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ABSTRACT

This guide is concerned with possible solutions to the dilemma faced by American Indians, who want to maintain their ancestral language and customs on the one hand but integrate themselves into the mainstream of the economy on the other. The tenacity of Indian languages and the importance they have for their speakers are demonstrated by the endurance of the languages under enormous pressures to assimilate. Although the languages have survived, they are by no means healthy, and many face extinction. The approaches, resources, ideas, and goals discussed are based in part on the experiences of Indian groups and in part on the theoretical insights of linguists, education specialists, and other social scientists. The following chapters are included: (1) "Indian Languages and the Scope of Language Retention Programs," (2) "Federal Involvement with Tribes and Indian Self-Determination," (3) "Community Involvement," (4) "Needs Assessment," (5) "Instructional Methods," (6) "Orthographies and Materials Development," (7) "Staff Training," and (8) "Use of Professional Consultants." (JB)

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A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention

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Contents

Introduction

In the situation typical of so many American Indian groups today, where native language use and the relative number of speakers is declining, or there are no speakers left, the group is losing (or may have lost) its single best defining characteristic. Indian languages, like all languages, are vital expressions of the people who speak them. They carry within them the culture, spirit, history, and philosophy of a tribe. Today many Indian groups are forced to consider whether they can maintain their social integrity and self-identity if they do not speak their ancestral language.

Indians in the United States today are caught in a dilemma. If they move into an exclusively English-speaking environment they discover they may have to sever ties with their native traditions. If they opt for a return to the ancestral language and culture they risk discrimination and economic segregation from the majority society. Few have been able to find a workable third solution allowing them to deal successfully with the dominant society and at the same time maintain their cultural identity. It is possible third solutions that this *Guide* concerns itself with.

It is a credit to the tenacity of Indian languages and the importance they have for their speakers that so many have lasted for so long under such enormous pressures to assimilate (see Chapter 2). Although they have survived, they are by no means healthy (see Chapter 1): almost all have reduced numbers of speakers, or their speakers are elderly, or both. Some, especially those of smaller tribes on the West Coast, have only one or two speakers and will almost surely become extinct within a few years. Some larger tribes, even though they have many native language speakers, show a disturbing concentration of speakers among the older members of the community. In still other tribes the language is spoken by all age groups, but the relative proportion of speakers in an age group is inversely related to age: the younger the individual, the less likely she or he is to speak the language. These languages also face extinction (Chapter 1).

Indian communities are becoming more and more concerned to arrest the processes of decline at work on their languages and, if possible, to reinstill in them some measure of their former vitality. Many of these communities, however, are going ahead without a well-conceived plan and without an awareness of the resources that are available to guide their efforts. The good intentions, dedication, and spirit that motivate them are certainly the most essential part of a language revitalization program, but they must be embedded in a program with realistic goals and then reinforced with effective procedures. It is the purpose of this guide to acquaint its readers with information necessary to diagnose the condition of an Indian language and then to choose an appropriate set of corrective strategies. Because there are so many languages to consider--possibly 300 or more--and because each has a unique set of problems and, by implication, a unique remedy, the *Guide* cannot do what it ideally should--it cannot tell the reader what to do. It can only inform the reader of the alternatives to consider and suggest

how to weigh and correlate different factors to arrive at what will likely be an effective strategy.

The approaches, resources, ideas, and goals that the *Guide* discusses (Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) are based in part on the experiences of Indian groups aided by the Indian Language Assistance Project, directed by William Leap, under a grant to the Center for Applied Linguistics for the National Endowment for the Humanities, in part on the experiences of Indian communities operating independently of outside support, and in part on the theoretical insights of linguists, education specialists, and other social scientists.

The importance of community involvement in language planning is repeated throughout the *Guide* because it is the community as a whole that has the real power to initiate change. As a consequence, the *Guide* is intended primarily for members of Indian communities who have taken on responsibility for devising language policy and implementing programs. It is hoped the *Guide* will add to their commitment and imagination some of the information necessary to produce truly effective programs.

--J.J.B.

1

Indian Languages and the Scope of Language Retention Programs

Languages have often been compared to living things, a comparison we reinforce when we talk of a language's health, decline, death, or growth. A language, of course, is not alive in the same sense as a person. It takes its "life" from the use people make of it. Sometimes a language is used only for specific purposes, such as in ceremonies, in game playing, in singing, in doctoring. These are situations in which the full language is not required, but only certain phrases, select vocabularies, or even sounds are needed. The health of a language obviously has to do with the number of its speakers, how these speakers are concentrated in the population, and particularly how many child speakers there are. The last is the most important indicator in assessing the future of a language. Will it survive at all? If it does survive, will it be incapacitated or can it be expected to perform relatively normally? What therapeutic steps are called for to assure its survival? These last two questions relate to the *relative* health of a language.

The realitive health of a language is obviously a measure of how much use a language gets as well as the *quality* of that use. "Healthy" languages are not only used by a majority of the population but are used for most or all situations requiring communication. They must, therefore, be *self-sufficient*; that is, they must be capable of expressing anything that people want or normally expect to say to one another. The truth is, though, that few, possibly no, American Indian languages today are fully self-sufficient. It is difficult for their speakers to use the language in every conceivable situation, if only because the necessary words are lacking.

The most obvious place to look for language self-sufficiency is in a population of *monolingual* speakers, those who know only their Indian language. Such people are rare in any tribe, however. Large numbers of people may speak their Indian language in preference to English, but they also know at least some English, and use it from time to time. Given information about the contexts in which *bilingual* speakers use each of their two languages, a generalization can be made about the future extent and nature of ancestral language health: the more situations in which the Indian language is used, the greater will be the probability of its continued survival alongside English. Another gauge of a language's self-sufficiency is the extent the group as a whole has enlarged its native vocabulary to handle the concepts flowing in from the majority culture.

Languages are extremely flexible and adaptable. English itself has remained identifiably English, even though a thousand years ago it came under heavy French influence and changed itself dramatically. Fully half the words in an English dictionary were borrowed from French, yet English did not become French as a result of the borrowings. It is perfectly normal for languages contacting one another to take on or to donate words, sounds, and grammatical structures one to the other. In doing so they do not blend into one another and lose their individual identities. They simply make use of a very sensible strategy for dealing with cultures, ideas, and categories different from their own.

But it is not even necessary that languages borrow whole words from one another. A language can simply take an idea from another culture and use its own

resources for forming words to construct its own unique equivalent. For example, the Navajo when faced with a car battery for the first time saw in this energy source the functional equivalent of a liver and used their own word for the organ to refer to it.

What seems to have happened often is that Indian languages, out of a misguided conservatism, have resisted taking on English words and meanings and, in a sense, frozen themselves as they were before Euro-American contact. People adopted another strategy for coping with European-based culture: they used English when speaking about introduced concepts and their own language when speaking about Indian matters. As English culture prevailed and their own cultures changed, there were fewer and fewer occasions when the Indian languages seemed appropriate. Parents sensing the discrepancy convinced themselves--certainly with the encouragement of educators in early Indian schools--that the Indian language was not just worthless, but actually harmful, in that it prevented a child from learning English.

THE VALUE OF AN INDIAN LANGUAGE IN AN INDIAN CULTURE

This last point raises the question of precisely what value a language has for its speakers. If, as linguists claim, all languages have the same communicative potential, and no language is better than another, why is it important to preserve a language from extinction? The answer is that languages codify and mirror the cultures of the people who speak them. Categories of meaning that are important or critical in a culture will make their way into the structure and rules of that culture's language. American Indian languages as a group are remarkably well attuned to Indian ways of life and Indian value systems, so much so that English or any other European language cannot easily realign itself to express these values. This is not to infer that English is incapable of expressing them, only that it must express them in ways that are clumsy, roundabout, or complicated, whereas the Indian language handles them easily, cleanly, and efficiently. One or two examples will make this clearer.

Many American Indian languages have a three-member pronoun system, rather than the two-member pronoun system of English and other European languages. Instead of just a singular *it* and a plural *they* form for each pronoun, they have a singular, a dual, and a plural form. The dual is used when two people or things are being referred to. In English, rather than using one word to get this same idea across, it is necessary to use a longer expression, such as *both of them, the two of them, they both*. In certain cultures with dual forms in their language, the dual is used not just to refer to two people, it is also used when a man is talking to or about his mother-in-law. It is a sign of the special respect he must show her that he addresses her as if she were two people. Respect for in-laws is a cultural characteristic that the Indian languages provide for.

Many Indian languages also have a grammatical system in which the speaker of a sentence must specify the source of his or her information--did it come from first-hand experience, did the speaker hear about it second-hand, did it come from a traditional story, is it something that is generally known. Again it is only through a single word or word unit that the speaker conveys this information, and every sentence must have one of these words. In English similar information can be gotten across, but it is not obligatory on the speaker's part to convey it, and the speaker has to use a roundabout way of expressing it: *I heard that, th y say that, it used to be that*, etc. This sort of system is pervasive and consequently it is difficult to ascribe to one or more particular cultural traits. There are, however, some plausible connections that can be explored.

In some Indian societies, it is considered impolite to ask a direct question of someone. A person would not usually ask: Are you going to the store? but would prefer to say instead something such as, I was wondering if you were going to the store. In the languages of these groups the direct question implicitly conveys the speaker's expectation. In other words, the question indicates that the speaker expects only a simple yes or no response and conveys the impression that the question is being asked for some purpose other than as a simple request for information. By phrasing the question in the second way, which is in fact not a question at all, but a statement, the speaker avoids the abrupt and enciting tone of the direct question and encourages the hearer to respond with information over and above a simple yes or no. An appropriate positive answer would not be just I'm going, but I'm going for sure, I suppose, because I'm allowed to, because it's expected, and so on.

For children brought up in an Indian society but required to attend schools based on European norms of behavior, the question-response format used in those schools would seem not just foreign, but actually disrespectful to these students. Is it surprising then that their performance suffers or that their English-speaking teachers harbor poor opinions of their abilities? It is crucial for successful learning that both teachers and students operate within the same set of cultural norms, or at the least have an understanding of each others' differing norms.

DEALING WITH LANGUAGE DECLINE

Slowing down, stopping, or even reversing the processes of language decline are real possibilities open to any tribe that has the necessary interest in developing a language retention program. The extent of the problem and the solutions attempted will, of course, vary considerably with the relative health of the language, the historical causes of its decline, access to funds and resources, and the wishes of the community.

A tribe squaring off for the first time with its language problem is likely to want to eliminate the problem entirely. It conceives of a time when all members of the tribe regain or develop a new fluency in the use of the language, a hope often reinforced by a feeling that Indians should easily be able to learn their ancestral language. Unfortunately, this feeling has little basis in fact. Because Indian languages come out of such completely different cultural traditions from English and because they use extremely different principles, they are not easy languages to learn for anyone whose native language is English--and this includes most Indian children today. A language retention program must therefore be prepared to deal with the frustration that comes from thinking the task will be easier than it turns out to be.

Language learning, of course, is not invariably difficult. We have all learned at least one language, our first, with no discernible effort. But effortless learning is closely associated with the age of the learner. People in the field of psycholinguistics have known for years that as a child becomes older he or she loses an inborn facility to learn additional languages. If the child grows up speaking only one language, that language will gradually become the model of correctness or naturalness against which all other languages will be compared. Past the point of puberty children probably become reluctant to experiment with making new sounds --they will seem odd coming off their own tongues--or with putting words together in patterns different from their first language--they will have the impression that they are talking backwards. At this point the child may come to believe that the structure of the first language is the "right" way or the "logical" way to say things. If so, he or she may find it difficult to process information presented using the different structural rules of a second language.

It should be obvious by this time that the simplest way to keep a language alive is to insure that the children speak it, and the simplest way to accomplish this is to teach them when they are infants. Parental objections that doing so will hinder children in later learning English have been found to be unwarranted. Children cope quite naturally with the communication demands placed on them. If reason is given for them to speak two languages, then they will speak both.

The problem for the Indian community lies in providing the kinds of natural situations under which the Indian language is viewed as a necessary instrument. It quickly becomes apparent to children in bilingual households where the languages are unevenly matched that one language will serve well enough. In circumstances where this happens, the children will tend to develop speaking skills only in the language they favor. They may come to understand the second language, but they will more than likely not speak it. Languages that have older individuals for most of their speakers have, in a sense, forgotten how to talk to children, and the remaining speakers will have to make concerted efforts to create situations in which it is again normal to speak the Indian language with children.

Assuming, however, that a tribe is faced with a free, relatively uncomplicated choice between teaching preschool children the ancestral language or English, which should it teach? It can of course teach both, although the problems discussed above of the child coming to prefer one over the other must be anticipated. It is difficult for parents to be equally fair to both languages and use each the same amount. Parents, after all, will have their own preferences regarding the appropriateness of one language over another in particular situations. However, what are simply preferences to them can easily become firm rules to children: you speak Indian to your grandparents but English to your playmates, you use Indian for talking about food but English for talking about cars, and you pray in Indian but argue in English. Because English as the majority language has a definite advantage over the Indian language, using both languages in the home can ultimately lead to the child preferring English in most, if not all, situations.

The alternative, of using only the ancestral language in the home, has the advantage of forcing the child to develop a facility in using it for any and all communication situations. The child can later establish preferences for using it or English after the native language is firmly established as an effective communication device. The objection that this procedure leaves the child unprepared for dealing with English-speaking schools is valid, but under federal regulations, which require educational institutions to provide for students with limited proficiency in English, the child could, in theory, be given English training in school. And, again, because children learn languages more easily than adults, the learning will be quick and efficient.

More often than not, reversing the course of language decline by increasing the overall level of fluency of everyone in the community will be difficult to carry out, and the tribe may have to settle for some language retention program with less encompassing goals. This will be especially true for those tribes that lack the resources to actually instruct children in the language.

It is most important to remember that the retention program can proceed only a step at a time. If a language is faltering badly it will not have the necessary people to bring the entire community up to fluency in a short time. A retention program for such a language must acknowledge from the beginning that its goal is to build up, slowly and with advance planning, its number of speakers. Possibly the major stumbling block here to carrying out an effective program of formal language instruction is the lack of properly trained teachers, people who speak the language fluently, who understand the difficulties of teaching it, and who are credentialed to teach in public schools. There is no reason the community cannot train its members to carry out these tasks, but it will be a slow process to locate

those willing and able to do it, and an even slower process to provide the necessary training. When you consider that this is only one of the components of a successful program, that the community must also provide materials, develop curriculums, and locate regular sources of funding, the task begins to look as difficult as it really is. If, in the most extreme situation, there are no speakers of the language, we are more correctly dealing with a language revival problem, rather than language retention, although many of the procedures for approaching the problem will be the same.

Language retention procedures can be applied to any language, even to one with millions of speakers. France, for instance, has an official government agency, the Academy of the French Language, which vigorously ordains what is correct French and what is substandard French. It even has powers that extend to preventing certain speech styles or words in government usage, in textbooks, even in advertising. The idea behind the Academy is to maintain the language in a "pure" state by halting change, particularly the influx of words from English. Many people question whether such a goal is worthwhile, since languages must and will adapt to new situations, but as a goal given official sanction it has the effect of at least making people more aware of the essential nature of their language. In the end that is the purpose of any retention program--increasing a community's understanding and appreciation of its language background.

Indian communities, of course, face a situation that does not concern most non-Indian communities in the United States--their language background typically includes two languages. So, when we speak of language retention for Indian languages it is necessary to consider the balance of influence between English and the Indian language. Both languages are essential to the community and social problems can arise from neglecting either one for the other.

It might be thought that there is no English retention problem in the Indian community because the teaching of English is required by virtually all school systems. There is, however, accumulating evidence that the brand of English spoken in Indian communities is different in many ways from standard English, that these different forms of Indian English mark their speakers as Indians and distinguish them from non-Indians. Indian English probably arises out of a lingering influence of the ancestral language. Any two languages in contact will tend to influence each other over time. Since many Indian communities are relatively isolated, the accented forms of English typical of older people who learned English as a second language are the ones heard most often, and are passed down to younger generations. Even though the grandchildren may know only English, the variety of English they speak incorporates features of the ancestral language and probably provides a better instrument for dealing with contemporary Indian culture than would standard English. Recognition of Indian forms of English would provide a means for understanding the difficulties some students face in learning the standard English taught in schools, and it might also provide a means for bridging the differences between the Indian language and standard English.

INDIAN LANGUAGE STATES OF HEALTH

It is, however, the Indian language that faces a serious competitive disadvantage in respect to English, and at this point it will be useful to characterize in more detail the possible states of health the Indian language can exhibit and tie each to a particular retention strategy. Each of the types listed in Figure 1 is represented by a point along a continuum of possibilities against which individual situations can be assessed. Five different statuses ranging from flourishing to extinct are distinguished, each of which corresponds to a retention strategy

ranging from prevention to revival. A flourishing language is one that is in all respects still vitally alive. A retention program for such a language involves only preventing regression to a less active status. On the other hand, an extinct language has lost all its speakers. A retention strategy for such a language depends critically on whether there are any written records available from which community members can retrieve information. Even if there are such records, the task of reinstituting community control over the language will be extremely difficult. In general a strategy becomes more difficult to accomplish, must be planned more carefully, and requires greater community attention and perseverance the more fragile the language's health is.

Status	Strategy
flourishing	prevention
enduring	expansion
declining	fortification
obsolescent	restoration
extinct	revival

Figure 1

Language Survival Status and Corresponding Retention Strategy

Each of the retention strategies listed in Figure 1 applies specifically to the retention of *speaking* abilities. A language truly lives only in its speakers. If a language is not spoken it is effectively dead, no matter how many written materials exist in it. This should not be taken to mean that the written form of a language is unimportant or that a community should not concern itself with recording as much as possible of its language. These activities are critically important, especially in a society as dependent on books, newspapers, magazines, posters, and other types of written matter as is American society. Bear in mind, though, that recording or preserving a language is only one part of a retention program, and not the most important one at that. Consequently, the rest of this chapter concentrates on describing procedures that can lead to an increase in the number of speakers of a language and to an increase in the number of situations in which the language is appropriate, leading to overall self-sufficiency.

A FLOURISHING LANGUAGE--NAVAJO

With well over 100,000 speakers, Navajo has by far more speakers than any other American Indian language north of Mexico. Even disregarding the speaker count, it is the largest tribe in the United States and occupies the largest reservation. With the power of numbers and the benefit of isolation the Navajo have been able to successfully maintain their language and a good deal of their culture in the context of the home. Most Navajo children on the reservation learn only Navajo until they begin school, although relatively recently English has also come to be used in the home. The community has speakers of all ages, with some of the oldest and some of the youngest being monolingual. It has a growing number of speakers, although the number of new speakers is probably not keeping pace with the growth of the population as a whole. As people leave the reservation there is

a tendency for them to neglect Navajo and not teach it to their children. It is currently estimated that only 90 percent of all Navajos know their language.

The language itself is adapting and growing to meet the needs of people now living under the different cultural demands of the majority society; in other words it is modernizing. The modernizing trend can be partly seen in a growing number of people who are able to read and write Navajo. The growth of literacy is perhaps a special case of modernization, but it is an important indication that a language is viable, because it allows a community to deal in its own language with the specialization and complexity of American society.

It might be thought that the large number of Navajo people confers a special advantage to the language and by itself represents a mark of health. This, however, need not be the case. The relative health of a language is tied much more closely to the distribution of speakers across generations than it is to the total number of speakers. Louisiana Coushatta is also a flourishing language, with a population of only a thousand people. The community is completely fluent in both Coushatta and English, and it shows no sign of dropping off in its use of the ancestral language. Only if the community becomes so small that it cannot reproduce itself or it leaves itself open to catastrophe will the number of speakers matter in and of itself.

The most important indicators of a flourishing language can be summarized as follows:

1. It has speakers of all ages, some of them monolingual.
2. Population increases also lead to increases in the number of speakers.
3. It is used in all communicative situations.
4. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.
5. Speakers become increasingly more literate.

Language retention programs for flourishing languages are developed around the goal of consolidating and securing the status of the language; they are in essence precautionary measures. A good deal of effort should be expended on public media affecting the daily activities of people; such as newspapers, radio and television programs, informational bulletins, advertising, and so on. Concurrently, it is important to prepare reference materials on the language--dictionaries, grammars, and materials to teach the language. The language should also be brought into the classroom, not just as an additional subject to be studied, but as one of the languages of instruction. In other words, the language should be used to instruct students in subjects such as mathematics, history, geography, social studies, as well as in traditional arts and tribal culture.

A retention program for a flourishing language requires a major investment of time and money. Because the majority of Indian languages are unwritten or only recently written and because relatively few community members will have had the opportunity to receive training in linguistics, anthropology, curriculum development, and communication, the community oftentimes must rely on the services of outside consultants, teachers, and media specialists to keep the program operating until an adequate number of community members are available. An alternative, of course, is to keep the program goals and objectives within limits that are manageable by the tribe, and increase activities as trained personnel become available. One clear danger of this procedure, however, is that trained people may not become available before the situation worsens considerably. From the other direction, there is also a danger in training people for jobs that do not exist already in the community, since these people will be forced to leave the reservation to locate them. This so-called brain drain from reservations has in the past effectively negated many of the hoped-for benefits of sending tribal members to colleges and technical

schools. Many of these people end up working in urban settings for the government or for non-Indian concerns, and the potential benefits to the community are lost or only indirectly realized.

