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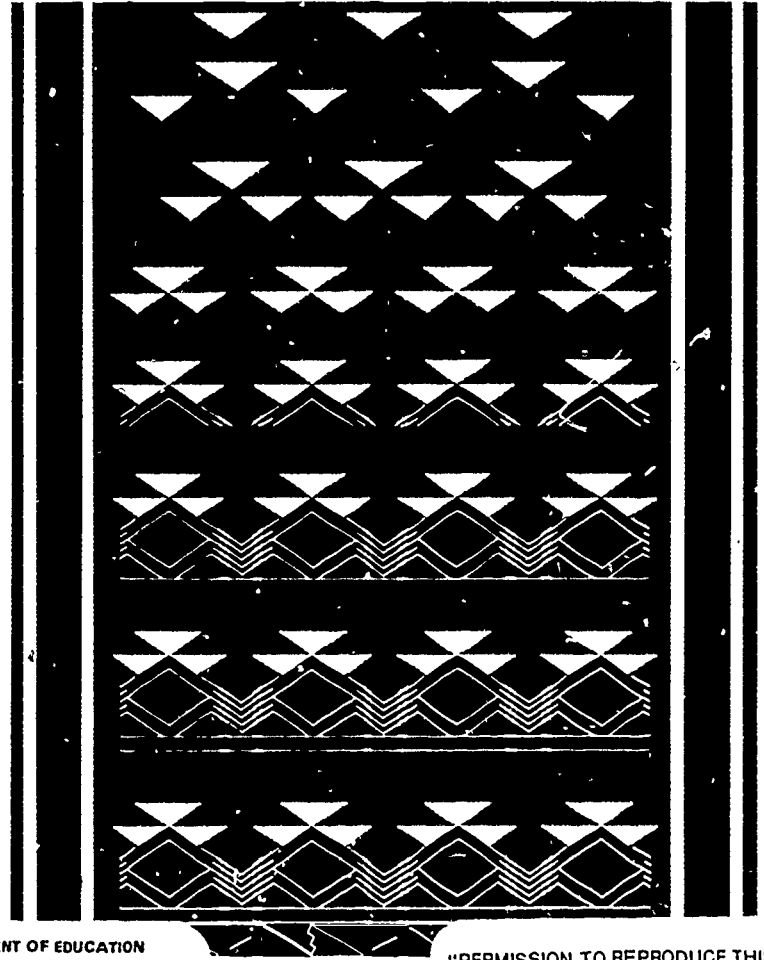
ABSTRACT

The essays in this volume cover a range of sociopolitical aspects of Indian language planning (i.e., the politics of dialect, the role of the linguist, and the historical foundations of contemporary language problems), problems faced by the actual experiences of Indian language renewal efforts, and the relationship of Indian language renewal and Indian English proficiency. The articles include: (1) "What is Language Renewal?" by Robert N. St. Clair; (2) "Roles for the Linguist in Indian Bilingual Education," by William L. Leap; (3) "Language Renewal, Bilingualism, and the Young Child," by Dale E. Otto; (4) "Native Americans and Literacy," by Amy Zaharlick; (5) "Historical Foundations of Language Policy: The Nez Perce Case," by James Park; (6) "The Lushootseed Language Project," by Vi Hilbert and Thom Hess; (7) "Cultural Retention Programs and Their Impact on Native American Cultures," by Ralph E. Cooley and Ramona Ballenger; (8) "A Bilingual Education Program for the Yakima Nation," by Florence M. Pimms Haggerty; (9) "Phonologic Variations of Pima English," by Sharon S. Nelson-Barber; (10) "English Acquisition by Monolingual and Bilingual Pima Indian Children," by Mary R. Miller; (11) "The Educational Implications of American Indian English," by Mark S. Fleisher; and (12) "Semilingualism as a Form of Linguistic Proficiency," by William L. Leap. (EKN)



Language Renewal among American Indian Tribes

Issues, Problems, and Prospects

Edited by Robert St. Clair and William Leap

NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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To Lorraine Misiaszek,
an advocate for Indian education

Contents

Foreword

Preservation of the linguistic heritage of a minority group is essential to maintenance of its cultural heritage within a larger society. *Language Renewal among American Indian Tribes: Issues, Problems, and Prospects* seeks to present practical experiences with language renewal from various perspectives. It is concerned with methods and approaches that achieve this end and their implications for the historian, the linguist, the language teacher, and, above all, the speaker of American Indian languages.

One of the activities of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education is to publish documents addressing the specific information needs of the bilingual education community. We are pleased to add this distinguished title to our growing list of publications. Subsequent Clearinghouse products will similarly seek to contribute information and knowledge that can assist in the education of minority culture and language groups in the United States.

National Clearinghouse
for Bilingual Education

Introduction

Both editors of this volume have been active in the area of American Indian language renewal for many years. Each has worked with different American Indian tribes and tribal organizations around the country in developing programs for ancestral language instruction, tribal culture retention, and where appropriate, biliteracy. As a consequence, the editors have come to understand, in part, the kinds of problems facing tribes when their interests begin to focus on language renewal. This volume—among the first to offer an overview of language renewal as it is currently being experienced by American Indian tribes and tribal communities—is a byproduct and an outgrowth of all these considerations.

The essays on Indian language renewal in this collection are all performance oriented, because language renewal itself is an action-oriented undertaking. Indian language renewal borrows knowledge from many of the professional disciplines as well as from the collective experiences and individual perspectives of the tribal membership. But the success of Indian language renewal efforts is judged in accordance with the needs of the tribe actually being served. There are many variables which can either contribute to the effectiveness of a language program or detract from its accomplishments. Thus, the task of language renewal is viewed in terms of the results of its performance: It does not matter how well a theory or a model works or has worked in some other context if the tribal membership does not develop stronger language and culture skills as a result of participation in the language renewal effort.

The essays in this volume build in particular ways on some facet of this theme. Each essay was written especially for this collection by a person who is actively involved in some aspect of Indian language renewal at the present time. Some have directed their interests toward historical research. Others have turned to the design and development of curricula for bilingual literacy. The scope of interests in the Indian language renewal field and the

range of skills required for participation in this area are amply displayed by the discussions in this publication.

The first chapter, by Robert St. Clair, presents an overview of language renewal, especially as the field has become relevant to tribal interests. The essay brings into focus the social, political, and historical nature of this unique aspect of language planning. Some of the problems facing those who wish to revive their language include the creation of special alphabets for a language that was unwritten, development of pedagogical and reference grammars, compilation of classroom dictionaries, and development of readers and texts for elementary, secondary, and college level instruction. St. Clair has faced many of these problems first hand through his work with tribes in the U.S. Northwest. Here, based on some of the insights he derived from these experiences, he suggests strategies for resolving these problems in language planning.

William Leap describes in Chapter 2 the changing roles linguists can play in Indian language renewal programs. He notes that there was a time when the codification of a language was the domain solely of persons from outside the tribal speech community—usually, the cultural anthropologist or anthropological linguist with special training in the study of language and in field research techniques. Several years ago, however, a movement began among some linguists and anthropologists to give professional training to native speakers of American Indian languages, and then to make them coequal partners in research and publication. This "development" of native speakers who are intimately familiar with the value systems, ideologies, linguistic structures, and political realities of their tribal cultures is just beginning to become an actuality, and its impacts on the profession as a whole are just beginning to be sensed. But what these Native anthropologists and linguists have to say about their own cultures and languages has already proven far more relevant to the understanding of tribal realities than has the corresponding work of outsiders or marginal participants with similar levels of training. What this change of circumstances may mean for non Indian professionals working with tribes is unclear, although Leap outlines some general guidelines to identify alternatives in some instances. Clearly, some sense of new professional roles and responsibilities is required, and what might be at stake in such a new definition is an underlying theme of Leap's entire essay.

In Chapter 3, Dale Otto provides some insight into how the young child can be aided in the acquisition of a target language. He considers the special environment surrounding the child and notes the important part others play in shaping the child's world. There are special problems with teaching young children either their native language or a highly valued second language in the more formal context of the classroom. Otto aptly highlights many of these difficulties. He also speaks of the need for parental efforts and the importance of considering social and tribal interests in the language

renewal process. Throughout this chapter, Otto emphasizes the development of the child's self-concept through language. This and the concern for the "psychological parent" are significant components of the language renewal process within any Indian community.

Amy Zaharlick has worked with Pueblo Indian communities in New Mexico and in the training of Pueblo Indian staff for the bilingual programs operating within those communities. Much of her staff development activity has focused on problems of literacy, since ancestral language literacy remains a recent innovation for most of the Pueblo communities along the Rio Grande. In Chapter 4 she explores three perspectives on vernacular literacy based on her experience. The first perspective raises the question whether, if oral language renewal is the issue, Indian languages need to be written at all. Those who raise this point remind us that they were able to learn their Indian language from parents in the home without the need for outside, school based instruction. More than a pragmatic response is needed when replying to these concerns. The second perspective on literacy deals with attempts to develop a practical orthography with the assistance of tribal members receiving linguistic training in workshops and short courses. The success of this approach is often frustrated by the fact that the workshop instructor is not a member of the tribal community and is not familiar with the language being discussed. This leaves the tribe as its own (and only) resource if literacy efforts are to be mounted. Hence the final perspective on vernacular literacy which Zaharlick discusses, literacy programs that come from within the tribe itself and where the writing system and the reading materials are created by tribal members according to their own standards. Educational consultants are needed to provide technical skills in these instances, but because of their lack of familiarity with the tribe's language and culture their training lacks relevance unless mediated by inside authorities and perspectives. Zaharlick has encountered all three situations in her own work in New Mexico, and she refers to many of her experiences in the essay.

In Chapter 5, James Park deals with the historical foundations of contemporary Indian language policies by looking specifically at the experiences of one tribe—the Nez Percé. He demonstrates how the Nez Percé did not lose their language by accident, but rather by design, through the policy of the federal government and various religious and missionary groups. These outside groups determined that the Indian tribes would learn English as a replacement for their own ancestral languages. But the process did not stop there. Tribes were also expected to supplant one religion with another, one culture with another, and one mode of subsistence with another. Nothing can be more informative than to go back in time by reading the words of the people who developed those policies. The texts openly describe how the dominant society was willing to use education in the form of government schools to draw Nez Percé children away from their tradi

tions. The documents Park discusses are virtually position papers on political socialization dictated by the ethnocentricity of the social Darwinists of the time. Many of the attitudes described still exist. The perspectives these papers give on the social history of the last century can be highly informative and insightful for those who are embarking on programs of language renewal. Such studies as Park's help place contemporary language policies and "barriers" in their proper historical context.

No two language renewal efforts are exactly alike, as the chapters in Part II of this volume show. Many language renewal projects could have been represented here. The editors decided to select projects at various stages of growth and development, and those which would reflect various approaches to Indian language renewal.

Vi Hilbert and Thom Hess, for example, have developed a college level course on the Lushootseed language and describe the program in Chapter 6. Lushootseed is a Salishan language spoken on Puget Sound in the Pacific Northwest and is itself undergoing the process of language renewal in many of the tribes where it was once spoken as the first language. The college based program is unique in many ways. It is also highly successful. Part of its uniqueness (and, the editors suspect, its success) can be traced to the goals which have been set for this course. The instructors see that the course must address the language realities existing outside the classroom. Hence, the course is designed to instill in each student a sense of pride in the language and to provide a working vocabulary for use in longhouse ceremonies. An equally important part of the project is the "home research" framework. The instructors want to make their students sufficiently curious about the old ways to undertake independent research on their own. This task requires a working knowledge of field methods and some practical knowledge of Salish linguistics. This report on the Lushootseed language program provides examples of classroom texts in which expansion exercises are employed, vocabulary is enriched, and language awareness is enhanced. The program owes its effectiveness to the dedication of its founders and to their strong commitment to the principle of Salish language renewal.

In Chapter 7 Ralph Cooley and Ramona Ballenger discuss the general impact of retention programs on American Indian languages and tribal cultural details. The experiences of four Oklahoma tribes are used as the basis for this discussion. In each instance, the goal of the retention effort was to record as much information as possible in the areas of language, history, tribal origins, and religion. This was done within a general oral history framework, with the information tape recorded, transcribed, and placed in archives by members of the tribes themselves. The Oklahoma project differs from the Lushootseed program primarily in the scope of the effort: the Oklahoma project assembled data and made them available to the tribes for their own purposes, while the Lushootseed project was

designed to include an active developmental component as well as a data gathering component in its activities. As comparisons of the two essays will reveal, each strategy appears to be optimally suited for the specific local conditions that formed the context for each project.

Florence Haggerty offers a third example of a language renewal project in Chapter 8. A curriculum design specialist, she has been instrumental to the development of a language curriculum to teach the Yakima language in the public schools on that reservation. She has worked with Rosalie Basset, Lena Owens, and others in producing many highly illustrative and informative textbooks and reference works under funding provided by the Johnson O'Malley legislation. In her description of language renewal among the Yakima, Haggerty shows how bilingual education in the more traditional sense of the term is an appropriate language arts model for local needs. However, because the dominant language on the Yakima reservation is English and the ancestral language has been virtually lost among the younger generations, the need for a viable program of language renewal remains critical. The specific issues discussed in this chapter are integral factors to be addressed by any attempt at language planning on the Yakima reservation.

Of course, Indian language renewal does not operate in social isolation. It is complemented, and at times confronted, by numerous additional forces. One of those sets of forces has led to the appearance of Indian English varieties within many of the reservation communities, with these codes serving as alternatives (or, just as often, as complements) to standard English and the ideology that standard English represents. Such interactions between linguistic codes, value systems, and political ideologies provide interesting variations on the language renewal theme. Frequently, they also provide difficult problems with which Indian language planners must contend.

Some might argue that Indian English itself is a byproduct of the tribal experience with language renewal. Others take a more conservative view, and treat Indian English as an Indian variant of the nonstandard English codes that have appeared among all minority groups in the United States. The essays in Part III strike a middle ground position on this question. In Chapter 9, for example, Sharon Nelson-Barber looks at the English varieties used by Pima children in a reservation elementary school in southern Arizona. She investigates the claim of those who find a "deficit" in the English of these children and through exhaustive documentation illustrates the wide range of English constructions these children employ. The situational conditioning factors which govern the presence or absence of these forms are emphasized. The chapter is especially important because it offers a data base upon which further discussions of Indian English can be built. Too many studies of these themes substitute rhetoric for fact, a situation William Leap explores in Chapter 12.

Mary Miller, in Chapter 10, also looks at the use of English by Pima Indian children, this time to show how language renewal can involve social, economic, and political forces competing with the target language of the Native community and with the acquisition of English. Miller's discussion of this problem is based on the hypothesis that the Indian English forms emerge under such circumstances as products of bilingual interference. Not all Indian English scholars endorse the relevance of the interference model in these contexts. Miller justifies doing so in the present instance by citing the increasing differences between the levels of English usage attained by Pima Indian children at particular points in the developmental process and the usage levels attained by English speaking monolinguals from the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. There are unique phonetic, syntactic, and lexical features in the English of the Pima children, and Miller refers to some of these in her essay. Comparisons with the descriptions offered by Nelson Barber can offer insights in this area. The judgments of student academic achievement in Miller's essay come from the Anglo community and its value structure. However, because of the continuing domination of Indian education by Anglo perspectives, the evaluation system outlined by Miller is politically realistic—at least as far as present circumstances warrant.

