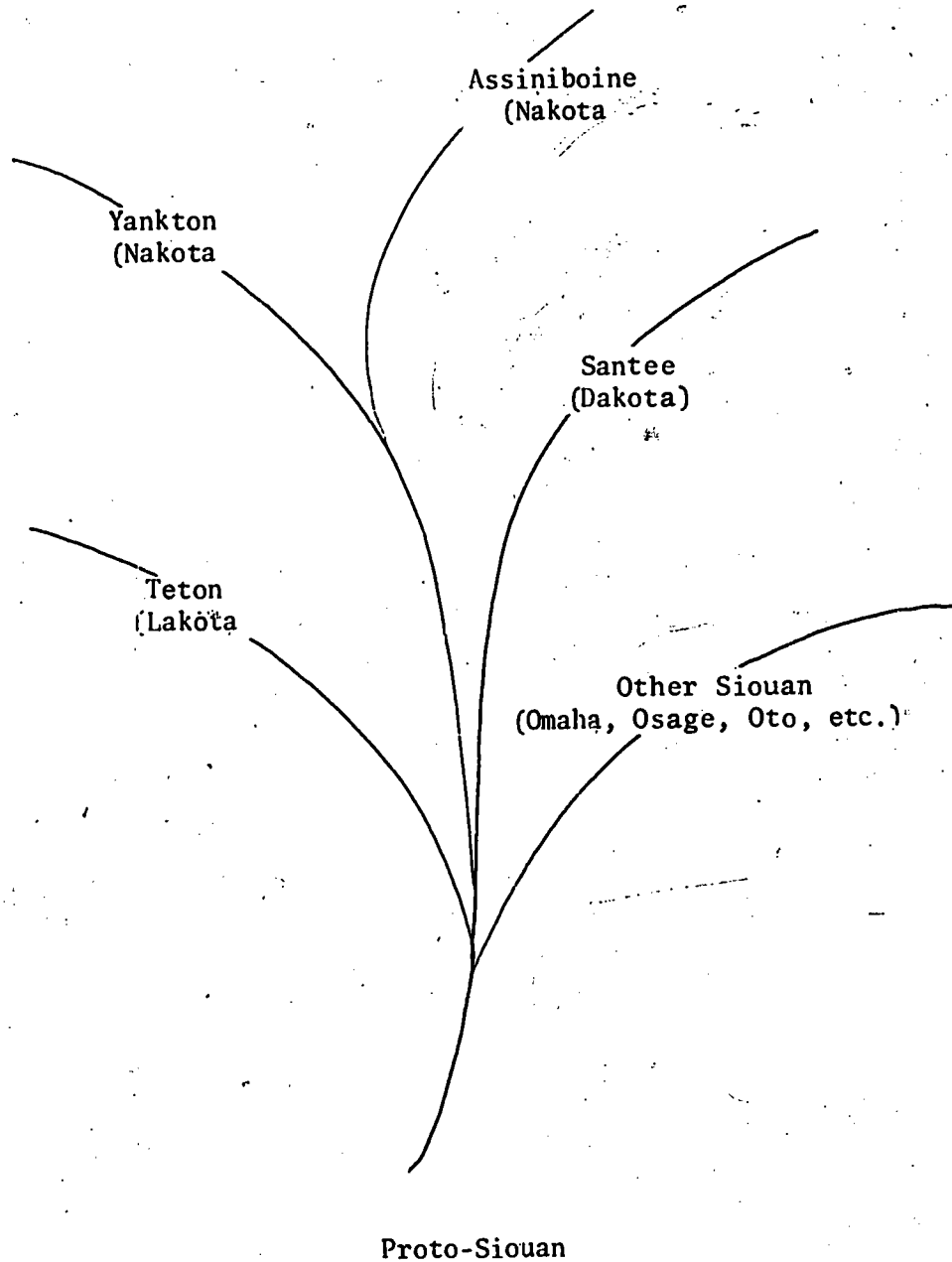
Figure 1.

RELATION OF SIOUX DIALECTS

5

Dialect	Geographic Distribution
Lakota	1. Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota 2. Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota 3. Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota 4. Standing Rock Reservation, North and South Dakota 5. Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota 6. Wood Mountain Reserve, Saskatchewan
Nakota	1. Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota 2. Yankton Reservation, South Dakota 3. Fort Peck Reservation, Montana
Dakota	1. Sisseton Reservation, South Dakota 2. Devil's Lake Reservation, North Dakota 3. Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska 4. Flandreau Reservation, South Dakota 5. Upper Sioux Indian Community, Minnesota 6. Lower Sioux Indian Community, Minnesota 7. Prairie Island Indian Community, Minnesota.

Table D.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF SIOUX DIALECTS

6

13

Owing to the pejorative nature of the term, "Sioux" was discarded by later writers and the term "Dakota" substituted (Dakota means 'allied') as a collective term for the Seven Fireplaces, and the languages they spoke.

Later, as linguists began to classify the American Indian languages of North America, they noted a genetic relationship between "Dakota" and other tribes such as the Mandan, Crow, Osage, Omaha, Ponca, Winnebago, etc. Tribes sharing genetically-related languages were grouped into a singular "family" which needed a classificatory term. Since these other languages were found to be related to "Dakota", the term "Sioux" in the form "Siouan" was revived. Had Dakota been compared with, say, Mandan, rather than the reverse, linguists might have used "Mandanian" as the name for the language family. Another reason for this classification was simply the fact that there were more "Dakota" speakers than others with which they were compared.

Thus the first major classification of North American Indian languages by Powell employed the family designation of "Siouan" (now integrated with other families to form the Hokan-Siouan [see Table C]). Although Powell distinguished between the political divisions, Teton, Yankton, and Santee, their respective dialects were classified under the single heading, "Dakota".

Concurrent with the emigration of the Sioux onto the Great Plains, and the eventual contact by the white man, was the slow disintegration of the old term "Seven Fireplaces". Not only the Cree and Ojibwa called them "Sioux," but so did the white traders, trappers, military, and missionaries. "Sioux" lost its pejorative connotation and became the official term by which the Seven Fireplaces identified themselves when speaking English. When speaking their native language, the terms Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota were retained to indicate both the designation "Indian", and the native language. One of the main dialectal differences was in the obvious interchange between initial /l/, /n/, and /d/. None of the language classifiers seemed to note that theoretically, at least, it was impossible for a Lakota-speaker to say Dakota, or Nakota, much less be one.

The Distribution of Dialects

Once the reservations were established, the political divisions of the Sioux were reshuffled. Table D shows where the majority of Sioux-speakers live in relation to their respective dialects. It does not show that in some cases the Sioux were placed on reservations with other Indians of non-Siouan linguistic families. For a detailed analysis of multiple-language reservations see Feraca and Howard (1963).

7

14

15,000 —

10,000 —

5,000 —

Teton   Yankton*   Santee
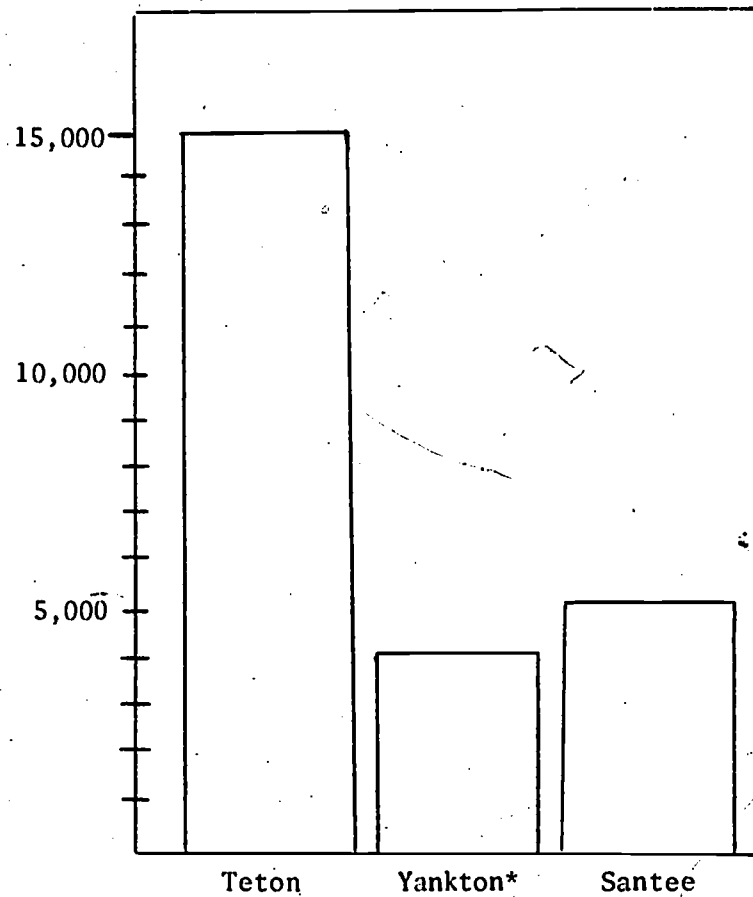
* Including Assiniboine

Figure 2.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF SIOUX SPEAKERS (AFTER CHAFE, 1962)

8

It may be safely stated that most reservations are comprised of Sioux who speak the same dialect. The largest group is the Teton (Lakota).

Figure 2 shows the relative numbers of Sioux speakers based on Chafe's maximal estimate (Chafe, 1962). The Teton show 15,000; Yankton (combined with Assiniboine) show 4,000; and the Santee, 5,000. The total Sioux population is approximately 55,000, thus approximately 43 percent of the population are considered Sioux-speakers. This does not tell us the distribution of Sioux-speakers by reservation. One would expect to find a greater percentage of Lakota speakers on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations compared with the Standing Rock Reservation on which there are several thousand Nakota-speakers integrated with Lakota-speakers. The distribution patterns become less predictable when we analyze the reservation on which more than one Indian language is spoken.

Together the three dialects of Sioux constitute the fifth largest group of native speakers in the United States and Canada (after the Navajo, Eskimo, Ojibwa, and Cree).

Orthography

Historically, Sioux went through the traditional stages: word lists were collected by early travelers using phonetic equivalents; word lists became standardized according to systems introduced by the Bureau of American Ethnology; and books and periodicals were published, thus necessitating a refinement of previous existing orthographic systems. We are currently at a stage where remnants of all previous systems may still be found. Theoretically, each Sioux dialect has a standard orthography. In practice there are still problems to be solved.

One problem stems from the resistance of some older Indians to conform to newer systems (not that there is any real reason to). Early missionaries debated over how to represent some phonemes that were not found in English, e.g. /x/ and /k'/. For /x/, the English letter "r" was used; for /k'/, "q" was used. Thus the word for "cloud" was written marpiya; the word for saddle was written cawaqin. Today /x/ is represented by h and /k'/ by k'. Some older Sioux still retain the "r" and "q" as it appears in the early literature.

Old timers were also taught to write Sioux by syllables, thus mar pi ya (or even mar pee yah, etc.) The "sounding out" method was then much in vogue, and Indians could correspond with each other without a true standardized orthography. Many Indians still em-

9

ploy this method and feel that it is the correct way of writing Sioux.

The major contributions to standardizing orthography came from missionaries, namely Riggs, and later Buechel, whose works are listed in the bibliography which follows. In the standardization process, some minor problems were created. While Sioux has eight vowels (five oral, a,e,i,o,u, and three nasal, an,in,un)¦ both Riggs and Buechel added a fourth nasal (on), indicating that the phoneme did not exist, but that un and on had to be differenti- ated for sake of clarity. Both were pronounced un, but it was felt that one must distinguish between some homonyms (e.g., un 'to be', and on 'on account of'). Unfortunately the selection of the un/on dyad became rather arbitrary; we still find nah'un, nah'on; econ, ecun, etc.

One cannot underestimate the role that the standard typewriter and typesetting played in designing a standard orthography. Riggs used an accent mark to indicate glottal stops; Buechel used an apostrophe. Riggs used a period below the consonant to indicate an aspirate; Buechel used the aspirate mark (ᶜ); printers used the wedge; in handwritten manuscripts, a slash was used.

In order to indicate nasalization both an n'and ŋ were used. Buechel reasoned that whenever n followed a vowel, the vowel was always nasalized; therefore, there was no need of a diacritical mark. However he employed the ŋ anyway. Linguists used a, i, u, to indicate nasalization.

Ella C. Deloria insisted on using a period between consonant clus- ters (b.le, m.de, etc.); however, Buechel pointed out that a schwa was always found between consonant clusters and found no need for a diacritic.

Phonological discrepancies have led logically to problems in spelling certain words above and beyond diacritics. One of the major problems is still nasalization. At the first Lakota Lan- guage Conference held at Holy Rosary Mission, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in May, 1971, a full hour was devoted to the problem of spelling the Sioux word for "two", which has appeared as nunpa, nonpa, numpa, numba, nonba, nupa, and its variations num, nup, nunp, nub, numlala, nuplala, etc., etc. Additionally, certain words in their plural form (that is, those words that take the plural suffix pi) seem to be nasalized, whereas in their singular form they do not. It would appear that the bilabials b/p influ- ence the vowel preceding it, causing a slight nasalization. It is more pronounced when you have nV followed by b or p.

Other problems arise in how to treat euphonic glides: ie or iye,

10

waaia or waaiya, as well as certain words that begin with o and wo. There is another inconsistency in the use of k/g in some compound words, e.g., the word for wolf, sunkmanitu, or sungmanitu.

In the case of nasalization, a "parsimonious law" might be applied to solve the current dilemma, that is, nupa by reasons of parsimony can be preferred over other variations, thus producing nup, and nuplala. Whether "y" is inserted between "i" and "a" is arbitrary, as is the preference for "o" over "wo." The k/g problem can be decided on the basis of the root, in this case sunka, dog, thus giving "k" preference over "g."

Despite these, and other minor problems, the standardization of Sioux orthographies is near completion.

Part II

A Sioux Bibliography

In the following bibliography I have included not only books written in the Sioux dialects, but those written about Sioux. I have had to face the problem of differentiating between oral and pictographic traditions on the one hand, and the written word on the other. Despite the theoretical argument that might arise out of mixing apples and pears, I have included both kinds of publications. Thus in addition to "standard" bilingual works, I have included a number of references to music texts, winter counts, personal narratives, and unpublished texts.

This bibliography should give those involved in bilingual programs some notion of the impressive amount of work that has been done on the Sioux language to date. Many of the books listed below are out of print, or hard to get. Yet in trying to compile a comprehensive bibliography I felt it worthwhile to include them. Materials presently being developed, and still in an experimental form, are not included. Additions or corrections to this bibliography will be welcomed.

Adam, Lucien.   De la dérivation verbale spécifique de l'emboit-
    1878   ment et polysythétisme dans la langue dakota.   (In
             Adam, Lucien, Etudes sur six langues américains.)

Blish, Helen H.   A pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux.
    1967   Drawings by Amos Bad Heart Bull. Lincoln: University

11

of Nebraska Press.

The pictographs illustrated in this book are captioned in Lakota, using the old "r and q" system.

Boas, Franz.   Introduction to the Handbook of American Indian
    1966   Languages.   Original, 1911.   Reprinted at Lincoln:
            University of Nebraska Press.

_____.   Siouan Dakota (Teton and Santee Dialects) with Re-
    1911   marks on the Ponca and Winnebago.   In Handbook of Amer-
            ican Ethnology Bulletin 40, Vol. I, pp. 875-966.   Wash-
            ington: GPO.

            Excellent for comparing Teton and Santee.   Original
            Riggs material cross-checked at Rosebud by Swanton.

Boas, Franz and Ella C. Deloria.   Notes on the Dakota, Teton Dia-
    1932   lect in International Journal of American Linguistics,
            Vol. 7, Nos. 3-4.

Boas, Franz.   Some Traits of the Dakota Language.   In Race, Lan-
    1940   guage, and Culture (1968 edition, second printing).
            New York: The Free Press.

            Some general characteristics of Lakota, originally pub-
            lished in Language (1937), Vol. 13, No. 2.

Boas, Franz and Ella C. Deloria.   Dakota Grammar.   Memoirs of
    1941   the National Academy of Science, Vol. XXIII, Part II.

Buechel, S. J. Eugene.   Manuscript Stories and Narrations.   Mss.
    1908

_____.   Bible History in the Language of the Teton Sioux In-
    1924   dians.   New York: Benziger Brothers.

            Contains Bible stories from the Old and New Testament
            in Lakota.

_____.   A Grammar of Lakota.   St. Louis: John S. Swift and
    1939   Company.

            The standard grammar of Lakota.   Despite minimal defi-
            ciencies, it remains the best book published on Sioux.
            Although written about the Lakota dialect, with modifi-
            cation, it may be used in teaching the grammar of any
            dialect.

_____.   Lakota-English Dictionary.   Pine Ridge (South Dako-

1970   ta): Red Cloud Indian School.

This is the most recently published, and most comprehensive dictionary in Lakota. Also contains a summary of the grammar published in Grammar of Lakota. The chapter on history should largely be ignored.

Bunyan, John. Pilgrim's Progress (in the Dakota Language). New
  1857   York: American Tract Society.

This is the classic novel translated by S. R. Riggs into Dakota.

Burman, W. A. Hanhanna quais htayetu cekiyapi (Morning and evening prays in Dakota). London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
  1889

Clark, Ann. The Pine Ridge Porcupine (Wazi Ahanhan Pahin k'un
  1941   he). Lawrence: Haskell Institute.

This is a bilingual reader in Lakota and English about a porcupine who wants to be an Indian and cash in on porcupine quillwork. This as well as the other books by Ann Clark was part of a government project to provide bilingual readers to Indian children. The series is translated by Emil Afraid of Hawk, and illustrated by Andrew Standing Soldier unless otherwise noted.

_____. There Still Are Buffalo (Nahanhci Pte Yukanpi).
  1942   Lawrence: Haskell Institute.

This is the story of a buffalo calf who grows up to be the leader of the herd. It is translated into free verse giving the impression that the Lakota is also in free verse, which it is not.

_____. The Slim Butte Raccoon (Paha Zizipela Wiciteglega
  1942   kin). Lawrence: Haskell Institute.

A raccoon from an Indian community on the Pine Reservation wants to be an Indian so that it can participate in a give-away.