The Navajo people have a complex network of schools, school boards, and state educational agencies to deal with (see Chapter 3), and coordination between the different administrations is poor. The Tribe has attempted to remedy the situation by setting up the Navajo Division of Education, an agency whose purpose is to set educational policy for the reservation as a whole while still allowing local communities the necessary flexibility to shape policy to their particular needs. The agency currently has in preparation plans for a comprehensive language arts program, which will provide a unified curriculum for kindergarten through high school, including lesson plans in both Navajo and English, instructional materials in both languages, and the techniques necessary to evaluate and assess student achievement and program effectiveness. In keeping with the need to coordinate the program with state educational policy, the agency is also setting up guidelines for teacher certification and program accreditation to assure the uniformity of instruction necessary to allow students uncomplicated access to state universities.

The Navajo tribe also operates what was the first completely Indian-controlled institution of higher education in the country, the Navajo Community College. This and a second college jointly operated with the Hopi tribe attempt to provide the kind of reservation focused education that will give students the skills to deal specifically with reservation concerns and prevent their having to leave. As such, it continues instruction in Navajo language and culture beyond the high school level and formalizes instruction so that students become equipped to deal with the issues as teachers themselves.

AN ENDURING LANGUAGE--HUALAPAI

The Hualapai and closely related Havasupai tribe have together fewer than 2,000 people. The Hualapai are located on an isolated reservation in northwestern Arizona, a factor which is at least partly responsible for the high retention of ancestral language ability in the community--approximately 95 percent of the population, including most children, speak Hualapai natively. In fact, many children enter the local public schools with little or no background in English. Bilingualism, however, is definitely on the increase and there are indications that the dominance relation between English and Hualapai is shifting toward English. And, because the reservation has limited economic resources, any increase in the number of Hualapais is offset by emigration. Consequently, the language is not expanding.

Hualapai, probably by virtue of its small size, has not commanded the same degree of attention from language professionals that Navajo has. On the one hand this benefits the community by allowing it to develop firsthand an approach to language study that is natural for it. It can establish its own priorities. On the other hand, it results in a relatively small pool of basic knowledge about the language and makes it difficult for the community to implement its retention strategy.

One of the most important side-effects of professional inattention is that Hualapai has continued along the course that most other American Indian languages have taken throughout their development. All information concerning the language and cultural institutions, which depend on language, is transmitted orally from generation to generation. It is not committed to writing and there is consequently no base from which people can develop Hualapai literacy. In fact, the community has only recently agreed on an orthography, that is, a spelling system with which to write the language. This means that it will still be a while before community members become suitably familiarized with the spelling conventions and before reading materials can be developed and circulated.

The Hualapai situation pinpoints the problem facing an enduring language: It needs to expand its overall usefulness to the community to provide the richness of opportunities which are available to a flourishing language. In essence, there is only the difference of degree between flourishing and enduring languages. Both have their most important asset--the confidence of their community in the language--intact. An enduring language can be characterized in the following way:

1. It has speakers of all ages; most or all are bilingual.
2. The population of speakers tends to remain constant over time.
3. English tends to be used exclusively in some situations.
4. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.
5. There is little or no native language literacy in the community.

The Hualapai language retention strategy so far has been to emphasize bilingual instruction in the local school system, although at present no comprehensive curriculum has been developed. The community has set a high priority on training community members as instructional staff, to correct the present situations where Indians hold positions no higher than teacher aides. In an interesting approach to their problem, the community has made research into the language an integral part of the teacher-training program. Working together with several linguistic consultants, prospective teachers and aides are instructed in the fundamentals of linguistic analysis and language history. From this base they then tackle the specific details of Hualapai language structure and collectively make decisions regarding the orthography, grammatical representation, and curricular units. Self-determination is obviously a vital part of the program.

A DECLINING LANGUAGE--SHOSHONI

On its face the Shoshoni tribe, with as many as 7,000 members, would seem to have one of the most favorable population bases on which to institute a successful retention program. Unfortunately their language is in decline; it is now spoken by no more than 75 percent of the Shoshoni people and is beginning to show an ominous concentration of abilities in older individuals. In most communities the children are not being actively taught the language. They subsequently enter schools that, for the most part, are equipped to deal with English language instruction only, and they quickly find that Shoshoni has little relevance to their daily activities. They rapidly suppress any active control they had over the language and claim that they can only understand but not speak it. Children with these limited abilities in the language will become adults who are incapable of teaching their own children even the passive knowledge they themselves have.

It is difficult to know for certain all of the factors in the precipitation of Shoshoni's decline. Part of the answer certainly lies in the geographic spread of the tribe, which extends 700 miles in the northern Great Basin from California to Wyoming. Although there are a few large reservations, much of the population lives in scattered small reservations and colonies economically dependent on nearby towns. Even the usual language retention advantages of the large reservations are mitigated appreciably in this case. Large reservations do not always contain only speakers of one language. The Owyhee Reservation in Oregon, for instance, is half Shoshoni and half Northern Paiute. Conditions such as these certainly present obstacles to a language retention effort, but probably not enough in themselves to account for the deep inroads English has made in the last twenty years. The more serious causes of decline are hidden in the still unknown attitudes of Shoshoni speakers to their language.

General characteristics of a declining language include the following:

1. There are proportionately more older speakers than younger.
2. Younger speakers are not altogether fluent in the language.
3. The number of speakers decreases over time, even though the population itself may be increasing.
4. The entire population is bilingual and English is preferred in many situations.
5. The language begins to conform to and resemble English.
6. The population is essentially illiterate in the language.

With respect to the fourth and fifth points listed, a declining language will tend to shift places with English in the dominance hierarchy. Situations in which the Indian language was once the only appropriate one will now also permit English usage. In these cases the Indian language will begin to be used for subsidiary purposes, for example, as a secret language to hide messages from people--generally children--who do not understand it. In these situations a good deal of code switching, going from one language to another and then back, can occur, and opportunities abound for mixing elements of English into the structure of the Indian language. When this happens, the Indian language starts to conform more closely to the way that English would say things. If the situation persists, noticeable changes in the structure of the Indian language may occur, generally in the direction of simplifying it. Older speakers tend to be very sensitive about these sorts of changes and often criticize their use. This attitude reinforces the feeling of younger speakers that their own speech is substandard and even laughable, and they may avoid using it even more.

Any language retention situation can accomplish no more than what the community as a whole wants. If a language is declining because of community disinterest, then program planners might have to restrict themselves to a preservation program unless they can turn community attitudes around. Retention strategies for declining languages are built on the idea of strengthening the language to the point where it again becomes an instrument of everyday communication. Efforts must include an active program to instruct children in the language even before they start school. Oftentimes this responsibility will have to be delegated to the grandparent generation because parents will lack the necessary speaking skills on which children can model their own usage. Rather than leave parents out of the picture completely, it is only sensible to include an adult education component in the retention program. This will have the primary purpose of breaking through the reluctance of young adults to use the language actively. For adults to regain speaking competence, it is not so necessary to construct the program around a formal course of instruction. It is more important to structure situations in which adults can see the usefulness of the language and actually practice using it. At the same time some attention should be given to developing a writing system and beginning a program of bilingual and bicultural education in the school system. At the start such a program should make instruction in the Indian language and culture an additive component of the regular school day and then gradually expand the use of the Indian language into the rest of the curriculum.

AN OBSOLESCENT LANGUAGE--PIT RIVER

Half or more of the approximately 200 Indian languages still spoken north of Mexico are obsolescent. Perhaps as many as fifty have fewer than ten speakers left, all of them elderly. The Pit River language in northeastern California is representative of this category. The tribe itself has approximately 750 people, but of this number possibly only 100 retain any degree of fluency in the language and these hundred people are scattered throughout the tribe's 120-mile-long distribution. There is no community in which Pit River is used to any significant extent;

the language can be heard only when older people congregate. There are no fluent speakers under fifty years old, and no children are being taught the language. This dismal picture faces those concerned members of the tribe who want to see something done to bring the language back to life, or at the very least, preserve it for later generations.

Obsolescent languages have simply carried farther the processes of decline that characterize languages not yet so near their end. As recently as forty years ago Pit River was considered by linguists and anthropologists to be completely viable, and study of it was postponed in favor of languages and cultures closer to extinction. And today, even though it was one of the most vigorous languages in northern California, there is essentially no specialized information available about the language or the traditions of its people. Furthermore, the few who still hold that information are approaching their final years.

The same factors that characterize declining languages apply also to obsolescent languages. They only have to be stated more strongly. The most important of them are included in the following list:

1. An obsolescent language has an age gradient of speakers that terminates in the adult population.
2. The language is not taught to children in the home.
3. The number of speakers declines very rapidly.
4. The entire population is bilingual and English is preferred in essentially all situations.
5. The language is inflexible, it no longer adapts to new situations.
6. There is no literacy.

It is perhaps surprising that communities with obsolescent languages would have available to them any type of retention strategy at all. Any remedy must of necessity be quite drastic, would require the cooperation of a sizable fraction of the community, and would be quite expensive. Still, such restorations are possible and are being attempted. A typical program would, however, have to proceed rather slowly.

One successful method has been to concentrate on teaching to community members those parts of the language that are crucial to carrying out still vital cultural activities. For instance, the Kashia Pomo, a small, central California tribe, have maintained a steady interest in perpetuating their elaborate dance activities. Any dance ceremony has an important language component and consequently these ceremonies provide an interesting "schoolroom" in which to teach a part of the language. Other language learning situations have been built around other cultural activities, such as plant gathering and use, basketmaking, and hunting. The idea of tieing language instruction to ongoing cultural activities will not assure that the language will be restored to its previous potential, but it will assure that the language plays a living, if reduced, role in community activities.

One Pit River community has taken a different position and instituted an additive program of Pit River language and culture in the school system. Instruction in the language is intended to communicate some of the important information regarding the structure of Pit River and to link that information to a positive Indian self-concept, rather than to bring the students up to full fluency. Fluency is only realizable in a more natural communicative setting than the classroom, and only the community as a whole can create these situations.

Both the Kashia and Pit River experiences in language maintenance are being supplemented with efforts to preserve what is left of the tribal traditions and language. Any community faced with an obsolescent language must be realistic about the limited chances of actually restoring its language to full use and should make

sure that information is collected, organized, and researched while there are still people left to provide it. Preservation efforts include collecting oral histories, compiling word lists and dictionaries, analyzing grammar, collecting folklore and stories through written records and audiovisual records.

AN EXTINCT LANGUAGE--CHUMASH

Almost twenty-five years ago the last speaker of the Chumash language died in Santa Barbara, California, although it was many years before that that the language ceased to be used. Before its extinction, linguists and anthropologists had recorded in hundreds of thousands of pages much of Chumash language and folklore. These notes are the major source of information about the traditional Chumash way of life and an important link to the past for the Chumash Indians still living in the area. The tribe, working closely with interested linguists and anthropologists, has been able to resurrect some important parts of the traditional culture, including bits and pieces of the language. They have, for instance, retrieved enough detailed information about boat building to construct an exact replica of a Chumash ocean-going vessel. They have also gathered a large collection of folktales and botanical lore.

The success that the Chumash have had in retrieving bits of their language and history led naturally enough to a desire to reinstitute the language as a means of communication. This wish, however, does not take into account that there is no living language to serve as a model for establishing usage. The wish is therefore little more than a hope that something which is irretrievably lost can be restored. Hebrew is often cited as an example that language revival can take place, but it has to be remembered that Hebrew never lapsed out of existence as a spoken language. It was carefully maintained as a religious language, and when the new state of Israel decided to make it its national language, there were still many speakers who could provide a model for new learners. The process of reviving Hebrew was also fostered by the copious amount of written materials available. These materials provided standards of good usage against which new speakers could compare their own usage.

Hebrew consequently had much going for it, which an extinct American language like Chumash does not have. Chumash had never been a language of literacy. Any materials written in Chumash were written by non-Indians and were intended for their own use. These materials at the very least will have to be rewritten for the Chumash before they will be of use to the community. A more serious problem, though, is that the existing materials do not necessarily provide the model of grammar and usage required to understand how to conduct a conversation. In the days when materials were being gathered on Chumash and linguists had only one person to ask for information, conversational structure was generally ignored in favor of retrieving vocabulary, grammar, and folk stories.

It is difficult to know how to begin a revival effort because there have been so few attempts. Community determination is probably the most critical factor, but it must be supplemented with a good supply of written or taped materials on the language and culture. Without these nothing at all is possible. Since interpretation of written materials and documents often requires specialized training, it will generally be necessary for the community to seek out professional technical assistance. It will also be necessary to collate the different materials to derive a consistent and reasonably complete picture. Only after this research effort is well along can the community begin to institute formal revival attempts. These will differ in a very fundamental way from regular language teaching situations in that no one person can act as an evaluator or say for certain what is correct usage. Many situations are likely to arise in which opinions will vary, and, to anticipate this, the

community should set up some collective evaluation procedure which can establish precedent. It should also attempt to create situations in which the language can be used. Initially, it would be easiest to make these situations pertain to learning about the traditional culture, before trying to extend its usefulness to modern cultural situations.

2

Federal Involvement With Tribes and Indian Self-determination

In the *Guide* the term "language retention" applies to any procedure that imparts a greater awareness of the currently or formerly spoken native language to members of a community. The ultimate goal of a retention program might be to endow all community members with fluency, but, if this is not feasible, the community can still be given a feeling for the character and worth of the language and a sense of how to use the language as a means of maintaining cultural identity. The factors that determine which of these goals are realistic and which are impractical come out of an objective assessment of the needs of the community. Present community needs, however, are welded to the historical factors that initiated them. Because of this, some consideration of the reasons for the general decline of Indian languages is given here.

Ultimately, any language declines because it comes into competition with the language of a group better able to expand its sphere of influence. Within the United States, this language is today English, although in earlier years Spanish and French exerted similar influences. Contacts are not always provocative, but those between Euro-Americans and Indians were antagonized by religious fervor, the search for precious metals, and conflicting philosophies of land use. Backed as they were by a more advanced technology, the edge was given to white settlers, and some tribes suffered massive population losses in very short periods of time and never recovered. For instance, the Chimariko tribe in northwestern California, small to begin with, was almost completely destroyed in a single encounter with Gold Rush miners.

Most encounters have not been so tragically fatal, but over a long period of time almost all have worked to the detriment of Indian ways of life. The most pervasive influence on Indian concerns, of course, is the Federal government, which in its various philosophies and policies through the years has directed the course and speed of change in many tribes. It will be useful to briefly sketch the history of Federal government contacts with tribes in order to put into perspective the individual issues dealt with in the remainder of this *Guide*.

DEVELOPMENT OF FEDERAL POLICY TOWARD INDIANS

It is often felt that the Federal government has been invariably harsh in its dealings with Indian tribes, that it manipulated contracts and treaties to better serve its own purposes, and that it was narrowly focused and unapproachable. This perception of the government is certainly supportable in hundreds of individual examples, but it fails to mention that there have been periods of relatively positive dealings with tribes.

In a simplistic breakdown of history, four separate periods are recognizable during which government policies regarding language and culture retention and education varied according to prevailing attitudes toward the status of Indians and tribal sovereignty. (See Figure 2.)

Contact-1850	Benign assimilation	1622-93	Virginia subsidizes education of Indians
		1712	Mohawk tribe begins its own school
		1819	Congress appropriates funds for mission schools
		1821	Sequoyah develops the Cherokee syllabary
		1831	Bilingual education program established at Green Bay, Wisconsin
		1830-45	Removal of Indians west of the Mississippi
1850-1930	Forced assimilation	1879	Off-reservation boarding schools established
		1887	Dawes Indian Allotment Act passed
1930-1961	Cultural recognition	1934	Johnson-O'Malley Act passed
		1933-40	Roosevelt's New Deal
		1952-59	Eisenhower's termination policy in effect
1961-Present	Self-determination	1965	Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed
		1971	Kennedy subcommittee report on Indian education
		1972	Indian Education Act passed
		1975	Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act passed

Figure 2

Significant Periods in the History of Indian-Federal Government Relations

It is not always clear whether Indian interests benefited or suffered during any particular period. For example, the cultural recognition phase encompasses the positive approach of Roosevelt's New Deal during which tribes, with Federal assistance, were encouraged to develop educational programs to better inform children of their language and heritage. The argument was that this would ease the social transition into the majority culture, not necessarily that the indigenous cultures were worth maintaining on their own merits.

After World War II, cultural recognition took a decidedly nonbenevolent stance, especially during the Eisenhower administration. Termination policy during the 1950s certainly recognized the cultural uniqueness of Indians, but it established that Indians were responsible for implementing their social and educational goals without government aid or guidance. The government limited its responsibility to providing individuals within the tribe with a one-time monetary compensation for lands and claims they would otherwise have been entitled to. The experiences of the Klamath and Menominee tribes whose reservation lands were terminated showed, however, that this government policy was tantamount to abolition of tribal cultural cohesion, especially as they served as political units capable of activating educational and social programs.

Government recognition of its responsibility to Indians developed only slowly. After the initial hostilities, which inevitably occurred after incursion into Indian lands, early settlers and their leaders east of the Mississippi felt an obligation to deal with the remaining Indians as souls to be saved and bodies to be incorporated into the mainstream. There was, however, no formal, publically sponsored machinery for educating Indians. What schools there were were run by concerned missionaries or in a few instances by the tribes themselves, but most education was informally provided by individuals in their homes or workshops. Education focused on teaching practical skills and enough rudimentary English to facilitate communication.

English-speaking settlements east of the Mississippi for the most part concurred in the belief of forced assimilation, and the benevolent, though patronizing, concern of a hundred years earlier was not to be found. It was during this period that Indian removal to reservations west of the Mississippi began. Essentially, the government had decided Indians were to be isolated. As President Andrew Jackson put it in 1833:

> The Indians have neither the intelligence, the industry, the moral habits, nor the desire for improvement which are essential to any favorable change in their condition.

The reservation system later came back to trouble the government and cause it financial strain, all of which activated a desire to end the problem once and for all by aggressive assimilation policies.

Schools were established on reservations for the express purpose of educating Indians out of their traditional ways. Since language is the most important transmitter of culture, teachers intuitively felt that the use of native languages would hinder the goal of assimilation, and they punished its use. Theodore Stern, an anthropologist, recorded the memories of an elderly Klamath man:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make us hold up a fence rail on our back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour.

The Federal government strengthened its efforts to assimilate Indians by establishing off-reservation boarding schools for secondary education. Indians were sent to schools hundreds and even thousands of miles away from their homes in places like Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Chemawa, Oregon, and Lawrence, Kansas. John Stands-in-Timber, a Cheyenne, described the situation at Haskell Institute in Lawrence in 1900: "Most people did not want to send their children away to school. They were gone for five years or longer without coming home...We never went home--no vacations--but they let us go off and work for farmers in the summer." Needless to say, the large number of tribes represented at a boarding school acted as an effective deterrent to communication in the native languages.

Closely following the establishment of boarding schools, the government in 1887 passed the Indian Allotment Act, the aim of which was to eliminate tribal control and government responsibility for reservation lands by putting small acreage allotments in the hands of individual Indians. Within a short time, however, many allotments had passed completely out of Indian control, as the new landholders learned they lacked the resources to develop them efficiently and pay required property taxes.

The Allotment Act did not accomplish the government's goal of getting out of Indian concerns. In fact, it antagonized relations with many tribes, led to lawsuits, and generally aggravated what had already become a serious social problem. The Allotment Act also produced some unfortunate side effects. By undermining the power base of tribal governments it led to less Indian control over what had been successful Indian-run programs.

It was, however, the Curtis Act of 1899 that most weakened tribal control over education. This Act mandated that all tribal schools be placed under the direction of a superintendent appointed by the Department of the Interior. Probably its most tragic effect was the erosion of the Cherokee educational system, which by 1895 had been providing instruction in English and Cherokee for 4,800 children in two high schools and 100 primary schools. It was felt at the time that the Cherokee system was the best of any tribe and compared favorably with many public schools. The success of the system was attributed to the pride the tribe took in their schools, which they had never allowed to come under Federal control. The new superintendent appointed under the Curtis Act changed the delivery system by hiring non-Indian teachers and instituting non-Indian teaching practices. Within six years all instruction was being provided in English and the community faced the same problems as other Indian schools: low attendance, high dropout rate, and low achievement.

CURRENT LEGISLATION AFFECTING INDIAN TRIBES

The failure of the first Federal termination policy led the government to recognize the special needs of peoples of different cultures. This recognition did not lessen the government's desire to remove itself from Indian education, but caused it to pass on responsibility to the states. The Federal government, however, continued to supply operating funds for Indian programs, by means of the 1934 Johnson-O'Malley Act. Johnson-O'Malley still remains today an important source of funds for implementing programs for Indian children.

The Federal government under the Eisenhower administration again tried to diminish its trustee relationship by putting into operation further mandatory termination policies. Such attempts only antagonized tribes around the country and further strained already taut relations. Eventually the policy was modified to make compliance voluntary rather than mandatory.

The net effect of both termination periods on Indian education was to increase substantially the number of Indian students in state-supported public schools. During the Eisenhower period particularly, the number of schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs declined significantly, just as the number of boarding schools had during the early cultural recognition phase. Had the termination policies remained in effect there would shortly have been no impetus for designing language and culture retention programs, and social problems in Indian communities would undoubtedly have intensified.

The impression should not be taken that tribes are incapable of making their way independently. Many tribes have made economically successful transitions into the majority culture without giving up their language and traditions. It is also apparent that for many tribes need is not a sufficient reason for accepting Federal aid. For instance, the Northern Utes have determined that the strings attached to government assistance--such as public access to tribal knowledge--make the assistance unacceptable. Other tribes have religious or other cultural objections to receiving any outside aid. They feel that any aid diminishes their autonomous status and makes them wards of the provider.

Probably the majority of Indian tribes, however, take a different approach to government aid. They feel that the privations they have endured through the years obligate the government to assisting them at least to the point of independence they enjoyed before white contact. The diminished opportunities they suffer as a consequence of contact now compel them to ask for a fairer share than they were given in the past.