Not all Indian English varieties have seen as much detailed analysis as that given Pima English phonology in these two essays. In Chapter 11, Mark Fleisher discusses one instance where questions about the "Indian ness" of a tribe's characteristic English variety are just beginning to be raised. The tribe in question—the Makah of northwest Washington State—is located in an area with a long history of intertribal pidgin and creole usage. Fleisher raises the possibility that Makah English might represent the continuation of an older, nonstandard, "neutral" pidgin this time using English rather than Indian language vocabulary in the surface structure. Should this prove to be the case, arguments that the sentence forms of the codes are to be interpreted solely by reference to underlying ancestral language grammar will need to be carefully re-examined.

The final chapter of the volume is by William Leap. It deals with the concept of semilingualism as it relates to American Indian English and Indian language renewal. The argument has been made that there are many in minority speech communities in the United States and other countries who, for a variety of reasons, are proficient in neither their ancestral language nor in the national tongue. This leaves them in a state of dual linguistic incompetence, and equally vulnerable in economic and social terms, as well. The validity of this claim, Leap argues, has never been adequately tested. Descriptions of semilingual speech have yet to be advanced. The data used to document the existence of semilingualism remain derived exclusively from standardized test scores. These are hardly adequate means for measuring, much less understanding, the sentence formation skills of any speaker. In spite of these glaring deficiencies in the data base, the concept of semilingualism has been accepted by those who

apparently feel the need to embrace some version of a linguistic deprivation theory. Leap's essay cites a series of sentences from his Tiwa and Tewa English field data to demonstrate the inaccuracy of basing assessments of the language skills of Indian English speakers on ideology rather than precise description.

In this volume, the editors have brought together several important perspectives on the language renewal process as it currently pertains to American Indian tribes and languages. The issues discussed cover a range of sociopolitical aspects of Indian language planning (including the politics of dialect, the role of the linguist, and the historical foundations of contemporary language problems), problems faced by the actual experiences of Indian language renewal efforts in various contexts, and the relationship between Indian language renewal and Indian English proficiencies. Not all of the issues in this field of American Indian education have been addressed in this book. But enough have been explored to suggest to the reader some of the prospects and directions for action within American Indian language planning. It is the sincere hope of the editors that this volume will impart some of the excitement they have found while working with these questions in the field.

A brief note on terminology is in order. Non Indian scholars in recent years have tended to use the terms *Native American* and *American Indian* as if they were synonymous. They are not. *Native American* is an administrative term that includes not only the federally recognized Indian tribes but also the state recognized tribes and self identified Indians, native Hawaiians, native Samoans, other native Pacific Islanders under U S dominion, and the descendents of the native inhabitants of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands. *American Indian* denotes a subset of this more inclusive group and refers in accurate usage *solely* to those people who are members of federally recognized tribal entities, including the Alaska Native communities identified for the purpose under the terms of the Alaska Native land claims settlement. The federally recognized tribes have made their preference for the term *American Indian* clear on numerous occasions, and the editors of this volume have respected that preference here. Where an author has chosen to use *Native American*, the editors have honored that preference, otherwise, in general discussions or in instances where the reference was strictly to federally recognized tribes, they have substituted the more appropriate phrase.

Robert N. St. Clair
William L. Leap

I
Sociopolitical Factors

Chapter 1

What Is Language Renewal?

Robert N. St. Clair

Robert N. St. Clair is professor of English at the University of Louisville (Kentucky). He is editor of *Technology and Mediated Instruction*, a publication of the National Association of Learning Laboratory Directors, and editor of the Language and Literacy series of the Institute of Modern Languages. He is also Executive Director of the Forum for Interdisciplinary Research. His most recent works include *Developmental Kinesics* (1981), *Social and Psychological Contexts of Language* (1980), *Language and Social Psychology* (1979), and *Applied Sociolinguistics* (1979).

Introduction

After more than a century of witnessing the demise of their native languages and cultures, many tribal groups in North America are beginning to make a concerted effort to reverse this process. Some of these agents of social change have turned toward the vast volumes of scholarly research on their people and have looked for insight in the writings of social history, cultural anthropology, literary analysis, and social psychology. Others have placed their hopes for renewal in the more formal pedagogical approach and have learned to develop their own orthography, grammars, dictionaries, and classroom texts. They have done this at various grade levels, ranging from elementary school to the research oriented model of college courses on their native languages and cultures. What is significant about this search for language renewal is that it is not only authentic but it is also widespread.

Although many see language renewal as an amorphous attempt to return to the values and the ideologies of the old days, they do not realize that it is also an internationally emerging area of research among students of the political sociology of language (St. Clair, 1979). It represents, for example, one of the five aspects of language planning (Nahir, 1977). Hence, if the renewal of a language and its culture is to succeed, tribal communities can learn much from others who have ventured in this direction. For this reason, an overview of the literature should prove beneficial.

Language Planning

The concept of language planning has always been around, but in 1887 it came into prominence when Dr. L.L. Zamenhof constructed an international language that he called *Esperanto*, the language of hope (Privat, 1923). What is important about this event is that it drew international attention and soon became a popular movement among the people of Europe. It was not restricted to intellectuals nor to other groups of professionals who envisioned a need for this new planned language, but was adopted by the general populace. Those who spoke this new language were recognizable by the green star which they wore on their lapels. Today, the language still survives and is no longer limited to Europe. It is well known in China, for example, and it boasts of millions of speakers worldwide.

Since the time of Zamenhof, scholars have learned a great deal about the problems of language planning. For years, there was a special journal dealing with world language problems *(La monda lingvo problemo)*. It is now called *Language Problems and Language Planning* and is edited by Dr. Richard Wood (Southeast Missouri State University) and published by the University of Texas Press. Each issue of the journal contains some insight into the various aspects of how languages are purified, revised, reformed, standardized, or modernized. The journal continues to be an important source of information on language change and planning.

There are five aspects to language planning and language revival is just one of them (Nahir, 1977). First, there is the institutionalized purism in language that occurs when people feel that their language is being contaminated by too many loan words. This is usually done by prestigious language academies which comprise learned scholars, and it is their job to investigate the origin of words and grammatical usage in order to ascertain their purity. It is interesting to note that such movements tend to occur at a time when a dominant group in a country uses language to create social distance from other groups within national boundaries. The purification of language, for example, was the concern of Mussolini in Italy before the Second World War and of Hitler during the rise of the German Third Reich.

A second form of language planning involves reform. This is usually motivated by a desire to make the language less complex. It appeared in the United States, for example, under the name of orthographic reform and was led by many groups that argued for a simplification of the spelling of English. This domain of spelling is usually under the control of lexicographers, people who study words (lexemes) and develop dictionaries (lexicons). During the height of the orthographical reform movement in the United States several decades ago, various groups constantly attacked the lexicographers and other custodians of linguistic tradition.

Standardization is the third area of language planning and involves a process in which the dialect of a region is legitimated and becomes accepted as the major language. Many times, the problem of standardization becomes intensely political because the identity and the cultural heritage of a people are intrinsically related to their language. Hence, when one dialect is subordinated to another, this implies devaluation of its speakers. Consider, for example, the quest for the legitimation of their language and culture by the French Canadians of Quebec.

With the advent of technological change and the expression of cultural innovation, a language needs to be modernized occasionally. This is the fourth form of language planning and it tends to be limited to the creation of new words to fit the new interests of the nation.

Finally, there is the fifth form of language planning, which involves a people's revitalization or renewal of their language. The classic case of language revival can be found in the rebirth of Hebrew after several millenia as a dead language. The rise of this language has been well documented (Fellman, 1973), but in this instance the new concerns are with the problems of standardization. There are other noted cases of language renewal. It can be found among the Irish (Macnamara, 1971), Welsh, Cornish, etc. In the Pacific Northwest, the concern for linguistic revivalism is currently taking place among the Salishan tribe (see Chapter Six on the Lushootseed, by Hilbert and Hess), and the Sahaptian tribe (see Chapter Eight on the Yakima, by Haggerty).

However, before returning to the concept of language renewal among American Indian tribes, it is necessary to explore further the sociopolitical contexts which led to the demise of a language in the first place.

The Context of Internal Colonialism

Philip Altbach and Gail Kelly (1978) provide an informative commentary on how education is used to meet the needs of the power elite. In their writings, they note how the classic pattern of colonialism was established in India by the administrators of the British East India Company and how, within a generation, the elite of that country became the administrators for British interests. What is significant about this pattern of oppression and control is not that it was done by education alone, but that it was also done through the medium of language.

What, after all, is language? For the linguist it is a symbolic form which can be analyzed and studied. But language is much more. It is a feeling that people have and that words can express. It is a system of social values that can be found in the verse and oratory created by the great minds of a people. It is history, imbuing the relic expressions of the past with the form of metaphor and lexical clusters of meaning for the present. It is sound, for language provides the verbal play that poets enter when creating new symbolic worlds of expression. It is growth, as the language of a child develops into the more complex and sophisticated adult models of usage.

Language, then, is life. It captures the ideas of a people and the feelings and values of their existence. To deny one his or her native language is comparable to the more blatant forms of cultural genocide. When the language goes, so does the culture, to provide a new language is tantamount to creating a new world. Hence, language plays a crucial role in the renewal of a culture.

A common strategy in the colonization of a people is the co optation of its leaders. In India, this meant that the local aristocracy were the first targets of the colonial administrators. They knew that if these rulers were to accept the new ways, the people would follow. They knew that if these elite leaders were to become the managers of British colonial interests, the people would be under control socially and politically. Hence, it is not surprising to find that within a short time, these members of the aristocracy became the new managerial elite of the British East India Company. They learned to speak English with the proper British accent and learned to dress in European fashions. They learned about the literature of England and came to hold it above their own, even though they already possessed one of the richest literary traditions in the world.

However, they learned the harsh lessons of social distance. As they attempted to emulate the colonial administrators, the local aristocracy became alienated from their own past. They no longer knew their traditions and could no longer feel the richness and the experience of their past. They could not relate to their heritage. Yet they were also alienated from those whom they sought to emulate. When they attempted to become a part of British society, they found the latter creating social clubs with special membership privileges that barred these Indians from participation. What was once a natural bond of solidarity between the local rulers of India and their past had now become a double bind of social distance. They could no

longer return to the past and they were not invited to participate in the future. They were locked in the bondage of the present.

How does the case of colonialism in India relate to the needs and concerns of Native American tribes in the United States? Although one may not immediately see the similarities, they are there. The control of reservation life by the federal government has been called "internal colonialism" (Iverson, 1978). It is a situation in which the language of a people, and consequently their culture, has been replaced by a foreign tongue. Where once all of the members of a tribe spoke their native Indian languages, they now speak predominantly English. When the government took over Indian lands, the people lost more than local battles and skirmishes—they lost a way of life (Tyler, 1973). When the Bureau of Indian Affairs established local schools, the pupils were taught much more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. They were taught negative self-concepts and defeatism (Szasz, 1974). Where some see federal programs for Native Americans as magnanimous gestures of kindness, political scientists view these as a setting in which the government dictates the needs and interests of a people and holds them in check by means of a network of financial dependency (Levitan and Johnston, 1975). Where religious groups and other commercially oriented organizations see themselves as helping the Native Americans find life, others may view them as bringing cultural genocide when Native beliefs are stripped of value and recast into commercial terms for sale on the market place.

For American Indians, then, the last two centuries of internal colonialism have led to a situation in which the questions of survival and renewal are of paramount interest (McNickle, 1973). They no longer speak their native language. They no longer worship the forces of nature, but now are asked to dedicate themselves to a bureaucratic religion with all its formalism. They no longer know of their heritage, and the past has been recast for them by the interpretations of others. Even their holidays have become commercial events and the sacredness of their ceremonies has been either lost or severely attenuated. Much more than a language has been at stake in the transition. It is no small wonder that there is growing concern for language renewal and cultural revival.

Establishing a Language Program

For those who are action oriented, a viable language program can be initiated with the assistance of the elders and those who still cherish the traditional ways. Such a program usually brings opposition and those who pursue it are accused of "selling the language." It appears, however, that this is not the real issue. The resistance to a formal language program can be found in the traditional way of teaching. The use of formal education is not intrinsic to the culture. If one is to learn from another, this is done by spending many long years in apprenticeship. This is the "silent way." Learning takes place through participation and the experience of living. It is legitimated by those who are the most respected among the members of

the tribe for their expertise and knowledge. With the advent of formal education, this tradition has died among the younger generations. Furthermore, there is also a reaction against the print culture and its alignment with the values of technology. Many elders see no value in having their language reduced to print. This process, they feel, robs it of its warmth and divorces it from its context of usage.

There is one strategy, nevertheless, which is worth pursuing because it combines both traditions. This involves teaching the language to the children at the elementary level. At this grade level, children have no difficulty in learning another language. They are not hampered by the many problems that are faced by students of a second language at the secondary and collegiate levels. Once such a program is started, there is a definite need for reinforcing the language learning process at home. Unfortunately, most parents do not have a command of the language and consequently may even be hostile to such programs in the community. At best, they may speak positively of such programs, but provide minimal interest in guaranteeing their success.

If there are any tribal members who can really save the program, they are the elders. These are people who may be in the sixty to eighty year-old range who have actually spoken the language fluently as children and who fully participated in the ways of the tribe. They still know the ceremonies and are the most valuable elements in any language renewal program. The secret is to get them to work with the young children. They can teach them to speak the language and, if circumstances permit, the children can teach them how to read and write in the new system. This program, then, requires parental as well as communal support.

The Orthographic System

One of the first challenges to developing a language renewal program is the creation of an alphabet for that language. This process is far more complex than it appears because the writing system must be not only highly practical but also relevant to the needs of the tribe. In the past, anthropological linguists would work with local representatives of a tribe in the development of their native orthography. The result was usually a linguistically sound writing system, but it was not always very practical. Many times, the symbols used by the linguist did not occur in the repertoire of those who were to use the script, which meant ordering and buying special typewriters. A practical writing system would make use of the keyboard of a regular typewriter and would use symbols that are not too foreign to the experience of the teachers and the students in the language renewal programs

An excellent example of a practical orthography can be found in the system devised for the Yakima language by Bruce Rigsby (1975), an anthropological linguist currently working in Australia:

1. Underlining for velar sounds
   *ch*x*aw* (fat) *k'amkas* (shoulders)

2. Double letters for affricates
   ch̲xaw (fat) *shiix̲ k̲inupa* (handsome)
3. Apostrophe for glottalized sounds
   k'ayik (colt) *t'x̲wt'x̲w* (sparrow)
4. Hyphen for lateralized fricative
   kw'ałanj (happy) *k'puuł* (short)
5. Double letters for long vowels
   haasht (breath) *ki'iis* (smile)
6. Hyphenated i for schwa vowel
   im (mouth) *tpish* (face)

Another problem in developing an orthography has to do with the reading process. In creating a writing system, one may produce a pattern that is highly phonetic or one that is far more abstract and morphophonemic. It would appear that the latter system would be linguistically ideal because it represents the underlying form of the language. However, this is not the case. If one uses a highly complex writing system, it will make the learning of grapheme and sound relationships far more difficult for the child in the elementary classes. What appears to be systematically simple and clear is pedagogically complex and difficult to teach. Hence, what is needed for children in the lower grades is the equivalent of the Initial Teaching Alphabet (i.t.a.) already familiar to teachers of the elementary grades. This simplified model allows the child to learn the graphemic symbols with greater ease. Later on, at the collegiate level, the more complex writing system can be reintroduced without any difficulty.

The Classroom Grammars

For years, language teachers have attempted to teach their students the rules of grammar. They have made them recite definitions and fill in workbooks with grammatical terminology, all in the hope that it would make the students learn to write better. This problem is compounded by linguistic texts disguised as language handbooks, which provide an array of structural formulas for the language teacher. Karl Diller (1971) makes such claims for the generative model of language and its effectiveness in the classroom situation. Unfortunately, these are merely reworked versions of linguistic theory in a diluted form and they appear more to patronize than educate. They basically show the students how to do linguistic analysis rather than teach them how to communicate better in a second language.