_____. The Grass Mountain Mouse. (He Peji Itunkala kin).
  1943   Lawrence: Haskell Institute.

A change in pace: the story about a prairie mouse who wants to be a cowboy.

_____. The Hen of Wahpeton (Unjincala Wahpetun etanhan kin

13

1943   he). .Lawrence: Haskell Institute. .

A cluck of a hen wants to be an opera star.

_____. Bringer of the Mystery Dog (Šunka wan Wakan Agli kin
1943   he). Lawrence: Haskell Institute.

A story about how the Sioux received their first horse.
Illustrated by Oscar Howe.

_____. Brave Against the Enemy (Toka wan Itkokip kin he).
1944   Lawrence: Haskell Institute.

Interesting story about the problems of a teenage boy
growing up on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Photos by
Helen Post.

_____. Sioux Cowboy (Lakota Pteole Hoksila). Lawrence:
1945   Haskell Institute.

A plotless commentary about an Indian cowboy and his
family told in see-spot-runyonesque style. Useful but
repetitious syntax.

_____. Singing Sioux Cowboy (Lakota Pteole Hoksila Lowans'a).
1947   Lawrence: Haskell Institute.

The same as above set to music, that is, the cowboy now
adds singing to his daily chores.

Colby, L. W. The Ghost Songs of the Dakotas. Proceedings and
  1895   Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society,
       Series 2, No. 1.

Curtis, E. S. The North American Indian. Cambridge.
  1907

Vol. III contains Teton material

Curtis, Natalie. The Indians' Book. New York: Harper and
  1923   Brothers. Reprinted 1968, New York: Dover Books.

Contains 20 songs and translations from the Teton.
Written in phonetics, but useful.

Deloria, Ella C. Dakota Texts. Publications of the American
  1932   Ethnological Society. Vol. XIV. New York: G. E.
       Steckert.

Sixty-four stories in the Lakota dialect which were
collected at Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Standing Rock.
Extremely useful, but hard to get.

14

_____. Short Dakota Texts Including Conversation. Inter-
1954   national Journal of American Linguistics.   Vol. XX.

Deloria, Ella C. and Jay Brandon (Translators).   The Origin of
1961   the Courting Flute in the Santee Dakota Dialect. Museum
         News, Vol. 22. No. 6. (June). Vermillion: University
         of South Dakota.

DeMallie, Jr., Raymond J.   A Partial Bibliography of Archival
1970   Manuscript Material Relating to the Dakota Indians. In
         The Modern Sioux: Social Systems and Reservation Cul-
         ture, Ethel Nurge (Ed).   Lincoln: University of Ne-
         braska Press.

         A particularly useful guide to Sioux manuscripts, pic-
         tographs, winter counts, and various other texts. Of
         particular value, a complete list of the Bushotter
         Texts in Lakota.

Densmore, Frances.   Teton Sioux Music.   Bureau of American Eth-
1918   nology Bulletin 61.   Washington: GPO.

         One of the foremost contributions to Sioux ethnography.
         Contains transcriptions of 689 songs, the majority of
         which are in Lakota with a few in Dakota. Collected
         at Standing Rock and Sisseton.

Don, S. W.   Eliza Marpicokanwin raraton wan oyate en wapiye sa.
1842   Boston: American Tract Society.

         Eliza Middle of the Cloud, healer among the Chippewa.

Dorsey, James Owen.   On the Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan
1885   Languages.   Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington:
         GPO.

         Comparative study of Dakota, Winnebago Cegiha, and
         Tchiwere.

_____. The Social Organization of the Siouan Tribes. Jour-
1889   nal of American Folklore, Vol. 14.

         Contains early material on social and political organ-
         ization of the Seven Fireplaces.

_____. Teton Folk-Lore. American Anthropologist (April).
1889
         A few stories in English.

_____. Siouan onomatopes. American Anthropologist (January).
1892

15

Publishing Company.

Contains pictographs and Lakota captions in "q and r"
style.

Lowie, Robert H.   Dance Associations of the Eastern Dakota.   An-
   1913   thropological Papers, Vol. XI, Part II.   New York:
             American Museum of Natural History.

A study of Sioux associations containing old words.

Mallery, Garrick.   The Dakota Winter Counts and the Corbusier
   1886   Winter Counts.   Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of Amer-
             ican Ethnology.   Washington: GPO.

_____.   Winter Counts.   Tenth Annual Report, Bureau of
   1893   American Ethnology.   Washington: GPO.

Both contain extensive pictographic drawings and expla-
nations.

Mathews, H. G.   Phonemic Analysis of a Dakota Dialect.   Interna-
   1955   tional Journal of American Linguistics.   Vol. XXI.

Montgomery, G.   A Method of Studying the Structure of Primitive
   1922   Verse Applied to the Songs of the Teton-Sioux.   Univer-
             sity of California Publications in Modern Philology.
             Vol. XI.

Mooney, James.   The Ghost-dance Religion and Sioux Outbreak of
   1896   1890.   Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American
             Ethnology, Part II.   Washington: GPO.   (Reprinted
             1965, Chicago: University of Chicago Press). .

Contains 26 Ghost dance songs and translations written
in phonetic style.

Murdock, George. P.   Ethnographic Bibliography of North America.
   1960   New Haven: Human Relations Area Files.

Bibliography is arranged by tribes and contains a great
deal on the Sioux.

Niobrara Deanery, Missionary District of South Dakota. Wocekiye
   1937   Wowapi (Prayer Book), The Niobrara Service Book (Re-
             vised edition, 1962).   Philadelphia: The Bishop White
             Prayer Book Society.

Published by the Episcopal Church in the Dakota dialect.

18

_____. Wakan Cekiye Odowan (Hymns in Dakota and English).
1946   Sioux Falls: Niobrara Deanery.

          Hymns from the 1916 Hymnal of the Episcopal Church.

Paige, Harry W.   Songs of the Teton Sioux.   Los Angeles: West-
1970   ernlore Press.

          Contains a number of songs and translations, but spuri-
          ous ge eralizations.

Perrig, E.   Manuscript Lakota-English Dictionary.
1902

Pilling, James C.   Bibliography of the Siouan Languages.   Wash-
1887   ington: GPO.

Plant, W. G.   A Hebrew-Dakota Dictionary.   Proceedings of the
1953   American Jewish Historical Society.   Baltimore.

Powell, J. W.   Indian Linguistic Families of America North of
1891   Mexico, Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Eth-
          nology.   Washington: GPO.   (Reprinted, 1966. Lincoln:
          University of Nebraska Press.)

Powers, William K.   The Sioux Omaha Dance.   American Indian Tra-
1961   dition, 8(1): 24-33.

          Translations of Omaha Dance songs.

_____.   The Rabbit Dance.   American Indian Tradition, 8(3):
1962   113-18.

          Translations of Rabbit dance songs.

_____.   A Winter Count of the Oglala.   American Indian Tra-
1963   dition, No. 52: 27-37.

_____.   Buechel's Lakota-English Dictionary. Review in
1970   American Indian Crafts and Culture, 4(7): 18.   Tulsa.

_____.   Sioux Favorites.   Discographic review in Ethno-
1971   musicology, 15(1): 154-60.

          Translations of songs on Canyon Records.

Praus, Alexis.   The Sioux, 1798-1922: A Dakota Winter Count.
1962   Bulletin 44, the Cranbrook Institute of Science. Bloom-
          field Hills (Michigan): Cranbrook Press.

Renville, J. B.   Woonspe itakihma ehakeun okaga (Precept upon
    1864   precept translated into the Dakota language) edited by
            S. R. Riggs. New York: Hurd.

Riggs, A. S.   Wicoie Wowapi kin (The Word Book).   New York:
    1881   American Tract Society.

Riggs, M. A. C.   An English and Dakota Vocabulary.   New York:
    1852   Craighead.

            Extracted from S. R. Riggs' Grammar and Dictionary of
            the Dakota Language.

Riggs, Stephen R.   Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language.
    1852   Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.   Vol. IV. Wash-
            ington: GPO.

_____.   The Dakota Language.   Collections of the Minnesota
    1872   Historical Society.   Vol. I.. St. Paul.

_____.   A Dakota-English Dictionary.   Contributions to
    1890   North American Ethnography. . Vol. VII.   Washington:
            GPO.

_____.   Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography.   Contri-
    1893   butions to North American Ethnography.   Vol. IX. Wash-
            ington: GPO.

            The Riggs publications are in Dakota with some Lakota
            and Nakota equivalents. Most dictionaries and grammars
            have been inspired by or modeled after Riggs' work.

Riggs, S. R. and John P. Williamson. Dakota Odowan (Dakota Song).
    1869   New York: American Tract Society.

_____.   Dakota Wowapi Wakan (Holy Bible in the Language of
    1880   the Dakotas).   New York: American Tract Society.

Roehrig, F. L. O.   On the Language of the Dakota or Sioux In-
    1871   dians.   Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the
            Smithsonian Institution.   Washington: GPO.

Tomkins, William.   Universal Indian Sign Language.   San Diego.
    1927   (Reprinted 1969 as Indian Sign Language.   New York:
            Dover Publications).

Walker, J. R.   Oglala Kinship Terms.   American Anthropologist.
    1914   Vol. XVI, pp. 96-109.

27

_____. The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala
1917   Division of the Teton Dakota.   Anthropological Papers,
        Vol. XVI, Part II.   New York: American Museum of Nat-
        ural History.

        Some of Walker's notions about Sioux cosmology have
        been questioned by Deloria, but descriptions of cere-
        monies are excellent. Contains some old words.

Warcloud Products.   Sioux Indian Dictionary.   Published by Paul
   1971?   Warcloud Grant, Sisseton, South Dakota.

Williamson, John P.   Dowa (sic) Wowapi, Dakota iapi en (Song
   1871   Book in the Dakota Language).   New York: American
           Tract Society.

_____. Dakota Odowan (Dakota Song).   New York: American
1879   Tract Society.

_____. English Dakota Dictionary.   New York: American
1902   Tract Society.

Wissler, Clark.   Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the
   1912   Oglala Division of Teton-Dakota. Anthropological Papers,
           Vol. XI, Part I.   New York: American Museum of Natu-
           ral History.

21./22

INDIAN LANGUAGE BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

Over the past several years there has been a marked increase in
the attention given to bilingual education in the United States.
No doubt the classroom teacher is often confused and bewildered
by the literature that is now appearing in reports and journals,
where various and often contradictory claims are made about such
fundamental matters as the role both languages should play in the
curriculum and about pupil progress in learning and in self-image.
About all that can safely be concluded is that bilingual education
in our country is in its beginning phase, one in which a number
of creative and innovative approaches must be tried out. In this
experimental period it is important that we know as much as pos-
sible about the programs that are presently in progress. Hope-
fully, the careful observation of these programs, of their suc-
cesses and failures, will lead eventually to the development of a
number of detailed descriptions of curricula and classroom organ-
ization, descriptions that will be available to teachers and ad-
ministrators who are considering alternative approaches to bilin-
gual schooling.

THE TITLE VII BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROJECT
AT LONEMAN DAY SCHOOL IN OGLALA, SOUTH DAKOTA

One of the most promising bilingual programs for American Indian
Children is the one that is now in operation at the Loneman Day
School in Oglala, South Dakota. Although the program is only in
its beginning and formulative stage (classes under the new system
were begun in September of 1971), it has already generated a con-
siderable amount of interest in one school and the community.
What is more, the staff itself (both administrative and instruc-
tional) has, despite the inevitable difficulties inherent in

23

launching an experimental program, developed an enthusiasm for and a commitment to the new approach. In the paragraphs that follow, some of the main features of the Loneman project are outlined in brief.

The Classrooms

Perhaps the most remarkable success achieved to date is in the classrooms, in the enthusiasm of the teachers and alertness of the children. In all, there are four classes at Loneman following the new program - two kindergartens and two first grades. Each classroom has a certified teacher and a teacher-instructor, who is a native speaker of Lakota. There is additionally a roving teacher-instructor, who visits all four classrooms and works with small groups of the children on special Lakota-language activities. The atmosphere in all four classrooms is exemplary: The rooms are divided into various interest areas, and the children move from area to area according to the activity that is being emphasized. Special attention has been given to bringing Sioux culture into the school to create a Sioux atmosphere. Each room has a Sioux tribal flag along with an American flag. There are star quilts and beads and pictures of Indians and Indian life on the walls; and there are Indian dolls, colored feathers, and Sioux pottery on the shelves and tables. Each room also has a tepee of authentic design. On the walls can be found cards with numbers, colors, and animal pictures, often with the names printed in both Dakota and English. Some of the objects were made by the teachers, and many were supplied by people from the community.

Most of the charts and objects are used directly in the instructional program. The star quilt design, for example, are used to teach geometric shapes; the beads and the feathers to teach numbers and colors. Examples abound of the way in which culturally relevant objects can be used to teach such basic concepts as number, color, and shape. Instruction is given in both Lakota and English, depending on the activity; and in certain cases, for example, the teaching of numbers and colors - the children are given the necessary vocabulary in both languages at the same time.

The Montessori Classroom at Red Cloud School

Tied in with the Title VII project is the bilingual Montessori classroom at Red Cloud School (Holy Rosary Mission) in nearby Pine Ridge. Two groups of children from ages two through five attend the Montessori program, one group attending in the morning and the other in the afternoon. In charge of this program is

24

Sister Eileen Gran. While taking classes from Gerald One Feather, a respected leader of the Pine Ridge community, Sister Eileen was struck by the parallels between Montessori's ideas and the ways in which the young are taught in traditional Sioux families, where the child is left to develop freely, and whenever he expresses a keen interest in learning a new skill or a new subject he is guided by example. The "prepared environment" which Montessori advocates is clearly visible in every part of the large classroom area: There are puzzles and games and objects of various sizes and shapes, all of which can readily be adapted to develop the ordering and structuring that Montessori felt was essential to effective learning.

As in the classrooms at Loneman, there is an authentic atmosphere of Sioux culture. And both English and Lakota are used freely, whenever appropriate. Sister Eileen is assisted by a full-time Lakota-speaking teacher instructor, Alexander White Plume, who is fully integrated into the classroom activities.

The success of the Montessori classroom at Red Cloud School is impressive. The children appear to be completely absorbed in the various activities they themselves have chosen; they are self-motivated and never bored. There is tangible evidence everywhere of the children's interest. For example, Sister Eileen reported that recently one of the children's parents threatened to keep him out of school for the day because he had misbehaved. Disappointed and in tears, the child tried to sneak on the school bus. No doubt parents and teachers everywhere would be heartened by such a story.

Teacher Training

If bilingual education is to be firmly established, it is essential that teachers who are native speakers of the child's dominant language be certified for continued and full-time appointment. In many instances (and Loneman is no exception) the teacher aide or teacher instructor, who has the talent and interest and language competence, does not hold the necessary credentials. This means that bilingual projects have the responsibility of planning a staff development component which lays out a carefully planned series of courses (including as much emphasis as possible given to on-the-job training) that will lead toward certification of the bilingual aides. This aspect of the Loneman projects appears to be off to a good start. Through extensive conferences with Dr. Keith Jewett of Black Hills State College, the project staff has outlined the courses that are required for an A. A. degree and for a B. A. degree. The majority of these courses will

25

Papa saka

"Dried Meat", from a Lakota unit on foods.
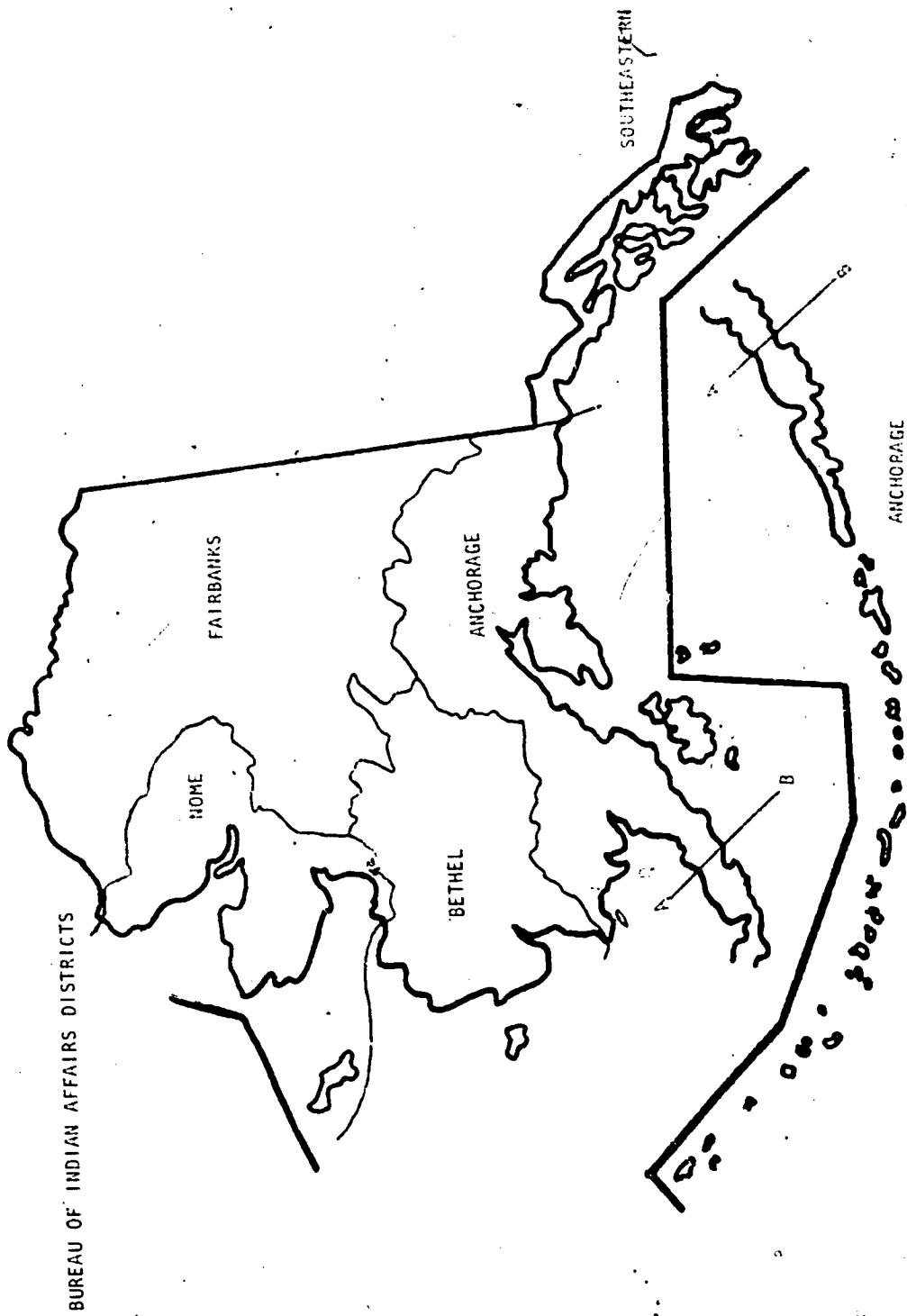Drawing by John Swallow

THE TITLE I BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

IN THE BETHEL AGENCY, ALASKA

Enthusiasm and optimism are readily apparent in the attitudes of participating children, parents, and teachers as they talk about the new Primary Eskimo Program (PEP) in their villages. Now in its second year in the Bethel BIA Agency, this experimental bilingual project uses Yuk as the language of instruction while teaching English as a second language in half-hour classes held twice daily. Seven Eskimo villages are now engaged in the program, and although parents in other villages have requested it, BIA officials feel that further expansion should be postponed until enough time has elapsed to allow for full evaluation of the results.