Exactly these conclusions were reached by a 1969 Senate subcommittee investigating American Indian education. The report of the subcommittee established that the dominant Federal policy of coercive assimilation has produced misunderstanding, prejudice, and discrimination against Indians and created a school environment in which the Indian student suffers critical disadvantages. It attributed the cause of this social behavior to a continuing desire to exploit and expropriate Indian land and resources and an intolerance of cultural differences. The report was instrumental in stating the government's obligation to Indians and prepared the way for the policies of Indian self-determination which were to shortly follow.

The way was therefore set for giving over control of Indian programs not to Federal, state, or local governments, but to the Indians themselves. This approach was supported, albeit belatedly, by academics--linguists, anthropologists, sociologists, and others. The Economic Opportunity Act was interpreted to include Indians as well as other minorities, and this was followed by other efforts designed to involve Indians in making decisions, especially about their education. A number of laws, including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Indian Education Act of 1972, and the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, make explicit provisions that Indians be involved in all stages of education planning and program implementation. The Self-determination Act is especially important because its provisions apply to all Federal programs involving Indians --not only in education, but in housing, labor, health, justice, and elsewhere. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, will be devoted to discussing the implications of this important new law for language retention programs.

Language retention necessarily involves a community's educational style--whether that be the natural and informal setting of the family or the more structured setting of the classroom. Even when children are actively taught the native language from infancy, the schools must later become involved if children are to maintain a conception of the language as a useful communication tool. Within a literate society this means acquiring an ability to use written materials in the native language, not only newspapers, folk literature, and cultural histories, but also reference materials, such as dictionaries and grammars. As with English, the proper setting in which to

teach such abilities is the school, so any language retention program must be tied to the activities of some formal educational network. It follows that a language retention program can only be as successful as the school system allows it to be.

INDIAN SELF-DETERMINATION

But, how does a tribe get an effective program established in its schools? The question centers around the critical problem of what control Indians have over the policies set by local school boards or state decision makers. The issue is self-determination of educational policy. As William Demmert, former head of BIA education, put it: Self-determination represents the imperative need for "Indian parents and communities to participate in forming the cultural, psychological, physical, intellectual, and language base upon which schools must later build." It is "Indians running programs, controlling services, and participating in Federal decisions that affect them as Indians."

In a society that respects the linguistic and cultural traditions of American Indians, it would be unnecessary to raise the self-determination issue, but in a finding incorporated into the Indian Self-determination Act (Public Law 93-638), Congress reported that:

> the prolonged Federal domination of Indian service programs has served to retard rather than enhance the progress of Indian people and their communities by depriving Indians of the full opportunity to develop leadership skills crucial to the realization of self-government, and has denied to the Indian people an effective voice in the planning and implementation of programs for the benefit of Indians which are responsive to the true needs of Indian communities....

The Congressional finding is a recognition that Indian educational and social programs have failed.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF INDIAN TRIBES

Indian tribes have a still largely undefined--and some say, undefinable--legal relationship to the Federal government. Andrew Jackson, never a supporter of Indian rights, represented one early point of view. In 1817, he said:

> I have long viewed treaties with the Indians as absurdity not to be reconciled to the principles of our Government. The Indians are subjects of the United States, inhabiting its territory and acknowledging its sovereignty; then is it not absurd for the sovereign to negotiate by treaty with the subject?

But more or less at the same time the Supreme Court declared that:

> The words "treaty" and "nation" are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings, by ourselves, having each a definite and well understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians, as we have applied them to the other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense.

In an earlier decision the Court distinguished Indian tribes as "domestic dependent nations" in a relationship of a "ward to his guardian" to the Federal government. Between Jackson's opinion and the Supreme Court opinion, there was obviously

enough ambiguity to allow each Congress and administration the latitude to institute any policies it wanted.

It was not until 1871 that Congress attempted to clarify its Indian policies. In doing so it abruptly curtailed the autonomy of Indian tribes without, however, specifying what rights remained to them. It said:

> Hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty.

This legislative ruling removed the claims that tribes had to being foreign powers exempt from the jurisdiction of the United States; although, in keeping with its guardianship responsibility, it did not extinguish the claims that tribes had to exercise internal sovereignty. Consequently, in Federal law, tribes are still regarded as distinct political entities with governmental powers similar to and often exceeding those of states. Tribes can define their membership (something a state cannot do), regulate domestic relations of its members, control the conduct of its members, administer justice, elect or appoint tribal officials, and levy taxes, among other rights. Any of these rights is, however, granted by governmental prerogative and could theoretically be legislated away.

The rather tenuous nature of tribal sovereignty has been summarized in a recent Federal court decision:

> It would seem clear that the Constitution, as construed by the Supreme Court, acknowledges the paramount authority of the United States with regard to Indian tribes but recognizes the existence of Indian tribes as quasi-sovereign entities possessing all the inherent rights of sovereignty except where restrictions have been placed thereon by the United States itself.

Even though tribal sovereignty rests on the discretion of Congress to extend or rescind various rights, it is clear that some notion of sovereignty still applies. For contract purposes a tribe is at least equal in status to a local governmental unit and, in many ways, to a state governmental unit as well. For instance, money earmarked for Indian education can now be tapped by Indian tribes as well as by state agencies. Formerly, little of this money could be funneled directly through tribal organizations. Furthermore, Indian organizations must be given preference in awards over any other agencies, including state agencies, which might apply in competition for funds.

Indians as of 1924 became citizens of the United States, in addition to members of their particular tribal unit. They are consequently afforded all the protections that the Constitution confers on citizens, particularly the protections of the 5th and 14th Amendments, which provide for due process and equal protection of rights. In 1964 Congress defined these rights in the Civil Rights Act, which in part stipulates that:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

The Civil Rights Act has had a lasting effect on legislation and court decisions. In the area of Indian education it was a primary factor in the passage of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Bilingual Education Act of

1968, the Indian Education Act of 1972, and even the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975--all of which recognize the special needs of Indians. Collectively these laws, along with the Johnson-O'Malley Act, provide the apparatus for instituting a language retention program with Federal funds. None of these acts, however, had the effect of mandating particular language programs. It was left to the courts to decide the matter.

REMEDIES AGAINST LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION

Did children unable to speak English or children with limited English speaking ability receive equal educational opportunity in a school that instructed them only in English? The question was originally brought to court, as *Lau* v. *Nichols*. by parents of Chinese-speaking students in the San Francisco school system, but it applies equally to the situation in many Indian communities. After two lower court rulings in favor of the school system, the case went before the Supreme Court. The Court reversed the lower courts. It ruled:

> There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

Acting on this Court decision, Congress shortly after passed the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974.

There are several possible remedies to correct language discrimination: teaching English as a second language, teaching in the native language, and teaching in both languages. For several reasons, communities tended to prefer the last alternative--bilingual education. It allowed them to maintain their cultural identification and at the same time increase the economic opportunity for their children.

Bilingual education is by far the most expensive of the three alternatives, requiring completely new curricula, teaching materials, evaluation methods, and even instructors. Most school systems are unable to implement such programs without substantial Federal assistance. As Indian groups are concerned, most of this assistance comes from one or more of the programs cited earlier. Awards under these programs are given to tribes or to local or state education agencies, rather than to the community desiring the program. A potential difficulty can arise, therefore, if the wishes of the community do not coincide with the desires of the education agency. For instance, a grant proposal to the Office of Bilingual Education developed by a Menominee community in Wisconsin and intended to create a bilingual education program in the local public school system was refused a sign-off by the school superintendent. His grounds for refusal were that the program would constitute a burden to students over and above that already required of them. If they could not handle the curriculum as it was, they should not be handed additional responsibilities. The important issue here is not so much whether the superintendent's views are correct, but whether the community's right to self-determination was subverted.

Incidents such as this raise the question of the kinds of educational institutions Indians must deal with and what limits these institutions place on Indians' ability to determine policy. In the earliest days of this country what few schools there were for Indians were controlled by missionaries. The government had only an informal apparatus for administering to Indian education needs, although it did provide some subsidies to missionary schools. Later, as Indians came to be regarded as wards of the state, the Federal government stepped up its involvement with educational concerns, emphasizing vocational training. Eventually government involvement in

education produced the system of BIA-run boarding and day schools. The boarding schools were set up purposely to take Indians out of their normal environment. The idea was that in an alien setting they would be forced to give up their language and culture, and take on the methods and skills of the majority society. This philosophy, however, did not foresee the detrimental social effects of forced assimilation. Boarding schools consequently had none of their intended success, but instead the negative effect of isolating Indians from their own cultures. Needless to say, the boarding schools did not provide instruction in any matters of traditional concern to Indians, nor did they even permit communication in Indian languages.

As the failure of government-sponsored education for Indians became more and more evident, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has attempted to shift responsibility for Indian education to the states. Over the past forty years, the number of BIA-run schools has declined considerably at the same time that the number of Indian children attending state-run public schools has increased dramatically. At present approximately 80 percent of Indian children are educated in public schools, 15 percent in BIA schools, and 5 percent in religious or tribally run schools.

Because the majority of Indian children are publicly educated, Indian communities trying to institute language retention programs must approach public officials: state departments of education, county offices of education, and local school boards. If communities are to sway these groups they must have a good understanding of the legal implications of Indian self-determination. It can make the difference between getting a program at all, getting one with measurable chances of success, or getting one that may fail because of community bad faith and non-support. The next chapter will take a closer look at community involvement in the language retention program, detailing some of the procedures that can be followed to assure participation in educational policy making.

3

Community Involvement

Any language retention effort can be guaranteed to fail if the community is not involved in formulating policy and overseeing program activities. It is the community that must set priorities, develop goals, and choose between the alternative programs available to it. Because the majority of retention efforts involve some educational procedure and some specific educational institution, the community must be aware of the effects each effort will create and judge whether it has the capabilities of dealing with them. These capabilities include sufficiently trained personnel, appropriate facilities and equipment, and people knowledgeable in the language and culture.

TYPES OF COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMS

There are probably an unlimited number of community-based programs that can be conceived, each tailored to the needs of different communities. In general, though, programs will be designed around one or more of three objectives: *cultural enrichment*, *formal education*, and *preservation*. The three differ mainly in the types of institutions they use. Formal education demands a school setting with all that entails: a building, teachers, and curricular materials. Cultural enrichment activities have less stringent requirements. They may involve nothing more than attendance and observation at tribal affairs or they may be structured around field trips, the day-to-day activities of community centers, or apprenticeship training. Preservation programs establish repositories of information in libraries, museums, archives, or simply locate and identify human sources of information. Each kind of program can be aimed at a particular segment of the community--preschoolers, school-age children, adults--or at the community as a whole.

Many tribes have had formal education programs underway for a long time, some as far back as the early eighteenth century. Probably the most famous of these early efforts came after the development of the Cherokee syllabary. This writing system, a highly significant achievement of an Indian linguist, led to a degree of literacy among tribal members greater than that achieved by non-Indians of the day. The demise of the Cherokee school system eventually led to a sharp decrease in Cherokee literacy in the early twentieth century, but lately there has been a resurgence of interest in developing popular and educational reading materials using the syllabary. The syllabary is also being reintroduced into the Cherokee schools as part of the bilingual education programs now operating in various Cherokee communities.

Most projects, however, have fairly recent origins and are linked to one or another Federal programs. Almost all of these programs recognize the need to actively involve the community first in establishing what the goals of the program will be and, second, in putting the project into operation.

There is probably no limit to the ways a community can be made to recognize its need for a language retention program, but the most effective strategies will tie the language retention project to the correction of some social problem.

The Boston Indian Council, for instance, has attempted to tie its language program to Indian children's need for special treatment in the Boston schools. The Council is in the difficult position of trying to provide for the educational and other social needs of a large but mixed population of Indians who live in the Boston urban area. In this nonreservation setting, the Indian population is highly diluted within the non-Indian population--it is extremely difficult to convince the public school system to provide for its need for bilingual and bicultural education. The burden of instruction, therefore, falls on the parents and other interested community members, leaving the Council the problem of acquainting parents with the need for these services and then instructing them in how to provide them.

It accomplished this in a week-long workshop. Parents, staff members, and tribal elders all met together with teachers and curriculum specialists to consider the problems facing the community: how to improve the self-concept of Indian children and how to keep alive in the children the language and traditions of the community. The findings of the workshop constitute a set of community needs: to include Indian language and culture in the classroom, to emphasize Native American philosophies in curricula, to emphasize traditional Indian teaching methods, to make school subject areas responsive to Indian concerns, to promote freedom of expression among Indian children, and to involve elders and parents closely in the educational process.

The Boston Council defined its needs as cultural enrichment and formal education for the Indian community, focusing especially on the needs of preschool and school-age children. Other communities faced with essentially the same problems have established their priorities somewhat differently. For instance, the American Indian Council on Alcoholism in Milwaukee has instituted a program in Oneida language instruction for adults, with the intention of providing recovering alcoholics an alternative to drinking. To make the instruction appropriate to an adult audience, the class is conducted in conjunction with a traditional arts training program. The objectives of both programs are to restore to participants the ability to conduct Oneida socials in which singing and dancing are emphasized, to hold the traditional Oneida winter games, and to keep alive the traditional arts of costume making, silver smithing, and mask carving.

Other programs put an emphasis on preservation as well as instruction. The Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas, for example, as part of its comprehensive language retention plan, intends to set up a library that will act as a centralized deposit for cultural materials on the Kickapoo. The library will serve as a cultural learning center for the Indian community as well as a resource center for non-Indian educators, government officials, and others interested in Kickapoo language and culture. The library is, however, only one part of an education program that overall aims to teach both children and adults in a supportive, family-centered environment. Formal education is deemphasized in favor of classes in which mutual learning takes place in family groups.

Many Indian communities are concerned about surrendering control of the educational process to school authorities. In a recent survey, Native Alaskan parents expressed a common desire that school curricula and activities center themselves around the life-style of the community. This is not to imply that they wanted only traditional Indian concerns to be emphasized. All parents were realistic about the need to educate students in contemporary culture, which carries over certain aspects of traditional Indian culture, but also includes a good measure of non-Indian culture. At the same time parents felt that it was not sufficient to include simply a new course or two in Indian language and culture into the curriculum. Any action taken required a total reorientation of Native Alaskan education, one which involved parents and grandparents. People felt it most important that the continuity with the traditional Indian past not be interrupted.

SETTING PROGRAM FOCUS

Still, for most Indian communities the public school system cannot be ignored. Tribes have to deal with the social and political realities of modern American education, although they can still do much within the system to provide for their needs. This is easiest to do if the school system is Indian controlled, but even where this is not the case, much can be done to assure that Indian concerns are adequately attended to. For instance, if the school system receives any sort of funds for educating Indians, a parent committee must be set up to approve and monitor the spending of those funds.

Most language retention projects centered in the public schools involve either full or reduced bilingual education programs. A full program is one in which a majority of school subjects, or at least those with major relevance to Indian community activities, are taught in the Indian language or in some combination of the Indian language with English. In a reduced program, instruction in the Indian language is provided much as if it were a foreign language course. The grammar and literature of the language are taught either independently or in conjunction with the culture and history of the tribe. Very few Indian programs have reached the stage where they have been able to incorporate full bilingual education programs in their schools. The history of the Crow tribe's involvement in bilingual education can serve as an example of why this is so. It also emphasizes the need for community planning and participation.

There are currently four different school districts operating bilingual education programs on the Crow reservation in southeastern Montana. The first of these, at Crow Agency, was started in 1970 in a district that was not Indian controlled but in a school with a 90 percent Indian enrollment. Almost all children entering the school were bilingual in Crow and English and there was consequently no urgent need to provide them lessons in Crow to bring them up to conversational fluency. At that time there were no available teaching materials in Crow and, in fact, no orthography had yet been refined for community use. During the first two years of the project, then, instruction was completely oral; there was no attempt to teach literacy in Crow. But also during this time, efforts were made by community members working with linguists to settle on an orthography and develop a primer for class use. Written materials were polished over the next year, and in 1974 instruction in Crow literacy was begun in the first grade of the elementary school. Children in this program entered voluntarily and were instructed mainly in Crow and taught English as a second language. Instruction in English reading was not introduced until the second grade. An important finding of this experiment was that learning Crow first had no negative effect on these students learning to read English. In fact they tended to outperform students who did not participate in the bilingual education program, and they have continued to do so.

The success of the program at Crow Agency apparently stimulated other districts to apply for bilingual education funds with the unfortunate result that the few trained personnel able to teach these sorts of classes were dispersed throughout the reservation. This led to the Agency school having to backtrack and temporarily suspend the instruction in Crow reading. The program is only now recovered to the point where literacy is again being taught, but only in the upper grades after English has already been learned.

The Crow retrenchment was most immediately caused by having so few people trained to instruct in the language. But a deeper cause is the poor understanding that adult Crow speakers have of the importance of reading and writing Crow. Essentially all adults are literate in English, and they use English for all everyday activities requiring reading or writing. Attempts to interest adults in reading Crow are hampered by the very few written materials available, but even more so by the

difficulties adults encounter in learning to read it. In contrast to children, adults find that English interferes significantly with being able to comfortably read Crow. This state of affairs, of course, lasts only as long as it takes for adults to become sufficiently practiced, but this is a relatively long time, and it causes some amount of frustration. Efforts are now being made to give adult education a higher priority by providing literacy classes at the university level. As adults become increasingly confident of their abilities to read they are encouraged to begin writing. The body of written materials thereby increases in proportion to the number of people able to read. It will probably be a matter of time before the successes of the adult education program filter down to the elementary school, but the initial success of the school program makes this almost inevitable. The Crow experience in bilingual education--part success, part failure--points up the need for careful planning of the language retention effort.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN SETTINC EDUCATION POLICY

The best way to insure that a community's formal education needs are met is for the community to control the decision-making process. This can be reliably accomplished only through majority membership on the local school board. Education in the United States, by tradition and design, is under local control, so questions of curriculum design, personnel, and funding are left to local initiative. The state may exert a measure of control in requiring conformity to certain standards to assure equality of opportunity and quality of education, but basic control is at the local level, hence the importance of controlling the school board.

In communities that are wholly or predominantly Indian there is usually less of a problem in securing sufficient votes to effect control over school boards. However, as many as two-thirds of Indian children are educated in school districts where they are clearly in the minority. In such situations Indian parents may be able to elect one or more members to the school board, but control is usually not obtainable.

Large reservation-based tribes usually have more alternatives than smaller tribes or ones that are dispersed or urbanized. In addition to participating in the public school system of their state, the reservations often have an access to federally operated schools. The BIA, even though it actively advocates state responsibility for Indian education, recognizes the difficulties that states will have in providing for the needs of those reservation Indians who have traditionally been served by BIA schools. The problem stems from the fact that reservations are exempt from government taxes on property, which provide the funds on which public school systems operate. Special funds for federally impacted areas, such as reservations, are available, but recently these have not been authorized for construction expenses. The state is consequently left with substantial financial responsibility.

In an attempt to deal fairly with this problem, the BIA has begun to contract with tribes to provide educational services for their members. The earliest and best known of these contract schools is the Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo reservation in Arizona. The school is established as a private, nonprofit corporation whose policies are set by an all-Navajo school board. It is funded primarily by the BIA and the Office of Economic Opportunity, although it also receives operating funds from independently secured grants. Its curriculum conforms closely to community interests. Its success--which has been substantial--is the result of a healthy mix of outside financial and technical support and intense community involvement. The Rough Rock program, however, was funded as a demonstration program. Other communities may find it more difficult to tap the same money or consultant sources, especially for already established programs.

Under other types of arrangements, the BIA supplies operating funds for Indian-run schools to the same extent that it would have allocated money to send students to federally run boarding schools. The Ramah Navajo High School and the Busby School on the Northern Cheyenne reservation are two examples. Ramah, which was originally part of a public school district, was abandoned by the district for financial reasons. The community was then faced with the equally unattractive alternatives of transporting the children twenty-five miles to the closest high school or sending them to boarding schools. Instead, the community opted to take control of the high school. They elected a private school board, which successfully negotiated with the BIA for operating funds.

At Busby, the school was already being run by the BIA as a combination day-and-boarding school. In its fifty years of operation, the school had had no measurable success in educating its students. When this fact was brought out in Senate committee hearings, steps were taken to transfer control of the school from the BIA. The community chose to assume control, and contracted with the BIA through the tribal council to provide operating expenses.

It is also possible to merge Indian schools into existing public school systems if the school board is in sympathy with the interests of the Indian community. There are of course limitations imposed by the state on the right to establish a new school district. Often, for example, these regulations state that the geographic area of the district be contiguous and of a certain minimum size or population and that it must have sufficient financial resources to maintain its schools according to state standards. The limitation regulating size would effectively limit this option to those tribes with substantial reservation holdings. Even for these tribes, the lack of a taxable base for reservation lands could interfere with the tribe's meeting the provision that the district be self-sufficient. There are several ways, however, to meet this requirement other than through assessed property valuation.

The third limitation--that the creation of the new school district violates the intent of Federal regulations to promote equal opportunity--has more substance, since it involves the all-encompassing provisions of the Civil Rights Act. By setting up special districts to serve their own needs, Indians in effect segregate themselves. On the surface such actions violate the rights of Indians who do not wish to be segregated as well as those of non-Indians who do wish to be. Defenses against a charge of segregation, however, might include the assertion that the separation is intended to build the cultural identity of the group, not to interfere with or alienate other groups.