A recent attempt to break away from teaching linguistic analysis as language learning comes from the research of John Mellon (1975) and Frank O'Hare (1969). They call their approach sentence-combining and focus their concerns on improving the student's writing ability. What is new about this approach is that it argues against the relevance of formal grammatical instruction in the classroom. They have completed several empirical studies on this subject and are convinced that they are not only

enhancing the writing ability of their students, but that they are also instrumental in providing their students with a working knowledge of grammar in the process. Their students are not given labels to memorize, nor are they given sentences to parse, they are merely asked to combine two or more sentences into more complex structures (Rippon and Meyers, 1979; Strong, 1973). The following exercise is representative of their approach:

Topic Area: Food
1. He eats the food.
2. The food is good.
3. The food is tasty.

Student Responses:
1. He eats the food. It is good and tasty.
2. He eats the good food. It is tasty.
3. He eats the tasty good food.

In sentence combining, there are no correct answers. Every stylistic variant is acceptable, and this provides the student with a sense of syntactic fluidity and a freedom of expression. It creates better classroom performance. Although this approach has been proven to be an effective classroom tool for improving the writing ability of students, it has been applied only in English. It has not been used for other languages, much less for the languages that American Indians speak. Nevertheless, it could be done, as the following Yakima example demonstrates:

Topic Area: Description of People
1. *Uwinsh iwa k'puuł.* (The boy is short.)
2. *Kaatnaam awa tutanik.* (His hair is long.)
3. *Chmuk wa tutanik.* (The hair is black.)

Student Responses:
1. *Uwinsh iwa k'puuł ku awa kaatnam tutanik. Awa chmuk tutanik.* (The boy is small and has long hair. The hair is black.)
2. *Uwinsh iwa k'puuł ku awa chmuk kaatnam tutanik.* (The boy is small and has long black hair.)

When pedagogical grammars are explored further, it is found that they are consonant with the current research in psycholinguistics and reading (Dawkins, 1975) in their ordering of grammatical units from the more simple to the more complex. Again, the problem with such research is that it is based on English grammatical structures, but it would be informative if similar patterns of psycholinguistic development could be ascertained among the languages of American Indian children. Hence, the creation of pedagogical grammars that enhance the syntactic and lexical repertoire of the users of the language could be a highly productive enterprise.

Classroom Dictionaries

The lexicon or dictionary is a very useful tool for the language learner It tells how to pronounce a word, how to spell it, where it came from, what it means, and how it is used. What is not normally known by language teachers is that the dictionary must relate to the grade level of the children who are using it (Braun, 1977a). Although there may be over 4 million words in the dictionary of a language, only a small number of these are within the living experience of the child who is learning the native or renewed language. Only these words are incorporated into the classroom dictionary (Braun, 1977b).

One of the problems in using a dictionary is that of relating the words to the proper context or experience. When certain words are located in the dictionary, they may have twenty or more entries. Each involves a legitimate use of the word, but the child does not have enough experience with the different uses of the language to cope with this diversity. What is needed is an experience-based dictionary, perhaps the most successful examples of these can be found in the spoken language dictionary series used by the U.S. Army language school during the Second World War. What makes this kind of dictionary unique is that it not only provides the words and elaborates on the context of usage, but it also provides copious examples of those words in actual sentences. Consider, for example, the conversational dictionary used by Oreste and Enko Vaccari (1955) some decades before the Army language model:

Know: v.t. *shiru, wakaru,* (in polite speech) *zonjiru.*
Do you know that man?
Ano kata wo go-zonji desu ka.
I know Japanese.
Watakushi wa Nihon-go wakarimasu.
Do you know that lady?
Ano fujin wo shitte irasshaimasu ka.

The word *know* can be ambiguous. It can mean to recognize someone, or to know a subject of study or a language. If examples of this distinction are lacking in the dictionary, this can lead to unnecessary confusion. Sometimes these finer distinctions can be taught by means of a synonym dictionary such as the one R.B. Farrell (1963) has developed for German:

Know:
1. *Kennen:* To be acquainted, familiar, with a person or thing.
2. *Wissen.* To be aware of, to have information of, as a fact. To know how.
3. *Erkennen:* Used in the sense of recognize.
4. *konnen.* To know an academic subject of study, to know a language.

Another aspect of teaching the meaning of words can be found in the study of root forms or morphemes. This approach may be especially useful in some American Indian languages because of the extensive use of morphological forms or word shapes that tend to recur throughout the language. There may be a problem in teaching root forms, as Edgar Dale and Joseph O'Rourke (1971) have noted. It is usually assumed that once a root is taught, its recurrence can be readily recognized by the student. This is not so. It has been found, for example, that in English a child may recognize the forms *photo* and *graph* in some words at the Grade 6 level, in others at the Grade 8 level, and in some cases may not make the connection until Grade 12:

Words	*Grade 6*	*Grade 8*	*Grade 10*	*Grade 12*
photo	photograph			
graph	photograph	autograph biography	graphite bibliography	graphic

This is another aspect of language acquisition that needs to be studied in greater detail. Just which roots are immediately grasped by children in the elementary grade levels and which are not is a matter of empirical research, and this should be seriously considered in the establishment of a language renewal program.

Finally, there is the problem of teaching words that belong to language families. These words are lexically related (Gruber, 1965). They may share transformational relationships, occur as opposites, or exist in some other derivational forms. Consider, for example, the word *die* and how it participates in a family of related words:

Die:
To cease living
Kill (to cause one to die)
Murder (to cause another's death intentionally)
Suicide (to cause one's own death intentionally)
Assassination, patricide, genocide, etc.

In many American Indian languages, there is only the morphemic form for *die*, and the other forms within this semantic family are created by the addition of causative markers, agentives, etc. These variant forms can be readily developed into classroom texts by means of lexical substitution exercises. Other lexical families can be found within the theoretical framework of generative semantics. The following provides representative examples:

Reversals:
To tie/untie
To open/close (un-open)
To send/receive
To rent to/rent from

Contextual Verbs:
To break—
tear (break paper)
snap (break a twig)
crack (break an egg)
smash (break into little pieces)
To go—
walk (move on foot)
run (move on foot rapidly)
drive (move in a car as an agent)
ride (move in a car as a passenger)

Although the nature of lexical relationships is still a matter of controversy, they do provide an interesting alternative to teaching vocabulary enrichment in the language renewal classroom.

Classroom Readers

The use of materials in the classrom provides an interesting exercise in teaching culture. The selection of appropriate materials presents the language teacher with a first-hand experience of which ideas, values, and beliefs to use in developing a story and which ones to avoid. In political science, this form of agenda setting is referred to as the use of "heroes" and "villains." By selecting the out-group as villains and the in-group as heroes, one is also socializing the student to communal values. In the case of a federal school considered in the context of internal colonialism, however, the American Indians are treated as the villains and called "savages" or "heathens." Lee Salisbury (1967) has investigated the Dick and Jane readers published by Scott Foresman and provides some insight into how the tacit culture of the readers produces havoc among the rural Eskimo children in the English classroom. The bases for these distortions are recapitulated as follows:

- Dick and Jane play together, *but* Eskimo boys and girls do not play together or share toys.
- The children's dog, Spot, is a pet and a playmate, *but* Eskimo dogs are work animals.
- Father leaves for the office every day and comes home at night without any food, *but* the Eskimo man's work and its products are immediately visible to the children—he leaves home to hunt or fish.
- The children's grandparents live far away in the country, *but* Eskimo families live together and regard any separation as unfortunate.

A similar pattern of bicultural dissonance can be found when the Dick and Jane readers are presented to Navajo children (Evvard and Mitchell, 1972).

Language provides values. It is not a neutral medium of expression. As a consequence, the choice of how something is said is just as important as what is said. In the case of classroom texts, there has been a definite bias against American Indian students in the value system espoused. The ideology comes from the dominant culture and is imbued with White Anglo Saxon Protestant male ways of thinking (St. Clair, 1979):

In-Group (good)	*Out-Group* (bad)
intelligent	moron, cretin, pejorative reference to bodily functions
human	animal, savage, bestial, vermin, microbe
religious	heathen, pagan
citizen	alien, foreign
adult	childish; boys, girls, babies
male	female, homosexual

This chart provides an account of how outsiders are portrayed in the commercial classroom texts. Intelligence is reserved for those in the in group while the social, political, and ethnic minorities are seen as lacking in intelligence and are referred to pejoratively by terminology that is characteristically associated with bodily functions. The concept of humanity is also reserved for the insiders and it is common to read in historical documents. law briefs, and classroom texts that American Indians are by contrast the "savages" or "animals" in the stories. The dominant religion of the United States is Protestant and the sociopolitical impact of this for other religious groups, such as Catholics and Jews, is demonstrated in U.S. social history. However, American Indians are treated as complete outsiders. Their religion is not even considered for its own intrinsic value but is completely denied through such terms as *heathen* and *pagan*. The concept of citizenry appears to reserve the rights and privileges of the system for in group members, although the concept of alien or foreigner is not tinged with the negative connotations it had during the 1920s, when the country was in the midst of xenophobia.

The most interesting category is that of the adult. This represents someone who is a full citizen and can be trusted to act without parental guidance. Children, on the other hand, do not share this right; they must always have paternal acquiescence in their actions. When a Black male is called a boy, for example, this is a demeaning term. It means, in essence,

that he has not yet reached adulthood and must be dealt with through another agent *in loco parentis*. Similarly, when a woman is called a girl, this attributes to her the lack of responsibility that goes with adulthood. Even more demeaning is the term "baby", interestingly enough this is limited to females in a male-oriented society and connotes an even greater degree of paternalism. This last term is implicit in the previous discussion of adult hood and sets the agenda for stigmatization in the literature of children. As an exercise in self-enlightenment, teachers should be encouraged to seriously look at the texts they are using in order to ascertain who is portrayed as the villain and who is elevated to the status of hero or heroine.

One way for teachers to overcome the biases of published textbooks would be to develop their own classroom readers through oral history projects with the elders in the tribe. They will have much to say about the values and the beliefs of the old ways. By their very speech, they will con vey insight about their own view of what the insiders are like and how they differ from the outsiders. They will have their own views of wisdom, humanity, religion, membership in the tribe, initiation into adulthood, and other communal values.

The Politics of Dialect

As soon as they have begun to develop a writing system for their own language renewal program, teachers will encounter a common problem of choosing the proper dialect for the language. It is during such times of stress that they may begin to realize that what is commonly called the language of a nation is really no more than an official dialect. The Spanish language, for example, has adopted as official the dialect of Castilian and the German language has adopted the dialect of high German The case of U.S. English is no different. What is important about this realization is that it forces tribal members to see how all nations around the world share the same conflict over whose dialect will be representative of the group and legitimated by the system. Hence, when one dialect is used for the new writing system of the tribe, the speakers of the other dialects become disen franchised. They complain that their own speech patterns are not being considered, and their complaints are fully justified. One way to get around this problem is to provide only one writing system, but to use it equally for all dialects. When the Yakima language program was initiated, for example, some of those who were developing materials used the Mamachat dialect. But, once it was realized that other dialects could also use the same writing system and develop their own materials, this conflict was resolved.

In the previous discussion of language planning, it was noted that the conflict over which dialect to use was the problem of standardization. This stage of conflict is a natural part of the growth and development of a renewed language. However, this problem can be avoided by judicious language planning from the very beginning. The case of the Yakima, in

which the same writing system is used for other dialects, appears to be an excellent model of language renewal. There is no need for conflict once it is known that each dialect is accessible to others through a common writing system. Where problems with the Yakima program do occur, they result from a lack of language awareness. This problem, it should be noted, is not restricted to these Sahaptian tribes. It is also a problem that is endemic to teachers of English and can best be resolved through occasional workshops in which diversity of language is demonstrated to be the norm. Teachers, parents, administrators, and children all need to know more about the other dialects within the linguistic family system. They need to know that language can change rather drastically from one context to another and this is not a matter of which dialect or form is correct, but one of the appropriateness of the code to the context in which it is used.

Conclusion

Although language planning is an international affair, the process of language renewal is now the dominant interest of American Indian groups in North America. What was once the quest for a revival of the language and culture of the old days among the Israelis, the Irish, the Welsh, and the Cornish is now the daily concern of the Lushootseed of the Salish tribes, or of the Yakima and Nez Percé of the Sahaptians. It is because of this concentrated interest that the Native tribes provide a rich laboratory for language planning. They are involved in a promising experiment in social change. The challenges that they face are great. Language renewal can succeed when a nation is free and independent, however, under the guise of internal colonialism and the multifaceted networks of control and dependency that were initiated and maintained by federal interests, the promise of language renewal appears to be fighting against some very heavy odds. As a consequence, there is a greater need for cooperation.

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Chapter 2

Roles for the Linguist in Indian Bilingual Education

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Factors in Language Planning[1]

In recent years, programs of bilingual instruction throughout Indian country have taken on a variety of forms. In instances where the students are fluent in their ancestral language but minimally familiar with English, Indian bilingual education[2] involves Indian language arts instruction coordinated with appropriate English as a second language (ESL) strategies, to ensure that the students' development of facility in standard English does not come at the expense of their control over ancestral language codes. The reverse situation may just as readily be found—instances where Indian students are already fluent in English but minimally familiar with sentence formation processes in their ancestral language. In these cases, Indian bilingual education involves Native as a second language (NSL) instruction coordinated with measures to ensure that the students' facility in English will not be adversely affected by the acquisition of Indian language arts skills. At the midpoint between both extremes lie those instances where students are fluent speakers of the locally appropriate variety of Indian English (Leap, 1979). In such cases, an Indian bilingual education program provides developmental instruction in standard English as well as in the students' ancestral language. Depending on local conditions, the program may also need to ensure that the students' fluency in vernacular English is not unduly affected.

Of course this is an ideal typology and several factors interfere with the neatness of its application to the real world. First, there is the recurring problem of language variability. Undoubtedly there will be instances where all students within a classroom have nominal familiarity with English or their ancestral language. It is more common, however, to find varying levels of student control over each of these codes, such that some students evince greater or lesser English (or Indian language) facility than others. Developmental factors, previous exposure to standard English or Indian language models, inherent diversity in Indian language usage patterns, and any number of additional influences similarly have an impact on this situation.

In addition, there are 206 different Indian languages still spoken in the United States. This further complicates the question of variability—first, because each Indian language has its own history and usage constraints, and second, because several such Indian language traditions may be found within a given reservation or tribal community, or within an Indian classroom at any point in time.

Synchronic and diachronic factors have jointly given rise to a diverse and complex reality for Indian language needs in the United States. This has seriously complicated the efforts of school authorities and language planners to develop responsive programs that will meet those needs, since no single type of bilingual initiative can be applied to all Indian contexts. An additional complication must be recognized. A tribe may not want to

see a bilingual education program set up in the local school—despite the fact that a language problem has been recognized within a given tribal community, ancestral fluency is retained solely within the grandparents' generation, or English language fluency is only beginning to be evident among the elementary-school-aged children.

Often there are quite valid reasons leading parents and tribal officials to bypass school-related solutions to language problems, even after the negative impact of the problem on the children's educational progress has been established. Commentaries such as those reported in Phillips (1972), Dumont (1972), and Wax and Wax (1965) document a common Indian perception of the school as an alien institution whose very assumptions about educational processes are sometimes quite contrary to the assumptions shared by the tribal membership. Then, too, more than 70 percent of all Indian elementary and secondary level students are enrolled in public school programs, not in Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools, tribally controlled schools, or other private facilities. Non Indian educators have not always been enthusiastic or supportive of instruction in Indian arts, crafts, history, or other culture related topics within public schools. Few school districts are prepared to offer meaningful instruction within most of these areas to their students. In spite of the decision in *Lau* v. *Nichols* and related actions, special programs to teach Indian language arts or to provide remedial instruction in English language skills may well be viewed as secondary additions to the basic curriculum—courses for elective study most appropriately scheduled during recess, supervised study periods, or after the close of the school day altogether.