After studying bilingual programs in effect in many other areas of the country, educators in the Bethel Agency were convinced that such an approach should receive careful consideration for use in southwestern Alaska. Even though many Eskimos speak English and frequently use it to a greater extent than their native Yuk, there are still numerous isolated villages where over 90% of the people are monolingual and the other 10% make only infrequent use of their ability to speak English. It is seldom, if ever, used in the home; and children have little or no exposure to it through such media as movies, television, reading material, picture books, etc.

It seemed logical, having this much use of the Yuk language in the community, to make use of it in the school as well. Furthermore, in the schools in the area, there is a marked drop in achievement after third grade. Planners felt that this lag could be greatly reduced if the concepts of primary grade education could be taught to the children in their mother tongue. In this way, children would not be required to learn these same basic concepts in a language they were only beginning to understand. The decision was made, therefore, that the Yuk language would not be taught in the schools, but rather would be used as a tool for teaching curriculum content while the students were learning ESL. The expectation is that by the time students have finished third grade they will have acquired enough competence in English that they will be able to continue their education with English as the medium of instruction. Phasing into instruction in English is being planned for the fourth grade level, with ESL continued as part of the curriculum.

More intensive study and planning took place during the school year 1969-70 to determine what could be done in Alaska and how a

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS DISTRICTS

FAIRBANKS

NOME

ANCHORAGE

BETHEL

ANCHORAGE

SOUTHEASTERN

30

bilingual program could be designed to fit the local needs. Leaders in this effort were S. William Benton - Education Director of the Bethel Agency, Elias Joseph - representing the Agency School Board, Walter T. Featherly - director of the project, and Eunice Logan, Education Specialist.

After a year of planning, enough Title I funds were available to provide for implementation of a pilot program in three of the many villages scattered along the Kuskokwim River and Yukon Delta area. The villages of Akiachak, Nunapitchuk, and Napakiak were chosen because of the high percentage of Yuk monolinguals (95%), the desire of the parents for the program, the availability of trainable aides, and the fact that school buildings there had room to accommodate a program that would require as many as three teachers per room.

Like many of their counterparts, these communities are all located from twenty to one hundred miles from Bethel and have populations of from 300 to 400 people whose average educational level ranges from second to fourth grade. Transportation between villages is entirely by bush plane, and the people live on 80% subsistence foods and 20% commercial supplies brought in by plane. Only 3% of the people have permanent employment; others depend mainly on seasonal fishing for their income.

In the thirty-four villages of the Bethel Agency, there are about 2600 students from beginning to ninth grade, and in the target schools there are 583. In these schools, about 28 children were involved in the "beginning" level of the Yuk program in 1970-71. As this group moved into the "first" level in 1971-72, the program was expanded to the villages of Kipnuk, Quinhagak, Kasigluk, and Tuntutuliak. These seven villages will have over 200 children enrolled in the first three levels of the program by 1972-73.

Planning the Program

Problems foreseen in planning a bilingual program suitable for the BIA schools of the Bethel Agency could roughly be divided into five areas:

1) Determining the content of the program and designing the curriculum.

2) Securing the interest and cooperation of the parents.

3) Recruiting native speakers of Yuk, training them to work in the program, and giving special training to the regular teachers.

31

4) Designing and producing materials in Yuk - including the development of a Yuk orthography that would be acceptable to all concerned.

5) Creating tests and developing other forms of evaluation.

Curriculum Design

The educational design developed by Director Walter T. Featherly includes a standard first grade curriculum. According to Calvin Lundy, present Director of the PEP, the scope of the program for the three levels includes reading readiness, personal and family identification, health, and physical education, school relationships, community relationships, mathematical concepts, oral language development, graphic writing skills, fine arts development, basic science understandings, and reading - all taught in Yuk. Planners hope to ensure continuation of the program regardless of inevitable changes in personnel by standardizing the curriculum and by producing adequate standard materials.

Teaching is done entirely by "associate teachers" recruited from the village, with the regular teacher acting as supervisor, consultant, and ESL teacher. This separation of teaching duties helps to emphasize Yuk as the medium of instruction and to identify English as one subject of the total curriculum. In addition, each classroom has an aide who has received the same pre-service training as the associate. The aides serve primarily as back-up personnel who can act as substitute teachers or can fill in permanently if an associate happens to drop out of the program.

The ESL component is taught for half an hour twice a day. Daily planning sessions of the three-member team enable them to coordinate the conceptual content of their teaching and to arrange their lesson plans so that the scope and sequence of the ESL program will parallel as nearly as possible the "scope and sequence of the Eskimo program."

Parent Involvement

A special effort has been made to interest parents in the program and obtain their cooperation and support in the home, the community, and the school. The first approach was made at a community meeting of parents, school board members, the local school staff, and junior high school students. One of the most successful efforts to describe the program to parents and community leaders was the production of a fifteen minute movie showing planning sessions that involved local and Agency level school board mem-

bers, native teachers, BIA officials, and local school staffs.
The film also shows activities of a classroom where an Eskimo
teacher, using culturally appropriate Eskimo materials and an
Eskimo orthography, is working with happy, well-motivated chil-
dren. The film is narrated in either Yuk, English, or Navajo.
[The film, ESKIMO BILINGUAL EDUCATION, may be requested for a
five-day loan from the BIA Instructional Media Center at Brigham
City, Utah, or from the Language Arts Branch, Educational Planning
and Development, P. O. Box 1788, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87103.]

In the 1972-73 program, parents will be included in two general
planning sessions and will serve as resource people at the school-
level weekly planning and evaluation meeting. Principals con-
stantly remind the parents of the importance of their involvement
and of the time necessary for evaluation. Local councils have
already been informed of the need to discontinue expansion until
evaluation can determine the "impact this program had had on the
target group" - an estimated five years.

Recruiting and Training Teachers

In cooperation with the University of Alaska, two residents of
each target village were chosen to attend an eight-week summer
training session at the university. These people had been rec-
ommended as associate teachers and aides by the local school board
and principal and had been screened by BIA personnel. Many of the
trainees were men, chosen because it was felt that they would be
more likely to return to college for further training and eventu-
ally become certified teachers - a possibility not quite so likely
for the women of the village. Most were already literate in some
form of Yuk orthography and had only to learn to read in the one
that was being used for the program. Others attending the work-
shop in 1970 were the ESL teachers and the principals from each
school and a representative from the Bethel Agency Media Center.
The staff conducting the training sessions consisted of a linguist
from the University of Alaska, the Project Director, the Edu-
cation Programs Director, and an Education Specialist from the
Bethel Agency.

All members of the workshop were given a course in cultural an-
thropology, and the Eskimo teachers and the media specialist were
instructed in Yuk literacy, using the new orthography. ESL teach-
ers received special help in program planning and coordination
and in the development of an oral English program for beginners.
Additional activities in the workshop included definitions of the
objectives of a bilingual program, definition of the roles of team
members, preparation of a teacher's resource guide in Yuk, and a

33

is that in measuring the achievement of the students and the ef-
fectiveness of the program in relation to its goals, traditional
methods simply prove to be inefficient and sometimes inadequate.
The Primary Eskimo Program is no different in this respect. For
one thing, during the pilot year of the project, three schools
without the program were used as comparison groups, but perhaps
because of the isolation of the villages, definite differences
between them made these tests invalid. It is now felt that more
valid comparisons can be made by using records of comparable
classes from previous years within the same village.

Present plans for the 1972-73 school year include pre-testing in
September and post-testing in June using the Metropolitan Achieve-
ment Tests and four other tests which are being developed at the
University of Alaska under the direction of James M. Orvik of
the Center for Northern Educational Research. As with the pro-
duction of materials, the State Operated Schools division of the
Alaska State Department of Education is participating in the pro-
ject. Because the testers must be able to speak both Yuk and En-
glish, aides from the program are being trained to administer the
tests. They will travel in teams to all seven schools. [A problem
unique to Alaska developed the first year when the post-tests were
scheduled to be administered just at the time when the unpredict-
able spring "breakup" occurred. In order to get to all villages
before landing strips became knee-deep in mud, and before it be-
came impossible to land planes on the river ice, the teams split
up; and individual members went to different villages and did the
testing as quickly as possible.]

The evaluation of the PEP will gather data from four general
areas:

          1) Linguistic
          2) Academic
          3) Intellectual
          4) Attitudinal

1), Linguistic: In order to test the child's ability to communi-
cate in Yuk and English, tests are being developed to measure the
child's "receptive vocabulary" in Yuk and in English as well as
his "expressive vocabulary" in both languages. It may be of in-
terest here to note the procedures used in the production of one
of these tests, the Yuk Receptive Vocabulary Test. First, John
Angiak, a native of the Yuk dialect area, created a "starting
fund" of 250 illustrations of "vistas, activities, objects, and
concepts indigenous to the local culture and environment." Then,
under the direction of Irene Reed and her assistants, Martha Tee-
luk and Pascal Afcan, these pictures were presented to the asso-
ciate teachers then in training at the University of Alaska, who

helped to determine the appropriate Yuk words for each picture and the relative difficulty of the items. The illustrations were then grouped into related concepts (such as kinds of children's play) and rated in such a way that the tester could score the child's achievement on the test. The test is administered by having the child point to the picture that represents a word uttered in Yuk by the native-speaking tester.

The Yuk Expressive Vocabulary was administered by having the tester point to a picture and say in Yuk, "this is a sack and you can use it to carry things." Pointing to a second picture, she would name the object and ask what could be done with it. After that, the child was asked to name the object and tell what could be done with it. Responses were recorded verbatim. [For further details see "External Evaluation of the Impact of Bilingual Education in Southwestern Alaska," by James M. Orvik, Center for Northern Educational Research, University of Alaska.]

2) Academic: The Metropolitan Achievement Test battery will be used, including recent norms published for the Northwest Territories, which include norms for Eskimo children in second grade.

3) Intellectual data: An effort will be made to establish the child's "intellectual potential" or, as the author says, "a test of observation and clear thinking." will be made, using the Raven Coloured Progressive Matrices. Efforts to avoid cultural bias will be made by reducing as much as possible the verbal reaction between tester and child and by establishing norm scores within the cultural group.

4) Attitudinal data: Testers will elicite stories in Yuk and in English "into which the child may project his attitudes toward himself, his native culture, the school, and a variety of other target concepts." Attitude changes in the parents will also be analyzed.

Conclusion

One of the largest hurdles facing the designers of the program was convincing the people that learning in Yuk would not be a giant step backward. After all; they had been taught for years that English was the language of instruction and that their own language was not the road to success. Initial discussions with parents were often interspersed with comments like, "You teach them English; we'll teach them Yuk at home." Even though Yuk is the most viable language in Alaska today and there are approximately 15,000 speakers, it was not until parents were convinced

37

43

that Yuk would not be _taught_ in the schools but would only be
used while the children were learning English, that they began to
adopt a positive attitude toward the experiment. Some fears and
apprehensions continued, however, until it became apparent to
everyone that the children were learning faster and better than
ever before, and were loving it in the bargain. Response to the
program became overwhelmingly positive almost everywhere, and com-
ments from parents changed to "I didn't know my child could learn
so fast," or "I didn't think my kid was so bright." Parents are
especially thrilled when an entire school program is presented
in Yuk.

Teachers, too, are enthusiastic in their praise of the new pro-
gram. Some of the associate teachers had been aides before the
inception of PEP. These people as well as the regular teachers
feel that some of the more encouraging aspects are:

    1. The children are easier to teach.
    2. They are learning more things faster.
    3. Both teachers and students feel more freedom in the
        classroom.
    4. The children are not afraid to talk.
    5. There is less reticence and more volunteering.
    6. Parents are proud to hear their children read in Yuk.
    7. Competence in Yuk is also growing as a result of using
        it as a learning tool.
    8. It is easier to explain English by using Yuk.
    9. Children have more confidence in their ability to
        learn English.
   10. Because they can concentrate on the language itself,
        the children seem to be learning English faster than
        when they were getting English all day long.

All this unbounded optimism leads Mr. Orvik to warn against the
familiar "self-fulfilling prophecy phenomenon." As he says, "New-
ness and innovation may tend to breed their own early success;
but will you love it when it's old and familiar?"

As the program continues to develop, more detailed and precise
measurements of pupil achievement will undoubtedly be formulated.
Meanwhile, in certain areas (perhaps the most important of all)
the program has succeeded impressively. Anyone observing the
program will testify to the children's increased interest in
school, the parents' enthusiasm, and the teachers' optimism. A
new and exciting atmosphere for learning has been created in the
classrooms.

TESTING LANGUAGE SKILLS[1]

by

John W. Oller, Jr.

I. Introduction.

Recently as I was rummaging around in the ULCA archives on language testing, I ran across a short one-act play which seems to be appropriate as a mood setter for a discussion on testing and evaluation. The play is by a man named I. C... de Light, and I am told that this is probably a pseudonym for someone who wishes to remain anonymous. Of course, you understand I have no idea who that could possibly be. In a prefatory note Mr. de Light cautions his readers that any resemblance between the characters of this play and real persons either living or dead is purely coincidental. Since the play is a short one, I have been able to reproduce it in full here:

Theory Shmeory: A Short One Act Didactic Play
by
I.C. de Light

ACT I

[Enter Dr. Knowim All Pompsky with Miss B. N. Awe. Dr. Pompsky takes the podium with proper pomp. Miss Awe sits in the front row - note pad in hand and pencil poised pensively.]

Dr. Pompsky: *To begin with we must lay due stress and emphasis*

39

on the fact that the one thing that we do know at the
outset is that we know very little. Especially about lan-
guage. Therefore, one must exercise extreme caution in
approaching the intricate problems of testing language
skills, and he must do so in any event in devious and
clever ways. The complexities of linguistic skills . . .

[Three hours and thirty notepads later . . .]

Miss Awe: Skill-shmill, language-shmanguage. Whatever it is, it
has to be tested.

Dr. Pompsky: Oh, yes. Yes, indeed. You're quite right. The
first thing is to see to it that you distinguish between
competence and performance. Otherwise you may get what
the computer scientists call a GIGO effect.

Miss Awe: [Puzzled] GIGO effect?

Dr. Pompsky: Oh yes. Yes, indeed! Garbage In, Garbage Out.
The question is, have the students really acquired the un-
derlying deep to surface realizations of the transforma-
tional dependencies of the target . . .

Miss Awe: You mean . . .

Dr. Pompsky: [Continuing undisturbed] system of organization,
or has the mapping of contingent elements resulted from
a . . .

Miss Awe: You mean . . .

Dr. Pompsky: [Unaware of Miss Awe's presence] non-permanent buff-
er storage of quickly decaying memory traces.

[Finally, Dr. Pompsky pauses and Miss Awe humbly suggests]

Miss Awe: You mean the student might have just memorized some
material for the test?

Dr. Pompsky: [As if waking from a deep trance] Oh, yes. I guess
you could put it that way. Yes, I suppose you could.

[By now, of course, the lecture is over and Miss Awe goes back to
the classroom wearier and wiser. Her notepads filled with neat
and lengthy sentences are filed in the circular bin where they
will do the most good, and she goes back to her old system of do-

40

ing whatever seems best, and it probably is.]

> ***Moral: When the experts say that nothing can be done - don't do it.

<div align="center">

END OF ACT I

</div>

(Also, end of "Theory Shmeory: A Short One Act Didactic Play")

Misgivings and uncertainty concerning the testability of language skill, though common among linguists, cannot be shared by the classroom teacher or anyone else who is charged with the respon- sibility of finding out how well Juanito and his friends speak English. The teacher cannot wait for the linguists, psycholo- gists, sociologists, psycholinguists, sociolinguists, etc., to resolve all of the controversies about theories of learning and language. The teacher must do something even if it is wrong.

This discussion attempts to provide a better working understand- ing of classroom testing a) by reviewing different kinds of tests and discussing their applicability to specific aspects of lan- guage skills, and b) by considering some of the controversies over different kinds of teacher made tests.

<div align="center">

Definition of terms

</div>

a <u>test</u> = an observable activity the student is asked to perform under controlled conditions in order to determine his capacity to perform similar activities under less rigid controls.

a <u>reliable</u> test = one that produces the same results under the same conditions on different occasions. (Does the test measure consistently?)

a <u>valid</u> test = an observable activity that simulates (or faith- fully mirrors) the conditions and activities of the skills it seeks to measure. (Does the test measure what it is supposed to?)

a <u>good</u> test = one that (a) provides valid and reliable informa- tion about the effectiveness of the student's learning and the teacher's instruction, (b) functions as an inte- gral part of the teaching/learning process by focusing attention on, and giving practice in, useful language skills.

<div align="center">

41

</div>

Components		Language Skills			
		Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing
Discrete point type items	Phonology/orthography				
	Structure				
	Vocabulary				
Integrative skills	Rate and general fluency				

Figure 1.   (From D. Harris, <u>Testing ESL</u>, p. 11.)