Successful formation of Indian-controlled school districts is uncommon. One school district that has had a good deal of success is the Rocky Boy District carved out of the Havre Public School District in Montana. The three schools on the Rocky Boy Reservation were run by BIA until 1959 when they were turned over to the control of the Havre School District. Parental dissatisfaction with the policies of the school board eventually led to a reorganization effort, and in 1970 the Rocky Boy District was established. The new school board instituted a mandatory Cree-English bilingual education program for students in the elementary school and provided the necessary support personnel for the program, including a translator, artist, printer, curriculum specialist, and audiovisual specialist. It also set up a research component to gather language and culture data and make it available to the instructional staff. All of these activities are currently funded through Federal programs, again because the district has no guaranteed financial base in local property taxes.

LEVELS OF CONTROL

Most Indian communities will have less than total control over educational policies in their district. Fortunately, however, many guarantees are built into the

provisions of Federal law to allow community members a substantial say in matters affecting Indian children. For example, among the rules and regulations pertaining to funding under the Indian Education Act is the provision that:

> Applicants...must provide information and materials sufficient to establish that parents of the Indian children to be served and tribal committees were consulted and involved in the planning and development of the project and would actively participate in the operation and evaluation of the project.

Similarly worded provisions are included in the regulations of other programs serving Indian needs. The intent of all such provisions, based on the philosophy of Indian self-determination, is to assure Indian input into all phases of the decision-making process.

A critical decision for tribes is the degree of control they want to exert over the education of their members. The decision must to a large extent be shaped by practical considerations: how large is the tribe, how dispersed is the membership, is the tribe factionalized, how many students will be served, in what condition are the language and the traditional culture. It will also be important, however, to understand beforehand the type of program the community wants: is formal language instruction important, does the community want primarily a repository for information, must the schools be involved, does the community want to allow others access to cultural information? The greatest amount of control would result from the establishment of an Indian-run school district, with tribal members serving all important administrative and teaching functions. Such a structure would insure a unified program throughout district schools, as well as ease the way to acquiring special Federal funds.

In the case where a tribe is so large that it extends beyond the geographic boundaries of a single school district, a higher level of control might be considered. The Navajo Tribe, for instance, set up the Navajo Division of Education with the intention that it serve as a governmental unit equivalent in scope and powers to state departments of education. The Division is attempting to convince Federal and state governments to allow it to set educational policy for the more than one hundred schools and twenty school districts on the Navajo Reservation. The need for unification is particularly difficult for the Navajo because the reservation spans three states, each with its own education policies. As the Division of Education has said:

> The end result [of the three-state division of the tribe] is the present series of fragmented educational efforts with no common framework oriented to, or directly responsive to, the unique educational needs of the Navajo people.

Tribes less extensive in area and less populous are spared the difficulties of establishing such a complex hierarchy of control, but they must resign themselves to the prospect of state ties and some state control over their educational goals.

At the next level of control is the Indian-dominated school board. The school board is a recognized legal entity with powers to legislate and contract with other individuals or groups. It delegates day-to-day responsibility for the operation of the district to a superintendent, but retains for itself the power to set policies, seek funding, evaluate the program, and institute changes. The school board should always be responsive to the needs of the community and should make itself accessible to the community either directly or indirectly through the agency of the superintendent, school principals, or other supervisory personnel in the district.

Membership on a school board is by election or appointment. The district will specify in its articles of incorporation who may become a member; how members are placed in office, how often meetings will be held; who may or must attend; and other questions of organization and responsibilities.

Advisory or parent councils differ from school boards in that they lack legal status and cannot make laws or enter into contracts. As their name suggests they advise boards on community desires. The Indian Self-determination Act, however, recently elevated the status of advisory boards. Their counsel and their approval is now required by law before Federal funds may be allocated--if a school board intends to apply for Federal funds affecting Indian education it must demonstrate that it has the Indian community's backing in the endeavor. Furthermore, by law, the board must listen to Indian comments regarding how funds are actually spent.

Many school boards have gone further than required by law and have delegated administrative responsibility for a particular Federal project to the advisory board. The Modoc County Joint Unified School District in California, for example, has set up the Modoc Indian Education Center to supervise all Federal programs benefitting Indians. The Parents and Advisory Committees of the Center are responsible for overseeing the Johnson-O'Malley, Title VII, and Title IV programs. They recommend personnel, including the project director; approve funding; pass on Center activities and curriculum; and in other ways act as the primary decision maker. Of course, all legal responsibility rests with the school board and it retains veto power over Committee decisions.

Advisory committee membership is often specified by the particular agency funding a program. Title VII, for instance, requires that the committee be elected by parents of children who participate in the program, although any interested community member may be nominated, including teachers and high school students. BIA regulations, however, specify that Johnson-O'Malley advisory committees consist only of Indian parents.

Communities can often anticipate that the local school board may not be responsive to their needs. In one such case, the Mohawk community on the St. Regis Reservation in New York boycotted its school system, demanding the right to vote in school board elections; to serve on the school boards; to have Mohawk instructors in the schools; to maintain their on-reservation schools; and to institute a curriculum in Mohawk language and culture. The boycott successfully focused opinion and the community eventually was granted the representation it sought.

An Indian community faced with a recalcitrant school board has several other options in asserting its right to self-determination. If it is a large and influential community, it might organize its own school district, facing, however, many of the difficulties discussed earlier. It can, on the other hand, incorporate itself and thus be legally capable of contracting directly with the government to provide needed services. Under the Self-determination Act such Indian corporations have competitive advantages over non-Indian school districts and other corporations. Programs established under such auspices, however, have the disadvantage that services must be provided separately from and in addition to the regular school curriculum. They consequently put an extra burden on students. A third alternative, but one that does not recommend itself because of the time and cost involved, is to bring suit against the offending school district under the equal opportunity statutes.

Needs Assessment

No project of any kind can hope to succeed if it has no idea of where it is going or how to get there. This may seem so fundamental that it is self-evident, and yet, the major criticism evaluators have of government-funded programs is that they do not know where they are bound. It is the purpose of the needs assessment to clearly lay out not only the community's needs but also to put clearly in mind the goals and objectives of any program designed to provide for those needs. Both parts are essential. It makes no sense to apply a remedy if there is no injury and it makes no sense to apply an ineffective remedy if better ones are available. The government's Title IV evaluation handbook puts it this way: "Assessment of educational needs is not only the beginning of the evaluation process, it is also the beginning of the fulfillment process."

The best way of beginning a needs assessment is not, as one might think, to zero in on community deficits. In comparison with other groups the community may see a disparity in the number of books available in its schools and immediately assume that it needs books. It then equates the need with the goal and asks a funding source to provide it with more books. Many questions are left unanswered, most important: for what purpose will the books be used? and who will use the books? In this overly simplified example, it is actually the *motivation* behind the community's perceived need that constitutes the *real* need. The community is concerned because its children are not performing adequately in school, as graduates they are not getting jobs, as mature adults they are becoming alcoholics, as people of any age they are poor and disadvantaged. The goals of any corrective action always lie in the aspirations the community has to alleviate these social needs.

SOCIAL MOTIVATIONS FOR LANGUAGE RETENTION

No one project, of course, can hope to solve all social problems. Very often, if not carefully planned, it can create different problems. The higher education programs for Indians, for instance, took the brightest students off the reservation for training, but in doing so made it difficult for them to return. Without concurrent economic advancement programs, the reservations were not able to provide adequate job opportunities for those with college educations. Consequently, the community, in losing its trained members, suffered a decrease in its potential. By starting with a full, complete set of social goals, it is much more likely that the community can better anticipate what overlapping effects projects will have on one another.

The needs assessment process, therefore, begins by identifying the community goals, comparing the present state of affairs against the goals, and then simply stating needs in terms of the gap separating the actual situation from the hoped-for results. The important point to remember is that needs are derived from considering relevant data, they are not preconceived. The kinds of social goals a community sets must, of course, be realistic. At the minimum this comes to mean

that the community wants the same advantages and opportunities that exist for the populace at large, a desire that has been built into law in the substance of equal opportunity legislation. The maximum set of realistic goals is determined somewhat by practical considerations--not everyone in the community can be made into a millionaire--and somewhat by the nature of necessary interactions between groups--the community cannot revert back to a completely traditional way of life. However, it can and should strive to create better than average opportunities for its members.

Realistic goals will center around the issues of retaining actual language skills or of preserving language-related materials. The language skills to be maintained can be either comprehension or production skills--the ability to listen to and understand speech versus the ability to speak and make one's self understood. The goal of a program might be for all or some community members to achieve complete fluency or, if this is not realistic, for them to aim for limited fluency in all or some social contexts.

Within a larger social perspective, the justifications for setting up a language retention program all revolve around the hope that it will better the social condition of community members. The program cannot in and of itself lead to higher rates of employment, less drug and alcohol dependence, or higher scholastic achievement. Nor will it directly lessen the amount of prejudice and discrimination directed toward Indians. What it does do is provide a critical link between the positive aspirations the community has for itself and the increased knowledge the community has of its cultural heritage: what is customarily called an improvement in self-esteem.

Self-esteem is an expression of a harmonious relationship between a person's personality and environment and it leads to a belief that the environment is manageable and beneficient. In practical terms it promotes a sense of confidence in one's worth and abilities and expresses itself in a high level of motivation. Indian communities make the argument that their members have damaged or undeveloped self-concepts stemming from the treatment they have received historically and, in some cases, from the adverse treatment they still receive. The remedy as they see it is to educate the community in the intrinsic worth of its Indian heritage.

Unfortunately, at the present time, there are not very many positive indications that the remedy actually works, the main reason being that very few programs have progressed so smoothly that stated objectives have been attained. Where we do have evidence from well-run programs and well-controlled evaluative studies, however, it points to a confirmation of the hypothesis. One of these studies, by Paul Rosier and Wayne Holm, compared the bilingual education method of teaching at the Rock Point (Navajo) Community School with the English as a foreign language method at other Navajo schools. Essentially all children coming into the Rock Point school are monolingual in Navajo. Since 1973 these children began their instruction in Navajo rather than in English. This included learning to read in Navajo before any instruction in English reading was given. Children were also taught mathematics in Navajo before instruction began in English.

Rosier and Holm used the results of standardized tests of reading and arithmetic achievement based on national norms to conclude that the children taught bilingually performed better in English than those children taught exclusively in English. They tested the same children over a three-year period and found that the score differences between the two groups actually increased in each subsequent year. At the end of the study the bilingual group was essentially at the national average, whereas the English-only group was considerably behind.

It is difficult to control all the possible variables that might have influenced Rock Point children; bilingual education may have been only one of many. It is also

difficult to be certain at this point that bilingual education alone accounted for the relatively greater achievement of these students. But it is undeniable that the program had the impact it did because it successfully defined the needs of the community beforehand and applied a remedy that was sensitive to the underlying problem. Even though it is difficult to prove conclusively that the program increased the self-esteem of young students, it obviously generated a learning environment in which children could see the relevance of the curriculum to their own lives.

Federal funding programs recognize the relevance of social factors in assessing need. The program guidelines for administering the Indian Education Act, for example, admit into consideration information relating not just to the educational needs of children, but also to their affective and social needs. Factors such as a deficient early education, an adverse home environment, negative peer group influence, ethnic discrimination, and even health and nutrition problems have all been successfully cited in applying for educational rehabilitation funds. In setting up its needs assessment, the community should look closely at its circumstances and draw all the connections between needs and possible solutions that seem justified.

The real purpose of a needs assessment is not simply to identify and define important problems facing the community. It aims much more at taking what information is available and using it to develop a strategy for solving the problems. This amounts to assigning a priority to each of the identified needs to determine those corrective actions that will operate most effectively. Then, once a program has been selected, the needs assessment has further use as a means to set program objectives and to provide a baseline for later evaluating the success of the program. The needs assessment by itself cannot, of course, assure an effective program, but, on the other hand, an effective program is impossible without it.

PROBLEM-SOLVING STRATEGIES

A needs assessment is intended to identify both the *goals* and *objectives* of a program. The two terms are distinguishable in the needs assessment context in that they result from different analytic procedures. Program goals are those larger, ultimate, hoped-for changes in circumstances from which needs are determined; whereas program objectives are those attainments that will likely result from applying specific corrective actions. Ideally, the objectives, singly or collectively, will match up exactly with the community goals. Objectives, however, must be stated more pragmatically than goals: they are tied to specific program activities--goals need not be. For instance, the community may have set a goal that all children have accessibility to higher education. This may be achievable in a number of ways through the program: the primary objective might be to counsel children regarding the benefits of college; it might be to initiate a tutoring program; it might be to develop reading skills; or it might be to begin bilingual instruction.

It is important to evaluate periodically whether the objectives are on target. To do this most effectively, it is helpful if objectives are stated in terms of measurable parameters. Instead of stating only that schools will offer bilingual instruction, an objective might specify instead that first graders will be able after six months of instruction to read short narratives in the Indian language, using a vocabulary of a hundred words, or that third graders will be able to converse in the Indian language with a parent or grandparent about a particular cultural event. If it has been predetermined in the needs assessment that these abilities were lacking, then the objectives provide a convenient way to determine if the program activities have been successful in accomplishing their intended task.

The needs assessment will represent the community consensus on language retention. As such it is a document that should legitimately express the opinion of

the majority regarding any goals set and any programs contemplated. Its preparation also prepares the community for the investment it must make to see a program to a successful completion. A needs assessment does not guarantee success, but its absence almost certainly guarantees failure. The needs assessment process, therefore, must attempt to collect data from a variety of sources and collate all of this data into a commonly acknowledged set of goals and procedures. The process takes place in two steps: data collection and data analysis.

METHODS OF GATHERING DATA

Data collection is equivalent to gathering information. A special term is employed because the information is gathered using methods that make it suitable to analysis. In other words, data collection attempts to be systematic and thorough. In actual situations, however, data collection can be so systematic that it risks actually hiding important information. If a question can be answered by a simple yes or no, then it is an easy procedure to ask the question of a number of people, record their answers and tabulate the results. The question may be, "Do we want bilingual education for the children?" Many respondents will no doubt have strong enough opinions about the issue to give a quick positive or negative response. There will, however, be a large number of in-betweens, those who would state their opinion with some qualification if given the opportunity. In a survey that limits responses, these people are not fairly represented and useful information will be lost. If, however, the question is rephrased to a more open-ended form, "What do you think about bilingual education for the children?" there may not be enough commonality in the answers to generate a statistic. Data collectors must be sensitive to the type of information they require and understand that there will be good and better ways to question people about it.

In general there are three sources from which to collect information for the needs assessment: community sampling, expert testimony, and official records. Community sampling is by far the most important source, especially because the law requires that community interests be made known and community input be evidenced before Federal funds can be allocated. Community sampling can take one of three forms: the survey, community meetings, and consensus reporting. The survey is the commonest of the three, partly because it allows for easy analysis. It usually involves asking a set of questions, either in a questionnaire or in a personal interview session. If the survey is to present an accurate picture of the community's views, the persons who are surveyed must be carefully selected to ensure that they are representative of the group.

Community meetings attempt to get around several problems inherent in the survey method. They are relatively short, while surveys often take a great deal of time to administer and analyze. They neutralize personality dynamics, which exist in any interviewer-respondent situation. These can vary from day to day or from situation to situation, and often cannot be controlled. A group meeting does not eliminate these effects altogether, but it does establish the same set of circumstances for everyone in attendance. Meetings, of course, have their own set of drawbacks. It is difficult to ensure that responses are randomly received from the group. since one or another faction may be more vocal than others. It is also difficult to remove group dynamics from what should be expressions of individual preferences. People may give an opinion contrary to their real beliefs because a valued friend or relative with a contrary opinion is sitting nearby.

Consensus reporting is a method that attempts to eliminate all problems stemming from personal or group interactions. An investigative panel is set up with responsibility to put a set of issues into circulation. They might do this by airing the issues at public forums, by reporting them in local media, by encouraging school

teachers to consider them in class, and so on. Assuming that the issues are provocative enough to interest the community at all, individuals will take up the issues and discuss them. Opinions will tend to be formed, not on preconceptions, but on the basis of pro and con argumentation between interested individuals. As community opinions become firm they make their way back to the panel through more or less the same indirect channels in which the issues were circulated. The obvious advantage of this method is that it allows some discussion of an issue in terms of its probable effects. It is unlikely that any one individual without the benefit of discussion has enough of a grasp on the ramifications of an issue to the kind of considered opinion the data collectors need. The obvious disadvantage of this method is that it does not lend itself to quantification or statistical analysis.

The other methods of data collection--using expert testimony and official records--speak for themselves. Experts of one kind or another are oftentimes available to provide detailed information concerning the history of a community, the probability that a particular method will work or not work, alternative methods of reaching a goal, or the best way to lay out a program strategy. Experts, however, often have vested interests, which may or may not coincide with the community's interests. Their advice should be used only in conjunction with community sampling.

Official records will be used not so much to determine goals as to document real needs. Records may originate from school reports, from labor statistics, from housing patterns, from judicial records, and from numerous other sources. Again, they are most useful only *after* the community has determined the goals it intends to concentrate on. One of the most important uses of records is to establish the baseline for any corrective actions to be taken.

Projects for Indians aiming at language retention may have needs assessment requirements over and above those already outlined. To receive Federal funding they have to determine that the population to be benefited is actually eligible, and they have to assess the language abilities of the affected population. (The first of these requirements is necessary only if the community wishes to make use of funds earmarked for Indians.) If this is the case, then it must usually list the names of eligible recipients. In the past, eligibility was determined by a number of valid and some invalid criteria. Because many grants are funneled through school districts, it often happened that non-Indian teachers made the determination as to whether a child was Indian. This may have been done by simply observing the child for certain racial characteristics or asking children about their ethnic background. Both of these methods have been disallowed by most Federal programs, and alternative methods must now be used. The most common of these include listing on tribal rolls or demonstrating that a parent or grandparent was a full-blooded Indian. It is also possible for parents to verify that their children are Indians.

A language assessment is at the base of any language retention effort, although the formality and thoroughness of the assessment will vary with the type of program the community is anticipating. At the least, it should point to the status that best characterizes the community's language. This can be accomplished by any of the data collection methods described above. In cases where more precise data are required, say to determine eligibility for bilingual education funds or to determine compliance with the *Lau* v. *Nichols* decision, it is useful to test for language dominance (see Chapter 5). Essentially, this involves measuring the individual's comprehension and productive skills in English and the Indian language in one or more cultural domains; for example, in the home, in school, at play. The testing procedure should be minimally dependent on written materials since most Indian languages have had relatively short periods of literacy or are still unwritten, and it should be conducted by trained personnel who are themselves completely bilingual. Several different tests are commercially available and could be adapted to test speakers of individual Indian languages.

5

Instructional Methods

Program needs distribute themselves among three major areas of concern: the choice of an instructional method, the development of materials, and the training of staff. Collectively, the attention given these three areas determines the language retention strategy to be adopted. No program is complete without some attention to each of the three areas, but it is the instructional method that will determine the most important decisions regarding materials and staff needs. For instance, if the program intends to institute bilingual education in the public schools, a chain reaction highlighting other needs will be put into operation. First, there will be a need for written text materials and bilingual instructors. The types of materials to be developed might require the attention of people trained in linguistic analysis and curriculum development, in addition to those resource people in the community who can provide substantive information. Bilingual instructors, in turn, must be provided with materials that can inform them of the structural organization of both English and the Indian language so that they can anticipate where problems may crop up for students. They must also receive appropriate training in content areas and educational methods, all requiring some higher education. This means that colleges and universities must be equipped to provide appropriate instruction or that communities must take on themselves the task of training instructors.

The discussion of the first chapter raised the idea that language retention is an active process requiring learning, and distinguished language retention from language preservation. It also considered the merits of beginning native language instruction in the home by teaching it to infants. Home instruction, however, requires individual parental decisions; it is something that cannot be mandated as a community program, as school instruction can. It is difficult, then, to conceive of ways to involve Federal funding agencies in elaborate plans to provide home instruction. In a sense, home learning will be the result of a successful language retention program; it is difficult to make it a critical element of the program itself. Consequently, in this chapter discussion centers on learning programs that involve the community as a whole.

IN-SCHOOL AND OUT-OF-SCHOOL PROGRAMS

The first important distinction to be made in choosing an instructional method is whether to institute instruction in or out of the schools. The decision for an out-of-school program might be motivated by the wishes of the tribe to reserve for itself all information concerning its native language and traditional culture or it could be motivated by the politics involved in dealing with an unsympathetic school board. It might, on the other hand, reflect an opinion that out-of-school instruction is more valuable than what the schools could provide or that it is the learning environment more in tune with traditional teaching practices. Cultural instruction in Indian societies has traditionally been by demonstration and oral transmission, rather than by formal procedures that rely heavily on written materials. In this context practical experience, including that of telling stories or explaining history, counts more

than the ability to reference sources of information or to recall facts. Literacy, in other words, takes a second seat to experience and the older people tend to be valued as teachers.

The Boston Indian community, like many other urban groups, is small in proportion to the non-Indian majority and has had a difficult time convincing the public school administration to respond to its needs. The district pleads that the small number of Indians scattered throughout the system make any Indian-centered programs economically unfeasible. Faced with this situation, the Boston Indian Council has attempted an ambitious plan to teach Indian language and culture by traditional methods. The program started from the premise that traditional methods can be effective means of conveying information. The Council's task was to provide parents and elders first with confidence in their abilities to relate information and, second, with some techniques to increase the interest of children in learning the abstractions of language and culture. They settled on procedures and materials that visually emphasized verbally related information. For instance, a short story in the Indian language would be told in conjunction with the performance of a puppet play. Another strategy was to make language learning an integral part of game playing.