Thus a tribe might not initially prefer or ultimately endorse a school-based bilingual education program as the solution to its local language needs. The wise educator will study the local conditions in order to understand better the basis for a tribe's preference. Whatever the plan of action chosen, the decision of the tribe must be respected. Tradition, treaty agreements, court decisions, and congressional actions—most notably the Indian Self Determination and Educational Assistance Act (P.L. 93 638) and, with particular relevance to the present discussion, the Indian Basic Education Act (Title XI of P.L. 95-56)—have given to the duly constituted government of each tribe the authority to make decisions on all matters that affect the interests of the tribal aggregate. Since language related issues clearly affect such interests, the tribal governments have the right to decide whether ancestral language maintenance or English language acquisition is to be addressed through programs of bilingual education, or whether the language question is to become a school-related issue at all.

It is always to be hoped that the decisions made on such matters will be informed and responsible ones. But whatever the outcome, the decisions of tribal governments on language questions are binding on all parties concerned.

The linguist who chooses to become involved in programs of Indian bilingual education—whether as resource person, curriculum developer, staff trainer, or in some other kind of capacity—must recognize from the outset that language planning in Indian country is not going to be as simple or straightforward an activity as methods classes might suggest. The linguist cannot enter with a set of preconceived options and expect to be allowed to select the "best" alternative for immediate implementation once local needs have been identified. Agreement on the proper course of action may not always be so easily obtained. It is the purpose of this paper to outline some of the parameters of the total context of Indian language development, then to define certain paths of action that will assist the movement of the linguist within that domain.

Contexts for Indian Language Development

The grammar of a given language is a statement of the information a speaker needs to know in order to form and interpret sentences in that language. Of course, the grammar is not a complete repository of information to this end. The full range of the information a speaker needs within conversational, political, ritual, or other contexts far exceeds the scope of the structural details governed by its rules. The role of such rule governed creativity within the larger context of speaker hearer discourse has never been disputed; indeed, it is the acquisition of these kinds of contextually based, linguistically creative skills that is often the focal point of Indian bilingual education programs. For many years, American Indian languages have been the focus of study by anthropologists, linguists, and other scholars but truly adequate descriptive grammars for those languages have rarely emerged from such efforts. Most scholars follow the trend stretching from the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* edited by Boas (1911), to Park's more recent grammar of Pawnee (1976). Their focus is solely on phonological and morphemic level details, discussing sentence level constructions only in terms of their surface level components rather than their underlying syntactic constraints. This is a serious omission where the description of any language is concerned. The very process of sentence formation, and not merely the use of words or sounds, is the basis of the uniquely human ability to use language, as well as the innate human ability to acquire language skills in both first as well as second language contexts.

Clearly, acquisition of sentence formation skills must lie at the core of any language teaching effort, those skills constitute the targets toward which goals and objectives, materials development, lesson planning, and teacher training must ultimately be directed. Programs of Indian bilingual education, in particular, need to concentrate on sentence formation skills at the earliest state of their development. If information on sentence formation is not available, lesson plans can be designed only in terms of the learning of culturally relevant terminology (e.g., colors, numbers, or

kinship terms) or the memorization of useful, idiomatic expressions (e.g., "May I have some milk?"; "Where is Grandma?"). In this case, the possibility that the speaker will use such isolated bits of language data to form more extensive or inclusive sentence constructions is left solely to happen stance. Language learners often need explicit guidance in making the transition from word and phrase to sentence. A clearly detailed grammatical description which clarifies the sentence formation processes in the language is the best source of reference for such purposes.

The nature of the sentence formation process is not always self-evident to native speakers of the language, just as the full scope of the process may not always yield to systematic analysis even by the most highly trained researchers. It is tempting under these circumstances to draw whatever generalizations seem evident from the available data—the surface structures of sentences, for example—and possibly to frame those generalizations in traditional textbook terminology to highlight the apparent parallels with standard English grammar. Use of such parallels may be heuristically useful, but may also lead to particular problems in grammatical descriptions of Indian languages, given the unique historical and cultural traditions that underlie their present grammatical details and usage patterns.

Thus, lesson plans in Indian bilingual programs often focus on singular versus plural distinctions or contrasts among past, present, and future tense reference, when in reality the Indian language categorizes reference to number or space time positioning in terms of totally different criteria. (For an example, see Trager, 1961.)

Appeals to English-language parallels are unnecessary. Each language has its own discoverable set of grammatical rules. Analyzing the speaker's intuitive patterns can go a long way toward the discovery of these rules, provided those intuitions have not been unduly influenced by the filtering effects of other language grammatical assumptions. Since the analytical methods of linguistic science are based on universal language properties and not on language specific facts, formal linguistic perspective has a critical role to play in this regard. Properly used, a formal analysis can do much to clarify the nature of both particular constructions in the speaker's language and the speaker's intuitions about them.

Of course, linguistics can bring more than its technical usefulness to the design and implementation of an Indian bilingual education program. The several decades of Indian language scholarship have built up an extensive resource base—descriptions of language structure, collections of texts, grammatical paradigms, tape recordings of interviews with fluent speakers, and the like. The outcome of some of this research may have been published in the professional journals readily available in college, university, or public libraries. Equally critical discussions may, however, have appeared in less accessible sources—publications no longer in print, volumes from specialized presses, foreign publishers, or other highly localized sources.

Many researchers possess vast amounts of data from their fieldwork, materials that may not have been analyzed yet and that, because of time pressures and shifts in interests, may never be.

Clearly, access to such information will be of value to Indian bilingual education programs. This is the kind of resource material that curriculum developers and classroom teachers will find invaluable for instruction and program enrichment. The perspective on the language and its history, which may be revealed through comparisons of field materials at different points in time, may shed critical light on the antecedents of particular constructions or seeming "irregularities' within current usage. This will especially be the case when, as in the instances discussed in Sapir (1936), the composition of particular expressions are no longer self-evident. Certainly the mere fact that these materials have already been collected will save countless hours of precious staff time. In these and other ways, the tradition of American Indian linguistics scholarship offers a wide range of resources that might not otherwise be directly available to an Indian speech community or to the bilingual education program.

Linguistic science can offer more than access to data and related technical skills. The expertise that the profession currently requires of its practitioners extends far beyond the basic ability to describe and account for sentence formation processes. Few universities or research agencies can afford to fund linguistics research totally from internal sources. Linguistics has, for that reason, become a science largely dependent on external revenues to offset the costs of fieldwork, data analysis, and publication. Traditionally, the agencies and foundations that have responded to these needs within the profession have not reacted favorably to proposals seeking support for Indian bilingual education efforts; often such projects fall outside the mandate governing such agencies' operations. Basic research efforts, on the other hand, usually have been viewed in a more favorable light. The style of argument, the use of documentation, evidence and proof, and the selection of the appropriate "scientific" terminology—all of which are characteristic of proposal development and research efforts of technically trained language scholars—can often prove to be invaluable to tribal authorities and Indian educators. This is especially the case when tribal authorities find it necessary to turn to the traditionally "scientific" agencies and foundations when seeking outside support for tribally based language initiatives.

There is one other way in which linguistics as a science can make significant contributions to an Indian bilingual education program. Public and private agencies have shown themselves reluctant to provide support for Indian language related efforts unless they have sufficient assurances of the project's overall credibility. Too many programs have been funded, started, and ended without measurable or demonstrable outcome. Reviewers now examine project design, statements of goals and objectives, management

plans, and staff qualifications to reduce the probability that the proposed effort will not follow a similar path. Few agencies have developed any formal statement that enumerates the safeguards a proposal must incorporate in this regard. To be sure, indication that the project has tribal backing and full community support plays its part in such considerations. But a project that includes the services of a trained and experienced language scientist within its work plan, and that documents the full scope of the person's scientific background, usually proves able to withstand reviewer scrutiny on this matter.

American Indian Linguists

Clearly, Indian bilingual education programs can make valuable use of the findings of linguistic research in every phase of operation Recognizing this fact now raises an equally critical question. From what source, i.e., through what personnel, should such linguistic input be provided?

The answer is not as self-evident as it might seem. The experiences of numerous tribes with these matters have made it all too clear that not every linguist can provide the kind of information and analysis detailed here or does so in a manner that tribes will find beneficial.

Recently, however, new and exciting dimensions have been added to this issue. A number of colleges and universities report the availability of courses that offer linguistic perspectives as well as conversational skills in various Indian languages indigenous to their particular regions There have also been notable increases in teacher training opportunities for persons of Indian as well as non Indian backgrounds who hope to obtain staff positions within Indian or Indian-oriented schooling programs. Criteria defining the skills these teacher candidates should master have been developed in many cases. In most of these and other programs, course work in Indian language arts, or at least in the basics of linguistic analysis and the nature of linguistic differences, is now required.

The availability of these undergraduate-level opportunities now has its counterpart on the graduate level, as well. Since 1978 the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) has granted the Ph.D. in Linguistics to two American Indian scholars fluent in both their ancestral languages and English. Additional doctoral candidates in that program are completing their dissertations as of this writing. Indian-oriented graduate programs in linguistics have already been set up in other institutions—e.g., the University of Victoria (British Columbia) and the University of Arizona.

Opportunities for less advanced or less intensive instruction in linguistics are also available to tribes through less formal means. Of particular interest is the Summer Institute of Linguistics for Native Americans (SIL-NA), a training program in linguistic analysis designed specifically for native-speaking members of Indian speech communities. In operation since

1974, SILNA is not a degree-granting program, though students who participate can arrange to receive college credit from an institution of their choice SILNA's goal is to increase the number of trained native-speaking Indian language specialists who can be available to meet the demands of local language interests Thanks to the continuing support given to SILNA by the Summer Institute of Linguistics proper, the back of the research and cultural studies section at the Institute for American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, and the increasing involvement of the program's participants in the decisionmaking process, SILNA promises to widen its impact on the training related needs facing Indian language maintenance efforts.

The presence of this growing number of Native language-speaking Indian linguists has already begun to be felt in various areas of Indian scholarship. In some cases, these scholars have formulated alternative and more powerful ways of analyzing details of their native language which have heretofore only been described by their non-Indian colleagues. The clarity of these speaker-based analyses has often given rise to some startling results, whose importance reaches far beyond the realms of Indian language description. For one example, see Creamer's discussion of ranking in Navajo nouns (Creamer, 1974) and the circuitous attempt in Witherspoon (1980) to critique it. In response to such exchanges, there are now non Indian linguists who argue convincingly that the combination of fluent speaker intuition and sharply honed linguistic technique (possible only when the native speaker has received training in formal linguistic analysis) offers the only means for developing an analysis with reliable explanatory power for any language (see, for example, Hale, 1972).

While it is doubtful that scholars with Indian backgrounds will ever become the majority within this portion of the profession, it is clear that a new kind of accountability is being introduced into linguistic science (or at least, into that area of linguistics oriented toward American Indian themes). Trained, Native language-speaking Indian colleagues now attend professional meetings, publish in journals, and respond in print to published articles and reviews. These linguists now compete for the opportunities to carry out research activities within tribal contexts and under the sponsorship of tribal programs. In sum, it is no longer appropriate to assume that the field of American Indian linguistics is the exclusive domain of non Indian personnel, or that it will ever be so again.

Involvement of Non-Indian Linguists

This increased participation by American Indian linguists poses a challenge to non Indian linguists who wish to become involved, or continue their involvement, with Indian language bilingual programs. The range of services that the non Indian linguist might have provided such a program in previous years may now be made available to the program by tribe members Some tribes, it would appear, prefer to turn to their own for such

services, if only to keep the local language effort tied as closely to the tribal community as possible. When such an attitude surfaces, an ever-larger wedge appears to be driven between the non Indian scholar and the focus of his or her scholarship.

It may seem in order, under such circumstances, for the non-Indian linguist to retreat from all involvement with the local language effort, undertaking instead only those tasks that inform the scholar's own research agenda and making no direct effort to determine what impact such studies could have on tribally based bilingual interests. There are, to be sure, linguists who have always operated in such an impartial manner.

Other scholars, however, may prefer a second tactic: to work selectively, but actively, with individual members of the tribal community, attempting to address the language related needs of the tribe as seen and defined by those individuals. The scholar may coordinate research with initiatives taken by the tribe, though coordination of effort need not be viewed as a high priority in such cases. There are scholars who have always operated with this kind of cautious subjectivity.

There is still a third alternative. The concept of tribal self-determination, as reviewed in the opening section of this essay, is providing the frame work that encourages and enables these increasing levels of Indian involvement in Indian language related activities. The self-determination concept can likewise provide a ready made framework through which non Indian linguists can become involved in those activities. The formal mechanism which could govern such involvements, as specified in the Indian Self Determination and Educational Assistance Act, is termed *contracting.* Recent experience has shown that tribes, acting through their tribal governments, will contract with non Indian linguists for language related services provided the linguist is willing to carry out the research initiative in terms consistent with the self-determination concept. A brief outline of what would be at stake if self-determination principles were applied to American Indian linguistics research efforts follows.

Linguists and Tribal Self-Determination

The concept of self-determination can best be understood after three more basic issues have been clarified:

1. *Tribal sovereignty.* Tribes are best viewed as politically autonomous, sovereign nations, and should therefore be treated and responded to as such by outside parties. The extent to which externally derived Indian policies have been successfully implemented has always been largely determined by the extent to which those policies recognized tribal sovereignty. The phrase *government-to-government relationship* is often used by the tribes to describe the interaction they have (or desire to have) with the federal system. This phrase highlights the importance of the sovereignty concept.

2. *The legitimacy of tribal governments.* Tribal governments (including tribal councils, tribal business committees, and equivalently sanctioned institutions) are the final authority for decisionmaking within each tribal context—at least insofar as the federally recognized tribes are concerned. Many of the unrecognized tribes have structured their internal organization along comparable lines and principles. In these cases, it is the tribal governments that are empowered to speak for and make decisions concerning the entire tribe. No other party—neither group, faction, nor individual tribe member—can preempt this authority or disregard the government's legitimacy through self-initiated action.
3. *The consultation principle.* Where ancestral language interests are concerned, tribes, acting through their duly constituted tribal governments or other delegated authority, are more than adequately equipped to identify and set priorities for their own needs and goals. If external assistance is necessary for such purposes, tribes will request it. But such requests should never be viewed as open invitations for outside interests to begin bypassing a tribal government's decisionmaking ability in the name of expediency, efficiency, or self-interest.

If we start with the principle of tribal self-determination as defined here and acknowledge the place that tribal sovereignty, tribal legitimacy, and consultation have within this principle, several specific courses of action become both appropriate and necessary where the involvement of non-Indian linguists in Indian language research and development efforts is concerned.

All plans, proposals for projects, and other related items, any of which will involve aspects of tribal languages or traditional cultures, must be reviewed and endorsed by the tribal government or the authority delegated by tribal government to pass judgment on such matters. To receive funding for Indian language and culture-related research without having first coordinated the activity and its potential benefits with tribal authorities deprives the tribal membership of its legitimate right to exercise self-determination in all its tribal affairs.