Multiple-choice items can of course be presented in various ways:
The test questions and alternatives may be presented orally or in
writing, and they may be responded to orally or in writing depend-
ing on the purposes of the test. Some examples follow.

As a test of auditory discrimination (from Harris, 1969, p. 32),
the student may hear the words:

(1)   (a) cot   (b) caught   (c) cot[2]

The task is to determine whether all are the same or whether one
is different from the other two and if so, which one is different.
There are, of course, many variations on this type of auditory
discrimination item.

The following are suggested by Harris (1969, pp. 26-28) to test
various aspects of discrete skills.

<u>Grammatical Structure</u>

(2) Mary _____ in New York City since 1960.

   (a) is living

   (b) has lived

   (c) lives

Sentence Interpretation

(3) An old friend of John's brought <u>him</u> news of his uncle last
   night.

   Him refers to   (a) an old friend

                    (b) John

                    (c) the uncle

Word Order

(4) When _____?

   (a) plan

   (b) you

   (c) to go

   (d) do

Vocabulary   (Harris, 1969, p. 52)

(5) A brief, light sleep

   (a) yawn

   (b) nap

   (c) struggle

   (d) hug

(6) The old woman was too _____ to push open the door.

   (a) harsh

   (b) deaf

   (c) sincere

   (d) feeble

Other discrete-point items, typical of those found in the <u>Test of
English as a Foreign Language</u> (TOEFL produced by Educational
Testing Service; Princeton, New Jersey), are those designed to

test specific writing skills.   The following are from Harris
(1969, pp. 71-2).

Subject Verb Agreement

(7) The design of the two new bridges (are/is) very unusual.

Structural parallelism

(8) She enjoyed sewing, reading, and just (to sit/sitting) on the

porch watching the people go by.

Case of pronouns

(9) To my little brother and (I/me), Uncle John was the most

wonderful friend.

Comparison of Adjectives

(10) The afternoon rush hour is the (worse/worst) part of the day.

Formation of Adverbs

(11) The man tipped his hat and spoke very (polite/politely) to

the ladies.

Formation of Irregular Verbs

(12) Neither of the children would tell us who had (broke/broken)

the window.

B.   Tests of Integrative-Skills

I do not wish to suggest that there is always a clear-cut dis-
tinction between discrete-point items of the above type and the
integrative items which I will discuss below.   However, in gener-
al the above examples from Lado and Harris do fall into the cate-
gory of discrete-point items, and those test types discussed be-
low do become increasingly integrative.   In one or two cases of
the discrete-point items given above, there are some difficulties
in saying precisely what the point of language is that is being
tested.   In the test types that follow, it is scarcely ever pos-
sible to say exactly what point of grammar is being tested, and

it is almost always necessary to understand a whole sentence or more in order to answer correctly.

1. Reading Skills.

The following examples of tests of reading skills were intended for foreign students at the college level. The first group of items are concerned mainly with vocabulary. Generally, however, it is necessary for the student to understand the whole sentence in order to get the item correct. For this reason, I prefer to think of the following vocabulary items as integrative in nature. Obviously, the point is debatable. By working through the following items it is possible to acquire an intuitive feeling for the kinds of skills that are involved:

Vocabulary.

Directions: Choose the word which best expresses the meaning of the underlined word or phrase. More than one answer may be possible, so be sure that you pick the best one.

(1) By the addition of many unknown factors, the problem becomes more complicated.

    (a) stable
    (b) complex
    (c) concerned
    (d) confined
    (e) deprived

(2) Everyone likes Bill because he's so cheerful.

    (a) rich
    (b) careful
    (c) decent
    (d) funny
    (e) happy

(3) Mr. Allen will assist the students.

    (a) manage
    (b) take
    (c) help
    (d) advise
    (e) watch

(4) Our new professor appeared to be a competent lecturer.

47

(a) interesting
(b) wealthy
(c) informative
(d) complex
(e) capable

(5) Dictators <u>deviate from</u> the accepted principles of democracy.

(a) agree with
(b) depart from
(c) derive from
(d) put up with
(e) subscribe to

b. Reading: Comprehension

The next selection of items from a test of reading comprehension requires the student to select the appropriate paraphrase for a given sentence. In working through these items you will see that it is necessary for the student to understand abstract relationships between subjects, verbs, and objects, among other things, in order to answer the items correctly. It would, however, be difficult if not impossible to say precisely what points of grammar are involved here and this puts the test items clearly in the domain of integrative tasks.

Directions: Choose the sentence which <u>best</u> expresses the meaning of the given sentence. <u>More than one answer may be possible, so be sure that you pick the best one</u>.

(1) Helen's brother got married when she was eighteen years old.

(a) Helen's brother got married at the age of eighteen.
(b) Helen's brother was eighteen years old when she got married.
(c) When Helen was eighteen, her brother got married.
(d) Helen got married when she was eighteen years old.
(e) Helen's brother got married just eighteen years ago.

(2) Sitting on the floor, Janet watched her husband paint the chair.

(a) While Janet sat on the floor, her husband watched her.
(b) Janet watched her husband paint the chair which was

on the floor.

    (c) Janet sat on the floor watching her husband paint the chair.

    (d) Janet watched the floor while her husband painted the chair.

    (e) Janet painted the chair and watched her husband sit on the floor.

(3) The more fully mechanized factory has undoubtedly strengthened the long-term drift of women into paid occupations.

    (a) Mechanization helped management gain more control over female labor over the years.

    (b) Mechanization helped add to the steady increase of the female labor force.

    (c) Mechanization helped the steady increase of women in employment outside of factories.

    (d) Mechanization helped the steady increase of women's salaries in industry.

    (e) Mechanization helped speed up the inclusion of women in the labor force.

(4) The boys' cheating was a matter for concern.

    (a) The matter of cheating was of concern to the boys.

    (b) A concerning matter was cheating to the boys.

    (c) The boys' concern was for the matter of cheating.

    (d) It was a matter of cheating that concerned the boys.

    (e) It was a matter of concern that the boys cheated.

(5) For more than twenty-four years he avoided capture.

    (a) He was twenty-four years old when he was captured.

    (b) After twenty-four years he finally escaped from prison.

    (c) For more than twenty-four years he was avoided by the police.

    (d) He did not capture any criminals for twenty-four years.

    (e) He was a free man for more than twenty-four years.

Another item type which we have found useful in our testing program at UCLA is a task which requires that the student select from several alternatives a sentence which best expresses the main idea of a paragraph. Again this is clearly in the domain of integrative skills.

49

c. Reading: Understanding the Main Idea of a Paragraph.

Directions: Read the paragraph and then choose the statement
that best expresses the central idea.

The obvious method of discovering whether the class has stud-
ied its work, and of prodding them on to study in the future,
is to ask questions. Written questions with written answers
are "tests", "quizzes", or "examinations". Horrible words.
My soul sickens at their very sound. I sat through so many
of them, and I have marked so many hundreds of them . . .
yet I have never been able to think of a substitute, and have
yet to meet anyone else who has.

    (a) Hundreds of examinations have been given in the
        past.
    (b) Written questions are the best type of examination.
    (c) It is obvious that the class has not studied its
        lesson.
    (d) Tests are horrible, but no one has found a substitute.
    (e) Students must be prodded to answer the questions on
        a test.

2. Cloze Tests

One of the most promising types of integrative skills tests which
has been proposed for measuring either achievement or proficiency
in foreign language or second language situations is the cloze
test. This method was first used with native speakers by Taylor
(1953) to determine the difficulty of reading materials. The
cloze technique of test construction simply deletes every nth
word (5th, 6th, or 7th usually) from a passage of prose. The
student is then required to replace the missing words or to re-
store the passage by placing acceptable words in the blanks.

There has been some discussion about what is the best way to
score a test of this type. With native speakers it has been
shown that it makes little difference whether only the exact
words restored to the passage are counted as correct, or whether
other acceptable substitutes are allowed.[3] In a study recently
completed at UCLA, we discovered that the best way of scoring
cloze passages for non-native speakers seems to be to allow both
acceptable substitutes and exact words (Oller, 1971). Other more
elaborate scoring systems seem to yield little new information,
and by allowing acceptable substitutes as well as the exact words
a significant increase in correlation with other tests of ESL
skill is achieved.

An example of a cloze test is included below. To get some idea
of what skills the student must employ in order to restore the
missing words, it may be revealing to you to work through the pas-
sage. Interestingly enough, cloze tests seem to correlate best
with other tasks which require skill in listening comprehension.

Instructions:

(1) Read the whole passage.
(2) Then, go back and fill in the blank with the word
    you think is missing.
    Example: A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.
(3) Use only one word for each blank.
(4) Contractions like "don't," "can't," "he's," "you're"
    can be used to fill a blank.
    Example: He can lift 100 pounds but he can't lift
    1,000 pounds.
(5) Try to fill in every blank.

I did not have the pleasure of knowing M. Ravel in the
days when he was still struggling with the first principles
of the English language. Like everyone else, of course, I
_____ heard of him, and had smiled _____ his
difficulties with the idiosyncrasies of _____ tongue,
as reported in the newspapers _____ the time. You will
recall, for _____, his remarks in excited and broken
English _____ the absurdities of the word "fast."
_____ horse was fast when he was _____ to a
hitching post. The same _____ was also fast under
exactly diametric circumstances _____ he was running
away. A woman _____ fast if she smoked cigarettes.
A _____ was fast if it didn't fade. _____ fast
was to go without food. Et cetera. _____ a language!

Today, M. Ravel speaks English _____ only the faintest
of French accents, _____ what he has to say is
_____ salted with Gallic gestures and mannerisms.
_____ other evening, after listening with polite
incredulity _____ an account of my own present
difficulties _____ the French language, he shrugged ____
his _____.

"Perhaps. But when you have mastered _____, you will
understand. Like everything _____ French, our lan-
guage is always logical, _____ see. But this English!
Ah! I _____ it; but I do not understand _____."

"Logical" is the last adjective I _____ use in de-

scribing the French language. _____ I had no chance
to say _____ .

"Listen!" said M. Ravel. "Last winter I _____ a very
bad cold. A friend _____ to me, 'Jules, your voice is
_____ husky.' Husky? As an adjective I _____
not know the word. As a noun _____ is an Eskimo.
What does this _____ , my voice is husky? I consulted
_____ dictionary. 'Husky,' adjective . . . Ah! To
be _____ ! 'powerful, strong, burly.' Like an Eskimo.
Logical _____ . Very neat! . . . Then, to myself, I
frown suddenly. Husky? _____ is my voice my friend
was _____ of. And that - most positively - is husky!
It is not strong. It _____ not powerful. With my
cold, it _____ so weak I can hardly use _____ .
Is this some American humor my _____ employs? I
look in the dictionary _____ . Ah! I discover a
second meaning: 'dry, harsh, hoarse.' So! _____ see
what my friend means. He _____ my voice is husky.
He means _____ voice is hoarse."

M. Ravel shook his _____ .

(From Brown, 1956, p. 115.)

3. Dictation

Another form of integrative skills test, one which has been ex-
tremely popular among language teachers for many years, is dicta-
tion. (Valette, 1967, favors this testing device.) Professional
testers, however, have regarded dictation as somewhat uneconomi-
cal and uninformative as a testing device. Robert Lado (1961,
p. 34) has argued that dictation is not a good measure of listen-
ing comprehension or phonological discrimination because the
sounds are often given away by the context. He has also remarked
that dictation is not a good test of word order since the word
order is given, and it cannot be a test of vocabulary because the
vocabulary is given. But in several recent studies of the UCLA
ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE PLACEMENT EXAMINATION it has been
demonstrated that dictation is an extremely useful measure of
overall proficiency in English as a second language. The three
passages given below are examples selected for the fall examina-
tion of 1970. The third passage, which is obviously the most
complex in structure and vocabulary, yielded the best discrimina-
tion among subjects and the highest correlation with other parts
of the entrance examination.

I

John was a pleasant looking young man./ Anna was a pretty young
girl./ She had a small turned-up nose./ Together they walked
down to the river./ They sat on the grass near the water./ It
was a pretty place./ There were trees all around./ They were
alone./ No one could see them./ They had their fishing poles
with them./ They had brought sandwiches to eat./ They began to
fish./   (From Dixon, 1950, p. 69.)

II

Joe is a freshman and he is having/ all the problems that most
freshmen have./ As a matter of fact,/ his problems started be-
fore he even left home./ He had to do a lot of things/ that he
didn't like to do/ just because he was going away to college./
He had his eyes examined/ and he had his cavities filled/ al-
though he hates to go to a dentist,/ and he had his watch fixed
by a neighborhood jeweler./   (From Praninskas, 1959, p. 217.)

III

I did not have the pleasure of knowing Mr. Smith/ in the days
when he was still struggling/ with the first principles of the
English language./ Like everyone else,/ of course,/ I had heard
of him and had smiled/ at his difficulties with the idiosyncra-
sies of our tongue,/ as reported in the newspapers of the time./
You will recall,/ for example,/ his remarks in excited and broken
English/ concerning the absurdities of the word "fast."/
                                          (From Brown, 1956, p. 115.)

The average score for the first passage was 23.7 out of 30 points .
The average for the second passage was 20.6 out of 30 and the
average for the third passage was 17.2 out of 30. The standard
deviations were greater for the more difficult passages. The
more difficult passage seemed to give the most discriminating in-
formation, but all three passages correlated at close to the 80%
level.

The administration procedure, of course, is very important to the
success of dictation as a testing technique. The most important
factor is rate of speaking. If the dictation is to be a test of
skill in handling the spoken word, it must be spoken (or read, in
this case) at a fairly fast clip. Reading a dictation at a
snail's pace is probably not much of a test of anything but spell-
ing.

At UCLA, we follow the method used by Lois McIntosh. First the

53

passage is read once through at a normal conversational speed.
The second time it is read with pauses at convenient phrase or
clause boundaries while the students write down what they hear.
Marks of punctuation are given. The third time the passage is
read again at normal speed with occasional pauses to allow stu-
dents to make corrections.

To show that dictation is not, as Lado and other professional
testers have suggested an uneconomical and imprecise writing ex-
ercise, consider the following errors made in dictations by col-
lege level foreign students at UCLA.

Errors from Dictations

(On the left side of the arrow, the original phrasing is given,
to the right side appears the student's rendering.)

(1) best described as exponential. ===> best described as an ex-
                                        ponential period
(2) from the beginning of time ===> from the beginig at time
(3) the new has barely a chance to become familiar ===> the new
                   has early to change to become familiar
(4) that the famous generation gap ===> that famous generation
                                                         gap
(5) science and technology have created ===> sceince and
                                      technolege has created
(6) this ocean and its ways ===> this ocean and its waves
(7) riches ===> richness
(8) than the early sailors ever dreamed of ===> than the early
                                   sailors never dreamed of
(9) an accelerated rate ===> on unaccelerated rate
(10) knowledge of ===> knowledge for
(11) of being consigned ===> of bean consigned
(12) too many changes for comfort ===> to many changes for
                                   confort (Spanish spk.)
(13) promises ===> promesses (Spanish spk.)
(14) riches ===> reaches (Spanish spk.)
(15) today's search ===> today search
(16) at both ends of the spectrum ===> at both ___ of espactroms
                                                    (Persian)
(17) the result is ===> the reasult (Persian, possibly an analogy
                                          with reason)
(18) this ocean and its ways ===> this ocine and this ways
(19) change has been the law of life from the beginning of
time ===>change the lite off there, from begining time (Japanese)
(20) to become familiar before it is replaced by something even
newer ===> to become for million befor es replaced by something

54

even new (Arabic)

(21) something new has been added ===> something new has been
                                          had it (Italian)

(22) as change continues to ===> as change continue to (Italian)

(23) for at least five thousand years ===> for adlist 20,000
                                          years (Bulgarian)

(24) to find practical means of feeding people better and means
of helping them avoid the terrible damage of wind storms ===>to
find partical man living better and mean help man and boy
tellable damag store. (Chinese)

(25) avoid the terrible damage of windstorms ===> the boy
                    terrible damage of ministers (Japanese)

However problematic dictation may be in terms of scoring or
administration, it clearly does provide a tremendous wealth of
information about how well the student understands the language.
It certainly is naive to suggest (as some have, see my discussion
on this, 1971a) that in taking a dictation all the student needs
to know is how to spell English words. It is clear even from a
cursory examination of these few errors, that the student is not
simply copying down words, but is involved in an active and com-
plex process of analysis-by-synthesis.

4. Composition

Another popular form of examination, which has been used both as
a measure of achievement and of proficiency, is the traditional
composition. The major difficulty with using composition as a
testing device is correction. It is frequently impossible to
determine precisely what it was that the student was trying to
say. The following examples illustrate this problem. The mate-
rial in normal elite type is what the student actually wrote. The
cross-outs are words that the student crossed out. The material
in italics written above the line is my estimation of what the
student might have been trying to say. Note that in some cases
it is very difficult to say what the student had in mind. For
this and other reasons, scoring compositions by most methods is
quite unreliable.

Examples of compositions written by foreign students at the
college level:

(1) Topic: "When I Was a Child"

There is one impression of my childhood which stands
There is 'one ~~souvenir~~ impression of my childhood which

55

61

Notes

[1]This paper is a revised version of an invited lecture originally presented at the TESOL Convention, New Orleans, 1971, in the pre-convention workshop on testing. I am grateful to Lois McIntosh (the pre-convention Chairman), William Slager, and several of my colleagues at UCLA for their useful comments and suggestions concerning the content of this paper. In addition, I would like to thank the participants of the workshop for their stimulating comments and questions. Any errors, of course, are my own. I also gratefully acknowledge permission to quote from David Harris's book (1969).

[2]Notice that in some dialects of American English, this contrast no longer exists. Hence, this is a questionable item by most test standards.

[3]Sometimes the misleading term "synonym" has been used. This would suggest that when the subject does not restore the original word to the test that he usually replaces it with some synonym; in fact this is often not the case.

[4]Note the slash marks in the examples of dictations. These indicate the location of the pauses. Obviously, other positions for the pauses could have been selected. The important thing to remember is that the length of sequences between pauses should challenge the short-term memory of the non-native speaker. Also these sequences should be spoken at conversational speed.