The program has a number of well-conceived goals. It intends overall to serve as a retention strategy, which, at a minimum, will keep the language skills children already have from being eroded. But, as any effective retention procedure must strive to do, it attempts to leave the language healthier than it was when the program began. It expects, therefore, that children will enter the English-speaking classroom psychologically better prepared to deal with their Indianness, that community members will become involved in the formal education of their children as resource people for the schools, and that adults will see Indian language use as a positive goal.

Out-of-school programs, such as Boston's, suffer certain inherent disadvantages over in-school programs, and, given certain circumstances, would be difficult to carry out. The most serious aspect is that they have to be optional, and as such there is no way to guarantee consistency or direction of learning. If children, or adults for that matter, are learning essentially independently of one another, it is difficult to assure that there will be enough commonality in abilities for normal conversational situations to develop. The Boston program can step around this difficulty only because the children entering the program already have fairly well-developed language abilities. Almost all of them are capable of understanding their language, and the majority are also able to speak it, even though it might be with some hesitancy.

Only somewhat less important is the lack of incentive that develops over time in programs without a reliable funding base. Schools have the distinct advantage of being recognized cultural institutions, a status that effectively grants them access to public and private funds. A program like Boston's, which must live off occasional grants, cannot hope to set up permanent instructional activities without volunteered help and outside donations. This is, in fact, how its two teaching programs operate. This type of funding base is, of course, unreliable. Volunteers, who must provide somehow for their own financial interests, are often difficult to keep. And donations may not be forthcoming at the time that bills are due. Out-of-school programs must continually provide staff training and must continually find the ingenuity to do interesting things on a shoestring.

The Boston experience demonstrates two points: complex and integrated language retention programs are most effectively run through the schools, and schools at all levels of instruction must be involved in the effort. Because Indian control over school systems is a fairly recent occurrence and, in fact, only sporadically attested, most communities face a serious initial problem of having to approach separate school

administrators and urge them to coordinate a cohesive program. Considering the difficulties, most programs have to proceed a step at a time. In practice this translates into a program that begins at the earliest grades and gradually expands with the already prepared students as they advance through the upper grades.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Gradual expansion is also recommendable on other than budgetary and administrative grounds. Assume, for example, that the community is dealing with a declining language, one in which children have limited abilities in the Indian language and, for their age, full abilities in English. In the usual course of events, as children get older the discrepancy in ability between the two languages will tend to grow; as they progress in school their English will expand with their cognitive and emotional growth while the unused Indian language will stay at a relatively juvenile level of ability. Before long, without a language retention program, the children will not have the grammatical or vocabulary resources in the Indian language to converse in it productively. Eventually the point will be reached and then passed where the children can be taught by the same "natural" methods that work so well for younger children. They will have to be taught by more formal methods appropriate to learning any second language. However, if these same children had from their earliest school years received instruction in the Indian language, their abilities in it would have kept pace with English and they would be prepared to cope with content instruction, say mathematics, history, geography, and science, in the Indian language as well as in English. The lesson is clear: the earlier instruction begins the more that can be accomplished. The most effective strategy, therefore, for a community just beginning its retention effort would be to equalize children's abilities in both languages very early and then take pains to keep them equalized throughout their school years. This does not mean that older age groups need be neglected, only that any program intended for older individuals should be supplementary to and supportive of educational efforts aimed at younger people.

The kind of program being described is what is commonly known as bilingual education. In practice, the term is widely applied, and has been used to describe a wealth of often opposing philosophies. Ideally, however, bilingual education refers to a situation in which equal amounts of instruction are provided in each of a child's two languages. The result would be a child who can easily handle concepts in any area of instruction in either language. There are, however, probably no or only few such programs for Indian children. Two main reasons explain this situation. First, very few Indian children begin their formal schooling with equal proficiency in both of their languages. One language will typically be dominant over the other, meaning it will be favored in most situations and will be better developed. Second, the great majority of Indian languages are still unwritten or have only recently been brought to written form--there are few if any materials available to use in instruction. Only the first of these reasons will be a concern of this chapter; the second will be taken up in the next.

Language dominance can favor either the Indian language or English. Obviously a bilingual education program must adapt itself to the existing abilities and preferences of children, and a program in which children are primarily dominant in English will differ substantially from one in which they are dominant in the Indian language. What makes any bilingual education program so difficult to institute and regulate is that children in any particular class will vary significantly in their language abilities. If half the class is English dominant and the other half Indian language dominant, the instructor is going to be hard pressed to design lessons to serve both groups equally. One point that clearly emerges from such situations is that the instructors from the beginning must have some conception of the language

abilities of each student in the class. To help in this matter tests of language dominance have been developed, tests that can be administered to individual students and that can provide the teacher with approximations of student proficiency and preference in language use. The test results are crucial data to consider in determining what would be appropriate instructional methods for a class or an individual.

Dominance tests are designed to provide information about the four areas of language usage: speech, listening comprehension, reading, and writing, and the four areas of linguistic ability: pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and discourse. Obviously, reading and writing will be tested only when students can reasonably be expected to have developed these abilities. The tests currently available adopt different formats: each is geared to elicit information about one or more points of usage and ability. Questionnaire tests, for example, provide first person information about what languages are used in the home; they cannot be effectively used to uncover information about language proficiency. Other formats include having the test-taker tell a story using a series of pictures (this measures discourse ability), giving question-answer tests to determine understanding and pronunciation and word-forming abilities. All the tests except the questionnaires require bilingual administrators and evaluators who are knowledgeable of linguistic principles. It should be stressed that it is only from comparing the results of dominance *tests in both languages* that the evaluator can reliably disentangle results attributable to the test-taker's general intelligence and test-taking sophistication from the language dominance results.

TYPES OF BILINGUAL PROGRAMS

Bilingual education programs currently operating in the United States can be categorized into four types, each of which incorporates different philosophies regarding the targeted students--those to be served by the program--and the end result of instruction. These are

1. Transitional programs--Students are taught in their home language only until they have developed enough competence in English to enter into the regular school routine. Targeted students are non-English language dominant.
2. Retention programs--Students are taught in both languages through their entire school career. It is usual to include some specific instruction in the history and culture of both groups. Targeted students are those who come out of non-English-speaking environments.
3. Restoration programs--Targeted students are English dominant or even monolingual in English, but come out of a non-English cultural tradition. They are provided with formal instruction in their "lost" language to strengthen their understanding of their cultural heritage.
4. Enrichment programs--There is no targeted group; any student is eligible to participate in instruction. Programs of this type would typically be carried through all grades.

Notice how each of the four programs would require very different approaches to instruction, different materials, and varying commitments of money and resources by school districts and communities. The last point, unfortunately, often becomes the determining factor for what kind of programs will be instituted. The Federal government, for example, although recognizing it obligation to provide bilingual education, nevertheless presently curtails its involvement after the transitional point has been reached. For example, in applying for Title VII Bilingual Education funds the proposer has to specify a set of "entry and exit" criteria. These

criteria set out the conditions under which a student becomes eligible for bilingual instruction--usually judged by language dominance testing--and the conditions under which the student is no longer eligible--determined by demonstrating some attained level of proficiency in English. Any program that in its aims exceeds these criteria must look to other sources for its funds.

The aims of bilingual education of any type are fundamentally the same as the aims of any education program: to get students to learn. The Civil Rights Commission puts it this way:

> The content of what students learn in a bilingual bicultural classroom is similar to what students learn in a monolingual English classroom except that it is learned through two languages and includes consideration for the cultural heritage of both groups of students. Students in a bilingual classroom, like other students, are provided instruction in language skills, science, social studies, history, music, art, and physical education.

The essential difference, therefore, is typically of no more consequence than that two languages are used instead of one. Complications arise mainly when students composing a bilingual classroom come from cultural traditions where learning styles differ substantially from those used in the typical American classroom. Under this circumstance the question of special bicultural teaching techniques must be allowed for. Such differences in learning styles undoubtedly exist, but at present there is little research evidence of what form they might take in American Indian communities. The issue of bilingual teaching methods therefore reduces to matters of classroom management and curriculum design. The success or failure of a bilingual education program hinges on how much attention and what kind of attention is devoted to each of the two languages.

These remarks should not be taken to mean that the problem of teaching a bilingual classroom is trivial. Classroom management is substantially complicated by having to juggle two languages, but it is made even more complex because most bilingual classrooms include a wide mixture of students with varying language proficiencies. The problem, ironically, stems from the same equal opportunity legislation that gave bilingual education its impetus. In short, it is discriminatory to exclude from a publically supported educational option any student desiring to participate. Programs such as Johnson-O'Malley whose funds are earmarked exclusively for Indian children are justified on different grounds. These funds are spent to bring the achievement level of disadvantaged Indian students up to the norm. A similar justification would be used for discretionary funds intended for handicapped children. Government-sponsored bilingual education programs, however, do not have the primary intent of aiding inherently disadvantaged students. They seek only to provide equal educational opportunity and are consequently available to all. The best that can be done to restrict participation in these programs to those who would benefit most is to limit the number of nontargeted students to a certain percentage of the class.

MANAGEMENT OF THE BILINGUAL CLASSROOM

A single teacher contending with a classroom of mixed language ability students faces a staggering task in trying to reach all students simultaneously. Those who can understand a point in one language may not be able to understand it in the other, and it is impractical to expect the teacher to repeat every point in both languages. It is possible, of course, to segregate the class by language ability and selectively teach one group while the other is engaged in some sort of

individual study. However, this and any other segregated approach defeat the purpose of establishing a natural mix of the two groups. It puts blocks in the way of communication and robs students of opportunities they might otherwise have to improve their skills in the nondominant language.

What many successful programs have done is to develop team-teaching procedures. Two teachers, one who is English dominant and one non-English dominant (but preferably both bilingual), take on separate but complementary responsibilities for teaching what each knows best. If we assume that the classroom includes the widest mix possible, with monolingual students in each language as well as English- and Indian-dominant bilinguals, the teachers take on the groups and subjects appropriate to their own abilities. The Indian-dominant teacher, for instance, will teach Indian language arts and reading to the Indian-dominant students, as well as Indian as a second language to the English-dominant students. He or she will also teach mathematics and social studies in the Indian language to monolinguals on an exclusive basis and alternately with the English-dominant teacher to bilinguals. The English-dominant teacher will take on mirror-image responsibilities for English language instruction. Subjects that are not basically oriented toward cognitive development, such as music, art, and physical education, are taught simultaneously to all groups in the most appropriate language. An important element of bilingual team teaching is that after one or several content lessons in a particular language attempts are made to transfer the knowledge to the other language by teaching appropriate vocabulary and grammatical constructions. The idea is to ensure that students eventually have the flexibility to discuss the subject matter in either of the two languages, though they have been taught it in only one.

It is impossible to specify how the ideal bilingual classroom should be managed, precisely because the ideal bilingual classroom does not exist. The character of a classroom will depend significantly on the age and abilities of the students in the class, the abilities of the teachers, and the goals the community has set for the instruction of its children. What this means is that teaching strategies and classroom management procedures will form only a part of a larger scheme, one which more particularly lays out the objectives of instruction. This sort of scheme, in educational circles, is known as a *curriculum guide.*

THE CURRICULUM CUIDE IN BILINCUAL EDUCATION

The curriculum guide describes an ordered set of procedures, which teachers will want to follow to assure that the needs of students are met. It takes as its basis the goals of instruction specified in the community needs assessment survey. If a language retention program is being implemented, then the community goals will be sensitive to the survival status of the Indian language. As discussed earlier, the status of the language to a great degree will determine what kind of program is feasible. If the language is obsolescent, then a maintenance level bilingual education program is uncalled for. The program adopted will, instead, have to emphasize the Indian-as-a-second-language component. On the other hand, if the majority of children come into the classroom speaking only the Indian language, then a good deal of attention must be given to teaching English as a second language. The language status will dictate, in a sense, what teaching procedures will be adopted and what sorts of materials will be useful.

Curriculum specialists define the educational needs of students within a broad psychological perspective, one which will lead to the development of a fully functioning, independent individual. Needs are typically discussed in the context of growth within six different areas of skill development: thinking, communicating, feeling, doing, concept formation, and practical skills. The purpose of education is not so much to provide explicit instruction in each area, but to expose students

to learning opportunities from which they can generalize these skills on their own. It is through language, however, that this is achieved. The problem facing the curriculum specialist in bilingual education is how to take advantage of the different characteristics of each of the two languages and the student's abilities in each and use them to the advantage of the student. For example, if a teacher wants to develop the descriptive abilities of students, it would be best to do this in the language most natural for the child, the one in which the child has the appropriate vocabulary, the appropriate grammatical skills, and the appropriate background experience. Languages will often differ in their intrinsic capabilities for achieving a particular objective. Navajo, for instance, has often been cited as a language highly sensitive to and developed in form (shape) classification. Because of this it might be easier for the teacher (and for the students) to develop a lesson plan concerned with the cognitive skill of classification in Navajo, rather than in English. At any rate the teacher should know the capabilities of each language well enough that points can be illustrated in each.

Once a particular need has been identified, the curriculum planner designs a program to respond to those needs. The program will take into consideration the age, interests, and abilities of the targeted students and aim at developing a teaching/learning plan that will guide teachers to an effective way of bringing students to the desired level of competence. It will identify a set of topics for instruction, the objectives of the instruction, the proper sequencing of topics, and the evaluation procedures to test actual learning. In addition, it will suggest or specify teaching strategies and materials. The curriculum itself is divided into units, each focused around a particular topic of linguistic or cultural interest. All the units taken together will compose an integrated and cohesive course of instruction, one that establishes a strong foundation and then adds successively more complicated levels. It will also leave the student free to develop levels of his or her own.

A SAMPLE INSTRUCTIONAL UNIT IN INDIAN LANGUAGE ARTS

A sample unit in the language arts curriculum for first graders in an Indian-as-a-second-language class is developed around the concept of kinship. It might look like the following.

Unit Goals:

1. Develop facility in question-answer dialogue.
2. Identify and classify people.
3. Learn how to organize information in chart form.
4. Understand the importance of cooperation and sharing of responsibility.

Topics of Instruction:

1. Kinterms in Indian language.
2. Sentence constructions for naming and identifying people.
3. Principles of constructing a genealogical chart.
4. Social status and responsibilities of various family members.

Behavioral Objectives:

1. Students will identify family members in Indian language.
2. Students will use the possessive forms of pronouns in appropriate circumstances.
3. Students will respond in Indian language to questions asking for identification and relationship of persons to themselves.
4. Students will graphically outline the membership of their own families.

Instructional Plan:

Day 1: Introduce students to appropriate vocabulary, beginning with terms for mother, father, and siblings. If kinship system differs categorically from English system, explain the differences.

Day 2: Introduce students to the culturally accepted ways of asking who a particular person is and how that person is related to the students. Drill the patterns for "my" and "your."

Day 3: Have students initiate questions and have other students respond. Begin explanations of various family members' responsibilities.

Day 4: Have students construct an organizational chart giving the Indian kinterms for their own immediate relatives. Introduce and drill the students on "his."

Day 5: Review all language patterns and vocabulary so far introduced. Evaluate student progress.

Materials (will vary with instructional approach):

1. Tape recorder or other playback device.
2. Flannel board for indicating relationships.
3. Hand puppets for acting out simple dialogues.
4. Drawing materials.
5. Specific written lesson plans for teachers.
6. Resource people from the community with specific information about traditional cultural roles of family members.

Evaluation:

Students will be tested only for verbal comprehension and production. No written materials will be used in the testing.

Essentially the same unit could be used, with appropriate modifications, for a class of bilingual children. Instead of gearing the unit only to verbal abilities, it would be used as an elementary lesson in reading, concentrating on pattern recognition of letters, developing a basic sight vocabulary, and understanding that common experiences can be put in written form. The changed behavioral objectives would include a more advanced one than simple question-answer dialogue, since bilingual children would most likely already possess this ability. It would concentrate instead on sharpening narrative or more sophisticated conversational skills. In addition, cultural explanations would be given in the Indian language, rather than in English. Any change in the behavioral objectives necessarily changes the details of the instructional plan and evaluation, and it might also change the types of materials to be used. In the present example, for instance, readers, specifically for use in the primary grades, must be added to the list of materials, and the evaluation plan must include testing of reading skills.

INSTRUCTIONAL GOALS FOR THE INDIAN LANGUAGE ARTS CURRICULUM

It is perhaps not wise to draw up any hard and fast list of instructional topics, since to a certain extent the cultural background of a group of students will selectively weight what goals should be given preferential treatment. For example, in a culture that finds direct questioning offensive, it would not be appropriate to stress question-answer responses. Doing so would tend to overemphasize the cultural importance and frequency of such constructions in everyday conversations. Still, there is a basic repertoire of verbal skills, which any person will be at one time or another called on to use, and the language arts curriculum should address

all of these skills. Ultimately the student will be able to handle the entire repertoire in both languages, but it is the task of the curriculum specialist to introduce formal instruction in each skill in the most appropriate language and then see that the skills transfer to the second language. The entire catalogue of skills would include control of vocabulary and grammatical structures needed to:

1. Name people and objects (That's a cat.)
2. Follow and give directions (Go to the store.)
3. Ask for objective information (Where's my car?)
4. Ask for subjective opinions (Why is she here?)
5. Describe actions in progress (He's jumping out the window.)
6. Describe positional relationships (The dog's in the house.)
7. Describe objects or living things (It's big and wet.)
8. Modify nouns and verbs (He's the tall man walking fast.)
9. Handle expressions of quantity (We'll all go in several boats.)
10. Make comparisons (You're bigger than I am.)
11. Group and categorize information (Cows have big eyes and horns.)
12. Express the order of events (I'm going before she does.)
13. Express cause and effect relations (He's big because he eats.)
14. Interrelate new and old information (The guy who hit me is running away.)
15. Attribute information (I heard about it from the baker.)

CULTURAL AWARENESS AS A LANGUAGE RETENTION GOAL

Any language retention effort has as its primary aim an increase in community members' awareness of their cultural heritage and the development of their self-esteem. It is further understood that in Indian-language-dominant communities use of the Indian language in the educational system is the best way to ensure that students will actually learn. There is, of course, the implication in both of these aims that Indians have suffered a loss of self-esteem at the hands of white American society. Consequently, in setting the more particular aims of the language retention program it is necessary to adopt a comparative approach, one which will depict Indian language and culture favorably with respect to majority American language and culture. This is required partly to correct the mistaken stereotypes of Indians, many which Indians themselves share. It is difficult to specify exactly broad curricular goals, since particular circumstances will dictate different emphases. The following list is intended only to suggest possible topics around which to develop individual lesson plans.

1. Detail the contributions that Indians individually and collectively have made to American life.
2. Explore the Indian value system and contrast it with the middle class American values assumed by the educational system.
3. Put into perspective the Indian's role in the development of American social history.
4. Determine the forces that contributed to the decline of American Indian cultural systems.
5. Illustrate the high level of cultural sophistication reached by many American Indian groups before white contact.
6. Document both positive and negative instances of Indian-white relations historically and in the present day.
7. Illustrate how Indian land and resource management was based on sound ecological principles.

Individual topics to explore within the domain of one of the above goals could be drawn from a variety of cultural categories. These would include:

1. Ethical and religious beliefs
2. Communication and the use of language
3. Methods of subsistence, including hunting, food gathering, agriculture, food processing and distribution, and eating
4. Dress and ornamentation
5. Dwellings and other shelters
6. Modes of transportation and trading practices
7. Concepts of justice, law, and government
8. Artistry, craftsmanship, recreation, and entertainment
9. Kinship, marriage, and the family
10. Death and dying
11. Military technology and warfare
12. Means of education and socialization

A critical point to consider when laying out a curriculum is the age of the students. Goals, topics, objectives, materials, and testing procedures will all vary significantly with student age. There are no firm rules that will make decisions easy and uncomplicated, but a few principles should be kept in mind. One of these is that every opportunity should be taken to use the background of the student in helping him or her through the educational process, and this is nowhere more important than at the outset of formal schooling. Education in the lower primary grades should be a nonthreatening extension of the home environment. In a language retention program, this requires that the student be served with the language he or she is best able to manage, bearing in mind that different situations might selectively favor one or the other language. The motivating principle is simply stated: you cannot learn in a language you cannot understand.

A second point to consider is that interests vary with age. The curriculum planner should be cognizant of what activities occupy the minds and time of students and prepare topics in such a way that students will be motivated to explore them independently. This point is most important to keep in mind when dealing with older students, especially adults. Adults typically expect to use a second language for a special purpose; it rarely occurs to them that a second language can have the same unlimited potential as does their first. Only in the context of emigration to a speech community that does not use their first language will people be obliged to adopt a second language for most or all communicative purposes. Such a situation would conceivably occur when a monolingual Indian leaves the reservation for an urban environment, but, practically speaking, the majority of people who leave already know English. In fact, language instruction to older children and to adults would almost always entail teaching the Indian language, rather than English. Adult Indians who have come out of the American educational system have all been instructed, with greater or lesser success, in English language arts and reading, but very few have had instruction in their native language.

One writing program specifically for adult speakers has been developed by the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. A further purpose behind the course is to increase the amount of written materials in Choctaw available for teaching children. The adult course is designed around a workshop format, rather than a sequence of formal lectures, to actively encourage participants to express themselves in different forms of literature--fables, history, biography, drama, self-help, essay. Skills are intended to emerge gradually out of the actual experience of writing, and the workshop leaders assume mainly a directive and editorial function. This type of program

is highly sensitive to the requirements of adults. It respects their background and abilities and engages their interest directly.