Pure scientific research, designed to expand or reinforce the goals of the profession or to meet the needs of some other externally based concern while leaving tribal interests in the subject unaddressed, has no place in the contemporary tribal community. There have been too many technical reports, written by non-Indians about Indian "problems," that detail aspects of social "reality" in the contemporary reservation context. Such studies continue to be funded, however, while tribes find themselves increasingly unable to obtain support to carry out their own tribally based research initiatives. For a researcher to apply for or accept funding under such circumstances sometimes attests to the researcher's insensitivity to the

self-determination issue, the same insensitivity is similarly implied through the actions of the granting agency in such instances.

Non-Indians have no authority to speak about or on behalf of tribal needs and concerns in the areas of language and culture *unless specifically requested to do so by tribal governments or their duly appointed delegates.* For a non-Indian to express opinions on such matters, regardless of context, is a privilege, and that privilege carries with it a responsibility to make certain that the opinion affirms the principles of tribal sovereignty, legitimacy, and consultation. Policy recommendations, when advanced by non Indian "experts," should also be formulated with these concepts in mind. Policy can be evaluated in terms of its long range impact on the tribes by reference to these principles, as well.

Upon first reading, the preceding paragraphs may seem overly idealistic or naive. In truth, however, those linguists who have established themselves as Indian language scholars with both the professional community and the national Indian community have operated under comparable terms throughout their careers.

Still, there may be some benefit in attempting to give formal statement to what has previously been implicit in their conduct. Indian policy is in a continual state of flux. Issues and priorities rise to the surface, are dealt with, disappear, and reappear at some later time. Non Indian scholars, of course, do not necessarily have a vested interest in these matters, since non Indian scholars are not members of the tribal aggregates that produce the issues or feel the impact of their resolution most directly. This makes it paramount that non Indian scholars become fully informed on any issue—language or otherwise—before proceeding with any plan, recommendation, or endorsement. At present, given that Indian language issues are self-determination issues, there seems to be no more appropriate framework for approaching them than from the self-determination philosophy itself.

Notes

1. This paper has benefited from the comments provided on the first draft by staff members of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, Rosslyn, Virginia. I want to thank Forrest Cuch, Director of the Division of Education, Uintah Ouray tribe of Ute Indians (Fort Duchesne, Utah); and Lorraine Misiaszek, Executive Director of the Northwest Affiliated Tribes of Indians' Advocates for Indian Education (Spokane, Wash.), for their reactions both to the manuscript and to the NCBE comments. The perspective outlined in this paper grew out of a three-year period of technical assistance and project development service funded, in part, by a grant from the Division of Education, National Endowment for the Humanities. My continuing association with the education offices of the National Congress of American Indians and the National Tribal Chairmen's Association likewise helped inform this position. The statement of this perspective in the present essay is my own, and while I acknowledge the contribution made by Forrest, Lorraine, NCAI and NTCA staff, and other parties, I also assume sole responsibility for the present form of this argument.

2. The term Indian bilingual education is used in a very general way within this paper. It refers to those programs of language arts instruction that address the Indian student's ancestral and English language needs and skills. Often—but not always, as will be noted below—these programs are school/classroom based. In all cases, however, the bilingual effort is designed to address in a coordinated and systematic fashion the full range of speaking needs which the students will ultimately confront as members of the tribal, as well as the national, speech communities.

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Chapter 3

Language Renewal, Bilingualism, and the Young Child

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Introduction

This chapter is written with continued reference to the field of early child hood education. Thus, even though some portions will refer to children through age eight (or through the primary grades of public school), under standings of the nature and needs of the child are expressed with reference to the child's development, rather than with reference to the requirements of public schooling.

This essay also blends material from early childhood education and lin guistics with political and social comment. The Native American child—any child—lives in a special environment that is shaped by the people around him or her and by the political restrictions and opportunities that affect these people. Thus, research and teaching cannot be examined in isolation from the daily conditions and experiences of the child.

Language Renewal

We know a fair amount about bilingualism and language acquisition in young children. We know very little about language renewal. Language renewal can be defined as an organized adult effort to ensure that at least some members of a group whose traditional language has a steadily declining number of speakers will continue to use the language and will promote its being learned by others in the group. These *others* are almost always the very young, for it is with these members of the group that the future rests.

This requires us to ask what sort of burden language renewal may place on young children. Those who grow up in a family and community in which two languages are used with some equivalence in frequency and respect will become bilingual with no problem. In contrast, a language renewal program may be initiated when there are only a few older adults who speak the target language. The adults who carry out the renewal program must use these few older speakers of the target language as resource people in preparing language teaching curriculum materials. They also of necessity rely on preschool and public school settings for teaching the target language. Thus, the children may encounter a new language only outside the home, and only in school settings. This in itself makes learning the target language a somewhat artificial, academic exercise in contrast to the conditions of ordinary language acquisition, and affords very few op portunities to actually use the target language in natural settings. In addi tion, a language renewal program will most likely be highly valued by the group, especially those adults who are carrying out the program. Children will probably sense this feeling, and the consequences of mixed or little success in their efforts to learn the target language will be likely to increase a sense of personal failure, we all hate to not do well at something that our social group values highly. Since school based language teaching programs characteristically have mixed or limited success (in direct contrast to the

total success children feel in acquiring a first language at home and in the immediate community), children who don't do well in the language renewal program will most likely experience a double sense of failure: one of a personal nature and another of letting the social group down.

Language renewal programs may therefore present unique questions to those individuals who develop and implement them. Among the most important of these questions will be those having to do with the well being of the children upon whom reliance is placed to learn and use the language to be renewed. It is postulated that for a language renewal program to be successful, and to include safeguards for the well being of young children, the following criteria should be observed:

1. The program is designed to enroll and sustain families rather than individuals.
2. The program has a basic and continuous commitment to home school integration.
3. The program continually provides opportunities for using the target language which are rewarding, useful, and interesting to those enrolled.

In addition, it is important that the language renewal program include continuous efforts to both publicize and popularize the program among all members of the group. Restoring a language to use—natural use—is a complex, fragile task, one which needs all possible support.

Bilingualism and Language Renewal: Some Research and Implications

A renewal program is by definition aimed at one language of a bilingual program. Those people who are enrolled in the program are studying and learning a language which, to varying degrees, is new to them. For one person, the target language may be totally new, whereas another may have some knowledge of it. However, it is safe to assume that the target language is a second language for all persons enrolled because it has fallen into disuse and another language has become the dominant or only home and community language.

We can also assume that because the target language was at one time the group's own mother tongue and still has a high degree of emotional support, motivation to relearn the language is not a problem. This is a great strength for a language renewal program, for both common sense and research tell us that being motivated to learn a language is of first importance. (See, for example, Gardner and Lambert, 1972.)

The question of motivation in young children presents unique considerations. Younger children learn what the other people immediately around them consider important enough to use. Much motivation in older children and in adults is dependent on how they consciously think and feel about something. This process largely depends on conversation with peers.

In contrast, young children seem to unconsciously strive to emulate the activities and views of adults around them. This includes language, and the successful language renewal program for young children is likely to enroll also the adults who are part of the immediate social environment of these children.

Another aspect of language learning in young children has to do with the ease with which they acquire one or more languages. This ability is especially strong from birth through five years, but then it gradually declines. Those who are age ten or older seem to have lost the young child's ability to learn language almost automatically, and need to approach learning an additional language in a conscious, academic manner. Therefore, we can gain knowledge of some aspects of young children's becoming bilingual through looking at selected aspects of the general field of research in language acquisition.

The remainder of this section consists of brief summaries of five types of research in language acquisition or bilingualism, with accompanying implications for practical application in language renewal programs for young children. The research included here has been chosen for its currency and to reflect the breadth of investigation being conducted. It is not at all an exhaustive report, rather it indicates the richness of help available in the field to the serious language renewal program.

1. **First Words.** According to Bates (1979), prior to the first birthday, the infant does not distinguish between objects and their names. Then, he or she suddenly realizes that an object is separate from its name, and being able to name an object (or recognize its name when spoken by another person) opens new realms of control, involvement, and knowledge. Adults don't really know whether the word gives form to the concept in the child's mind, or whether the word is necessary to create the concept. Bruner (1978) recently wrote that the young child learning language needs the concept first, which then waits until the right word comes along. Be this as it may, the fact remains that for the infant, recognizing that objects have names that are separate from the objects themselves is of expansive importance.

At first, the infant gestures or symbolizes the object or its use. For example, when shown or given a spoon, the child will gesture stirring or eating, when a telephone appears, his or her hand goes to an ear. These first words are spoken initially only with the action or gesture. Only later does the infant separate action from the object, and uses the word as a label for the object—a label that can be used with different verb-type words. For example, when the infant first uses the word *dog*, it is applied to various activities of the dog, and often even to animals other than a dog. Later, the child will combine *dog* with an action word. "Doggie run" or "Doggie sit."

The infant's initial noun type words are the things or people that are immediately available, usually tangible, and always important. Similarly,

the initial verb-type words that are added to noun words to indicate action are immediately and directly observable, and interesting to the child.

Applications:

A. Instruction and experience in the target language (the language to be renewed) should begin very early in the infant's life and should be a natural part of home activities. If a care-giving or preschool program is part of the child's daily life, its language renewal program should be integrated with the home.

B. The target language should be used in playful, tangible, action-based situations that are interesting to the child, and that involve him or her. Indian legends and stories are often used in language teaching curricula. This is a worthwhile and natural source of language for teaching content and activities, and is one that can be greatly enriched for the child by the addition of real objects from the legend or story that can be handled or used while talk about them is going on.

C. Whenever possible, the parent (or person who provides primary care for the child) should be involved in the story-telling or legend-telling role. The research and review of literature quoted in this section also indicates that children whose parents engage in more fantasy and dramatic play with their infants seem to use more of the language than those children whose parents do little or no fantasy or dramatic play.

2. Pronunciation. The teaching of correct pronunciation has been a primary goal of language teachers (Edwards, 1979). However, research has repeatedly revealed the following:

- Child pronunciation approximates adult (or "correct") pronunciation over a long time span. Certain sounds are not mastered by children until they are seven or eight years of age; common among these later sounds are the fricative sounds (fish) and the affricative sounds (juice, chair).
- Different children use different sounds at different points in their language development. All of these children are normal in their language development.
- The development of adult like (or "correct") pronunciation depends on whether other people can understand what children say, rather than on pronunciation drills or correction furnished in the classroom. If children see that their pronunciation makes it difficult or impossible for another person to understand them, they will change their pronunciation.

Applications:

A. The language curriculum materials developer should not prepare lessons whose purpose is to teach pronunciation. Similarly, the teacher

should not spend time in formal pronunciation instruction or correction. At their own rates, the children will correct their pronunciation as they see it interfering with communication.

B. Pronunciation can be "taught" by providing situations in which a child's incorrect pronunciation creates a situation that won't work because another person cannot understand him or her. The teacher can and should model the accurate pronunciation *in the context in which the child produced the incorrect pronunciation.*

C. There appears to be an inverse relationship between the frequency of teacher-furnished correction and the willingness of children to talk: the more the teacher corrects, the less children will say (Cazden, 1979).

D. A classroom pattern often exists in which the teacher calls more often on those children who ordinarily talk more than on those who are more reticent to speak (Cazden, 1979). This pattern means that those children who are already talking in the classroom get more language practice because the teacher is more likely to call on them. Thus, the more quiet children are offered even fewer opportunities to talk. Since language development depends heavily on talking and being involved in conversation, it is important for curriculum materials developers to ensure that the materials and activities involve all children, and that the teacher remains aware of the necessity to engage all children in both planned and incidental talk.

3. **Vocabulary.** Recent research indicates that bilingual children first develop *complementary* vocabulary pools with little overlap across the two languages (Albert and Obler, 1978; Cummins, 1977; Doyle, 1977; Miller and Lenneberg, 1978; Swain and Wesche, 1975). The vocabulary for the first language (L_1) is for the most part different from the vocabulary for the additional, or second, language (L_2). We can illustrate this as follows:

L_1 speech ← L_1 vocabulary L_2 vocabulary → L_2 speech

Figure 1
Early Vocabulary Development in the Bilingual Child

In this initial stage, the L_1 vocabulary consists of words that, by and large, are not in the L_2 vocabulary. In addition, children may have more words in one or the other vocabulary pool.

It is only later that, given the social and daily living situations in which both L_1 and L_2 have natural equivalent usage, children develop separate L_1 and L_2 labels for the same items or concepts. This can be illustrated as follows in Figure 2.

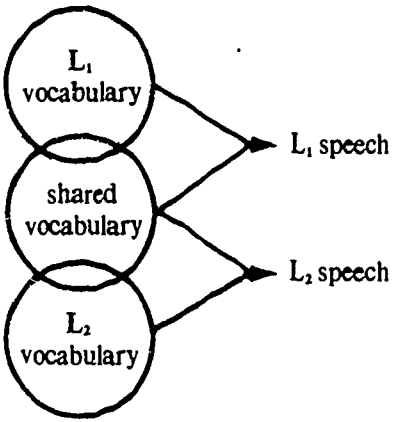

Figure 2
Later Vocabulary Development in the Bilingual Child

Vocabulary items unique to L_1 or L_2 are stored separateiy, while shared vocabulary items are given their respective labels appropriate to each language.

Applications:

This research information is incomplete insofar as being an even minimally adequate account of vocabulary development in the young bilingual child. It is included to draw attention to this aspect of language teaching as one worthy of serious attention from persons developing and preparing curri culum materials, and from teachers.

It also illustrates the need for tolerance and patience on the part of those adults involved in a language renewal program enrolling young children if the children's vocabulary development appears to be progressing unevenly. The vocabulary of one language will develop more extensively than the vocabulary of the other language. It is also predictable that initially, some vocabulary items of L_1 will not be found in the children's L_2 vocabulary, and vice versa. This phenomenon can be accounted for in part by an examination of the psychological aspects of child bilingualism, whereas another aspect depends on the respective roles in daily living situations of the two languages as the children experience them. Children will learn what they hear and experience in valued interactions with im portant adults. If L_1 and L_2 are used in a somewhat equivalent way (equiva lent in frequency and context as well as value, respect, and power asso ciated with each language), it is very likely that the net gain will be the ability to use L_1 and L_2 in a balanced, coordinated manner (Lambert and Tucker, 1972).

4. Home and School Language. Little research has been done comparing the nature of language used in the Native American home with that used at school. Some has been done with regard to Anglo American children and the results are striking enough to be included here—both to demonstrate their intrinsic value and to indicate the need for similar information in Native American contexts.

Elise Masur (1979) has reported the following concerning the kinds of language fathers and mothers use with their young children in two parent families at home:

- Mothers provide basic information and vocabulary, whereas fathers seem to test and extend children's understandings and questions.
- Mothers provide more clues to boys, whereas fathers provide more clues to girls.
- Fathers provide more information and interpretation to younger children whereas mothers provide more to older children.
- Most important, the questions, clues, and information of both parents are strikingly effective in helping their children's achievement; the observed success rate is over 90 percent. Parents, it appears, are consistently inclined to make sure that their children experience accomplishment in situations and activities as they come along.

In contrast, the success rate reported by Cazden (1979) in elementary school classrooms is from 20 percent to 30 percent. In other words, children in the classroom are likely to experience failure from 70 percent to 80 percent of the time when they participate.

Applications:

The need for language teaching to aim at a high success rate for each child is clear. Cazden (1979) also reported that it seems necessary for children in primary level classrooms (kindergarten through third grade) to experience success at least 30 percent to 40 percent of the time or they won't persist.

Since the heart of child language development is at home, and since parents apparently and naturally ensure that the child experiences a high rate of success in language based activities and interactions, there is much the serious language teacher or language renewal materials developer can learn from the child's home. This again illustrates the need for a heartfelt commitment to home school integration in a language renewal program.