[5]For criticism of this viewpoint see Upshur (1971), Belasco (1971) and Oller (1971c).

References

Belasco, S.   The Feasibility of Learning a Second Language in an Artificial Unicultural Situation.   In Pimsleur and Quinn (1971).

Brown, J. I.   EFFICIENT READING.   Boston: Heath, 1956.

Carroll, J. B.   Fundamental considerations in testing for English language proficiency of foreign students.   In H. B. Allen (ed.) TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE.   New York: McGraw Hill, 1965.   Pp. 364-72.

Dixon, R.   ELEMENTARY READER IN ENGLISH.   New York: Regents, 1950.

Harris, D. P.   TESTING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE.   McGraw Hill,

58

1969.

Jespersen, O.   HOW TO TEACH A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.   London: Allen
     and Unwin, 1904.

Lado, R.   LANGUAGE TESTING: THE CONSTRUCTION AND USE OF FOREIGN
     LANGUAGE TESTS.   New York: McGraw Hill, 1961.

Oller, J.   Dictation as a device for testing foreign language
     proficiency.   In ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING 1971, 25,
     254-9.   (a)

Oller, J.   Scoring methods and difficulty levels for cloze tests
     of ESL proficiency.   MODERN LANGUAGE JOURNAL, in press,
     1971.   (b)

Oller, J.   Language communication and second language learning.
     In Pimsleur and Quinn (1971).   Pp. 171-9.   (c)

Oller, J.   On the relation between syntax, semantics, and pragma-
     tics.   LINGUISTICS, in press, 1972.

Praninskas, J.   RAPID REVIEW OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR.   Englewood
     Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1959.

Taylor, W. L.   Cloze procedure: a new task for measuring reada-
     bility.   JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, 1953, 33, 42-8.

Upshur, J.   Productive Communication Testing: Progress Report.
     In G. E. Perren and J. L. M. Trim (eds.).   APPLICATIONS
     OF LINGUISTICS.   Cambridge, England: Cambridge University
     Press, 1971. Pp. 435-42.

Valette, R. M.   MODERN LANGUAGE TESTING: A HANDBOOK.   New York:
     Harcourt Brace, 1967.

[Dr. Oller has been in charge of the testing program of the En-
glish Department at the University of California at Los Angeles
and is now on temporary assignment at the Southwestern Coopera-
tive Educational Laboratory in Albuquerque, New Mexico.   He has
published a number of articles on testing; among them are:

The Cloze Technique and ESL Proficiency, by John W. Oller, Jr.
and Christine A. Conrad. LANGUAGE LEARNING XXI:2,
183-196.

A Cloze Test of English Prepositions, by John W. Oller, Jr.
and Nevin Inal. TESOL QUARTERLY V:4, 315-326.

Dictation as a device for Testing Foreign Language Proficien-
cy. ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING 25:254-9.]

COMMON ERRORS IN CONSTRUCTING MULTIPLE CHOICE ITEMS

by

John W. Oller, Jr.

The following test items were prepared for the various sections
of the UCLA placement examination by students in a course on lan-
guage testing. The errors contained in them are not all obvious
and in fact are not all clear cut errors. However, they are au-
thentic items, and some of them illustrate very typical problems
in writing items of a multiple choice type.

Vocabulary

For the following vocabulary items the student is instructed to
choose the best synonym for the underlined word or phrase.

(1) He is an awkward fellow.

    a) funny   b) intrinsic   c) stingy

        d) eager   e) clumsy

This vocabulary item illustrates a rather typical problem in con-
structing alternatives. Note the difficulty of saying 'He is an
funny fellow.' The test writer could have avoided this particu-
lar grammatical difficulty by either inserting articles within
the alternatives or by inserting a modifier between the article
and the adjective awkward in order to avoid the a/an problem. An-
other difficulty in this item is the choice b) 'intrinsic' makes
for an ungrammatical combination 'an intrinsic fellow'. Also,
the word 'intrinsic' is scarcely of the same level of difficulty
as the other words selected as alternatives.

61

(2) That's a <u>ridiculous</u> suggestion.

    a) erudite   b) strenuous   c) comprehensible
                 d) preposterous   e) esoteric

The difficulty with item 3 is that the word 'ridiculous' is less
difficult than the correct choice 'preposterous'. Notice also
that other items in the alternatives are generally more difficult
than the word 'ridiculous'. The point is that if the student knew
the word in the stem and if the alternatives were more difficult
than the stem he might not know the alternatives and therefore
would miss the item. When this happens the test item fails to
reveal the knowledge that the student actually possesses, and
since it is the purpose of the test to find out what the student
knows rather than to trick him into making errors, he should be
given every opportunity to reveal his knowledge. This item could
be rewritten by putting the word 'preposterous' in the stem (that
is, if the word were thought useful to college level students),
and by including 'ridiculous' as one of the alternatives.

(3) I was <u>brought up</u> on a small mid-western farm.

    a) grown up   b) raised   c) lifted
            d) grown   e) carried around

Here choice a) is completely ungrammatical. You cannot say "I
was grown up on a small mid-western farm."

(4) I waited <u>anxiously</u> for the mailman to come all morning.

    a) avidly   b) distractedly   c) worriedly
            d) carefully   e) vainly

The difficulty here is an indeterminant choice. The best synonym
'eagerly' is not there. The word 'worriedly' is a possible an-
swer, but an unlikely one from the point of view of a native
speaker.

(5) Ruth showed <u>hostility</u> toward her neighbors.

    a) courtesy   b) friendliness   c) unfriendliness
            d) hospitality   e) jealousy

The choice of opposites 'friendliness' 'unfriendliness' is apt to
be a giveaway to the test-wise student. Because of its formal
similarity with the stem item 'hostility', 'hospitality' is prob-
ably a good distractor. However, opposites such as those in
choices b and c should be avoided because of the fact that they
direct the student's attention to two of the alternatives. In
most cases where opposites are given in a set of alternatives one

of the opposites is the correct choice. This enables the student to narrow down the alternatives from five to two. This makes the task considerably simpler and increases the possibility of his guessing the right answer.

(6) The lecturer was rather pedantic.

    a) clear   b) sympathetic   c) ostentatious
          d) dull   e) unfriendly

Here there is too much variety among style and frequency of choices. Note the difference between alternative c) 'ostentatious' and alternative d) 'dull'.

(7) Nixon's speech was stupendous.

    a) terrible   b) fantastic   c) very foolish
               d) short   e) important

Here none of the choices are correct, variety is too great, and the stem is probably not a very useful word for college level students.

(8) Your answer is rather improbable.

    a) foolish   b) consistent   c) possible
              d) inventive   e) unlikely

Note here that the alternatives for 8a and 7c are the same choices. This is a very strong tendency in writing alternatives in a multiple choice test. One has to take great care not to repeat items in the various alternatives.

(9) The crab dug a small hole under the rocks.

    a) narrow   b) round   c) deep
             d) little   e) hidden

The stem is too easy for college level students.

(10) He is a lugubrious person.

    a) cheerful   b) mournful   c) phlegmatic
            d) reserved   e) detached

Here the cardinal rule of employing useful language in the stems of test items is violated. This vocabulary item is of questionable value for even native speakers; few of them in fact are apt to know it. Also, there is no clearly correct alternative. Either 'mournful' or 'phlegmatic' would seem to be possible.

(11) How many <u>gifts</u> did you get for Christmas?

    a) cards   b) dolls   c) trees

              d) presents   e) boxes

The question asked here raises a cultural problem. We are taught in our society not to ask how many gifts people receive for Christmas. If the person taking the test is aware of this, his attention may be distracted from the task at hand.

Sentence Paraphrase

The next several items deal with a sentence paraphrase task.

(1) Reports <u>had it</u> he'd drowned.

    a) The reports had him drowned.
    b) The reports were that he had drowned.
    c) The reports made it sound as if he had drowned something.
    d) The reports appeared to have been garbled in transmission.

The problem with item 1) is that the expression 'had it' is rarely used in the sense given here.

(2) There is a point where cool heads lose control and some spark of fear or anger lets loose the dogs of war.

    a) In time of war, even normally calm people see the need to train dogs to kill.
    b) Wars are caused by fear or anger which bursts on the enemy like dogs on an enemy.
    c) Under the right emotional stimulus rational people will support violent action.
    d) At certain times of history, cautious people in control of their society lose it to those who want war.
    e) People who do not fight against violence are consumed by violence.

Note the high frequency of idioms used here. If this item were intended to test a person's control of idiomatic usage, it would probably be quite useful. However, since it is intended to be part of a placement examination for college level students who may never have to deal with this kind of idiomatic usage, it is of questionable value.

(3) He is a home-owner.

    a) His own home is a house itself.
    b) Home is where the house is.

64

c) He is in possession of a home.
d) He owns the house where he lives.
e) Owners usually have homes of their own.

Note the strangeness of some of the alternatives here. When the
alternatives for items of this type are unusual, awkward, or un-
grammatical, this may allow the student to reject certain ones of
them without even having read the stem item. This lessens the
difficulty of the items, as well as reducing their validity as
tests of comprehension.

(4) Painting houses is hard but satisfying work.

  a) Painted houses are satisfactory.
  b) To paint a house is hardly satisfying work.
  c) If you are not satisfied, paint a house.
  d) Painting houses satisfactorily is hard work.
  e) Though it is hard work, it is very satisfying to paint
     a house.

The typical error committed in item number 4 is that the correct
choice is the longest one. The tendency to write alternatives
in this way is practically overwhelming. It should however, be
avoided like the plague. We note the same difficulty in item
number 2 where choice d), which is the correct alternative, is
also the longest one.

Selecting the Central Idea

The following example requires that the student select the cen-
tral idea of the paragraph.

(1) "Not a few Japanese and foreigners view the sensational and
barbaric suicide of Japan's internationally known writer, Yukio
Mishima, on November 25 as perhaps the most glaring proof of the
rise of militarism in Japan. Mishima, dressed in his Nazi-style
uniform, was rebuffed by the Self-Defense Forces who failed to
rally immediately to his challenge to 'rise for the glory of the
emperor and our Fatherland.' He then committed ritual harakiri
with a disciple standing by to decapitate him."

  a) Mishima's ritual harakiri last year is seen by many as
     proof of a rapid recent rise in Japanese militarism.
  b) The fact that the Self-Defense Forces rebuffed Mishima
     is taken as proof that Japanese militarism is making
     little headway.
  c) Mishima's dress and behavior that day were neo-Nazi,
     causing subsequent accusations to drive him to suicide.

65

d) The man who committed suicide was trying to rally the troops under his command to rise for the glory of Emperor and homeland.

e) Mishima was the disciple of the Emperor, and both committed harakiri in protest of the Japanese people's supposed lack of interest in military glory.

While there may be some disagreement here it seems to me that this is a bad item simply because of the topic. The fact that it speaks of a bloody suicide tends to distract attention from the task of selecting the central idea of the paragraph. If it does not in fact distract attention from the present paragraph it may cause the student to continue thinking about that paragraph for the next several items, thus possibly causing him to make a lower score than he would have otherwise.

(2) Certain puzzling facts soon emerged. Animals given feed "contaminated" by mere traces of antibiotics thrived above and beyond the stimulus that Vitamin B12 could account for. Careful tests gave conclusive evidence: antibiotics themselves contain some tantalizing mysterious factor that accelerates the growth of young animals.

a) Vitamin B12 in small quantities mysteriously accelerates growth in young animals.

b) Instead of contaminating animals, traces of antibiotics mysteriously accelerate growth in animals.

c) Antibiotics, when used with Vitamin B12, result in accelerated growth, the reason not yet understood.

d) Tests prove how antibiotics mysteriously accelerate growth.

e) Scientists are puzzled at the "contamination" caused by B12 and antibiotics.

There is a possibility that this item will favor subjects with a background in biology or in some of the other sciences. For this reason I would reject it.

(3) "The second half of the match began, and it was soon clear that the Arsenals were going to be hard put to hold on to their one-goal lead. It is true that they did not make the mistake of concentrating on defense. Their forwards attacked at the least opportunity, but the strength of the Villa players kept them in the neighbourhood of their own goal."

a) The beginning of the second half of the match was not interesting.

b) The Arsenal team tried to protect their one-goal lead in the second half of the match.

66

c) They did not concentrate on defense.
d) The forwards made attacks whenever there was opportunity.
e) The Villa players were not strong enough.

This paragraph illustrates a cultural problem. Note also that the correct answer, choice b) is also the longest.

(4) The second Mrs. Cunningham is not a good cook and she doesn't know how to sew. Women say that she buys all her clothes at her husband's new department store. You never see her name in the newspaper; she is not active in the Red Cross or the Women's Society. She never talks at parties.

a) Mrs. Cunningham can't sew.
b) Mrs. Cunningham is lazy.
c) Mrs. Cunningham is a very ordinary woman.
d) Mrs. Cunningham isn't famous.
e) Women like to talk about Mrs. Cunningham.

The difficulty here is that none of the suggested alternatives seems to be an appropriate sentence giving the central idea of the paragraph. Choice c is probably the one intended by the item writer.

Conclusion

All of the difficulties of the preceding examples could be avoided if the test writer were to follow some general principles. For writing vocabulary items:

1) the stem should consist of useful vocabulary - useful to the subjects being tested;
2) choices should be of approximately the same level of difficulty (i.e. frequency of occurrence, style level, and grammatically possible).

For the sentence paraphrase task and for the identification of the central idea of a paragraph:

1) the stem should be self-contained, an ordinary sentence of the type that the student is apt to encounter in his use of English;
2) choices should be of approximately the same length, complexity, and style level;
3) the writer should avoid the tendency of making the correct choice the longest one or the shortest one;
4) nonsensical or ungrammatical alternatives should be

67

avoided;
5) painful or emotionally charged topics such as rape, suicide, and other forms of violence should be avoided;
6) the writer should not select esoteric topics and styles which bias the test in favor of certain subgroups of subjects.

THE LANGUAGE OF TESTS[1]

by

Graeme D. Kennedy

OVERVIEW

It is very likely that many young children attempting to take ap-
titude and achievement tests do not correctly comprehend the gen-
eral instructions, let alone some of the individual test items.
For example, children of grades one and two, attempting the Cali-
fornia Achievement Test, received the instruction - *Do not turn
this page until told to do so*. While this is a simple, straight-
forward instruction for an adult, it can be incomprehensible for
a child of six years, because this sentence, unnecessarily, includes
at least three linguistic devices which recent studies of compre-
hension have shown to be difficult for young children.   First,
deletions have been shown to affect children's comprehension ad-
versely. Thus, *until told to do so* would almost certainly be
easier in the undeleted form - *until you are told to do so*. Sec-
ond, numerous researchers have shown that sentences in the pas-
sive voice are much harder for children to understand than sen-
tences in the active voice.   Thus, *until (you are) told to do
so* would undoubtedly be easier in the form - *until I tell you to
do it*. Finally, the presence of both a negative and the temporal

---

[1]Center for the Study of Evaluation, UCLA Graduate School of Edu-
cation, Los Angeles, California. Working Paper No. 7. February,
1970. [ERIC no. ED 035 781] To be included in Bernard Spolsky,
LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY CHILDREN. Newbury House, forth-
coming. Printed by permission of the author.

69

conjunction *until* in the sentence would cause some children to hesitate in comprehending the sentence or to misinterpret it altogether. Thus, *Do not turn this page until* . . . would almost certainly be easier in the form *Turn this page (only) when* . . . .

This paper will outline some of the ways in which the language of the test instrument can be a factor in affecting the performance of a given child or group of children on a test. Though format, cognitive complexity of a task, memory load, and conceptual demands also affect comprehension, these non-linguistic factors will not be discussed here.

In most tests, language is treated as if it were a neutral vehicle by means of which task requirements are communicated to the person being tested. This person, in return, reveals his cognitive skills, knowledge, aptitudes, and/or achievement with specific verbal or non-verbal behaviors. Although language is never really a neutral vehicle, language difficulties for certain types of tests are probably not very great in that the task requirements do not involve complex instructions for each item. For example, in the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities there is good reason to assume that language is a relatively neutral factor in affecting test performance. In this test, certain psycholinguistic abilities rather than specific achievements are being assessed, and there is a minimum of linguistic complexity and variation in the task instructions. Similarly, in certain tests of verbal intelligence, in which the factors constituting verbal intelligence are not clearly understood, the test instrument as a whole, including both task requirements and the language used to convey these requirements, may be a self-authenticating instrument with prognostic value.

However, in tests of quantitative intelligence, mathematical skills, conceptual knowledge, readiness and aptitude, it is not reasonable to think of the language of the test as a neutral factor. It is with such tests that this paper is especially concerned.

In the typical test situation with children, there are three major language users involved:

      1.   The test designer (an educated adult).
      2.   The child.
      3.   The tester (presumably an educated adult).

To the extent that the language of the test does not match the language development and the dialect of the child, and to the extent that the speech of the tester does not match the speech with which the child is familiar, the child's test performance will be

70

influenced adversely.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEST AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHILD

These may differ on both developmental and sub-cultural grounds,
and will be discussed separately.

Developmental Differences

Developmental differences between adult and child language affect-
ing comprehension are probably much greater than has generally
been recognized.   Until recently, views like those of Carroll
(1960) were widely accepted.   "After the age of six, there is
relatively little in the grammar or syntax of the language that
the average child needs to learn." However, recent studies of
the comprehension of syntax by children from the age of about two
to ten, in reasonably simple areas of syntax, have indicated that
it is not reasonable to assume that children understand syntax at
the same level as adults and certainly not reasonable to conclude
that the child knows his language by the time he begins school.
Moreover, Carol Chomsky (1968) has noted that even in certain
trivial areas of English syntax, there is evidence of highly indi-
vidual rates of development in comprehension ability.