EVALUATION

The Choctaw literacy program makes it clear that any program must incorporate some method to check on its success and some procedures to reorient the program toward its intended goals should it be or become off track. Such an evaluation is best formally constructed and statistically based. Furthermore, an effort should be made to assure that it is valid for the group being tested. Test validity is simply a question of whether the test actually measures what it intends to measure. If, for example, a student has been taught a vocabulary of only a thousand words, it is not fair to ask test questions that require a larger vocabulary. Traditional English-speaking schools have, unfortunately, often made just such demands of Indian-language-dominant children, constructing test items with vocabulary outside their experience. More subtly, the testing situation itself may not be valid for a group that has no experience of formal test-taking. Children, particularly, may not respond or may respond only minimally to a verbally directed question because that is the appropriate cultural response or because they are intimidated by the unfamiliar testing situation.

With young children especially, a few procedures should be followed in conducting program evaluation tests.

1. Test sessions should be short and should concentrate on important elements of the language for which instruction has been provided.
2. Tests should be simple. Introducing too much complexity in language tests tends to make them into intelligence tests. Any instructions should be rehearsed beforehand with practice items.
3. Test sessions should be enjoyable and nonthreatening. Make sure that children are not surprised by any aspect of the test or faced with ambiguous choices.
4. Develop tests specific to the instruction provided. Since bilingual classrooms make significantly different demands from English-only classrooms, standardized tests based on national norms cannot adequately (or realistically) measure achievement.
5. Oral abilities should be tested orally. Do not use tests that require the child to read or write to assess speech. Use instead pictures, tape recordings, and verbal instructions.

Since program goals will be drawn more broadly than just teaching language ability, evaluation should extend to these goals also. If, for example, a program objective is to increase children's self-esteem, then appropriate attitudinal tests should also be devised. If the program hopes to increase attendance, then appropriate records should be maintained during the course of instruction.

Tests are always devised to measure progress toward stated program objectives. In situations where test results indicate that these objectives are not being met, two courses of action are possible. First, the assessment might indicate that the program objectives are too ambitious and should be scaled down. This possibility is very real in a new program, which must feel its way slowly to a set of realistic goals. Second, the assessment might indicate that different instructional methods are necessary to achieve the hoped-for goal or that supplementary programs are necessary to bring all students up to criterion. The important point to keep in mind is that without the evaluation methods the program cannot perform either of these changes and carries the risk of becoming ineffective or stagnant.

6

Orthographies and Materials Development

A well-designed curriculum will highlight the needs for particular written materials, not only those useful in the classroom but those that will encourage independent reading outside the classroom. In the fullest program, one that includes a rigorous native language teaching component, three types of materials will be necessary: resource materials, which are used to prepare other sorts of materials and which serve as standards of accepted usage; instructional materials, such as textbooks and audiovisual materials, which will be used by students in the classroom; and literacy materials, such as books, newspapers, and pamphlets, which provide opportunities outside the school for practicing and applying reading skills and which preserve cultural information. It is important to understand that the materials must be appropriately balanced between the two languages used in the community. Materials in English concerning Indian language and culture can be a crucial part of a valid retention strategy. The weight given to English language materials will depend, of course, on the language proficiencies of community members.

For almost all Indian languages the problem of developing materials is compounded by the lack of an adequate writing system for the language. Most Indian languages even to this day do not have *practical* orthographies, that is methods of spelling words and phrases that have been developed and accepted by their communities. Orthographies for most languages do exist: linguists, who have been working with Indian languages for more than a hundred years, have developed *specialized* orthographies for most if not all of the major languages in this country. The potential problem with these orthographies is that they often use letters not included in or modifications of the set of letters in the English alphabet. There were several reasons for why this was done, all stemming from the fact that languages differ in the kinds of sounds they have.

CONVERTING SOUNDS INTO LETTERS

A letter is a written symbol that represents a certain sound. In the best, most efficient writing system every distinctive sound of a language would be represented by one and only one symbol, and the converse would also hold--every written symbol would represent one and only one sound. A language using this type of orthography is often referred to as a phonetically spelled language. In developing spelling systems for languages that previously did not have them, it is customary to model the system on one from an existing language, usually a language that is in close contact with it. For most languages in the United States the model language is English, which is unfortunately far from being phonetically spelled. English spelling violates both of the principles that would make it efficient. For example, the letter *g* is sometimes pronounced far back in the mouth as in the word *gun*, sometimes in the middle of the mouth as in *gin*, and sometimes it is not pronounced at all as in *sign* or *sigh*. From the other side, the sound that *g* has in *gin* is exactly the same as the sound in the word *join*, spelled with a *j*. This same sound

is also represented by the two-letter combination *dg* as in *edge*. These and dozens and dozens of other oddities make English a language that is difficult to spell, one for which special instruction in spelling must be provided in schools. In short, English is a poor model on which to base a spelling system.

Linguists, recognizing the shortcomings of English, have made up what is called a phonetic alphabet. Basically, this is a set of letters and characters each of which is used to represent *only one* particular sound, which might occur in any of a number of languages. Since the languages of the world differ dramatically in the number and types of sounds they contain, the phonetic alphabet has to be very large, much larger than the alphabet of English, which contains only twenty-six different letters. At the same time, it cannot afford to create so many unique letters that it would be difficult or expensive to set them in type. So there has been a tendency to modify the common letters with what is called a diacritic mark, rather than create a completely new form. The Pit River language, for instance, has what can be regarded as three distinctive types of *t* sounds, whereas English has only one. To represent these sounds a phonetic alphabet would use the following letters: t, t', and t^h. The raised comma and the raised *h* are diacritic marks.

Phonetic alphabets have certain advantages in that a word from an unknown language can be pronounced with a high degree of accuracy without someone having first heard it, provided of course that the reader has linguistic training. They do, however, present certain disadvantages to those who do not understand the system. First, they require a definite reorientation for those who already read English or some other language. There is a period of training necessary during which it is difficult to read even a language that the reader speaks fluently. This is generally disconcerting and reduces the amount of confidence the new reader has in his or her abilities to accomplish the task. Second, it is not clear what real advantage an *international* spelling system has for someone who intends to use it for reading only a single language. It would seem better to tailor the spelling system to the special characteristics of the language and to the linguistic background of the community. Third, there is a difficulty, even though it is minor, in adapting typewriters to handle more than a minimal number of diacritics. This is a practical consideration, which takes on increasing significance as the amount of materials expands and as the written language comes to be used in day-to-day business and personal transactions.

Despite what has just been said, there are American Indian languages that use highly distinctive spelling systems, some based on phonetic orthographies and some based on specially devised orthographies. The Cherokee language, for instance, is based on a syllabary devised by Sequoyah. Sequoyah, who was a native speaker of Cherokee, researched the linguistic structure of the language and created a spelling system that was admirably suited to it. It is technically a syllabary, rather than an alphabet, because each of its eighty-five symbols represents not a single consonant or a single vowel, but a combination of a consonant with a vowel. There are, for example, separate letters to represent the syllables *ta*, *ti*, *tu*, and so on. The structure of Cherokee makes this sort of system preferable to one based on an alphabet; although for other languages, particularly those with large numbers of sounds and complicated patterns of stringing sounds together into words, a different system might be the most efficient one.

Sequoyah devised the syllabary at a time when there was little bilingualism in the Cherokee community, and almost everyone spoke Cherokee exclusively. When the syllabary was introduced into the school system, therefore, there were no significant *transfer problems* to contend with. A transfer problem can occur when people who already know how to read one language attempt to learn to read another. The first language will exert a conservative effect on learning. It will have set up a number of expectations about what is a good sound-to-letter correspondence. Any correspondence that deviates from that expectation will be relatively difficult to learn.

Cherokee, for instance, uses a letter that looks very much like the English letter *D*. However, the Cherokee letter is used to represent a sound combination that does not occur in English, but which might be represented by the letters *tli*. A Cherokee who already reads English will have some difficulty in learning the new sound correspondence for this letter. The problem, of course, did not crop up when Cherokee was the first or the only language that was learned. One other benefit derives from using a distinctive orthography. It reinforces in the minds of community members that their language is separate and unique and it makes information in the language less accessible to outsiders, if that should be an important consideration.

On the whole, however, it would seem that the benefits of devising an orthography based on English spelling practices and using the English alphabet would be preferable to other alternatives, especially if the language is spoken by only a small community or if it has declined fairly far into obsolescence. The major benefit to be realized would be that people who already could read English would have relatively little difficulty in transferring that ability over to the Indian language. As mentioned earlier, though, English is not the ideal language on which to model a spelling system. Care should be taken, therefore, to pick and choose from among the many different options English makes available for representing sounds in letter form and to apply as strictly as possible the one-sound-one-letter principle.

THE PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

To a certain extent, the nature of the language being written down will determine what options to choose. For example, many Indian languages on the west coast have what to an English ear would sound like merely two varieties of *k* sounds. To the Indian ear, however, the two sounds are clearly distinct: one of them, in fact, does sound very similar to the English *k*, as in the word *kettle*, but the other is a sound pronounced much farther back in the mouth and does not occur in English (although it does occur in languages like Arabic) Because English will not have a letter to represent this second sound, it is necessary to devise some kind of makeshift to get around the problem. One way would be to simply use the letter *k* for both sounds, although this would cause a problem if two words with different meanings would otherwise be spelled identically. A better way would be to represent the two sounds with different letters. English *k* can, of course, be used for the Indian sound that most clearly approximates the English *k* sound. The other variety, however, must be represented with a newly contrived letter, a *k* with a diacritic, or with another letter from the English alphabet, one which would otherwise not be needed. The first of these possible solutions has the difficulties associated with it that we have discussed earlier. The last avoids these difficulties, but it can lead to potential transfer problems. Transfer problems can be minimized, however, if some reasonably close match in sound correspondence can be assured. In our present example, for instance, the back *k* might be represented by the English letter *q*. In accurate phonetic descriptions *q* acqually represents the two-sound cluster *kw*, as in the word *quick* which, in fact, we often see spelled as *kwik*, especially in advertising. The sound equivalence between the Indian language *q* and English *q* will not be exact, but using *q* will indicate that it is a distinct sound, and be close enough to give the general idea of how to pronounce it. It will also accurately distinguish between hypothetical words like *kim* and *qim*, which would otherwise be spelled exactly the same.

The problems with devising a practical orthography do not end just by determining a set of letters to represent the sounds of the Indian language. A separate set of problems arises out of the fact that letters can be put together in distinctive ways for different languages. For example, the English words *filler* and *filer* differ

in that the first is written with two *l*'s while the second is written with only one *l*. This would lead the unsuspecting person to believe one of two things: either the different uses of the letter represent two different sounds as they would in the Spanish words *lagar* 'wine press' and *llagar* 'to wound' or the use of two *l*'s would represent a longer *l* sound, one held for a longer period of time when the word is pronounced. The unsuspecting person would not be as prepared to understand that the use of two *l*'s, rather than one, influences the quality of the preceding vowel. The *l*'s in both words are pronounced exactly alike; it is the two *i*'s that are pronounced differently. English has devised this spelling convention to deal with its vowel system because it does not have enough letters to accurately represent all the vowels it has. English is commonly said to have only five vowels, but strictly speaking this applies only to the number of vowel *letters* it has. If we look at the sound system of the language then it becomes apparent very quickly that English has a good deal more than five vowels, in some ways of counting as many as twelve. All these different sounds are represented not so much by separate letter symbols but by different spelling conventions.

With a newly written language it is best to avoid if possible using too many special conventions to represent sounds, especially conventions that introduce letters only for the effect they have on the pronunciation of neighboring letters. If this is impossible, then care should be taken that the convention is consistently applied and does not interfere or overlap with what are legitimate sound combinations. For example, in some Indian languages the sound represented by the letter *h* occurs before other consonants, and is distinctive in this position. Words having it must be spelled with this letter to distinguish them from other words, which would be exactly the same otherwise. This particular sound combination does not occur in English, but in its spelling system, the letter *h* will sometimes be used before a consonant to indicate that the preceding vowel takes on a different quality. For example, if a writer is trying to provide some indication of a character's British dialect, he or she might spell the word *laugh* as *lahf*. There is a tendency for some Indian communities to want to use this spelling convention, especially for the letter *a*, which has so many different sound correspondences in English that it is difficult to know how exactly to pronounce it in a new word. However, if the language is one in which *h* is pronounced before consonants, then the English spelling convention should be dropped to avoid the possibility of creating ambiguous pronunciations.

The possibilities for shaping a workable orthography are large and present a community with a staggering number of choices very early into the retention program. A decision regarding the choice of a particular letter or a particular spelling convention will have repercussions on other decisions to be made, so the completed orthography must come out of a full understanding of the sound system of the language and a full understanding of the options open to the developer. It saves time, in other words, to have professional help in constructing the orthography, although, as the example of Sequoyah shows, this is not invariably necessary. In any event, the community's wishes must be respected and every effort must be made to include a representative sample of the community in the decision-making process. Without such representation there is no way to guarantee that the spelling system will receive the wide-based support it requires to become a standard for usage.

OTHER LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

The issue of setting standards for usage goes well beyond the question of orthography. In fact, it only begins with the creation of the spelling system. Still to be settled are questions of how to choose from among the many different word variants that may be used to express a particular meaning, and further, how to accurately and appropriately string these words together into sentences. Many Indian

languages traditionally included two sets of vocabulary items, one appropriate for "low" speech and the other for "high" speech. Usage was determined by the particular situations or environments in which the speaker and hearer found themselves. For instance, when people ventured into territory known to be of religious or spiritual significance, the use of high speech would be mandated, and people would avoid using terms that would be perfectly acceptable when speaking together in the home. Then too, in many tribes special styles of language were used by men and by women or they were adopted when people addressed others of higher social status or those deserving special respect. However, it is still easier to choose the right vocabulary item than it is to choose how to put these words together into proper sentences. It is important when writing to have in mind the full set of phrase, clause, and sentence structures so that the ideas conveyed by the sentences will be strung together into a rhythmic unit. The writer also has to be careful to not make a too literal transference of speech into writing. Gestures and intonational patterns, which are important parts of oral language, are not transliterated into writing--one of the reasons that people find writing more difficult than talking--so some compensation must be made so that information is not lost.

Descriptions of the structural character of a language is found in reference materials, such as dictionaries and grammars. If these kinds of materials are intended to serve a language retention program, they must be constructed in such a way that they can quickly and efficiently provide a writer with the information he or she needs. Using them would ideally require little formal preparation in the details of particular linguistic theories. They should, therefore, not be so abstract in their organization and description as to be incomprehensible to the everyday speaker of the language. They should, in short, be resource materials, and not just reference materials.

DICTIONARIES

The difficulties in writing a usable dictionary are not as great as they are in writing a resource grammar. For one thing, the concept of the dictionary is familiar, and many people have had occasion to use one. Grammars, however, are typically beyond the experience of most, and even sound a little threatening. Although dictionaries may be easier to write, they are generally more time consuming. If a dictionary compiler is starting from scratch, he or she must begin to accumulate slip by slip all the words that as many people as possible know. For a typical language this may amount to more than a hundred thousand items. Complete dictionaries are consequently massive projects, and they often require decades to assemble. There is, however, one advantage in writing a dictionary of an unwritten language: the number of words will be considerably less than for a written language. A dictionary of English, for example, includes literally thousands of words that few people have ever used. These are words that may have been frequently used at some time in the past but are now outdated or archaic. They are included in the dictionary because they occur in written materials dating from the period in which they were spoken, materials that someone may stumble on and read. Unwritten languages or languages that have been written for only a short period simply do not have a very large store of outmoded terminology. As a term is used less and less frequently it generally becomes restricted to the memory of only the oldest speakers, and eventually it passes out of existence. Then too, an established literary language will also have a very large number of terms that are restricted to certain highly specialized uses, such as chemistry, engineering, auto mechanics, and so on. If a language is not used in talking about these subjects, then it will probably not have the words available to discuss the topics fully even if the opportunity should present itself, and people will tend to use a language that already has the

established vocabulary. Many Indian languages fall into this category, again making for a dictionary that will be smaller than one for a literary language.

Even if there are these factors that will restrict the size of the Indian language dictionary, the undertaking will still involve a great amount of work. In the interests of getting something usable out soon, the community should decide whether it is necessary during the early stages of the retention program to aim for a complete dictionary. At this stage of the planning it is important to have in mind the kinds of instructional and literacy materials that the dictionary is intended to support. If these materials are generally going to be used by children, then an early form of the dictionary might confine itself to words that a child might be expected to know. If newspapers are planned, then the dictionary should cover words that are generally within the everyday conversational grasp of people. If only cultural materials are planned, then the vocabulary should comprise words identifying important cultural artifacts and institutions.

The intended purpose of a dictionary will also determine to a certain extent who should supply the information. For instance, if cultural information is being aimed for, then the compiler will want to consult the older members of the community. If instructional materials for children are the goal, then study should be made of the language children use and the vocabulary they understand.

The format of the dictionary will also be determined to some degree by the use that will be made of it. A number of choices are possible, the most important being whether to write a monolingual or a bilingual dictionary. A monolingual dictionary presents words and definitions in the target language only, while a bilingual dictionary cites a word in one language and provides a definition in another. In the case at hand the second language would almost certainly be English. To make bilingual dictionaries maximally useful, they are usually written in an English-Indian version and an Indian-English version, although this format is strictly necessary only when the dictionary is organized alphabetically.

The entries in a typical dictionary are laid out according to the initial letter. For the most part, then, neighboring entries do not have any kind of meaningful relation to one another. For example, under the *R* entries of an English dictionary the following words occur in succession: *rood, roof, rook, rookery, rookie, room,* none of which have any semantic connection to each other. The usefulness of this kind of organization increases with the amount of literature available in the language. It provides a reader with the easiest access to the meaning of a word he or she encounters in reading. It does, however, have serious drawbacks for writers, who may be searching for a word to capture a particular meaning or who cannot immediately recall the name for an uncommonly used item. There is no quick way for these people to use a conventional dictionary to find these words, consequently other types of dictionaries organized by meaning have been developed to handle these needs. One type is the thesaurus, or book of synonyms, which organizes words according to categories of meaning, as expressed in what are the most commonly encountered words in the language. For instance, if someone were looking for a particular word having to do with the concept of bigness, the entry under *big* would provide a set of close and distant synonyms, such as *great, large, chief, preeminent, prominent, pretentious, magnanimous,* and so on, each with its own shade of meaning and restrictions on usage. Another type of semantically arranged dictionary is one that organizes words according to functional categories. For instance, the operation of baking bread would have associated with it certain types of implements such as ovens, pans, rolling pins, and the like, and certain types of actions, such as kneading, rising, rolling, and so on, which might effectively be portrayed together as a single category entry in a dictionary. Typically, these dictionaries would be heavily illustrated.

Semantic dictionaries have a distinct advantage over alphabetically arranged dictionaries for those languages that are just beginning a literary tradition. They provide novice writers with a large store of vocabulary items to incorporate into stories on some predetermined theme and in this sense they can act as important aids for teachers. If a class is being taught around a cultural theme, one or more extended entries in the dictionary can serve as the focus for individual lesson plans. Students can also be encouraged to develop their own language skills independently of classroom settings, an important consideration if an adult education component is included in the language retention program.

Ideally, the dictionary should be constructed with regard to the grammar of the language. Words are very often made up of smaller building blocks, which can be called *meaning units*. For example, the root meaning *break* can be modified by several other meaning units to create a variety of related but different words, such as *breakable*, *breakability*, *unbreakable*, *breakage*, *breaker*. It can also be modified by a different class of meaning units to create words like *breakout*, *breakin*, *breakdown*, and so on. Often it is possible to specify certain word formation rules about how various meaning units can be conjoined. These rules typically form a part of the grammar, although many of them are implicitly covered in the organization of the dictionary. American Indian languages, unlike English, often have word formation rules that are extensive and highly complex, leading to words that can be much longer on the average than words in English. For instance, Navajo *'aahndeesh'aał* expresses in one word what it takes seven words in the English translation "I will set it down beside someone." This is partly because Navajo is a language that engages in much more involved word formation strategies. What English expresses by stringing different words together, Navajo accomplishes by binding different meaning units together. Consequently, the inclusion of a certain rule in the dictionary or in the grammar is almost a matter of choice in certain instances. There can be a great deal of overlap, and attempts should be made to coordinate both endeavors.

GRAMMARS

The grammar is a resource material that describes how meaning units are put together, whether those meaning units are separate words or parts of words. A grammar attempts to codify and standardize abilities that any fluent speaker of the language operates with in forming sentences acceptable to some other speaker. These abilities are laid out in a set of grammatical rules, which describe how various parts of speech, such as nouns and verbs, are constructed and then how these parts of speech interact to yield well-formed phrases, clauses, and sentences. As we have defined it, a grammar might seem to be almost unnecessary to the retention program since every speaker of the language already operates with a built-in grammar. There seems little purpose in telling people what they already know, even if what they know is deeply buried in their subconscious. The importance of a grammar, however, does not stem so much from *what* it tells speakers as *how* it tells them. It organizes the information in such a way that it forms an integrated and coherent description. It is easy for an individual speaker to respond with only partial knowledge about a grammatical question, whereas a grammar will objectively point to a variety of information that might otherwise have been ignored. A grammar, therefore, is a more consistent, and even thorough, source of information than any one or two speakers would be. This is vitally important when it comes time to develop instructional materials.

Then too, because a grammar is a complete description of the rule systems of a language, it can provide writers and teachers with an overview of which structures will be easy and which will be difficult for various audiences. If the language is

being taught to students who understand only English, then it is important to know ahead of time which structures must be learned before others can be presented. An understanding of potential problem areas can make the difference between successful learning and program failure, and a written grammar is the best guide to achieve that understanding.

We have stressed the usefulness of grammars as an educational tool, but it is also worthwhile to emphasize the potential usefulness of grammars for average community members. Grammars for this audience would not necessarily be formally structured as lists of rules, they would be more informally developed to present some conception of the uniqueness of the language as a communication tool, much as this was done in the first chapter of this book. The points to be stressed in this sort of grammar would be the diversity of semantic categories that various languages have elaborated, rather than the mechanical details of how these categories are realized in word units.