5. Conceptual Development. The area of how children develop concepts and their relationships with language is both challenging and important. It is surely one of the most complex and unresolved areas in the field of language acquisition. However, it is also one of the more crucial areas for the person seriously involved in language renewal.

The nonlinguist can find a door into this area by looking at the respective roles of adult and child languages in the natural setting regarding conceptual development. Several researchers indicate that for a child aged five and under, the role of the adult (parent, teacher, or curriculum writer) should be to *elaborate* rather than expand the context or situation about which the child and adult are talking (Bruner, 1978; Cazden, 1979; Dale, 1976, Piaget, 1977). When the adult elaborates on a child's utterance he or she may add a bit more information without changing the "here and now" context. Since the young child's mental activity is so centered on the "here and now" the adult who adds information that is beyond the immediate context runs the risk of losing the child's attention. However, providing additional information for the child is important for conceptual and linguistic growth, and so information appropriate to the immediate context is needed.

A brief example will illustrate the difference between expansion and elaboration:

Expansion

Child: "Egg."

Adult: "Yes! Do you know where eggs come from?"

(The adult has responded to the child's spoken interest in "egg" but has moved, or expanded, the context away from the egg to the source, which is neither present nor observable.)

Elaboration

Child: "Egg."

Adult. "Yes! That's a small, blue egg. Look at this big yellow one!"

(The adult has responded to the child's spoken interest in "egg" with additional information that is likely to be of interest to the child, but hasn't moved the context away from the objects immediately available to the child; the adult has elaborated on the same context.)

Applications:

The use of the notion of elaborating on what the child says is clear; the adult should attend to the child's context and respond accordingly. This is as true for the curriculum materials developer as it is for the parent or other adult engaged in informal conversation with the child.

The adult who wishes to do this will need to be attentive, because adult thought transcends the here and now with ease; the expected adult response is to talk about something related but not present. In contrast, the young child is bound by the immediate situation, it is only later that the child's development enables him or her also to reconstruct or imagine things and ideas that are not an immediate part of the situation.

Beyond the Child's Basic Needs

Central to the general well being of a young child, and certainly central to language learning, is the relationship between the mother and child. (*Mother* refers to the parent who spends the most time with the child and who has the strongest relationship with the child. This person may be the father, grandparent, or other relative; usually, however, it is the child's mother.)

In the home that isn't preoccupied only with survival and that isn't pathological in nature, much of initial language learning and attitudes toward language depend on mother-child interactions and relationships. The mother has a special relationship with the child. She will maintain conversation in response to the infant's burps, smiles, or gestures. She provides positive success for the infant and child. She maintains a steady regularity in talking to the child, both in play and while working at home (Black, 1979).

In school, some 80 percent of teacher-child language exchanges are procedural and are initiated by the teacher. That is, the teacher seldom responds to a child, the child seldom initiates a language exchange, and most of the teacher's talk to the child consists of giving directions or corrections (Cazden, 1979). In contrast, mother infant interactions are in the converse ratio. most of the talk is conversation without correction or direction.

Mother-child talk proceeds in more complex ways as the child's linguistic and cognitive abilities advance. Important among these abilities are the child's intention, specificity, and ability to hold an object in mind when it is no longer present. The mother apparently senses when the child is ready for more complexity in language and thought. and leads the child accordingly.

These and other attributes of mother-child interaction in the sound home are central to language development as well as to the child's general well being, and so are of interest to the serious person involved with language renewal. It is important for the person involved in language renewal to know more about the home conditions that are of optimal support for the child, and are therefore required for successful language development and later school success.

Beyond the basic physical needs we all talk about—food, clothing, shelter we find the infant's and child's need for a *psychological parent* (Goldstein, Freud, and Solnit, 1973). The psychological parent can be defined as the adult who has a loving, nurturant, continuous relationship with the child over time, and who therefore is the adult from whom the child receives love, nurturance, and advocacy over time. The psychological parent may or may not be a biological parent. There is agreement that the psychological parent-child bond is essential for the child's sense of security and worth.

Research and common sense show that the healthy bond between the child and the psychological parent has these characteristics:

Attachment: Love
Nurturance
Security
Stimulation (learning)

Continuity: Reliability of the four attachment factors (above) gives the child a home or home-like place where he or she is a member; where, on a continuing basis, he or she not only receives and returns affection, but also expresses anger and learns to manage aggression.

The child's sense of time is emotional and nonmathematical in nature, in contrast to that of the adult, which is rational and mathematical.

Disruptions of continuity for the child are therefore incomprehensible regarding duration; anxiety accompanies disruptions, no matter how logical and temporary they may appear to the adult.

Advocacy. The child's interests and well-being are of first importance.

Summary and Conclusions

Language renewal places a special burden on the young child. Since language is at the very center of the child's development and sense of self, it is absolutely necessary for the person seriously interested in language renewal efforts to consider *all* major aspects of the child's growth, development, and daily home life. Linguistic considerations alone are insufficient.

Similarly, since most of the child's experiences with language begin in and are centered around home, this chapter contains various illustrations of the necessity for a language renewal program that is built around home-school (or home program) integration. The importance of language renewal for the group whose mother tongue was once the language to be renewed cannot be refuted. However, the fragile nature of a language renewal effort makes it imperative that those persons involved with and responsible for the effort recognize and account for all major facets of language, teaching, and the child's well-being.

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Chapter 4

Native Americans and Literacy

Amy Zaharlick

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Individuals involved in Native American bilingual education are usually concerned with Native American literacy. To date no entirely satisfactory solution has been found to deal with the cause of this problem, for in all instances there is little, if any, agreement on a course of action. There are at least three approaches now existing to further literacy among Pueblo Indians, each approach having major strengths and weaknesses.

Foremost is the question of whether or not Indian languages should be written at all. On the side of those who argue that the languages should be written are various educators and a relatively small number of Indian people who believe that bilingual instruction is the way to provide an equal educational opportunity for Indian students. This group is concerned that, unless written and taught in schools, their languages will eventually become extinct. They argue that in many instances Indian children are learning English as their first and only language. This apparently holds true for children of parents who either oppose or support Indian language literacy. Proponents of written language forms want to acknowledge openly this linguistic situation and take measures to change its course by instituting formal literacy programs. They believe that Native language literacy will allow for community bilingualism, increased community participation, improved academic achievement, and the preservation of the Native languages, cultures, and traditions.

Opponents of Native language literacy argue that Indian languages should be taught by Indian parents in the home and community—not by outsiders in the schools. This group feels that it is the school's responsibility to teach English and other non Indian subjects so that young Indian people will be able to compete in the world outside the pueblo. Traditional Indian beliefs and practices, and the Indian language, are to be taught as they have always been taught, by observation and participation in the traditional context of the home community. The individual learner is given the responsibility for acquiring the necessary motivation and discipline to learn directly from those who already possess the appropriate linguistic knowledge. The traditional learning process is not aided by writing or other means of recording. Some people reason that since the Indian language has traditionally served as the means of communication for the Indian community and has functioned to satisfy community needs, the language should be viewed as the property of the community. They fear that if it were taught in the schools, outsiders would learn it and, perhaps, the closely guarded religious secrets. Another fear, not unwarranted, is that meanings could be distorted if the language is taught by individuals who have an incomplete knowledge of the language or culture.

For those who advocate Native language literacy, there are several different courses of action. Some of these are conflicting, all have their inherent problems. One approach is to send native speakers of Indian languages to college and university programs for training and certification

in the area of bilingual education. The objective of these programs is to provide a body of certified teachers who know and understand one or more of the Indian languages and cultures. The hope is that after graduation the trained individuals will return to their home communities to teach or ad minister bilingual education programs. One of the problems is that the student's home community may not have or want a bilingual education program. If the new teacher turns to another program that uses a dialect of the teacher's language, he or she may not be hired since the dialect may be different enough from his or her own as to be considered inappropriate. Generally, the new teacher is not at liberty to start a literacy program in a public school for, again, approval for such programs must come from the appropriate Indian community.

Assuming, however, that such positions were available to trained In dian teachers, some attention must be paid to the term *trained.* If the training these teachers receive in college and university programs includes, broadly speaking, the areas of language, culture, and pedagogy, how well trained are they in each of these areas? Often it is thought that since the teacher trainees speak their Indian language and have been raised in a Pueblo community, all they need are pedagogical skills in order to be ef fective bilingual education teachers. This is not true and presents a serious problem in many of the teacher training programs.

Perhaps it can be said that college and university programs place more emphasis on pedagogy than on language and culture because they do not have the resources necessary to provide the indepth knowledge required in these areas. There are very few Pueblo Indian people who have the required qualifications – Master's or Ph.D. degrees - to teach at a college or university. Even those Indian people who have the proper qualifications are frequently uncomfortable when speaking their language in a classroom setting. The situation is compounded by the lack of role models for the teaching of their language. Often the Indian language may not contain vocabulary items appropriate to schools, such as "blackboard," "eraser," "unit plan," or "lesson," and efforts to produce such items on the spot are often distracting or amusing. The flow of a lecture or discussion is often disrupted because of the need to clear up some misunderstanding due to vocabulary differences. There is also the problem of dialect differences These same problems are even more exaggerated when writing the language is attempted.

Lack of resources also poses problems when it comes to cultural con tent. Curriculum guides and instructional materials with American Indian content are hard to find. Those that do exist are mainly single topic orient ed. For example, instructional aids depicting the numbers one through ten or the words for color terms may exist for a particular Indian language, but they will lack any attention to scope and sequence in an integrated curriculum. Most non Indian instructors in a bilingual teacher training

program have only general content to draw upon ar lack the opportunities to improve their limited skills by conducting language or cultural research in Pueblo communities. The result is that the Pueblo Indian teacher trainees leave these programs feeling that they know *how* to teach children, but are unsure about *what* to teach them.

A second approach to attaining Native language literacy is to enroll native speakers of Indian languages in courses, workshops, and programs to receive linguistic training. Here, as in the college and university programs, it is hoped that the students will learn enough about linguistics to develop orthographies and teaching materials for their own languages. The instructors for these sessions can usually help the students develop a working orthography for each of their languages, but because the instructors do not know the languages, they must rely upon the students to construct their own grammars based on general knowledge provided to them. Frustration often results, for these sessions are frequently shortlived and too general or technically oriented to be of much practical value to the prospective or practicing teacher.

Other advocates of Native language literacy have approached the problem from a third, grass roots perspective. Literacy programs have been started by hiring respected members of the Indian community to develop native language materials and act as teacher aides in the schools. The primary strength of these programs lies in the fact that there is usually some community support for them. In addition, these individuals have accurate, appropriate cultural and linguistic knowledge. As active participants or instructors, they work directly with teachers in the schools to address specific problems as they arise. Two weaknesses of this approach are that these community people are not trained or experienced in teaching literacy nor do they have knowledge in the area of curriculum development. To compensate, assistance is sometimes sought from consultants in the form of in service training and summer workshops. Educational consultants can provide technical skills, but because they lack specific linguistic and cultural knowledge, they are unable to illustrate pedagogical principles with culturally meaningful examples. The principles may be rejected as irrelevant without such examples. When students are faced with varying opinions from different consultants as to the appropriate way of doing things, the choices are frustrating. When available, grammars of the Native languages written by linguists are consulted but are usually too formal or technical in nature to provide much assistance.

No matter which approach is chosen, there are other problems associated with each. Most of these are of a technical nature. They involve such questions as the following:

- Which orthography should be used if more than one is known?

- Should each dialect of a language group have its own orthography or should a common one be used? If a common one, which one? How should vocabulary differences be handled for each dialect?
- How should new words be incorporated into the language? Who is to decide?
- How should the question of standardization be approached? What about levels of proficiency? Language tests? Evaluation?
- Should teaching materials be produced individually for each dialect or for a common language group? Who will produce and finance these materials?

All efforts to develop a successful approach to establishing Pueblo Indian language literacy will be disappointing until Indian communities are convinced of its need and provide direction and support.

Chapter 5

Historical Foundations of Language Policy: The Nez Percé Case

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Historical Background

Among Northwestern Indians, the Nez Percé were an early target for assimilation into the dominant White culture. They had close and continuous contact with Whites beginning in the 1830s; they were eager for instruction by White missionaries, and they quickly acquired a reputation as an intelligent and friendly tribe. And yet, despite the passage of several generations since the first attempts at assimilation, many of these Indians retain a clear cultural distinctiveness. Many are bilingual in Nez Percé and English and actively cultivate the old tribal ways.

Research indicates a significant "disparity in language functions" between Nez Percé and White children in the same classroom (Josephy, 1967, p. xv; Ramstad and Potter, 1974, pp. 496-97). Nez Percé children have been shown to have problems in "their learning skills in reading, auditory discrimination, visual perception, and in their use of fragmented and concrete linguistic codes" (Ramstad and Potter, 1974, p. 491; see also Lowry, 1970). The language barrier thus appears to have posed a major obstacle to Nez Percé assimilation. Several excellent studies of the formulation and implementation of the federal policy of Indian assimilation are now available, but little is known of the relationship between Indian education and assimilation and, more specifically, the relationship between English language instruction and assimilation of the American Indian (Fritz, 1963, Priest, 1942, Prucha, 1976, Leibowitz, 1970). Failure to investigate these relationships for tribes such as the Nez Percé, which were disposed early toward assimilation, is striking.

Knowledge of the last three decades of the nineteenth century is critical to an understanding of the history of Indian White relations because the United States reached a consensus on Indian policy during this period. Official policy became committed to assimilation, and that goal remained in place until the last decade. The only significant deviation from the objective of assimilation occurred during the 1930s and early 1940s when a major Indian reform movement led to passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, which provided for an end to individual land allotments, a reemphasis on tribal organization, and a greater degree of self government. Experiments in crosscultural and bilingual education also sprang from the reform movement. Under the heading of "termination," assimilation goals were energetically restored during the post World War II period for the purpose of "getting the government out of the Indian business." These objectives remained in place until the early 1960s when an upsurge of ethnic awareness and a growing Indian political force promoted cultural pluralism and increased the drive for self determination (Szasz, 1977; Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972).

During the past decade the federal government has adopted a policy of cultural pluralism, with the emphasis on education for cultural and linguistic preservation. The orientation toward cultural pluralism is sustained by three government measures enacted between 1967 and

1975—the Bilingual Education Act, the Indian Education Act, and the Indian Self Determination and Educational Assistance Act—that provide support and money for bilingual education and for Indian direction and responsibility for the design of their own educational programs (Havighurst, 1978, p. 21).

Although intermittent Indian conflicts on the plains and high plains delayed full implementation of assimilation as a national Indian policy until the 1880s, it was applied much earlier to the Nez Percé for several reasons. From the time the Lewis and Clark expedition made contact with the Nez Percé in 1805, they occupied a prominent position in the history of the Northwest. Lewis and Clark described the Nez Percé as kind and liberal, placid and gentle, and "among the most amiable men we have seen" (Hosmer, 1905, pp. 297, 310). During the ensuing years fur traders from the Hudson's Bay Company and rival American-based companies established sporadic contact with the Nez Percé who lived as scattered groups in permanent dwellings along the Snake, Salmon, and Clearwater Rivers and other eastern tributaries of the Columbia River.

Each village maintained its autonomy under a civil headman who exercised limited authority, and the Nez Percé enjoyed friendly relations with most neighboring tribes. Numbering between 3,000 and 4,000 in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Nez Percé were a nonagricultural people who organized their lives around seasonal food-gathering processes associated with salmon fishing, buffalo hunting, and the gathering of the camas root, a wild lily bulb. They had acquired horses by the mid-eighteenth century, and their marked success in selective breeding and maintaining large herds greatly enriched Nez Percé culture and enabled these Indians to become a wide ranging people (Report of CIA, 1857; pp. 353 54; Josephy, 1971, pp. 16-26; see also Haines, 1955; Chalfant and Ray, 1974; Brown, 1967).