Very few areas of English grammar have been studied from the
point of view of development of comprehension, but those areas
which have been studied tend to show that basic linguistic pro-
cesses are still being mastered at the second grade level, and
that some processes are not fully acquired until the age eleven
or twelve. For example, Slobin (1966) in a study with children
from six to twelve, showed that passive sentences took signifi-
cantly longer to respond to than semantically equivalent active
sentences.   That is, *The dog was being chased by the cat* took
longer than *The cat was chasing the dog* at all age levels. That
this result could not be attributed entirely to differences in
sentence length is indicated by other studies which show that pas-
sive sentences are both intrinsically harder and later in devel-
opment than active sentences. For example, Beilin and Spontak
(1969) report that at first grade level, a test of comprehension
of active and passive sentences showed 93% correct responses to
active sentences and 73% to equivalent passive sentences.   The
students were required to select one picture from two presented
to them to match a sentence they heard. The sentences were very
simple, e.g., *Mark hits Susan; Susan is hit by Mark*. When the
sentences were made complex with an indirect object e.g., *John*

71

gave Mary a book; Mary was given a book by John, correct comprehension of the passive deteriorated markedly. Whereas 93% of the responses to active sentences continued to be correct, only 23% of the responses to passives were correct.

Test writers assume 100% comprehension of the language of the test, and yet test instructions, test items, and task requirements are typically much more complex than those in the experiment by Beilin and Spontak, where much less than 100% comprehension was achieved by six-year olds.

Another syntactic area studied in recent years is conjunction. Hatch (1969) found that with sentences containing such temporal conjunctions as *before, when, after*, where the order of clauses can be juxtaposed, children up to the age of at least seven respond more correctly and more rapidly when the order of action stated in a sentence is the same as the order of the action required. For example, a child finds it much easier to understand (a) than (b):

    (a) *Move a blue piece before you move a red piece.*
    (b) *Before you move a red piece, move a blue piece.*

    (a) *After you move a blue piece move a red piece.*
    (b) *Move a red piece after you move a blue piece.*

Similarly, on a relatively simple task testing comprehension of conditional sentences using *unless*, second graders consistently continue to interpret *unless* as *if* rather than as *if not*; i.e., *Unless you are quiet, we won't go* is interpreted as meaning the same as *If you are quiet, we won't go*. Five-year olds correctly comprehended only about 50% of sentences containing *if*. A study by Olds (1968) indicates that difficulty with sentences containing clauses beginning with *unless* continues to at least nine years of age. The Olds and Hatch studies together suggest that while conditional sentences seem to be consistently misunderstood by five-year olds, some children will have difficulty understanding them as late as nine years of age. (It is worth noting that Olds' subjects were upper middle class boys.)

Both these studies were particularly concerned with comprehension of *if* and *unless*. The most difficult part of comprehending conditional sentences, however, is not associated with *if* and *unless*. Rather, learning to comprehend some of the at least 324 possible verb-form combinations, which in turn can interact with negation in one, or both clauses, poses a major difficulty for comprehension. A comparative study of this problem has not yet been undertaken.

However, tests given to children frequently contain conditional

sentences. A case in point is the <u>California Achievement Tests</u> (lower primary, grades one and two). In the General Instructions and before each sub-test the children are told - *If you do not know an answer, go on to the next question.* It seems possible that some children of that age will transpose the *not* to the second clause in interpreting the sentence as *do not go to the next question.* In the same instructions, the children are told, *You may do very well even if you do not finish everything.* Again, it seems likely that some children, weak in comprehending sentences containing *if*, will merely respond to the last part of the sentence - *do not finish everything.*

The form of questions or instructions employed in a test is another syntactic area which may seriously affect comprehension. There is a basic grammatical distinction between questions permitting a *Yes/No* answer and those which do not, e.g.:

1. *Is the red one bigger than the green one? (Yes/No)*
2. *Which one is bigger?*

For sentence two, a *Yes/No* answer is not possible and such questions are almost certainly more difficult than type one sentences. However, there are also degrees of difficulty for type two questions and instructions, although very little is known about this. (cf., Fodor, 1969; Hatch, et al., 1969). Children respond differently to instructions like:

1. *What did X do?*
2. *Tell me about X.*

(one is easier than two). Similarly, children take a good deal less time to respond to sentence four than to sentence three, even though four is longer. (Fodor, 1969).

3. *Ask him the time.*
4. *Ask him what the time is.*

The growing literature on the comprehension of English comparatives (bigger, more, less, etc.,) and on <u>conservation</u> suggests that poor comprehension of linguistic devices may be the cause of the failure of many children on a <u>conservation task.</u> For example, Donaldson and Balfour (1968) showed that as late as 4.7 years children interpreted *less* as meaning *more* with discrete objects, in a variety of task situations. Rothenberg (1969) indicates that only 78% of children of 4.3 to 6.0 years from middle class homes can consistently respond correctly to both sentences with *more* and sentences with *same*, while another 10% comprehended *same* correctly but not *more*. With black children from lower-class homes only 30% comprehended both, and an additional <u>fifty-two percent</u> could comprehend *same* but not *more*. Rothenberg's conclusion

73

was that even in this apparently simple and straightforward area
of comparison, different children will not respond identically
to different ways of saying the same thing. Thus, while one
child will understand a task requirement if the instruction is
given in one form, another child will not. Kennedy (1970), in a
study with children ages six to ten, found that the various lin-
guistic devices used to make comparisons are hierarchically or-
dered in difficulty according to whether the comparison is made
in terms of equality (easiest), superiority, or inferiority,
(hardest). In a comparison task it seems clear that it may be
necessary to ask a question in two or more different ways in or-
der to make the task requirement clear to all children.

1. *Does X have more than Y?*
2. *Does Y have less than X?*
3. *Does X have as many as Y?*   *etc.*

It should be noted that Labov et al., (1968) in their study of
Black Urban Dialect of New York City, point out that problems with
comparatives are among the most difficult for speakers of both
standard and non-standard English.

So far, possible difficulties in comprehension based on a very
small number of rather simple syntactic factors have been men-
tioned. It is obvious that individual words will also often cause
failure of comprehension of test items for individual subjects.
Thus, a child being tested for aptitude with spatial relation-
ships can hardly be faulted on his "knowledge" if he reacts in
bewilderment when he is told to *Put the dodecahedron half-way
along the bottom line*. Most test writers have recognized this
problem and have carefully selected commonly known lexical items
in tasks for children. They have not always been careful enough,
however, as the following example from the California Achievement
Tests for grades one to two indicates: *This game will show how
well you can recognize words with opposite meanings*. It is pos-
sible that six-year olds will not understand *recognize* and that
they will struggle with *opposite meanings*. It is especially note-
worthy that *opposite* is used in Section C of the test as *opposite
meanings* (i.e., semantically antonymous) whereas in Section D the
children are told that there are some words *opposite* a picture
(i.e., spatially adjacent). It would not be surprising if some
six-year olds were confused or hesitant when faced with such in-
structions.

There is another important way in which the particular lexical
items used in a test may affect comprehension and result in false
interpretations of the test performance being made. At the pres-
ent time there is a growing interest in tests of conceptual apti-

74

tude, and here especially language can be a confounding factor, because failure of comprehension of language is frequently interpreted as cognitive deficiency.

There are indications that test writers do not always recognize that a test of a child's mastery of concepts may in fact test only the child's comprehension of verbal labels, and that there is an important distinction between concepts and verbal labels (cf., Carroll, 1964). Concepts are cognitive classifying constructs formed on the basis of perceptual experience. One learns to classify experience and to label these classifications, not the direct references.

This can be illustrated by considering the comprehension of the quantitative concept which in English is labeled *enough*. The word *enough* labels a concept which people form from experiencing a large number of positive and negative instances of *enoughness*. No single physical example or simple verbal definition can convey the psychological complexities involved in comprehending the concept, which may be labeled with words and phrases like *enough, adequate, sufficient, just right, not too much, the right amount, we don't need any more,* and so on.

It is important to make the distinction between concepts and the linguistic devices which express them, because, while not knowing labels is undoubtedly a problem for school learning, it does not necessarily imply cognitive deficiency. Presumably a monolingual French child of normal intelligence would fail a test of <u>concepts</u> administered to him in English. When a child, after living for six years in the typically human environment of color, numerical equality and inequality, time, space, etc., performs poorly on a test of certain <u>critical</u> concepts of color, number and so on, it is often implied that there is something inadequate in the child's cognitive capacity and functioning, and many conclude that such children are <u>deficient</u> in their conceptual behavior. It rarely seems to occur to those who jump to such conclusions that the children's poor performance might be due to the language of the test which proved difficult to process. When a child is given a test item (e.g., *Mark the cup which has sufficient water for a drink*) and makes an inappropriate response, it cannot be legitimately concluded that the child has not learned the concept of *enoughness*. Thus, a test which ostensibly tests for knowledge of concepts, but which in fact tests for comprehension of verbal labels, can lead to false interpretations of the nature of the child's performance problems, interpretations which are of educational and personal significance.

A recent rest which illustrates this confounding of concepts and

labels and a number of other language difficulties is that by Boehm (1969). "Before he can read, . . . does he understand what others are telling him?" challenges an introduction describing the test. The test is designed:

> to measure children's mastery of concepts . . . it may be used to identify <u>children</u> with deficiencies . . . and to identify individual <u>concepts</u> on which children could profit from instruction. . . . As many as 60 out of 100 children entering kindergarten may be unable to make the <u>right end</u> of a line or to indicate the area <u>below</u> a pictured table.

Moreover, children from different backgrounds start out "with a different body of knowledge and set of understandings." Such differences are called "variations in cognitive development."

A close examination of the test, however, shows that these apparently lofty goals - assessing differences in cognitive development - are hopelessly confused with comprehension of English. This can be seen in a number of places in the test. For example, there is syntactic ambiguity in Question 1. The children are asked to *mark the paper with the star at the top.* (The concept being tested is *top*). This sentence is potentially ambiguous:

(a) *Mark the paper which has a star at the top.* (Intended)
(b) *Mark a star at the top of the paper.*

In Question 15 there is possible confusion based on phonology. *Mark the cake that is whole* (*whole* is the concept being tested). The children are presented with these pictures:

It is very likely that some children will hear *Mark the cake that has (a) hole.*

In Question 24 there is possible confusion based on lexical misunderstanding. The children are asked to *Look at the bottles. Mark the one that is almost empty* (knowledge of *almost* is being tested. There are pictures of three bottles presented - one almost full, one half full, one almost empty.) However, if a child who under-

stands *almost* does not understand *empty* which is not being tested
he could very easily make the wrong selection.

In Question 28 there is possible confusion based on mishearing
function words:

Mark the circle that is at a side of the box could be heard
as *Mark the circle that is outside of the box.*

In Question 29 there is confusion of parts of speech on the part
of the test writer. Ostensibly this question tests knowledge of
the concept *beginning*. It is not stated, but it is to be as-
sumed, that the question intended to test *beginning* as a noun.
Yet in the test sentence, the child is asked to *Mark the squirrel
that is beginning to climb the tree.* Beginning is the present
participle of the/verb and it may be asked why this particular
form of the verb/was tested and not the more frequent forms of
begin, began, will begin.

In Question 33, the plausibility of the question and required an-
swer are problems. This is supposed to be a test of *never*. Look
at the chair, the apple and the cookies. Mark what a child should
never eat. It is quite conceivable that a child would consider
he should never eat the leaf and stalk of the apple in the pic-
ture, or never eat cookies because they are bad for his teeth.

Question 36 is a test of *always*. (The child sees a picture of a
dog, a book, and an ear). Whereas in Question 33, a test of *nev-
er,* the child was asked *Mark what a child should never eat,* in
Question 36 he is asked to *Mark the one a child always has.* For
very similar kinds of tasks the syntax of the test question is
obviously different. There are indications that Question 33 is
syntactically much easier than Question 36.

Apart from such linguistic factors as these, potentially inter-
fering with particular children's comprehension of what they are
required to do, the real confusion of concepts and labels is seen
in a comparison of Questions 7 and 32. In 7 the children have to
mark on a row of five flowers the *one in the middle.* In 32, they
have to mark on a line of three cars, *the one that is not the
first nor the last.* Clearly the same concept is being tested in
both questions.

Thus, what is essentially a simple vocabulary test is dressed up
as a test of cognitive development, the results of which can be
highly misleading and could lead to labeling children as having
inadequacies in their intellectual processes.

Other possible bases of difficulties about which almost nothing

is known, but about which nothing should be assumed, include the effect of sentence length on comprehension and the effect of ambiguity. Menyuk (1969) indicates that with children from three to six years, in sentences of up to nine words, the length of the sentence is not a critical factor in comprehension. Rather the internal structure of the sentence seems to be the critical variable. However, very long sentences, well above nine words, are not uncommon in tests; e.g., *You are to count the number of things in each box in the first row and then draw a line to the box in the second row that shows this number.* (30 words) *Study the minute hand and the hour hand of each clock. Then write the number that tells the correct time for each clock in the space in the sentence below it.* (20 words).

These sentences, found in the California Achievement Tests for grades one and two, place severe strains on the short-term memory capacity of all children of that age. By losing track of the task requirement, faulty comprehension and a misleading test performance will certainly result. Apart from the length and complexity of the instructions in the above examples, it may very well be true that six-year-olds do not know what a *sentence* is, what the *correct* time is, or even what it means to *study* a minute hand.

The effect of ambiguity, and the child's ability to detect ambiguity, is a matter about which practically nothing is known. Transformational grammarians have pointed out that the ability to disambiguate sentences and to recognize ambiguity is an indication of a person's competence - his knowledge of the rules of the grammar of his language. Further, this ability is used as partial evidence for the kind of grammatical model used by transformational grammarians. What is not known is whether what is ambiguous for adults is unambiguous for children and vice versa. That there may well be important differences is suggested by differences in the structure of associations. It has been established, for example, by Brown and Berko (1960), Ervin-Tripp (1961), Entwisle et al., (1964), that until about seven years, children tend to give syntagmatic associations to stimulus words, whereas older children and adults give paradigmatic associations. That is, when presented with the stimulus word *black* young children tend to give an association like *cat* or *book*, belonging to a different grammatical class, whereas adults give a word in the same part of speech - e.g., *white* or *red*. It is very likely that words which are unambiguous for adults are not so for children whose lexical and semantic systems are much less developed. As a case in point, the Cattell (1950) Culture Fair Test for children aged four to eight years, contains the following ambiguous sentence: *I want you to put the same marks under the same pictures below the line.* An adult will presumably make the common-sense reaction and in-

78

terpret *same* as meaning *similar* and make marks beneath other pictures which are below the line. If a child interprets *same* as meaning *exactly identical*, (cf., Braine & Shanks, 1965) he may interpret *below the line* as referring not to *the same (similar) pictures (which are) below the line* but rather, as the place under the original pictures where he is to make his mark.

Subcultural Differences

In the previous section, it was noted that poor comprehension could result from particular labels for concepts not being known by certain children. Across subcultures and dialectal differences such as those found between Standard American English and the Black Urban Dialect, such difference in verbal labels can be even greater. However, there are other basic problems resulting from subcultural differences and some of these will be discussed.

While the differences between adult and child language constitute a kind of dialectal or subcultural difference (e.g., in the child's use of telegraphese), a much greater dialectal difference affecting test performance can be seen in the effect of socio-economic status and subcultural group membership. That subcultural differences are important has long been recognized by, for example; attempts to prepare culture-free tests. However, the well known IPAT Culture Fair Test by Cattell (1950) is phrased in terms of Standard American English and thus cannot be considered unbiased or culture-fair for speakers of other dialects. In fact, the prose style of the test is strangely awkward even within the standard dialect. Consider, for example, the following sentence from the oral instructions for Test One for children four to eight years of age. *Now finish the row and go on with the other rows to the bottom of the page, putting always under each picture the mark that belongs under it.* Even if the last part of this sentence is accepted as being grammatically correct, it is nevertheless tortured prose style.

The importance of the test administrator belonging to the same ethnic group as the child being tested has been emphasized by some. However, the importance of language dialect differences on test performance is apparently severely underestimated. In order that a child understand task requirements it is not enough that the test administrator be of the same race and speak clearly. It is important, too, that he or she speak the same dialect. In addition to the developmental differences between the language of the child and the language of the test, outlined above, if the dialect of the child is different from the standard dialect in which the test is written, the test could be considerably more

difficult for him. For example, in the following sentences the
same information is communicated in two different dialects, one
General Standard American (G.S.A.), the other, the Black Urban
Dialect of New York City as described by Labov et al., 1968. It
should be emphasized that these differences are syntactic and are
in addition to the phonological differences between the two dia-
lects.

G.S.A.: *He's always doing that (He does that all the time).*
B.U.D.: *He is doin' that all the time.*

G.S.A.: *It isn't always her fault.*
B.U.D.: *It don't be always her fault.*

G.S.A.: *He's taller than you.*
B.U.D.: *He's more taller than you.*

G.S.A.: *He can run as fast as I can.*
B.U.D.: *He can run the same fas' as I can.*

G.S.A.: *She has the same accent as her mother.*
B.U.D.: *She got the same accent of her mother.*

G.S.A.: *I know he won the most awards in track.*
B.U.D.: *I know he was the most award winner in track.*

G.S.A.: *When you watch a game, you don't get as much fun
as you would if you were actually playing it.*
B.U.D.: *When you watchin' a game, you ain't gitting that
much fun than what you would really be playing it.*

These differences may seem to be trivial but are not, since they
are syntactic and thus involve the basic structure of the lan-
guage. What seems probable, furthermore, is that the cumulation
of differences, however slight, in sentence after sentence can
increase processing time for a person who is not a native speaker
of that dialect, and if the differences are too great, create in-
accurate processing, if not complete lack of comprehension.

The examples given above are mostly of simple short sentences,
and the difficulties for a child of six years speaking one of the
dialects and being tested in the other, can only be guessed at.
As was noted, the differences above are syntactic. Across sub-
cultures there are typically different distributions of the lexi-
con as well, which will compound the difficulties. It is hypoth-

86

esized that this effect can be expected to occur for urban black children being tested in the standard dialect or for white children being tested in the black urban dialect.

THE SPEECH OF THE TEST ADMINISTRATOR

In any test in which the instructions and/or the specific test items are orally administered, the speech of the examiner can have an important influence on comprehension. In addition to obvious dialect differences between the adult and child, a potential difficulty lies in the speed of speaking and the quality of enunciation. Most testers are undoubtedly aware of these hazards, and take the precaution of speaking both slowly and clearly. Many tests also require the tester to read each item twice, and this appears to be the standard procedure for attempting to ensure that the subject hears the question and knows what is required of him.