A popularized grammar can also be constructed in the form of a contrastive analysis of the Indian language with English. Basically, a contrastive analysis compares equivalent points in two languages, with a view to showing up differences that might prove troublesome to people who are learning one or the other of the two. For example, a contrastive analysis of Papago and English suggests that it might be difficult for Papago speakers to learn how to deal with English prepositions because the equivalent markers in Papago occur after the noun rather than before the noun. On the other hand, an English speaker would have difficulty with the Papago meaning units that express degrees of assertion, because in English assertion is conveyed by intonation rather than by units at the word level. Most contrastive analyses are intended to guide teachers of either English as a second language or Indian as a second language in preparing lessons to concentrate on points of difficulty. However, with appropriate phrasing they can be adapted to also inform the general reader.

The set of resource materials are intended to standardize writing conventions for the language and to familiarize text and literacy materials writers with the structural organization of the language. Working with these materials, the developers of curriculum materials will have a better idea of how to organize individual lesson plans to allow the learner to progress steadily toward the intended goal. The particular instructional goal is determined, however, not by the text developer but by the community consensus of what the curriculum should achieve. And, that consensus should be motivated by a realistic assessment of the survival status of the language. The options available are enormous and it will not be possible here to do more than provide, in two hypothetical case studies some indication of the factors that must be considered in turning community desires into curriculum materials.

TURNING RESOURCE MATERIALS INTO CURRICULUM MATERIALS

Case 1:

Let us assume that the Indian language is in a relatively healthy state. There are still children who learn the language natively but who also come into the school setting with some knowledge of English, although their individual abilities vary considerably. All adults are assumed to use the Indian language in a good many situations, especially those that have to do with home life or tribal activities, although all of them use English in other situations. Children attend a public school with Anglo children, but Indian students make up 40 percent of the school body. As final assumptions let us say that the school district has the means to support special programs for Indian education and that the necessary resource materials exist.

The following types of written materials would be called for:

A set of graded basal readers for elementary school children. These materials would be developed around narrative themes within the experience and realm of interest of children. They would be written in the Indian language and would conform to predetermined standards of readability appropriate for the intended grade. Obvious points to control would be the level of vocabulary and the difficulty of the grammar.

A textbook of English as a second language (ESL). Although strictly speaking not a part of an Indian language program, this textbook will have been developed out of consideration of the structure of the Indian language and so will reflect the knowledge of language that children bring into the school. It can be a real aid in helping children to take conscious note of the character of the Indian language by focusing on differences between English and the Indian language. The textbook will be extensive in its scope, that is, it will cover the total range of English language skills needed to perform within the American school system.

Indian language arts. The purpose of these materials is to focus directly on the sound system, the alphabet, spelling conventions, and word formation strategies of the Indian language to bring students of unequal ability to the same degree of control and to ease the way into reading connected discourse.

Content area textbooks. These textbooks will cover the material that will be taught in subject areas, such as history and social studies, which can be easily formulated from the Indian perspective. They will be written in the Indian language at a level appropriate for a class at intermediate and upper elementary grades. At early stages of the retention program, textbooks for science and mathematics would probably best be kept in English because there will be some difficulty in finding the vocabulary necessary to describe these areas and because most communication in these areas is likely to be in English-oriented situations.

Audiovisual materials. Audiovisual materials can be considered written materials at one stage of their development--a script is typically used to prepare them. This will be especially true of material intended to supplement other instructional materials, such as a film illustrating an Indian craft, which is keyed to a particular lesson in a history textbook. The same would be true of a recorded tape used to accompany the language arts textbook.

Literacy materials for adults. Materials under this category can span a wide range. Because most Indian language communities have only begun their efforts to promote literacy, it will generally be necessary to develop a set of graded readers for adults that can be used to teach reading skills. These materials would be quite different from the basal readers for children because adults bring in a much more sophisticated knowledge of the world than do children. Most adults will have already learned how to read English and to read materials other than simple narratives. Even elementary level materials developed for them should reflect their maturity and past experiences. At the other end of the range are literacy materials such as newspapers, prayerbooks, instruction sheets, entertainment reading, and so on, which a growing population of readers in the Indian language will demand.

English language materials on Indian language and culture. The community may determine that a set of English materials covering topics such as the history of the tribe, the nature of the language, and Indian folklore should be developed to aid those people making a transition from reading English to reading the Indian language, or even to inform interested outsiders. Retention can oftentimes be promoted by increasing the awareness and interest of the wider community in which the tribe is situated.

Case 2:

The second case considers the prospects of an obsolescing language, one which no longer has a group of children who speak the Indian language, but which does

have a good number of adult speakers or at least adults who can readily understand the language when it is spoken. The Indian language, however, will be used minimally by all except the oldest group of speakers. Children attend a public school in which they make up approximately 10 percent of the student body, but again the school district is responsive to Indian education and has the resources to develop materials. The following types of materials might be considered.

A set of basal readers in English. These readers would serve to instruct students in the fundamental reading skills. Although in English, they would be developed around themes of concern to the Indian language retention effort, themes which would later be elaborated in Indian language materials.

A textbook of Indian as a second language. This textbook will consist of a series of graded lesson plans, which would over a three-year period expose the student to Indian grammar and vocabulary sufficient to carry out basic tasks in comprehension and production of the language, including reading at a minimal level of difficulty. It would not aim at bringing students up to full fluency because there are only a minimal number of situations in which the language can be used.

Simple readers in the Indian language. These readers would be developed around culturally important themes. They could conceivably be written so as to appeal to both upper elementary grade level students as well as adults wishing to improve their knowledge of the language. They might best be written as bilingual readers, incorporating both an Indian and an English version of the same narrative.

Curriculum units incorporating information of concern to the Indian community. These materials would take the place of full texts in the Indian language for such subjects as history and social studies. Instead, teachers in these courses would be encouraged to develop individual lesson plans or instructional strands around topics treating Indian language and culture. The small number of Indian students and their novice abilities in the Indian language make any more extensive treatment inadvisable during the early stages of the retention project.

Informational materials on Indian language and culture. These materials would be written in English and are intended to provide people with basic information regarding the history, use, and cultural importance of their ancestral language. Within the design of the retention program they would serve as incentives for people to pursue more vigorously the other options available in the program aimed at achieving greater fluency.

Audiovisual materials. The same considerations apply as were discussed above. However, given the state of decline of obsolescing languages, audiovisual materials for these languages would almost, of necessity, have to be narrated in English to reach a large audience. Even so, it would be useful to provide illustrations of communicative situations using the Indian language to serve as exemplary models. It would also be highly desirable to include a taped pronunciation guide to the Indian as a second language textbook, since most young students will need to acquire phonological skills.

As these case studies illustrate, it is difficult and perhaps unwise to preconceive some optimal set of materials in the language retention effort. Without considering the survival status of the language, which in a sense defines the population that will be served by the retention program, it is conceivable that a great deal of time and energy will be wasted producing materials that will be of no use to anyone. It is similarly necessary to take account of the political and economic realities that surround the tribe, to ensure that certain materials, even though feasible, are wanted enough by the community that it will take the trouble to create and disseminate them.

7

Staff Training

The success or failure of a language retention program is determined to a large extent by the amount of community participation in the program. Community participation begins even before the program is initiated, by community members gathering to discuss what the goals of the program will be and what methods to use to reach those goals. Assuming this has been successfully carried through and the program has raised the necessary funding, the next step is to staff the program. It is at this point that the past inequities of Indian education make it difficult for the community to continue its active participation in the program. No matter how the program is conceived, it will require trained personnel: teachers, teacher aides, librarians, museum workers, and administrators. In many Indian communities it is difficult to find people with the necessary skills because training in these skills is typically acquired at the college level and relatively few Indians have as yet had the opportunity to attend college. And among those who have had college training many have left the Indian community for careers in urban areas. Consequently, an Indian tribe often finds it necessary to go outside its own communities to find trained personnel for its retention program. To the extent that this decreases the amount of self-reliance the community has in its program, it can be expected to also decrease the effectiveness of the program. It is critical, therefore, to also include in the program design some provision for training or professionalizing the community to handle its staffing requirements.

Of course, it is not the community as such that is trained, but rather individuals in the community, and each must have the ability and interest to pursue what can often be rigorous academic programs at colleges and universities, often very distant from their home and family. These individuals must make their own decisions, but the community as a whole has a large part in preparing the ground and easing the way for those who might be inclined to undertake college programs of study. Most important, it does this by creating an atmosphere of acceptance, acknowledging that such efforts are relevant to community goals and then creating jobs that will employ their skills in the service of the community. For example, if the community has no Indian teachers in the school system, it should actively encourage high school students to consider teaching as a possible career, seek scholarships to support such students in college, and prepare school authorities to place returning students within the system. As with any other facet of the retention program it is crucial that all segments of the community are made aware of the needs and be given the opportunity to involve themselves in the decision-making process.

Staff training and community participation are the most important goals of increasing community awareness of language retention needs, because on them depend the success of the project methods, especially those that involve institutions and formal procedures. There is a cyclical relationship between the methods used to maintain the language and the community's awareness of and participation in the program. The more successful the methods, the more the community will tend to involve itself in the program. On the other hand, if a particular method fails, a loosely organized

community might respond by abandoning the program altogether, rather than making efforts to revise it or experiment with more workable procedures. Consequently, developing community awareness is an essential goal in and of itself, but one that goes hand in hand with developing program staff.

ENLISTING COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Before discussing specific community-wide activities, it will be helpful to consider some of the strategies that are used to make communities aware of issues and to mobilize them to take the actions necessary to effect programs. The first step is always taken by one or more leaders who have a conception of the program and a willingness to make initial approaches to enlist community support. The nature of the approach will be determined by a number of factors: community size and dispersion, accessibility to media, the magnitude and urgency of the problem, the cooperation of the school district, and culturally accepted ways of dealing with change. In general, three different approaches are possible: consensus sampling, persuasion, and consensus building through diplomacy. The three differ not so much in the desired end result, but in the relative amount of tension applied to the community. Consensus sampling is a relatively passive process; it engages the community by bringing into the open what may have been only individually expressed opinions. If those opinions are in essential agreement, it is possible to consolidate them in the total community as a buttress against opposition and inertia. The basic process is one of demonstrating to people that they are not alone in their feelings and desires.

Consensus sampling is an effective rallying procedure only where there is substantial unanimity of opinion, as, for instance, when the community concurs that schooling is not relevant to Indians. If the community is factionalized, unopinionated, or even unaware of any problem, other approaches are called for. The program leaders must determine to actively persuade community members of the correctness of their views. Depending on the strength of opposing opinion, this approach might engage the leaders in no more than simply discussing the issues or it might entail an active confrontation and debate over the issues. This approach is essentially political and any success it might have is dependent on cultural attitudes toward the political process. In many Indian communities confrontational tactics are decried and persuasive approaches must be made diplomatically through indirect channels. Such approaches aim at building a consensus by using the media to carry messages. The medium might be as sophisticated as television or as commonplace as handbills and flyers. The idea is to somehow create a newsworthy bit of information and see that it is propagated. Typically, this would be done by the leaders directing attention to the cause of the problem, for example, by confronting a recalcitrant school board with a set of demands. This avoids a head-on conflict with members of the community and yet, if the media coverage is adequate, conveys the leaders' arguments and intentions. The hoped-for result of the process would be to create a consensus by providing the amount of information necessary for individuals to form their own opinions.

The initial effect of mobilizing the community will be to guide the decision makers and to provide them with the support necessary to apply for and administer most federal funds. But beyond this purpose, it also confers on the community itself an essential momentum toward reaching the final goal of maintaining the language. It is vital that this momentum, once established, not be lost. To insure this, community-wide programs and institutions tied to the formal educational program in the schools should be considered. These might include the development of community centers, which could serve as gathering places for cultural events, as forums for people to express their views on various issues, as recreational centers for children,

as day care centers for the children of working parents, as informal classrooms, and so on.

The kinds of programs that could be set up depend on the character and needs of the community, and it is difficult to mandate one or more for any particular community. Only three possibilities are considered here. Each has a direct, rather than indirect, bearing on language retention and is, furthermore, fairly wide in scope. Each should be considered in terms of its applicability to given situations and modified as needed.

Language use programs. It was earlier discussed how a language that has stopped adapting will eventually become restricted to relatively few communication situations. If the process has persisted for a long time, eventually the language will stagnate, it will lag behind the developments that have taken place in the culture. To counter the obsolescing process it is necessary to expand the range of situations in which the language is used, and, as necessary, to involve more speakers. This is, of course, a community-created problem, and calls for a community-based solution, even though it will be the language behavior of individuals that must be altered.

The community should collectively agree to sponsor language use events that will give members the opportunity to listen to others speaking and to practice their comprehension skills. These occasions could be built around special cultural events, such as religious observances, community game playing, or celebrations. Among the Kashia Pomo of California, for instance, traditional hand games and dances are always accompanied by songs in the Indian language. And at their world renewal ceremonies the tribal leaders address the community in both English and Pomo, and prayers and invocations are in Pomo. Most of the younger members of the community are unable to understand Pomo, but as other facets of the retention program are successful, there will be ready-made opportunities for newly trained speakers to use their skills.

Community counselor programs. The school setting can be threatening for an Indian child who is not completely fluent in English or who has no familiarity with the expectations of non-Indian teachers. Many educators today believe that learning of any kind requires a foundation onto which the student will add the new material he or she is exposed to. In other words, the lessons a student is expected to learn would ideally contain bits of information and language structures that the child is already familiar with, and they would be presented in ways that would match up with the student's expectations of how learning is to take place. The second point is particularly important in the present context because it is the community's values, as upheld by individual parents and other kinsmen, that determine how learning actually does take place. And it is these values that the child also assumes long before the school begins to exert its sometimes contrary influence. Consequently, there is a need--one often strongly felt by parents--for some bridge between the Indian home and the school.

Many parents characteristically look to the school to satisfy this need by providing personnel who are understanding of the special needs of Indian children and who can communicate with them on their own terms. And this, of course, should be done, although it will not entirely solve the problem of home-to-school continuity. The burden more realistically falls on the community and especially on the parents to guide children through the problems they might face in school. One reason is because the community has the best sense of how both worlds operate, while the educators generally have no firsthand experience with how the Indian community functions. Second, because children often tend to be reticent in school as a symptom of their unfamiliarity, it is often difficult for teachers to make the overtures to students that are so much easier for parents. This is especially true if the student is not completely comfortable in English. School districts that sponsor special programs for Indians

or that have large numbers of Indian students often recognize the need for special personnel to direct these students and hire Indian teachers where possible or Indian teacher aides as an alternative. But again, the working assumptions that guide these instructors are based in the values of the school system. They are there principally to get the child to perform as would a non-Indian student, not primarily to aid the child in making a balanced adjustment to the demands of two different worlds.

It must be the community that recognizes and identifies the discrepancies between its own and the majority culture and that assigns priorities to individual values from each culture and communicates its decisions to children. Parents will be the essential intermediaries in this process. They will act as counselors to children, preparing them initially for the transition to school, interacting with their teachers to promote a more considered regard for Indian ways, and explaining what is expected of them by both the school and the community. The community can assist parents in becoming familiar with the issues involved and the techniques useful in approaching school personnel, either through a formal training program or, more informally, by passing information through a community grapevine. The institution of a community center, a newsletter, or special events would foster either type of program.

Adult literacy programs. Programs to develop and encourage reading abilities in adults have purposes other than simply providing people access to information in another language. They can also act as a cement for the whole retention program. A procedure initially devised by the Summer Institute of Linguistics has had a good deal of success in consolidating and expanding the early achievements of a language retention program. Following the preliminary steps to standardize a writing system and propagate a set of basic materials, a small group of people who are comfortably literate in the Indian language are encouraged to begin writing additional materials. Their efforts are checked for accuracy against the set of resource materials available on the language, with the idea of gradually refining their capabilities. Then, at some point, which can be fairly early into their formal training, these newly trained individuals are encouraged to begin tutoring others who are less developed in their reading and writing skills.

The procedure has a number of positive effects. It first of all can lead to a geometric increase in the amount of reading materials, which would otherwise expand at a rate insufficient to satisfy the interests of everyone in the community. Second, it instructs a growing population of speakers in a way that controls for and reduces the amount of idiosyncracy in writing. People's performance becomes standardized relatively early. Third, it keeps the skill level of most of the population fairly even, so that large discrepancies in ability do not arise and the development of literacy skills by a particular individual does not confer any special status. And last, it unites the community behind a special goal and promotes the daily use of the Indian language.

RESOURCE PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY

Whatever type of retention program is instituted, whether it be extensive or limited in its scope, it is extremely useful for the organizer and the relevant committees to be completely familiar with the potential that different individuals and different segments of the community have to help the program reach its goals. For instance, the energy and enthusiasm of children can be tapped to make cultural events exciting and relevant, the concerned parent might make an effective aide or counselor, and the experienced and caring grandparent might be called on to oversee various activities of the community center.

The accumulated knowledge, skills, and experience of individuals in the community should be brought together in the form of a directory of resource people. It is especially important for the language retention effort to be aware of who speakers of the language are, how well they speak it, and what particular areas of knowledge they are most familiar with. For instance, one person may have accumulated information concerning plant names and uses, another of placenames, and a third of basket-making terminology. One person may know many traditional stories and another may recall many old proverbs. Each person will have a unique contribution to make to the retention effort.

The benefits to be had from working with people who are native speakers of the Indian language should be stressed. Linguists feel that native speakers have an advantage over those who learn a language nonnatively. Native speakers will generally pronounce words in a natural, unaccented way, and so will provide better models for students learning the language. This is, however, a relatively minor point. Considerably more important are the intuitions about the language that native speakers have and that are extremely difficult, though not impossible, for second language learners to acquire. These intuitions control to a large extent the difference between what would be considered merely adequate use and what would be regarded as creative language. For everyday considerations the distinction amounts to little, but to be successful at language tasks such as storytelling, speech making, and sermonizing, where the goals are to entertain or to persuade, an implicit and thorough understanding of the rules and styles of language are critical. Some would go on to argue too that the acquisition of these rules and the acquisition of vocabulary should proceed as they do for the child learning the language, because the meaning of a particular sentence is tied up intricately with a sense of its appropriateness to a particular audience. Appropriateness itself is estimated by considering the full range of possible contexts in which the sentence could be uttered, including contexts in which children are communicants. Without having experienced what it means to have been a child speaking the language, judgment of the appropriateness or impact of a sentence will be incomplete.

PROGRAM STAFF

The staff of a language retention program will naturally vary somewhat with the program objectives, although most programs within the scope we have been considering will include administrators and clerical support staff, teachers and teacher aides, and may include librarians, museum workers, archivists, and others performing specific functions. The program administration is responsible for supervising day-to-day operations, planning activities, coordinating staff activities, acting as a liaison to potential granting agencies and school administrations, and managing finances, among other duties. The project director will be expected to have had a background and experience in supervision and management techniques, optimally acquired from some blend of schooling and work experience. However, it seems in practice that the personal characteristics of the director are often of greater importance than the amount of training or experience he or she has had. Perhaps most important is flexibility, the ability to exact compromises, and to promote harmony among disagreeing factions.

It is difficult to say at this early point in the history of Indian self-determination whether it would be practical to set up special training programs for managers of Indian education programs. Undoubtedly individual courses in management or personnel techniques could be adapted to an Indian perspective, but for the most part the techniques an Indian manager would be expected to have are the same as would apply to any manager. Consequently in the remainder of this chapter we will be concerned with the responsibilities and training of those involved more directly in

the educational component of the maintenance program, where specific and sometimes elaborate training in Indian-related concerns is necessary.

At the present almost any classroom involved either directly or indirectly with Indian language retention operates with a team consisting of a teacher and one or more teacher aides. The team approach is adopted not simply because the work load requires more than a single individual, but because the package of knowledge and skills necessary to conduct a class in Indian language and culture is typically not wrapped up together in a single individual. The pedagogical skills needed to conduct any class in an effective and efficient manner are regarded by all states as deriving from some period of specific training in the education department of a college or university, followed by a period of apprenticeship training in a school classroom under the supervision of a recognized teacher. In the typical circumstance, a teaching credential is awarded to a student at the successful completion of all requirements. Special credentials are awarded for teaching subjects that require specialized preparation. For example, credentials exist in many states for teaching bilingual-bicultural classes. The set of requirements for such a credential would include minimally the ability to speak and understand the two languages being used in the classroom. But even at this minimal level of competence, most Indian communities are at a disadvantage, because college-age people are often unable to speak the Indian language and, even worse, most students of college age do not attend college.

Because there are extremely few credentialed Indian teachers in proportion to the numbers of Indian students in elementary and high schools, most school systems with the programs for Indian students derive the information they need for organizing lessons from teacher aides who are themselves Indians. Ideally the teacher and the aide set up a close working relationship and use each other's relative strengths to convey to the students all that would be transmitted in an optimal bilingual classroom with a fully credentialed bilingual teacher. Both instructors aim to help each child learn efficiently, and both contribute to planning activities and lessons that balance the traditional school curriculum with generous amounts of instruction in the language, culture, and history of the Indian community. In a classroom where children do not speak or understand English well, and the teacher speaks only English, it will be the primary responsibility of the aide to bridge the communication gap by informing the teacher of the particular needs of each student, and also to make suggestions regarding what special procedures should be adopted. The teacher should, at a minimum, be familiar enough with the Indian language and culture that he or she can develop outlines of lesson plans based on the suggestions of the aide.