Nez Percé territory, situated on a rugged plateau between the Cascades and Rocky Mountains in northern Idaho, southeast Washington, and northeast Oregon, straddled the Oregon Trail and was thus regularly traversed by White settlers beginning in the 1830s. In the same decade missionaries led by Marcus Whitman responded to the Nez Percé call for instruction by White missionaries who would settle permanently in their territory. Incorporation of the Northwest Territory into the United States in 1846 and the discovery of gold on Nez Percé land in 1860 led to a large influx of Whites, the negotiation of treaties with the Nez Percé, and confinement of the Indians to a reservation. The outbreak of a series of Indian wars in the Northwest in the late 1850s induced the Indian agent for Washington territory to offer the following persuasive argument for maintaining close relations with the Nez Percé:

> The Nez Percés tribe is not only the largest, but most influential and important tribe in Washington Territory. They hold the balance of power; and as long as they remain friendly, the smaller tribes can effect no formidable combination to make war. (Report of CIA, 1859, p. 416)

In reaction to continued White encroachment and negotiation of the treaty of 1863, which sharply reduced the size of the reservation, part of the tribe, under the leadership of Chief Joseph, attempted to flee to Canada in 1877. The result was an epic struggle with the United States Army that culminated in Nez Percé defeat and submission to U.S. Indian policy (Brown, 1967). Coercion and the application of force underlay subsequent efforts to assimilate the Nez Percé.

Initial Attempts at Assimilation by Missionaries

The attempt by Whites in the nineteenth century to establish close relations with the Nez Percé and to assimilate them into the White culture stemmed from their prominence in affairs of the Northwest, their numbers, their strategic importance, and their initial friendly disposition toward Whites. A policy of assimilation was thus applied to the Nez Percé much earlier than to other tribes west of the Mississippi River.

From the 1830s to the turn of the century, the goal of Nez Percé assimilation remained constant, but the means employed to achieve it varied. Missionaries were the first Whites to articulate the goal of Nez Percé assimilation, and they relied primarily upon religious conversion to achieve this goal from the time of their arrival in Nez Percé territory in 1836 until their departure in 1847. From the 1850s through the 1870s government agents directed their efforts toward bringing the Nez Percé under direct government control through treaty negotiation and confinement of the Indians on a reservation. The defeat and capture of Chief Joseph and his followers in 1877 marked the culmination of these efforts. During the last two decades of the century, Indian policy formulators shifted their attention to allotment in severalty as the most expeditious route toward assimilation. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 provided for the survey and breakup of reservation lands into individually owned allotments and the conferring of citizenship on the land's occupants. Implementation of this act, which forced the Indians into individual proprietorship, was completed on Nez Percé lands in 1893

As a supplement to religious conversion, concentration on a reservation, and allotment in severalty, education was the means most consistently relied upon to achieve Nez Percé assimilation in the nineteenth century. Although the emphasis placed on education varied from decade to decade—it was of little importance during the struggle for treaty negotiation in the 1850s, but it was of central importance in the late 1870s and early 1880s education was regarded as the ultimate solution to the problem of Nez Percé assimilation. An examination of the manner in which the Nez Percé were educated, particularly in the area of language, will help explain the failure to achieve full assimilation of the Nez Percé.

The arrival in St. Louis in 1831 of a delegation of four Nez Percé sparked the effort by Whites to assimilate the tribe. Motivation for this ar

duous overland trip is surrounded by controversy, but the East Coast religious press reported that it was inspired by a Nez Percé desire to seek White missionaries who would settle among them and instruct them in Christianity (Josephy, 1971, pp. 85-90). As early as the 1820s the Nez Percé had received some instruction in Christianity from two Indians from lower Columbia River tribes who had been brought east by Hudson's Bay Company employees and educated for four years at the Anglican Red River Mission near Winnipeg, Canada. In 1830 a group of five Northwest Indians, including two Nez Percé, were sent to the same mission school at Red River (Josephy, 1971, pp. 75-81).

In response to sensational reports about the Nez Percé in the religious press several missionaries volunteered to work among them. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which represented four Protestant denominations, appointed Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman to make an exploratory trip westward to Nez Percé lands in 1835. After returning east, Whitman recruited Henry H. Spalding and his wife Eliza to accompany him back to Nez Percé country the following year (Josephy, 1971, pp. 125-151). Spalding, a Presbyterian missionary from New York, established and operated a mission among the Nez Percé at Lapwai from 1836 until disturbances by the neighboring Cayuses led to turmoil, threats to his life, and his forced departure in 1847. Nearly a dozen other Protestant missionaries worked among the Nez Percé during the 1836 1847 period, most notably Asa B. Smith, who headed an isolated mission at Kamiah, about sixty miles north of Lapwai (Josephy, 1971, pp. 138 40, 177-82; Walker, 1968, pp. 39-44; Drury, 1958, pp. 16-18).

Despite Spalding's jealousy, violent temper, and other shortcomings, he was the most successful of the missionaries (Josephy, 1971, pp. 139, 225). His relative success stemmed from his willingness to delay conversion efforts until progress had been made in educating the Indians and in inducing them to settle permanently around the mission, cultivate gardens, raise cattle, operate mills, and employ prevailing medical practices. Spalding directed his instruction and conversion efforts toward the head men and their families, and about half of his students were adults. He gained a total of twenty-one converts before his imposition of harsh rules of conduct and an alien head-chief system of control reduced his influence (Josephy, 1971, pp. 220-225; Report of CIA, 1844, p. 205).

Although the missionaries' specific goal was religious conversion, they discovered that most of their efforts had to be directed toward education. And language instruction was central to education. Schools were opened, a printing press was introduced, and instruction in reading and writing in both English and Nez Percé took place. Asa Smith wrote a dictionary and grammar of the Nez Percé language and the missionaries translated and printed prayers, hymns, and instructional material in Nez Percé (Drury, 1958, p. 15, Walker, 1968, p. 41). Spalding, who struggled unsuccessfully

to learn the Nez Percé language and who, according to one scholar, was "both a poor student of Nez Percé and an unsuccessful teacher of English," felt initially that the Indians would acquire English with relative ease (Josephy, 1971, p. 154). The more linguistically sophisticated Smith completely rejected this assessment and added the following observations in a letter to a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:

> Not a child can be found who can read a single sentence of English intelligibly and even those young men who have been at the Red River School for four or five years, and some of them were not able to speak their own language when they returned, understood the English language but very imperfectly. (Drury, 1958, p. 106)

Thus began an extended controversy over language instruction for the Nez Percé.

This initial, missionary phase of the nineteenth century assimilation effort had important consequences despite its short duration. Foremost was the formation of a nucleus of Nez Percé who, as converts, espoused Christianity, were partially literate in English as well as Nez Percé, and adopted a settled agricultural lifestyle resembling that of White settlers in the area. Even in the absence of White missionaries during the two decades following 1847, the influence of this "civilized" faction remained strong and tended to grow (Walker, 1968, p. 44; Josephy, 1971, pp. 225, 282-283). The missionary phase thus led to the division of the Nez Percé into two major factions, the "civilized" and the "heathen," and subsequent disputes over issues related to treaty negotiation deepened and perpetuated this factionalism.

One of the lessons learned by the more perceptive missionaries was that conversion was but one aspect of an assimilation process that required a strong emphasis on education. The only missionary who had had any success in converting the Nez Percé was Spaiding, and his success stemmed from his willingness to instruct the Indians in all aspects of White civilization. His converts came from the ranks of those Indians who became settled farmers and who regularly attended his school. The general thrust of assimilation efforts in the following decades was in the direction of educating the Nez Percé and inducing them to live in permanent, concentrated settlements. Not until the return of missionaries in the 1870s did conversion again become important, but then only as a supplement to the more coercive efforts toward Nez Percé assimilation undertaken by the government.

Early Federal Policy

Despite incorporation of the Oregon Territory into the United States in 1846 and the departure of missionaries from Nez Percé territory in 1847, the federal government made little serious effort to assume responsibility

for Nez Percé education until the 1860s. The federal agent responsible for the Nez Percé reported in 1857 that they were eager to have their children schooled, but disturbances in the area during the late 1850s delayed establishment of schools until early in the next decade (Report of CIA, 1857, p. 354). At that time a small day school was opened, but the agent complained that the school could not prosper because the Indians lived in such widely scattered locations that regular school attendance could not be maintained (Report of CIA, 1865, p. 238). The principal cause for the long delay by the government in establishing a sound educational program for the Nez Percé was the apparent need to concentrate on the problems of treaty negotiation and ratification, and to get the Nez Percé to accept peacefully the limitations imposed by treaty and settle permanently on a reservation.

Confinement of Indians on reservations had long been a cornerstone of U.S. Indian policy. It was applied to the Northwest as the territory became occupied by White settlers and conflicts with the Indians inevitably mounted. The first treaty with the Nez Percé was signed in 1855. It reduced Nez Percé territory very little, but it survived only a few years because the discovery of gold on Nez Percé land in 1860 led to a large, illegal influx of Whites.

In 1862 the Nez Percé Indian federal agent urged negotiation of a new treaty "which will secure peace between the Nez Percés and the crowds of whites who have gone upon their reservation in search of the gold which there abounds" (Report of CIA, 1862, p. 38). As a consequence of the government's inability to keep encroaching Whites off Nez Percé territory, a new treaty was negotiated in 1863 that drastically reduced the tribe's territory to 785,000 acres or to about 10 percent of the acreage allowed in the 1855 treaty (Josephy, 1971, p. 419). This shameless pillage was defended as a means of opening and securing additional territory for White settlement and as a measure necessary to protect the Indians from the evils resulting from unregulated contact with Whites. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs argued in favor of Senate ratification of the 1863 treaty by pointing to the near impossibility of controlling whiskey sales unless the reservation area was reduced (Report of CIA, 1866, p. 39). In addition, the treaties of 1855 and 1863 were based on the desire to make the tribe more subject to management so that a policy of forced assimilation could be carried out. The Nez Percé federal agent reported in 1860 that every effort should be made to break the "roaming propensity" of the Indians and to locate them on permanent farms on the reservation (Report of CIA, 1860, p. 209).

Several events in the mid 1860s combined to induce the government to formulate a policy of forced assimilation and to begin applying it to the Nez Percé. Most important were ratification of the 1863 Nez Percé Treaty, conclusion of the Civil War, and authorization by Congress in 1867 of a com

mission to negotiate with the chiefs of Indian bands to remove the causes of war, to secure the frontiers, and "to suggest or inaugurate some plan for the civilization of the Indians" (Report of CIA, 1868, p. 26).

Designation of a Peace Commission grew out of the desire to bring hostilities on the plains to a conclusion and to open the central plains for secure White settlement by concentrating the Indians in designated sites in what became the present-day states of Oklahoma and South Dakota. Nathaniel G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, chaired the eight-member Peace Commission, half of whose members were generals; its report, completed in 1868, analyzed the causes of continuing problems in Indian-White relations and made recommendations for corrective action. The commissioners attributed Indian White problems to "the antipathy of race," "the difference of customs and manners arising from [Indian] tribal or clannish organizations," and "the difference in language, which in a great measure barred intercourse and a proper understanding each of the other's motives and intentions." In conclusion the commissioners asserted that if the Indians had been educated "in the English language these differences would have disappeared and civilization would have followed at once" (Report of CIA, 1868, p. 43; see also Prucha, 1976, pp. 18-25). Although friendly tribes such as the Nez Percé were not the immediate concern of the Peace Commission, its findings were of such sweep that they altered federal Indian policy as a whole.

In reading this report one is struck by its optimistic tone and the note of certainty that pervades it. The problem was clearly analyzed, solutions were set forth, and assurance was given that the Indians would be assimilated in one generation if the prescription was followed. And the prescription focused on the elimination of the two major underpinnings of Indian culture—tribalism and Indian language, on which the drive for assimilation was to concentrate for the next several decades. The commissioners concluded by recommending establishment of a system of compulsory education for Indians.

Education Programs: Early Period

In the same year that the Peace Commission report was completed, the federal government appointed a Superintendent of Teaching for the Nez Percé and opened a boarding school at agency headquarters in Lapwai. The school began with only fifteen students, but when it temporarily closed a few months later because of a smallpox epidemic, attendance had risen to nearly fifty students. In describing the low educational level of the students, the superintendent reported, "I found a few of the scholars that could repeat the alphabet, and also some that could spell words with the letters" (Report of CIA, 1869, p. 283). The academic curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and vocal music; in addition,

agricultural and mechanical trades were taught (Report of CIA, 1870, pp. 185-86).

In 1871 education on the reservation was expanded by the opening of a day school at Kamiah, an isolated area about sixty miles north of agency headquarters. Each school had a reported enrollment at that time of about thirty students. Three years later the federal Indian agent concluded that the students at Kamiah were making better progress than those at the boarding school because of their isolation from the influence of unscrupulous Whites. "We [at Lapwai] are so near Lewiston that when an Indian wants money or provisions he has but to catch a horse, take the same to Lewiston, and sell it for ten or fifteen dollars, and buy what he wants instead of working for it" (Report of CIA, 1874, p. 285). Twelve years after the opening of the Kamiah school, it was closed. The reported reason for the closure was that it could not be properly supervised because of its isolation, the factor which had presumably made it a superior school a few years earlier (Report of CIA, 1883, p. 57).

Instruction in the schools was in English, and a suggestion of the nature of the language problem is contained in the following excerpt from the 1869 report by the federal Nez Percé agent. In striking understatement he noted that the students would be making good progress "were it not for the difficulty with which the teacher is able to make himself understood. . ." (Report of CIA, 1869, p. 285). Despite the frustrating results of English instruction experienced by the missionaries three decades earlier, there was only a dim awareness by government agents of the true magnitude of the task before them.

A rationale for the government's policy of educating the Nez Percé in English is found in the following passage of the agent's report for 1871. He noted that the young men

> are very anxious to be taught the ways of the whites, and are opposed to having their language taught in the schools, which they were afraid of when they learned that there had been 1,000 copies of the New Testament printed in their language. I assured them that it was the policy of the Government to teach them the English language, also the agricultural and mechanical arts, so that when the terms of the treaty expired they could do their own talking with the whites, and by being industrious, could sustain themselves in a respectable manner. (Report of CIA, 1871, p. 537)

Although instruction took place in English, the agency made religious material printed in the Native language available to the students in deference to the wishes of missionaries. The ultimate goal of this educational program was to prepare the Nez Percé to compete with Whites on an equal footing without the protections afforded by their treaty. During the remainder of the century Indian reformers argued that Indians must become competent in English in order to protect themselves from White

competition. A noted western editor wrote in 1899, "It is well that [the Indian] should learn to read and write, and get what comprehension he can of this nation's laws and genius, and acquire our language—all these things being valuable to him chiefly as some protection against being robbed by our rascals" (Lummis, 1899, p. 334).

From the initial steps in the struggle to bring the Indian into the U.S. mainstream through education, many reformers gave central importance to English instruction. The 1868 report of the Peace Commissioners offered the following justification for the language emphasis:

> Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment and thought; customs and habits are moulded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated. In the difference of language today lies two-thirds of our trouble.