However, there are usually several or many testers used to test a given population and, it is almost certain that no two will be identical in speed and clarity. Yet it is clear that the faster the speed of delivery, the less time there is for the learner to process what he hears. Also, the speed of speaking is interrelated with the syntax of the sentence. Two sentences of identical length can take significantly different times for the hearer to process. For example, sentence (1) takes longer for children to process at least through nine years of age. (Kennedy, 1970).

> 1. *She has less books than pens.*
> 2. *She has more pens than books.*

While the two sentences take the same time to utter as part of the continuing stream of speech, the increased processing time required by the first sentence may cause certain subjects to lose track of subsequent parts of the utterance with a consequent breakdown in comprehension. (c.f., Macnamara, 1967). This appears to be the case with comparatives, and it is only possible to guess at how widespread and far-reaching this may be across the whole range of syntactic complexity.

It should always be remembered that the comprehension of speech is largely on the speaker's terms, for it is he who determines the clarity, speed of delivery, and complexity of the sentences. Because the language development of young children to at least nine years is marked by highly individual rates of progress, the possibility of particular children not comprehending whole in-

81

structions is high, because they do not understand, or take a long time to process one word or one part of a sentence.

In addition to this processing-time variable, there is another potential difficulty in speech perception which has its effect in particular with listeners who do not have a complete mastery of a language. This factor is the perception of function words. Function words in English are the two or three hundred words, including determiners, prepositions, auxiliaries, which are usually considered as being different from the open class of content words having greater lexical weight (nouns, verbs, etc.). Although function words constitute about half of all words we utter, they can be hard to hear because they are normally unstressed in English, and yet they are of crucial importance for comprehending. In the following examples, the effect of the underlined function word on the meaning of the sentence can be readily seen. Failure to hear the word in the stream of speech can result in faulty comprehension.

> The price went up 50 cents.
> The price went up to 50 cents.
>
> It's been done.
> It's being done.
>
> Move to the right.
> Move it to the right.
>
> Put the red block on to the table.
> Put the red block under the table.
>
> If the last one was red, take a green one.
> If the last one wasn't red, take a green one.

Young children characteristically speak a form of English called telegraphese, omitting many function words, and it may be as late as age ten that full control of these semantically important words is achieved. Moreover, it should be noted that failure to hear a function word usually passes unnoticed. That is, a listener rarely knows when he has failed to hear such a word, whereas with content words, a listener is usually aware that he didn't catch the word and can ask for the sentence to be repeated.

If the child being tested is not a native speaker of Standard English, it is by no means inconceivable that when presented with a picture and told to Point to the triangle under the line, he hears Put the triangle on to the line, and reacts in bewilderment.

Even if a particular function word is heard, it is not certain that it will be interpreted correctly because of the importance

of suprasegmental phenomena such as intonation and stress. For example, in a recent test of knowledge of concepts, children were given the following item: *See the cat* (points to the cat in the margin). *Point to the cat over here that is the same color.* If the tester hesitated in the middle of the sentence, it is possible that a young child or a non-native speaker of the dialect of the tester would interpret *that* as a demonstrative rather than as a relative, i.e., *Point to the cat over here. That is the same color.* Confusion for the child would seem to be likely.

This paper has pointed out some ways in which children's test performance can be influenced by linguistic variables. It seems highly probable that the results of tests of aptitude and achievement with young children are frequently influenced in ways not directly related to the abilities being tested and, moreover, in an idiosyncratic manner. Much closer attention needs to be given to ensuring that the language of tests, particularly for young children, matches both on developmental and dialectal grounds, the linguistic competence of the children being tested, and that children's abilities to perceive and process test instructions and items spoken by an adult are not over-estimated.

REFERENCES

Beilin, H., & Spontak G. Active-passive transformations and operational reversibility. Paper read at S.R.C.D. meeting. Santa Monica, 1969, Unpublished.

Boehm, A.E. BOEHM TEST OF BASIC CONCEPTS. (1969 ed.) New York: Psychological Corporation, 1969.

Braine, M., & Shanks B. The development of conservation of size. JOURNAL OF VERBAL LEARNING AND VERBAL BEHAVIOR, 1965. 4, 227-242.

Brown, R., & Berko, J. Word association and the acquisition of grammar. CHILD DEVELOPMENT, 1960, 31, 1-14.

Carroll, J. B. Language development in children. In ENCYCLOPEDIA OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, New York: MacMillan, 1960.

Carroll, J. B. Words meanings and concepts. HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, 1964, 34, 178-202.

Cattell, R. B. CULTURE FAIR INTELLIGENCE TEST. Champaign, Illi-

83

nois: Institution for Personality and Ability Testing, 1950.

Chomsky, C. The acquisition of syntax in children from 5 to 10. Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 1968, Unpub.

Donaldson, M., & Balfour, G. Less is more: A study of language comprehension in children. BRITISH JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 1968, 59, 461-471.

Entwisle, D., Forsyth, D., & Munso, R. The syntagmatic paradigmatic shift in children's word associations. JOURNAL OF VERBAL·LEARNING AND VERBAL BEHAVIOR, 1964, 3, 19-29.

Ervin-Tripp, S. Changes with age in the verbal determinants of word association. AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, 1961, 74, 361-372.

Fodor, J. Recent developments in psycholinguistics. Unpublished paper read at UCLA Graduate Linguistics Circle, 1969.

Hatch, E. Four experimental studies in the syntax of young children. Doctoral Dissertation, UCLA, 1969, Unpublished.

Hatch, E., Sheff, J., & Chastain, D. The five-year old's comprehension of expanded and transformed conjoined sentences. S.W.R.L. Technical Report #9, 1969.

Labov, W., Cohen, P., Robins, C., & Lewis J. A study of the non-standard English of Negro & Puerto-Rican speakers. Cooperative Research Project No. 3288, 1968.

Kennedy, G. D. Children's comprehension of English sentences comparing quantities of discrete objects. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. UCLA 1970.

Macnamara, J. The effects of instruction in a weaker language. JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES. 1967, 23, 120-134.

Menyuk, P. Sentences children use. M.I.T. Research Monograph #52, 1969.

Olds, H. F. An experimental study of syntactical factors influencing children's comprehension of certain complex relationships. Report No. 4, Harvard R & D Department, 1968.

Rothenberg, B. Conservation of number among 4-and 5-year old children: Some methodological considerations. CHILD

DEVELOPMENT, 1969, 40, 383-406.

Slobin, D. Grammatical transformations and sentence comprehen-
      sion in childhood and adulthood. JOURNAL OF VERBAL LEARN-
      ING AND VERBAL BEHAVIOR, 1966, 5, 219-227.

Tiegs, E. W., & Clark, W. W. CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST. Grades
      1 and 2. Monterey, California: California Test Bureau,
      1957.

INFORMATION EXCHANGE:
REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE FIRST INDIAN BILINGUAL PROJECTS,

TITLE VII MEETING: A REPORT

by

Harry Berendzen

It is with a great deal of enthusiasm and appreciation that we
commend the U.S. Office of Education, Program Branch Officers of
Title VII, Bilingual Education for having the ability to be flex-
ible, innovative and able to inspire their education programs to
new heights of enthusiasm.   The ability to inspire and to bring
a positive note for change in education is not always the result
of U.S.O.E. meetings.   In times past, meetings on accountability
and programming have not only discouraged but left many project
participants with anything but enthusiasm.   It is for these rea-
sons that Dr. Dorothy Waggoner and Margaret Van Naerssen are to
be commended, for they saw the need for an all Indian Bilingual
Projects meeting, which as a first, was designed to meet the very
unique needs of Indian language projects.   The meeting was held
in Denver, Colorado, February 22nd and 23rd, with sixteen Indian
Bilingual Projects represented.   Participant roles were listed as
Directors, Evaluators, Chairman of a Tribal Corporation, Assis-
tant Directors, Interim Director, Linguist, Consultants from Uni-
versities, School Board Member, Cultural Specialists, Media Spe-
cialist, Teacher Aide, Title VII Coordinators (SEA), Auditor,
Curriculum Developer, Community Representatives, Committee Mem-
bers, University Without Walls, Center for In-Service Education,
Teacher, and Curriculum Coordinator.   They represented Indians
from Alaska to Maine and Montana to New Mexico.

The purpose, according to the Office of Education, was a chance
to get together to discuss experiences and exchange ideas on the
development of evaluation design and measurable objectives, the

involvement of parents and community, and the development of materials.

Dr. Albar Peña, Title VII Director, indicated in a speech at the 1972 TESOL meeting in Washington that the evaluation design for present bilingual projects funded by U.S.O.E. is primarily for the sake of good management of the project. For such an innovative project as bilingual instruction to succeed, it is absolutely important to write objectives, to change them when they are no longer able to be obtained, and generally to write them in a realistic sense. The Denver conference gave participants the opportunity to write objectives that would be realistic and measurable. There w a positive note and a helpful reminder of their importance. Project personnel were asked to indicate how the goals of their program (objectives), which they and parents and community advisors had established, could best be phrased in measurable terms, thus becoming a tool for the good management of each project.

"Unobtrusive measures! What means other than standardized tests are you using," was the subject of a session led by Wayne Newell, Project Director of Calais, Maine (Passamaquoddy). Some examples were: checking voluntary response of children, daily log by teachers, written responses from participants in workshops, how the children dress, asking questions for response from Indian parents and teachers, Indian teacher having child tell story in Indian, then child is to tell story to ESL teacher in English, and many more.

A session on measuring language dominance was led by Gary Holthaus, Project Director, Anchorage, Alaska (Yuk language). Some general conclusions were that a survey should be taken before the beginning of a project. If there is no solid language base, then it would be impossible to build the perceptual base, thus no reason for a bilingual project. One suggestion of criteria for determining language dominance was stated as follows: "He speaks it (Indian language), he understands it, we think he understands it better than English." Participants suggested that home visit surveys be conducted by teachers; however, one comment was that Anglo teachers are not able to determine language dominance. The survey should be made by teachers who speak the Indian language, using the above criteria.

A very good session on parent and community involvement was led by Carla Fielder, Project Director, Loneman School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota (Lakota-Sioux). A monthly news letter, parental participation in classroom instruction, community meeting and community evaluation of the bilingual project were part of the

88

94

suggestions and discussion. A conclusion agreed to by all participants was that each project must have community support and participation to succeed. The Indians of each community are really the experts in their own language. Also, what the Indians would call self-determination in the education of their children is something all communities would support. For the most part we see P.T.A.'s, P.T.O's, etc., that are really token organizations for parental participation.

"Small Group Instruction for the Classroom", as an alternative for a class with mixed abilities and an alternative to the American Indian student having to perform before a whole class, was presented by Dr. Charles Herbert, Project Director, Title VII, San Bernardino, California, (Spanish). The use of a tape-recorded story, videotaped session, 16 mm film, and task card preparation were given as suggestions of how to work in small groups. Participants were given the opportunity to actually work with each of these tools in a small group working session. Children learning from other children was also given as a part of the rationale for working in small groups.

The materials development session was a source of real interest and enthusiasm. Mr. Lynn Lee, Project Director, Blanding, Utah, (Navajo), explained to the group how they had produced an animated film on The Coyote Tales with a Navajo sound track: This film and future productions are available for a nominal rental fee. [See Newsletter, Winter, 1972]: All projects displayed materials throughout the two days, as well as demonstrating and explaining project produced materials during a special session. The positive note of enthusiasm was interest and desire to do the same.

Suggestions for future all Indian Bilingual Meetings: First, I would suggest that at least two meetings, similar to the Denver meeting, be sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, during the grant period (each year). I would suggest that each project write this in as a budget item. It would be a cheap investment for great returns.

In the area of evaluation, it should be explained that at present the writing of measurable product and process objectives is primarily for the purpose of good management. The entire project staff, along with teachers and school administration should have an opportunity for input and agreement. Project personnel should be reminded that objectives can and should be revised as the program develops. Of the most urgent importance is clearly defined lines of supervision and authority. Who answers to whom? Who must be informed? How can better lines of communication and roles be established? This should be presented as a positive approach

to an operation, that is not simply to become another program but one that really changes the instructional program of a school. I emphasize that accountability can be presented, not as a threat, but as a positive tool for a smooth operation. Hopefully as bilingual programs progress the evaluation of the educational process and its accomplishments might become a reality. At present we are operating on assumptions.

All are aware of the importance of community participation and support. It really is the Indian who is the expert in his language and it is the Indian parent, being the prime educator, who must be involved in the planning and implementation of a bilingual program. A very small percentage of the participants represented Indian communities and parents. More should be present for future meetings and more should become part of the official program. John Woodenlegs, community representative and culture specialist for the Cheyenne Indians, was invited to give the closing remarks. His remarks might have appropriately become the keynote address for the meeting.

Staff Development is a major concern of all projects. Dr. Waggoner used the occasion to begin a survey of staff development in the present bilingual programs. Some input came from the Center for In-Service Education of Loveland, Colorado. Also a representative from the University Without Walls, of Yellow Springs, Ohio, was present. What is unique to Indian language projects is what was so succinctly said by Dr. Wayne Holm, Principal of Rock Point School, Arizona, when he stated in a paper delivered at 1971 TESOL Conference in New Orleans that,

> Our thesis, bluntly put, is that it is easier to learn education than it is to learn Navajo. It is easier for alert concerned high school graduates who already know Navajo to learn something of the relatively little we know about the teaching of initial reading and mathematics than it is for college-trained non-Navajos to learn Navajo.

We have few Indian teachers, who speak the language and have the educational knowledge. We also know from experience that few colleges and universities are willing to leave their "hallowed walls," to think of the education of teachers in a new way. We must train native speakers to become bilingual teachers. We must give them career opportunities in the teaching profession. We must by the same token make them proud of their own heritage while giving them self-determination in the education of their children. Perhaps an all Indian bilingual conference in the future might explore these possibilities. Maybe the University Without

90

Walls, the Center for In-Service Education, C.O.P., or Teacher Corps could provide some ideas or options.

Materials Development was a highlight of the Denver meeting and while the Office of Education must be commended, we ask that a means of sharing materials be developed. We would also suggest that presentation, display and demonstration of project developed materials be a major part of future meetings. Some thought should be given to the collection of these materials for distribution and preservation.

In 1969 the U.S. Office of Education funded four Indian bilingual projects under Title VII. Five more were funded in 1970, and an additional seven in 1971. All are for the most part highly experimental in nature, with many very unique problems. To say that any one program has been an easy, smooth operation is to understate the issue, rather to see people struggle, working together, proud of their language and culture and all to create in their children a better self-image and a more meaningful education is the issue. We would have to conclude that bilingual programs are approaching these goals.

YAKIMA CURRICULUM UNITS

The Center for the Study of Migrant and Indian Education, a project of Central Washington State College in Ellensburg, Washington, was started in 1968 and is directed by Dr. Lloyd Gabriel. The Center is located on the Yakima Indian Reservation, near Toppenish, Washington. From 1968 until the fall of 1971, staff efforts centered on providing in-service workshops and consultant help for teachers and aides who are working with Indian children or with migrant Mexican-American, white, or black children. These efforts are continuing, and are presently being supported by the development of curriculum packets under the direction of Dr. Dale Otto. These packets are based in the traditional and present-day culture of the children, and focus on the development of language skills and imaginative dramatization. The first set of two packets are presently being field-tested and will be completed for dissemination in June, 1972. They are based on two Yakima legends and are intended for children in kindergarten and first grade. Each packet has a filmstrip presentation of the legend and is accompanied by a teacher's manual and supportive materials. The manual contains background and resource information for the teacher/aide team, and ten specific, sequenced lessons to be used over a two-week period. Initial response from the field-test teachers had been very positive.

At the completion of this pilot project in June, the Center will begin work on a vocational awareness project which, over a period of eighteen months, will see the development of two vocational awareness classroom units for each of six Washington State tribes. These units will be based in traditional tribal occupations and will bridge traditional occupations with current job and career opportunities, both on and off the reservation. Mr. Ted George will direct this project, and Dr. Dale Otto will direct the development of the units.

Dale Otto
Central Washington State College
Ellensburg, Washington

93

ENGLISH LANGUAGE TESTING PROJECT AT USC

Under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the English Language Testing Project at the University of Southern California has been directed by Eugene J. Briere, Associate Professor of Linguistics, since it was begun in 1968. During the following three years, an extensive battery of tests was developed to measure the English proficiency of children in grades four through six in BIA schools. Known as the TEST OF PROFICIENCY IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (TOPESL), the battery includes: 1) a written test in two forms, 2) a listening comprehension test, 3) an oral production test, 4) an administrative manual for the teacher, and 5) an interpretive manual.

One use to be made of these tests will be the determination of the appropriate level of English instruction for each child. Another use will be the diagnosis of deficiencies in English in individuals or groups in the language arts programs of the BIA. A third use will be the evaluation of the effectiveness of the various language arts programs themselves.

Professor Briere has published the following reports of the project which will be of interest for further reading:

Testing ESL Skills Among American Indian Children. MONO-
         GRAPH SERIES ON LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS. George-
         town University. No. 22. 1969. 133-142.

ESL Testing on the Navajo Reservation. TESOL QUARTERLY.
         III:4. March, 1969. 333-340.

Norming Tests of ESL Among Amerindian Children, by Briere
         and Richard H. Brown. TESOL QUARTERLY. V:4.
         December, 1971. 327-333.

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF TESOL

The sixth annual convention of Teachers of English to Speakers
of Other Languages (TESOL) was held in Washington, D. C., from
February 20 through March 1, 1972. The program, under the direc-
tion of Christina Bratt Paulston, included papers and discussions
on a wide range of topics. There were sessions devoted to teacher-
training, to materials development, to curriculum design, program
evaluation, and many other areas related to second language teach-
ing, second dialect teaching, and bilingual education.

The program was organized in part around the speeches given dur-
ing the general sessions, all of which dealt with crucial issues
facing the profession today. In the first general session, Ronald
Wardaugh of the University of Michigan spoke on "TESOL: Our Com-
mon Cause." In his paper, Wardaugh emphasized that TESOL "must
actively solicit contributions from a variety of disciplines:
linguistics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and education."