The important primary responsibilities of the aide require that the person hired for this position be comfortable with children and sensitive to their needs, in addition to having a thorough and positive understanding of the Indian language and culture. But beside the help the aide gives the teacher in implementing the curriculum guidelines, he or she will take on a number of other responsibilities having to do with the management and operation of the classroom. For instance, the aide will set up the room and equipment for the day's activities, collect instructional and display material for individual lessons, arrange seating and bulletin boards, keep track of the individual needs of students and provide tutoring as required, assist in monitoring and correcting tests, and so on. Furthermore, because of the personalized dealings the aide has with students, he or she will oftentimes be a highly effective liaison between the parents and the teacher. This is especially true if the parents are not entirely comfortable speaking English to the teacher. The aide can then serve as an interpreter in regard to student progress and parental involvement in correcting problems. Taking this role one step further, the aide can easily become the community's most important source of information about the stated policies of the school administration and the effectiveness of their implementation in the classroom. And by reversing this

role, the aide can be an equally invaluable source of information to the teacher and school administrators in regard to how the cultural background of the Indian child shapes a special kind of student, one who cannot always be expected to operate by the norms of the American classroom.

Teacher aide positions are not credentialed by the state, so there are no formal educational requirements for the applicant. However, because the aide's duties require some background in the content areas for elementary grades and some facility in reading and writing English, a high school diploma or a graduate equivalence diploma is usually a minimal requirement. There are, however, circumstances in which a particular applicant may have obvious abilities despite little formal education, and the requirement for high school graduation can be waived.

Most aides receive what special training they need for the job from actually serving in the position. The teacher under whom the aide works should provide guidance to assure that assigned responsibilities are within the aide's capabilities. Additional responsibilities are added as the aide becomes increasingly able to assume them. Lately, however, as the number of aides in schools has increased, school districts have begun to ask or require aides to attend preservice training workshops or to take special courses during their first year of service. Workshops may be conducted anytime, but many of them tend to be scheduled during the summer when regular school programs are not in operation. They are usually intensive, all day sessions lasting from a few days to a month, depending on the complexity of the material being taught. Participants come away immersed in theory and techniques and, it is hoped, able to respond to most of the situations that will arise during the job.

In-service courses are usually provided under a contractual relationship between the school system and a local community college or other institution of higher learning. An individual course may present more or less the same information as the workshop, but the instruction is prolonged over a term or semester lasting from three to five months. The course format is tailored more to people whose social or family responsibilities won't allow them to take off the block of time required for the workshop, but who can manage two or three hours a week. The course format has one other benefit in that it can often be structured as part of a college degree program. The participant then becomes a student earning credit toward a college degree. The aide position can, therefore, be used as a stepping stone to full teacher credentialing.

SETTING QUALIFICATIONS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF

At this point it is again appropriate to raise the question of credentialing, since up to now the impression has probably been given that credentials result only from the completion of college degree programs. Fortunately, this is no longer the case in several states. In Minnesota, for example, the state legislature in 1977 passed a bill known as the American Indian Language and Culture Act. This act specifies that licences to teachers of American Indian languages can be extended to any person who demonstrates competence in the language. Initially the law specified that the person had to possess a bachelor's degree or offer equivalent experience, such as past teaching experience, in support of an application. Later, however, an amendment was passed that eliminated the degree requirement and substituted two other options. The applicants could either present statements from two competent professionals, or a single resolution from tribal authorities attesting to their knowledge of [illegible] language and culture and their ability to serve as teachers. Competence could be judged by a number of criteria, including successfully completing one [illegible] courses or workshops under the direction of the authorized professional [illegible] a period of time as a teacher aide or instructor in a community

center, or, especially in the case of senior members of the community, merely being generally acknowledged as a language and culture authority. There are indications that a licencing procedure similar to Minnesota's, which is sometimes referred to as "eminence credentialing," will be adopted by many other states with large Indian populations. Such laws will further the intent of the Indian Self-determination Act by extending decision-making authority over the selection of Indian language instructors to tribes, rather than leaving it exclusively to universities.

However the tribe determines the eligibility requirements of its teaching staff, it is important that fairly early into the retention program some formal training procedures be set up to insure a high degree of consistency among the teachers who will step into positions in later years. This consistency can be most effectively realized by setting up a curriculum at the college level for training bilingual and bicultural teachers. If the tribe has the resources available, it can implement the curriculum at its own facilities, for instance, at one of the growing number of Indian-controlled junior colleges. The curriculum, however, might require more specialized staff than the community would be able to provide at early stages of the program. An effective alternative would be for the tribe to work closely within the structure of an established university. One such program was set up as a temporary relationship between the University of Wisconsin and the Great Lakes Inter Tribal Council, which represents Chippewa, Menominee, Oneida, Potawatomi, and Winnebago communities in Wisconsin. The program was referred to as the Wisconsin Native American Languages Project.

The Project's training program was designed to take participants two years to complete. Participants were enrolled as special students at the University for the duration of the program. During the first year they took the following courses: introduction to the study of language, introduction to linguistics, language teaching, Native American languages in education, workshop in Native American applied linguistics, and a seminar in either Algonquian, Iroquoian, or Siouan linguistics, depending on the particular language each of them spoke. In the second year, the courses were more procedurally oriented. They included: principles of classroom appraisal and measurement, introduction to learning and development, laboratory in applied Native American linguistics, field work and workshop in curriculum and instruction, and student teaching in foreign language. The entire program emphasized the quick development of practical teaching skills. For this reason most courses involved the student in problem solving based on actual or hypothetical classroom experiences, rather than in book learning. During the second year, many of the principles learned during the first year were directly applied by having students write language teaching materials in whichever of the five languages he or she spoke. These materials later became the basis for language instruction in the elementary schools.

Because the program was obviously quite technical it required several professional staffers. Besides administrative staff, these included three linguists and one language teaching specialist. Each of these staff members was responsible for guiding instruction and also for making technical information about each of the languages more accessible to participants. Funding for the project was arranged through a Title IV Indian Education Act grant to the Council, which the Council in turn subcontracted to the University to pay for administrative and staffing costs.

The Wisconsin project was obviously very ambitious and very costly. It achieved what success it had [illegible] because of cooperation between different tribes; and then between the unified tribes, the university administration, and the state education authorities. The sequence of events that brought it into operation might not be so easily arrived at in fractured communities or when the numbers of participants could not justify the cost of setting up an elaborate curriculum. In these circumstances, the establishment of a workshop format might accomplish the same objectives, but without all of the formal apparatus.

THE WORKSHOP APPROACH TO TRAINING

A workshop should be set up around a particular objective, whether that be concerned with curriculum development, materials development, teaching techniques, or backgrounding in linguistics. It is important to focus attention on what methods can be used to redirect a staff member's activities to more closely approximate the stated objective. For instance, if it has been determined that Indian language teachers need specific training in language evaluation techniques, then the workshop should consider how curricular goals, classroom management, instructional materials, and cultural orientation intertwine to favor one technique over another. The workshop might then go on to explore the topic in more technical detail, looking at test formating, statistical analysis, interpretation of test results, and recommendations for corrective actions. At every available opportunity in the workshop, the point being made should be illustrated with examples relevant to the needs of participants. Workshops, by their nature, can be more interactional than traditional classes and every advantage should be taken to sink points home with material and situations that are familiar to the participants.

Any workshop addressing a topic of concern to a language retention program will necessarily have to assume some core familiarity with language issues and even language structure. It is recommended that workshop leaders always make it clear to participants just what linguistic or sociolinguistic background information they expect participants to have. Depending on the character of the workshop, one or more introductory sessions should be devoted to covering some or all of the following topics:

1. *The role of the native language in education.* The purpose is to have participants appreciate the value of the Indian language as a means to increase overall school achievement and to promote psychological development.
2. *Means for developing skill in the Indian language.* The workshop leader might cite programs to increase community awareness and adult literacy, to institute adult education, or bilingual education for school children, to encourage the expansion of situations in which the language is used, and so on.
3. *Structural analysis of the Indian language.* Remarks on this topic would be a nontechnical introduction to the language for the purpose of explaining how the language will influence curriculum planning and instructional methods.
4. *The cultural context of language learning.* The concern here is with detailing how the Indian language is used in contrast to English, and how retention strategies are influenced by patterns of language use.
5. *Principles of linguistic analysis.* Most language teaching situations will call for some knowledge of how languages in general operate. The intention is to provide the teacher with the background necessary to organize and communicate information about both the Indian language and English and to encourage independent research on the Indian language.

Although workshops generally consider broad content topics having to do with curriculum, materials, teacher training, and so on, a number of mini-topics with relevance to the day-to-day activities of the retention program might either be included within a more enveloping topic or given special treatment on their own. Some of these include:

1. *Using the community as a learning center.* The teacher plans and manages field trips to locales, institutions, or people of special significance to the community.
2. *Interviewing community elders.* Most cultures with unwritten languages embody their history and lore in the elderly. The workshop leader would explain to the

class the methods used in obtaining oral histories from these people and, in general, involving them in the educational process.

3. *Materials resource management.* Participants would be instructed in ways to catalogue, inventory, and store the written and audiovisual materials used in the maintenance effort.
4. *Preparation of audiovisual materials.* Techniques of videotaping, preparing slides, making sound recordings, and caring for equipment would be presented.
5. *Methods of public speaking.* This topic addresses the need to develop skills in presenting information before an audience, whether that be a classroom of young children or an assembly of tribal leaders.
6. *Proposal writing.* The funds that operate retention programs to a large extent come from state and federal governments, most of which require a written proposal describing the need for funds and how they will be spent. The techniques for writing proposals are standardized enough that they can form the basis for a separate workshop.

The workshop approach to staff development is an attempt to bring staff training services to the community, rather than remove individuals from the community to places where such services are usually provided. Consequently, workshops can take on an importance for the community out of proportion to the amount of training that could be provided in a college or university. Those communities that place a positive value on social cohesiveness could, in effect, derive more benefit from the necessarily limited agenda of the workshop than from the extensive curriculum of the degree program. Whichever approach is adopted, however, the community will reap important and lasting benefits in a dedicated and committed program staff.

8

Use of Professional Consultants

It is perhaps apparent by now that any but the most minimal language retention program will require the services of one or more professionals, people who have received highly specialized training over and above that provided in a bachelor's degree program. Professionals have at their fingertips the ability to look at a situation and apply their training to designing programs that can anticipate and avoid problems. In the long run a professionally tailored program can save a project many false starts and great expense.

Although it is hard to doubt the capacity of professionals to aid a project, in reality, it sometimes happens that their expertise is not used: either because they operate on a wrong or inapplicable set of preconceptions or because they do not have the skill to communicate their findings. These criticisms have often been leveled at professionals, such as linguists and anthropologists, who have studied Indian groups. In the past the typical encounter of an Indian and a professional was arranged exclusively for the benefit of the professional. Although scholarship and the furtherance of knowledge were typically cited as motivations for undertaking a study, the results of the study would almost without fail be unintelligible to the Indian community. This was partly because a certain conciseness of expression could be achieved by using an involved jargon. Concepts peculiar to a field of study get labeled with a term whose meaning is essentially restricted to others who share equivalent knowledge. It is difficult to break away from the constraints imposed by these patterns and restructure a concept for the uninitiated. Even professionals admit that it can be more difficult to write for the layman than for a colleague.

At times, unfortunately, the language of the professional was also used to hide unflattering portrayals from those studied in the investigation. Investigative results are usually couched in a certain theory, which bases itself in a set of generalizations from past observations. Theories are said to hold up and withstand verification if new observations conform to predictions the theory makes. The only difficulty arises if the investigator assumes that the assumptions on which the theory is founded apply to situations where, in fact, they do not apply. For instance, it is commonplace knowledge that minority children in this country do not on the average perform as well on standardized tests as do majority children. For some time these results were taken to mean that minority children were mentally incapable of performing at higher levels, psychologically disadvantaged, or just unmotivated. It was relatively rare that anyone questioned the validity of the theory that shaped the test instrument. But, in recent years, as doubts have set in concerning the cultural relevance of certain tests, it appears that children might fail because they are being given unfair tests. Furthermore, in cultures far removed from our own, and lacking our pervasive experience with taking tests, even the method of testing may be unfair.

The point is that Indians have oftentimes been wrongly stigmatized as lazy, slow to learn, revengeful, silent, and so on, on the basis of social behaviors that have been observed out of their natural context. And it was as often as not the

professional who made the judgment or substantiated it with partial data. It is little wonder that many Indian communities today bear a distrust for the professional, who they say seeks to "steal" or "buy" information and then later distort it for personal gain.

Of course, the caricature of the self-seeking professional fits relatively few people currently working with Indian groups. Most now recognize their responsibility to the Indian community and are willing to subordinate or align their personal interests to the needs of the community. There is a growing understanding among linguists and anthropologists, especially, that more is to be gained by insuring the continuation of a language and culture than there is by scrambling to salvage bits and pieces as they pass out of existence. A lost language is lost forever, except as it survives in the written records of some linguist's grammar or dictionary, neither of which can ever be a complete or perfect record.

At the same time that professionals are willing to offer their assistance, there is still a lingering feeling on the part of many people that help involves telling Indian communities how to do things. Professionals operate within theories--theories of language, theories of learning, theories of cultural organization--each spelling out a list of optimal rules and procedures. Unfortunately, in less than ideal situations--which most are--the rules and procedures will have to bend before the messy realities. In other words, each situation must be approached with a fresh perspective, and professionals should be encouraged by the community that hires them to start just that way. The step that assures this is for the community to work closely with the professional so that needs and cultural idiosyncracies that may affect the program conception are brought out into the open. The community should be pleased with the services it contracts for; anything it is not happy with will almost certainly not be useful.

A variety of professional services may be useful to the retention program at nearly every stage of development, implementation, and evaluation. The people who can provide these services range from proposal developers who can be helpful in carrying out needs assessments and writing proposals to program evaluators who guage the relative success of the program by comparing results against expectations. In between are the professionals who assist in carrying out the intent of the proposal, especially the linguists, anthropologists, curriculum specialists, and teacher trainers. Others might be mentioned, such as counselors, editors, artists, and so on, but it is less likely that the community will have to go outside to find these. Most Indian communities, however, have not reached the stage where they can find within their membership people with the training necessary to provide more academic services. In the following sections we will look more closely at the nature of the services certain professions can provide.

TYPES OF PROFESSIONALS

Linguists. The linguist is the most misunderstood of the group we are considering. The common conception of the linguist is of a person who speaks or understands or reads more than one language. In reality, however, a competent linguist may be completely comfortable only in the language he or she was taught as a child. The essence of linguistics lies not in learning languages, but in learning about language--how it is structured, how it is used, what functions it serves, how it changes, and so on. During training a linguist will come to know about many different languages, until finally a conception materializes that all languages are based on a common set of structural and functional principles. The linguist then works with this framework using it to compare and contrast new data on new languages. Up to a point he or she will quite reliably be able to predict what sorts of meaning categories the language will operate with and how these might be

structured. Also, given one type of structure, accurate predictions can often be made about what other types of structures will appear. In short, a linguist can often approach a completely unstudied language and, in a time much shorter than it would take a novice, turn out an accurate description of the language.

Many linguists also control techniques to uncover information about how a language has changed over time. This might be done by systematically comparing one language with another fairly closely related language or by looking at irregularities in the language, which often reveal themselves to be relics of regular processes that have passed out of use. A historical study of a language or a language family can even reveal information about the homeland of a group. For instance, even if we did not have reliable archaeological information about the Navajos, linguists could determine that they were originally northerners from western Canada and Alaska, who migrated to their present home in Arizona and New Mexico. Estimates can even be made of the date the migration took place.

Granted, historical information of this sort may be somewhat marginal to the needs of a language retention program, but the descriptive information that the linguist provides is absolutely critical to the successful operation of the program. By descriptive information, we mean data about the sound system of the language, essential to constructing an appropriate orthography; information about grammatical organization, or how words are built up and then arranged into sentences; and then lists of words with definitions, arranged in some fashion into a dictionary.

The most obvious point to consider hiring a linguist would be when the preparation of these resource materials is undertaken. But the linguist, either alone or in collaboration with other professionals, can also assist in the preparation of curricular materials, especially language textbooks. Included in the analysis the linguist makes of the language will be an assessment of the relative difficulty of one structure over another or of the difference between an Indian language structure and its equivalent in English. This information must be considered when outlining chapters or lessons within the language textbook to avoid unfairly taxing students with difficulties they have not been prepared for. Last, of course, linguists would be the most effective people to teach basic linguistic principles to teachers and other staff involved in the retention effort. Recall that the Wisconsin project made use of three linguists, each specialized in one of the three different language families represented in that state, to instruct prospective Indian language teachers.

Teacher trainers. It may seem strange that a person who speaks a language fluently does not also come naturally equipped to teach it as a second language to someone else. It is stranger yet when you consider that young children do learn their first language from just such people. The crucial difference between first and second language learners, at least second language learners who are studying in a classroom setting, is that a first language comes via practice in natural conversational situations and the second comes to a large extent via explanation. Explanation by a teacher takes the place of baby talk, the concessions and simplifications adults make in their language when addressing a child. It is highly inappropriate and even insulting to talk baby talk to a person who already speaks another language, because the use of baby talk presumes the person addressed is also not mentally able to deal with adult language styles. A language teacher, consequently, has no choice but to avoid using teaching methods that would be appropriate for a child learning its first language. Language teaching does involve simplification, but it is simplification without condescension.

It is at this point, however, where the difficulty develops. The ability to explain how to make good sentences in a language is dependent on having a vocabulary to discuss the bits and pieces of sentences, a vocabulary to refer to word types and the functions they serve. This is precisely what a grammarian is defined to be, and the claim is, therefore, that language teachers must know

something of grammar. This statement does not mean that teachers must swamp their own students with linguistic terminology. Many language teaching techniques have been developed so that grammar is taught implicitly within the layout of materials and lesson plans. A student acquires grammatical abilities more through pattern recognition and repetition than through overt explanation. The teacher, however, cannot effectively plan lessons or guide learning without this knowledge.

It is partly for these reasons and partly for reasons of acquainting novice teachers with methods to handle students that teacher training programs are necessary. The techniques are involved enough that a group of professional educators, referred to as teacher training specialists, has arisen to assume responsibility for these programs. Within the context of language learning, the teacher trainer would develop for the novice teacher some notion of how languages operate grammatically and, within the structure of a particular culture, how one language can interfere with the learning of another language and what instructional methods are available to promote learning of a second language. Last, the trainer might supervise a teacher's performance in the classroom and make specific suggestions regarding classroom management.

Curriculum developers. A part of the teacher trainer's concern must necessarily be with the overall design of the language program, because the curriculum and materials used will influence to some extent the choice of instructional methods. The development of curriculum and materials, however, is strictly speaking within the domain of the curriculum specialist, a person who matches program objectives to the ability levels of students. Factors that must be considered include the cognitive and emotional development of the student, his or her cultural background, the interdependence of program objectives and skills growth, the proper sequencing of instructional content, and the availability of teaching facilities and personnel. The curriculum developer, consequently, must be part educator, part psychologist, and part systems analyst.

Once the curriculum itself is set, other aspects of program development will follow rather easily. The curriculum will spell out the needs for staff, materials, and back-up support. In addition, it will be sequenced in such a way that materials developers can prepare texts and assessment materials with the assurance that students will not be prematurely exposed to difficulties beyond their experience level. Teachers, likewise, will be better able to understand the intended usefulness of materials and to concentrate on developing effective lesson plans. Even assessment takes on greater meaning in the context of a well-executed curriculum. Teachers and counselors can recommend or even themselves develop special instruments to test the language dominance of incoming students and the development of language abilities following instruction.

Evaluators. The close involvement of program staff in the day-to-day operation of project activities can produce a loss of objectivity. Staff might come to see no obvious exit from a problem corner or they might fail to see any problem at all. For this reason it is vital to the prospects of any program, but especially those that will . n a number of years, to have an independent evaluation performed by some objective outsider. What we state here as a strong recommendation is often contractually hinged to the receipt of government money, and programs accepting such money are, then, required to provide such an evaluation.

Evaluators constitute a relatively new breed of professional, but they are often drawn from the ranks of the other professionals we have described. Evaluators, however, will have in addition to the skills of their stated profession, a strong grounding in evaluative skills. These include the ability to select representative sample populations, to design interviews and questionnaires, to gather data, and to apply statistical tests in the analysis of data. The evaluator's task does not end at this point, however, because the client will also expect a set of

recommendations on how to redirect the program to have it better meet its stated objectives. In certain cases, the evaluator might recommend that instead of modifying procedures a program objective be looked on as unrealistic or unreachable and dropped.

Professionals come equipped with a widely varying mix of skills and backgrounds, and it is often exceedingly difficult to know ahead of time which of the many people who might be available for a certain task would perform best at it. Certain factors, such as availability and cost, will enter into consideration, but more important is some assurance that a quality product will be delivered. Without prior experience with a particular individual, it is necessary to look for evidence from his or her work record and recommendations. It is particularly important to see some evidence that the prospective consultant has familiarity with Indian language and culture issues and, furthermore, is concerned to improve the prognosis for an Indian language retention program. Of course, the best place to find this sort of person is within the Indian community itself, and, if competent professionals exist here, efforts should be made to enlist their support. Barring that possibility, recommendations might be solicited from Indian communities that have faced similar problems in the past or from people in universities or government who are qualified to judge on the credentials of professionals. A third alternative is to advertise for services in trade journals, state departments of education, universities, or elsewhere. This will typically bring out a number of professionals whose qualifications can be compared simultaneously, and from among whom the most promising candidate can be selected. A careful and considered selection of consultants at an early point in the program will more than repay the investment with savings in time, money, and momentum later in the project.