In the second general session, Dwight Bolinger of Harvard Univer-
sity, discussed "The Influence of Linguistics: Plus and Minus."
Though there are a number of ways in which linguistics have in-
fluenced language teaching, Bolinger pointed out that there are
two that stand out: "the descriptive and the pedagogical." The
linguist's contribution, Bolinger said, should be confined to
language description. He stated further that there is no such
thing as a "linguistic method," and that to gain insight into
psychological inferences about methodology, the language teacher
would do well to go directly to the psychologist.

The paper at the third general session was given by Leon Jakobo-
vits of the University of Hawaii, who is the author of FOREIGN
LANGUAGE LEARNING: A PSYCHOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE ISSUES
(Newbury House) and of the forthcoming THE NEW PSYCHOLINGUISTICS
AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING (also Newbury House). In his pre-

95

sentation, Jakobovits emphasized "the spirit of freedom to teach and freedom to learn," and cautioned his audience to consider the advice of the so-called "experts" in the context of a "conversation among equals, most often, equals in ignorance." The new spirit of freedom, Jakobovits said, should work both ways: The teacher should be free to make his own decisions about what approaches to language teaching are most successful for his students; and the scholar should be free to report his findings and interpretations without having to claim that all of them can be scientifically verified.

The fourth and fifth sessions were devoted to the insights of the anthropologist (a paper by Ulf Hannerz of the University of Stockholm) and of the sociologist (a paper by Allen Grimshaw of the University of Indiana). In the final general session, Russell Campbell of the University of California at Los Angeles, the 1971-72 president of TESOL, attempted to bring together the ideas presented in the main papers presented at the convention and to summarize as well the content of the discussions that took place in the small group meetings. Campbell's purpose is apparent in the title of his paper: "TESOL 1972: Trends and Implications."

To those who have been involved in TESOL from its beginnings, one trend clearly emerges above all others: that language teaching is much broader than applied linguistics - that it is, as Bolinger says, "an autonomous art," one that can and will continue to develop by drawing from insights provided by the psychologist. the anthropologist, the sociologist, and others. The applications of these insights must be determined ultimately by the language teacher himself.

96

ANNOUNCEMENTS IN BRIEF

An Annotated Bibliography of Young People's Fiction
on American Indians (Curriculum Bulletin Number Eleven)

compiled by
Jean M. Graustein and Carol L. Jaglinsky

This recent addition to the series of Curriculum Bulletins pub-
lished by the Bureau of Indian Affairs is the result of an effort
on the part of the compilers to make a preliminary list of chil-
dren's storybooks on American Indians that would partially fill
the need of teachers and librarians who had no such lists avail-
able at the time. Although the list of over 250 titles is still
an incomplete one, it is catalogued in a format that gives the
teacher easy access to information about the plot of the story,
the tribe involved, and the approximate grades in which the book
could be used. In addition, there are occasional comments re-
flecting the opinion of the compilers as to the validity of the
descriptions of Indian life and culture. The consciencious teach-
er will, of course, make his own judgments about the values in-
herent in the stories, but these comments may serve as indications
of what the teacher may expect when he previews the books to make
selections for his class. Readers are reminded of the tentative
form of the present bibliography and are encouraged to send in
suggestions for additions or changes. The bulletins may be or-
dered from:

Mr. Robert Rebert
Field Services Office
Branch of Language Arts
P. O. Box 1788
Albuquerque, New Mexico   87103

Tests of English as a Second Language

The revised edition of GUIDELINES ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY (Field Service Publication G-3, Fall, 1971), published by the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, contains a list of "Some Tests of English as a Second Language", each with a brief description provided by the developer. The list of eleven tests was obtained from material prepared by John Upshur, English Language Institute, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. GUIDELINES may be ordered from:

NAFSA Central Office
1860 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

A New Navajo Course at the University of Utah

A course in oral Navajo, sponsored by the Minorities Center of the University of Utah, has recently been added to the offerings of the Language Department of the university. The class offers five credit hours and meets twice a week in two-hour sessions. Of the twenty-six students enrolled in the pilot class, about one third are Navajo, and an additional one sixth are Indians from other tribes. Two people are involved in conducting the course: Mrs. Garnett Johnson, a native-speaker of Navajo, is the teacher; in addition, Dr. Ray A. Freeze of the Linguistics Program acts as consultant.

As she conducts each class, Mrs. Johnson makes a special effort to have all students do some speaking, thus serving the double purpose of allowing the non-speakers of Navajo to get some practice and of giving them an opportunity to hear many different native-speakers of Navajo. Although the course is primarily one in oral Navajo, those who wish, especially the Navajo class members, may also learn the Navajo writing system. A student's progress is evaluated through the use of recorded oral examinations to which he responds. Alan Wilson's BREAKTHROUGH NAVAJO: AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE, text and tapes, are being used in the course.

Present plans are for the course to be offered on a regular basis.

Courses in Indian Languages at Brigham Young University

Since 1967, the Linguistics Department of the Brigham Young University has been offering for credit a number of courses in American Indian languages. These have included Guarani, Cakchiquel, Quiche, Quechua, Aymara, and Navajo.

At the present time, under the direction of Dr. Robert W. Blair, they are developing a writing course for native Navajos that teaches them to read and write their language. Also, a program is being designed to teach Navajo children to read Navajo before they read-English. One of the current offerings of the depart- ment is a "micro course" in Navajo, which Dr. Blair has been teaching as an extension course for the staff at the Intermountain School at Brigham City, Utah.

For information, please write to:

> Dr. Robert W. Blair
> Linguistics Department
> 239 McKay Building
> Brigham Young University
> Provo, Utah 84601

Trends in Navajo School Enrollment

The number of Navajo students between the ages of five and eighteen is increasing faster in public schools than in BIA schools according to statistics released by the BIA Washington office. Although 1965 statistics showed 18,954 in BIA schools and 16,487 in public schools, five years later there were 21,942 in BIA schools and 24,232 in public schools. This trend continued into the 1971 fiscal year, when there were 22,631 in BIA schools as opposed to 26,188 in public schools and a total of 51,723 Navajo students in all Federal, mission, and public schools. These figures do not include the 1300 students who in 1971 were attending colleges and universities on Federal grants.

By 1972 there were 1600 Navajo students on Federal grants totaling $1.6 million (about $1000 per student). Administration of the Federal grant program is now under the supervision of the Navajo Tribal Higher Education Department in the Navajo Division of Education of the Navajo Tribe.

[From Navajo Area Office news releases, January 7 and February 18, 1972]

American Indian Authors

Teachers, in their search for suitable literature about the American Indian and his culture, often find that they are at a loss to know whether an author is an Indian who is providing firsthand information or whether he is a non-Indian who, at best, can write only from an outsider's point of view and who might also be subjecting the information to his own cultural biases. One publication that offers assistance in this dilemma is AMERICAN INDIAN AUTHORS: A REPRESENTATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY, compiled by Arlene B. Hirschfelder. Preceding the bibliography itself is a list of the authors by tribe. If a work has been narrated by an unidentified Indian and edited by someone else, the author is listed as "Anonymous" under his tribe. Supplementary to the main bibliography are a list of eleven anthologies of American Indian literature and a list of "Periodic Publications" produced by tribes or organizations of American Indians.

All of the entries - many of which are out of print - are annotated and provide full information about the author, his tribe, the editor, the publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and the price (if not out of print). Price, $2.00. For further information please address the publisher:

> The Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.
> 432 Park Avenue South
> New York, N. Y. 10016

American Indian Series: American Airlines

Literature and composition teachers, and any others looking for up-dated materials on the American Indian, will be interested in the year-long series being published by the American Airlines in their inflight magazine, THE AMERICAN WAY. Each issue of the monthly publication contains an article on some topic that is pertinent to Indian history and culture - articles that would be useful to teachers as background material or as resource material for their students. All articles are generously illustrated with photographs and Indian art in color. The series, which began in May, 1971, has the following titles and authors:

May, 1971	The Indians: First Americans, First Ecologists, by Stewart L. Udall
June, 1971	The Lure and Lore of Indian Art, by Vincent Price

100

July, 1971	Indian Ways With Farming, by Virgil J. Vogel
August, 1971	Indians as Warriors, by John C. Ewers (biographies of famous warriors)
September, 1971	Indian Healing Arts, by Jerrold E. Levy
	A New Awakening of Navajo Medicine, by William Walsh
October, 1971	Indian Wealth - Is It Only a Myth? by Harold E. Driver
November, 1971	They Cast Long Shadows, by D'Arcy McNickle (biographies of Indian leaders)
December, 1971	They Cast Long Shadows, Part II
January, 1972	Literature of the First Americans, by Theodore Kroeber-Quinn
February, 1972	American Indian Religions, by William C. Sturtevant
March, 1972	Politics of the American Indian, by James E. Officer (recent political activities of individuals and groups)
April, 1972	Indian Women, by Nancy Oesterich Lurie

Yearly subscription, $7.50; single copies, $.75 each. Order from:

THE AMERICAN WAY
Caldwell Communications, Inc.
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Indian Culture Series: Montana Historical Society

The Montana Historical Society has recently announced an INDIAN CULTURE SERIES which they describe as "authentic, interesting books for children, depicting the true life of the Indian [with] high interest, easy reading material on subjects which they will enjoy." The Society has had the books checked by reading specialists and by an editorial board of Indians "whose reservation background and study of their own culture make them authorities in the field." All books are 32 pages and may be ordered at $1.00 each from The Montana Historical Society, 225 North Roberts, Helena, Montana, 59601. The following titles are available:

Title	Interest Level	Reading Level
INDIAN TALES OF THE NORTHERN ROCKIES	1- 4	2
THE TURTLE WENT TO WAR - Cheyenne Folk Tales	1- 4	2
LEGENDS OF THE BITTERROOT VALLEY - Flathead Stories	1- 5	2
VEHO - Cheyenne Folk Tales	2- 6	2
OLD MAN COYOTE - Crow Legends of Creation	2- 6	3
THE SPOTTED HORSE - Cheyenne Buffalo Days	4- 8	3
THE LITTLE PEOPLE - Crow Legends	3- 8	3
GRANDFATHER AND THE POPPING MACHINE Cheyenne Humor	4- 8	3
MISTA! - Cheyenne Ghost Stories	3- 4	3
THE WINTER HUNT - Cheyenne Buffalo Days	5- 8	5
NO ONE LIKE A BROTHER - Humorous Character Study	5-10	3
CHEYENNE FIRE FIGHTERS	4-12	4
CHIEF PLENTY COUPS - Great Crow Chief	6-12	5
THE ROLLING HEAD - Cheyenne Folk Tales	3-10	4
CHEYENNE WARRIORS	5-12	4
VOSTASS - The Story of Montana's Indians	5- 8	5

Also available from the Montana Historical Society is a brochure
of BISON BOOKS, a paperback series on Western Americana, pub-
lished by the University of Nebraska. Among the titles are sev-
eral of interest to teachers of Indian students - titles such as
BLACK ELK SPEAKS and CRAZY HORSE: THE STRANGE MAN OF THE OGLALAS.
Prices range from $2.00 to $3.00.

Periodicals

In previous issues we have announced several periodicals which
might serve as resource material for teachers of Indian children.
Most of these are community publications produced by and for In-
dians. Two more such newspapers have recently come to our atten-
tion:

The first, ROCKY BOY COMMUNITY NEWS, is composed in the Bilingual Production Center of Rocky Boy School by Mario Patascil, Jim Lemkin, Vernon The Boy, and Linda Rockey. It is planned as a monthly publication and features community news about BIA activities, school, public health, and sports, as well as items about Sioux culture and history. For further information, write to:

> Linda Rockey
> Bilingual Production Center
> Rocky Boy, Montana 59521

The second, CHOCTAW COMMUNITY NEWS, is published monthly by the Choctaw Community Action Agency. News is reported from several Choctaw communities, and national news of special interest to the Choctaw Tribe and news stressing Choctaw culture are also featured. For further information, address:

> Robert Benn, Editor
> Choctaw Community News
> Route 7, Box 21
> Philadelphia, Mississippi 39350

INDIAN LANGUAGES

Ban c g Kakaicu

1. X ?amhu heba?i g Ban vo?o ?akic?eda;

2. koox.

3. Kux g Kakaicu ?ab voopo?o ?i hab ?aki ?oidc ?am cee max ?am vo?o hega?i Ban;

4. x ?an veegaj ?oiopohimc.

5. ?Atp ?am haha has masma ves ?i vuuxad gmhu g giigij hega?i Ban,

6. ?Atp gmhu haha va ?ep hihi hegam Kakaicu;

7. ?amhu heba?i dadhaiva k ?am haha naadk ?am gage hega?i giigij g Ban.

8. Begi ?am ?i ñia hega?i Ban;

9. tp ?am haha hii ?im hab ?aki ?oidk ?am hacee matp ?am dadha hegam Kakaicu k hab kaij: "Xa ?i s?i?ovim ?uuv!"

10. B kaij g Kakaicu: "?Aacim ?att hi skokvad ?iida?a;

11. ?i o tveem huu ?iida?a giigi gagei."

12. Ñia k ?am hab ?i ko?ihimc ?am ?i ko?ito.

13. ?Imhu mee hega?i Ban;

14. ?im hab voop hegam Kakaicu.

15. X gahu hab heba?i ge kavulkag;

16. hegdaam ?ab ceecx hegam Kakaicu;

17. ?ihu hab hiink c hab ?aag: "Va! g Ban g hejel ?egiigi hugiok mee!"

PAPAGO

Coyote and the Quails

1. Once upon a time Coyote was lying in a wash;

2. he was asleep.

3. As they were running along the wash, some quails discovered Coyote lying there;

4. they busied themselves in back of him.

5. Then they managed somehow to take out all the fat in his buttocks.

6. Then the quails went away;

7. they stopped somewhere, made a fire and roasted Coyote's fat.

8. Well, finally Coyote woke up;

9. he walked along the wash and, when he came upon the quails who were sitting there, he said: "This smell makes my mouth water!"

10. The quails said: "We have had enough of this;

11. why don't you share this roasted fat with us!"

12. Well, Coyote ate it all up.

13. Coyote went his way;

14. the quails went their way.

15. Some distance away there was a hill;

16. the quails climbed on top of it;.

17. there they shouted, saying: "Ha! Coyote just ate his own fat and ran off!"

18. ʔoia ʔam haha noḍ k a hab ʔi daʔivux havui.

19. Cee hegam Kakaicu k ʔim hab voop.

20. ʔAmhu hebaʔi keek g hanami.

21. X hegam hema si vahava hegaʔi hoʔi;

22. ʔeʔaʔan huupx k ʔab cuuciaʔa gʔab hegaʔi hoʔi.

23. X gmhu dai si ʔi· hugk ʔam gmhu matp ʔam vagtk vagtk;

24. ʔamjeḍ ʔab ʔi daihimk ʔi hahugk ʔam

25. ʔAtp ʔeḍa ʔab meḍ g Ban.

26. ʔoia ʔam hab haha ʔi vuuxad hegaʔi matp ʔab veepeg da;

27. hab ʔaag: "Doot g hejel ʔegiigi hugiok mee? Do ʔo hab kaij?"

28. "ʔIm ʔo hu da hegaʔi mat hab ʔejuu, ʔimhu haʔap, ʔimhu si ʔi thugk ʔamaʔi."

29. ʔAm ʔaʔahe hegaʔi hoʔi.

30. Giʔikko ʔab cum kakke mas heḍi uḍ c hab kaij mat g hejel ʔegiigi hugiok mee.

31. Pi has kaij.

32. Tp ʔoia hab kaij: "Begi ʔaapiʔi ʔepkia voho;

33. ńt o mhuu."

34. Tp ʔoia ʔam haha bek ʔab haha si vua g ʔon gʔab.

35. Cum hugk ʔoia ʔehoix.

36. Cum ʔevuihimc ʔam a ʔi huhug;

37. ʔam a ʔi muu g Ban ʔamaʔi.

A shortened version of a story told by Jose Pancho, Covered Wells, Arizona. Collected and shortened by Madeleine Mathiot, Department of Linguistics and Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Buffalo.

18. Then Coyote turned back and stood in their path.

19. When the quails happened upon him they ran away.

20. Somewhere there stood a cholla cactus.

21. They cut off a piece of that cactus;

22. they pulled out some of their own feathers and stuck them on the cactus.

23. They placed it at the very end of the tunnel that they had dug and dug;

24. they sat, one behind the other (in the tunnel), up to the last one of them.

25. Meanwhile, Coyote came by.

26. He got out the one who was first in the row;

27. he said: "Who is the one who ate his own fat and ran off? Who said that?"

28. "The one who did that is behind me, way behind me, the very last one of us."

29. Finally, Coyote reached the cactus.

30. Four times he asked who it was who had said that he had eaten his own fat and run off.

31. Thereupon, Coyote said: "Well, it must be you then;

32. The quail did not answer.

33. I will eat you."

34. Then he grabbed it and put salt on it.

35. When he tried to eat it he choked on it.

36. In spite of all his efforts, it was the end of him;

37. Coyote died then and there.

(Freely translated from the story told in Papago by Jose Pancho.)

KEY TO THE CREE SYLLABIC CHARACTERS

AH: SOUNDS AS IN FATHER	E: SOUNDS AS IN GET OR ATE	I: SOUNDS AS IN EAT OR INDIAN	O: SOUNDS AS IN OPEN OR MOON	ENDINGS	
◁ AH	▽ E	△ I	▷ Ō	• O	WA W
＜ PAH	∨ PE	∧ PI	＞ Pō	l	P
⊂ TAH	∪ TE	∩ TI	⊃ Tō	/	T
⟨ KAH	⁹ KE	⊂⊃ KI	♂ Kō	＼	K
∪ CHAH	∩ CHE	∩ CHI	∪ CHō	—	CH
∟ MAH	⏋ ME	⌈ MI	⌋ Mō	⊂	M
⊂ NAH	⊙ NE	⊙ NI	○ Nō	⊃	N
ⅴ SAH	⊂⌃ SE	∿ SI	∿ Sō	∧	S
⟋ YAH	⌐⟍ YE	⟨ YI	⟍ Yō	+	Y

110

EAGLE

ki-iw

ᑭ ᐱᐅᵒ

HAWK

ke-kek

ᐱ ᕴᐦ

111

115

DOWN

ni-chah-yik

CREE

ne-i-yahw

PAGES FROM THE CREE ALPHABET BOOK.