The Commissioners concluded the report by asserting that the Indians' "barbarous dialects should be blotted out and the English language substituted," and by arguing that every effort should be made to "blot out the boundary lines which divide them into distinct nations and fuse them into one homogeneous mass. Uniformity of language will do this – nothing else will" (Report of CIA, 1868, pp. 43 44). One experienced teacher of Indians noted, "The secrets of our knowledge and our power [are] wrapped up in English language, and [Indians can] not gain their full rights until this [is] their language also." He added that Indians must acquire fluency in English before they "are really one with us in spirit . . ." (Sparhawk, 1892, pp. 609, 611)

When the large scale educational effort got underway in the early 1880s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) issued orders that English alone was to be the language of instruction whenever practical. Upon learning that teachers in one school were giving instruction in both English and Dakota, the BIA sent the following instructions.

> You will please inform the authorities of this school that the English language only must be taught the Indian youth placed there for educational and industrial training at the expense of the government. If Dakota or any other language is taught such children, they will be taken away and their support by the government will be withdrawn from the school. (Report of CIA, 1887, p. xxi)

Resistance to the English-only order persisted and the bureau found it necessary to offer a more comprehensive rationale for the order which it issued in 1887:

> The main purpose of educating [the Indians] is to enable them to read, write, and speak the English language and to transact business with English-speaking people. When they take upon themselves the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship their vernacular will be of no ad

> vantage. Only through the medium of the English tongue can they acquire a knowledge of the Constitution of the country and their rights and duties thereunder.
>
> Every nation is jealous of its own language, and no nation ought to be more so than ours, which approaches nearer than any other nationality to the perfect protection of its people. True Americans all feel that the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States, in their adaptation to the wants and requirements of man, are superior to those of any other country; and they should understand that by the spread of the English language will these laws and institutions be more firmly established and widely disseminated. Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language. (Report of CIA, 1887, p. xxi)

The drive to obliterate Indian languages and to replace them with English was thus instilled with a nationalizing purpose. Indian reformers firmly rejected coexistence of English and an Indian language as incompatible with true nationhood. They felt that the substitution of English for an Indian language would foment patriotism and loyalty and facilitate national integration. Such concepts emanated from the doctrine of Anglo Saxon superiority—superiority of race, culture, institutions, and language—which was so pronounced during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The cultural imperialism that shaped policies on Indian education allowed only for total disdain for all facets of Indian culture. Reformers were essentially correct in their view of the intimate relationship between language and cultural integrity and the devastating consequences to Indian culture of elimination of Indian languages. Their eagerness to proceed toward the obliteration of those languages bespoke an inordinate contempt for Indian culture. Any humanitarian impulses aroused by the wrenching experiences suffered by Indians were stilled by the greater good promised from forced assimilation.

Although the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J.D.C. Atkins, specifically exempted "preaching of the Gospel" from the English only dictate, he made it clear that missionaries as well as government-employed teachers in mission or government schools on a reservation must use English in teaching all other material. The rule led to the closure of some Dakota mission schools in which teaching was done by Indians in their own language (Proceedings, 1887, p. 49). Atkins argued that any exemption of missionary schools from the English-only rule would prejudice Indians against government schools and added, "To teach Indian school children their native tongue is practically to exclude English, and to prevent them from acquiring it. This language, which is good enough for a white man and a black man, ought to be good enough for the red man" (Report of CIA, 1887, xxiii). In defending the BIA from a growing number of complaints against the English-only rule and from the charge that it cruelly violated Indian rights, he asked, "Is it cruelty to the Indian to force him to give up his scalping knife and tomahawk? Is it cruelty to force him

to abandon the vicious and barbarous sun dance, where he lacerates his flesh, and dances and tortures himself even unto death?" (Report of CIA, 1887, pp. xxiii-xxiv).

American Indian policy made little distinction among different tribes in determining the kind of treatment each was to receive. Although the Nez Percé had traditionally been looked upon as a friendly people who could be readily assimilated if offered the educational opportunity, they were treated the same as the more openly hostile tribes of the plains area. In the Nez Percé case the armed resistance in 1877 by Chief Joseph and his followers to concentration on the reservation, along with a growing impatience with the meager results of the educational effort, combined to produce a more coercive policy toward the tribe that differed little from federal policy toward the Sioux and Cheyenne.

One of the most frequently mentioned complaints in educating the Nez Percé was the difficulty of teaching them English. The following complaint is typical of many expressed in the late nineteenth century. "It is a hard matter to get the scholars to speak the English language, although they can understand nearly all you say in conversing with them. In nine cases out of ten they will make answer in their own language" (Report of CIA, 1876, p. 45) Frustrations resulting from the failure of the Nez Percé to learn English quickly led to ever more radical solutions such as extended separation of the students from tribe and family. In the 1880s the Nez Percé federal agent commended the Nez Percé children on their aptitude for farm and garden work,

> but in their acquisition of the English language they are very slow, for the reason that they never speak it except when required to in school by their teachers. When they do try to use English in the presence of older Indians their attempts are sure to meet with ridicule, and as they are very sensitive, this effectively suppresses all desire to acquire the language. This is one reason why the education of Indian youth is more successfully carried on in schools removed from reservations and from the detrimental influences of tribal associations. (Report of CIA, 1883, p. 57)

Conditions had apparently not improved by the close of the decade when the new agent reported that he had tried to make himself understood several times "by addressing the scholars in English, but failed" (Report of CIA, 1889, p. 182).

Education Programs: The Forced Approach

A repeated theme in the annual reports by the Nez Percé federal agents was that progress in education could be achieved only through exercise of tight control over all aspects of Nez Percé life. Educators were particularly concerned about the need to separate students from the negative influences of off reservation Indians, unscrupulous Whites, and parents. In 1870 the Superintendent of Teaching recommended keeping the students in a board

ing school year round and placing them completely under a teacher's con stant supervision in order "to render them perfectly subservient" (Report of CIA, 1870, p. 186).

The outbreak of the Nez Percé War in 1877 forced the closing of the schools, but the agent's report of that year demonstrates that those respon sible for Indian education insisted that progress in the schools and in the learning of English could advance only if students were separated from tribe and family. He had planned to keep the schools open throughout the year "in order to keep the children away from their parents and the in fluence of those who do not live as the more civilized do. My idea was by keeping them under the care and influence of the matrons and teachers continually they might be advanced more rapidly in speaking English, which is a very difficult thing to do" (Report of CIA, 1877, p. 80) Another agent candidly expressed his feeling that parents were major obstacles to be overcome in the drive for inculcation of English when he asserted, "The only way the Indian children can be taught successfully, in my opinion, is to take them entirely away from their parents so that they will not hear their native tongue spoken" (Report of CIA, 1871, p. 538).

Force was used both directly and indirectly to keep students in school In the 1870s the Nez Percé agent reported that several students ac companied their parents to the camas root grounds for harvest and that he had to go after them and bring them back. Several unsuccessful attempts by the students to "escape" followed this incident (Report of CIA, 1876, p 45). A decade later the agent applauded the government's decision to allow withholding of annuities as a means of pressuring parents to send their children to school (Report of CIA, 1883, p. 57). Force was still necessary to compel regular school attendance in the final decade of the century as is evident in the agent's report of 1894:

> I have at all times assisted the Superintendent in keeping the school filled up with pupils, and sometimes have had to send the police over the reser vation to gather up the scholars, also have had to frequently send the police after the larger boys, who would run away from the schools (Report of CIA, 1894, p 134)

Another consequence of the difficulty of teaching English and academic subjects was the emphasis on practical or vocational education Beginning in the late 1870s a movement began for the establishment of off reservation Indian Industrial Schools for the purpose of providing intense trade school training for the best Indian students at sites removed from the influence of Indian culture. Carlisle Indian Industrial School was the first such school to be founded, but the nearest one to the Nez Percé Reser vation was the Forest Grove School in Oregon, which opened in 1880 Three years later about one third of the students at Lapwai were trans ferred to Forest Grove, and transfers of the brightest students occurred on

an annual basis thereafter (Report of CIA, 1883, p. 57). This vocational emphasis given to Indian education was rationalized in the following manner:

> The Indian, be he young or old, is more of an imitator than a student; hence a practical education is of more benefit to him and more easily attained than a scholastic education. If he can read and write English understandingly, and understands the first four rules in arithmetic, he is sufficiently educated for all practical purposes for generations to come. (Report of CIA, 1884, p. 67; see also Kyle, 1894, p. 443)

The argument in favor of vocational education was based, in part, on the view that Indians were racially inferior to Whites. A writer contributing to *The Critic* observed, "They are, as a race, distinctly inferior to white men in intellectual vitality and capability, and their wisest friends will advise them to look forward to the life of toilers . . ." (Harrison, 1887, p. 321).

The pedagogical problems of teaching English to subject peoples were enormous. Culturally and psychologically the distances between teachers and pupils were considerable. Teachers had little respect for their charges or for Indian culture, they lacked appropriate teaching material, and they relied on a methodology stressing rote memorization. For the Indian the process of education in a mission or government school was coercive and often highly traumatic. A noted expert on Indian education in the late nineteenth century observed, "English speaking is very difficult to the Indian because the Indian idiom is almost the reverse of the English. It is very difficult for the Indian to get his mind twisted around to think in English Moreover, he is very sensitive and he hates to be laughed at, and so dislikes to make the attempt to speak" (Proceedings, 1884, p. 27). This awareness of Indian sensitivity was seldom expressed in appropriate teaching techniques, and it became lost in the resort to forceful methods.

Many of the considerable obstacles to successful education of the Nez Percé were created by the dominant "civilizing" culture. They persisted from the beginning of the educational effort by Henry Spalding in the 1830s until the end of the century. One such problem was the low caliber of personnel sent to instruct the Nez Percé. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory lamented in 1862, "The chiefs whom I met in council complained that the employees heretofore sent to instruct them under the provisions of the treaty had taken their women to live with, and had done little else; and they seemed desirous to know if that was the method proposed by the government to carry out the stipulations of the treaty" (Report of CIA, 1862, p. 303).

Low salaries made it difficult to attract competent teachers, thus further hampering the educational process. In 1875 the Nez Percé agent noted that pay cuts led to the resignation of a teacher, a boarding house matron,

and the Superintendent of Education (Report of CIA, 1875, p. 261). A year later he excused the low achievement level of the students by noting, "Were I allowed to pay at the present time what I was allowed during the first four years of my administration here, I could make the educational matters on this reserve a complete success; but I am seriously crippled by the small salaries I am forced to pay" (Report of CIA, 1876, p. 46). In the 1890s the School Superintendent for the Nez Percé complained that he had to replace all but two of his teachers because of their poor qualifications, lack of interest in the students, and inability to work well together (Report of CIA, 1891, p. 562).

The widespread nature of this problem was affirmed by a contributor to *The Critic* who observed in 1887, "I have examined the condition of the service on nearly one third of the reservations of the country within the last eighteen months . . . Some of the industrial teachers sent out in the employ of the Government to help civilize the red people are themselves less civilized than the average savage Indian" (Harrison, 1887, p. 322). Not only were many of the White educators lacking in competence, but they were also insensitive and undeserving of respect by Indians. These deficiencies in White teachers were summarized by an Indian writer who noted:

> But everywhere many of them are narrow and *strangers*. Most of them are Easterners who do not understand the frontier; most of them cannot take or make a place in the Western communities to which they have come. . . . The teachers are not always looked up to by either class. They have not as much respect among their own people as we have among ours! (Lame, 1900, p. 357)

Aside from the lack of qualified teachers to staff the Nez Percé schools, other kinds of personnel problems plagued Indian education. For example, the Indian agent in 1889 asserted that the school superintendent's high degree of independence from his control led to chaos and conflicts among employees. He complained that the rivalry had a disastrous impact on education and that "during the past two years the school service at this agency has been a farce and schools have existed only on paper" (Report of CIA, 1889, p. 182). Lack of continuity in personnel also caused problems in the classroom and at the administrative level. The most outstanding example of such problems occurred during 1889 when five different agents successively had charge of the Nez Percé Reservation (Report of CIA, 1890, p. 80). Other problems that forced closure of the schools for months at a time during the last three decades of the nineteenth century were lack of money and supplies, contagious disease among the students, the Nez Percé War of 1877, and the burning down of a school building in 1879, all of which resulted in a minimal educational offering over a three year period (Report of CIA, 1870, pp. 185 86; 1877, p. 80; 1879, p. 56; 1881, p. 66; 1882, p. 54; 1885, p. 70).

The Legacy

Assault on Indian language and culture produced a legacy of bitterness, hatred, anomie, and, among the Nez Percé, intratribal factionalism One visitor to an Indian reservation in 1892 noted that young bilingual Indians were careful to avoid use of English for fear of distancing themselves from friends and relatives. In describing her Indian friend this visitor wrote, "If she should talk English chiefly . . . people would be offended with her, they would hold it a line of separation, that she no longer considered herself Indian" (Sparhawk, 1892, p. 614). Of the system of Indian education one Indian student lamented, "At school we are unmade as Indians, and not made into white people" (Lame, 1900, p. 357). Another well-educated Indian poignantly expressed the consequences of her education as follows:

> For the white man's papers [college degree] I had given up my faith in the Great Spirit. For these same papers I had forgotten the healing in trees and brooks. On account of my mother's simple view of life, and my lack of any, I gave her up, also. I made no friends among the race of people I loathed. Like a slender tree, I had been uprooted from my mother, nature, and God. . . .
>
> But few there are who have paused to question whether real life or long-lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization. (Zitkala Sa, 1900, p. 386)

Allotment in severalty, imposed on the Nez Percé in the late nineteenth century, deepened factionalism within the tribe and sharply reduced Nez Percé capacity to resist government pressure for assimilation In 1883 the Nez Percé federal agent reported somewhat pessimistically:

> I think [the Nez Percé] have reached a state of civilization where they will neither retrograde [n]or advance until some very important change takes place in the Indian policy, such as breaking up the present reservation system and allowing the Indians to take lands in severalty, and throwing the balance of the reserve open to settlement. (Report of CIA, 1883, p. 56)

A key factor in Nez Percé resistance to assimilation had been the tribe's self sufficiency. This enabled it to minimize the impact of government measures of economic coercion. But the pressure to strip the Nez Percé of their land was strong, and it was justified as an essential step toward Nez Percé civilization.

> There is little or no incentive to prompt the members of this tribe to become further advanced in civilized pursuits than they have been doing during the past two years. They have their small farms, market for surplus produce, large herds of horses and cattle, and enough land for ten times their number, the latter secured them by treaty, and to be taken from them only by their unanimous consent, unless some compulsory measure is adopted by the Government. (Report of CIA, 1886, p 112)

Despite strong opposition by an outspoken minority of the Nez Percé, allotment proceeded and was completed in 1893. Opposition came from the wealthier Indians who owned large herds of horses and cattle and therefore needed commonly held reservation land for pasture (Report of CIA, 1893, pp. 32, 138-39). Allotment, in turn, led to the sale of unallotted reservation lands to Whites and to an increase in White population in the area. In counties intersecting the reservation, the White population grew from 4,000 in 1890 to 32,000 in 1910 (Walker, 1968, p. 78). Shortly after the turn of the century Nez Percé children also began attending schools in the predominantly White towns in the area. Passage of the Burke Act in 1906 permitting sale of allotted lands led to further alienation of Nez Percé land until about half of the allotments had been sold by 1923 (Walker, 1968, p. 78). By the early twentieth century the Nez Percé had been forced into wage labor and menial, dependent positions and had thus lost the ability to preserve their culture and shape their own destiny.

A majority of U.S. citizens had become convinced by the closing decades of the nineteenth century that assimilation of the Indians constituted a feasible and desirable goal. The wisdom of such a policy seemed self-evident to a society convinced of the superiority of its race and culture. Indians were thus the victims of a policy shaped by a society whose pride in race and culture was near its peak. Whether Indian response to White contact was friendly and encouraging as in the case of the Nez Percé, or resistant and hostile as in the case of the Sioux, a government policy of forced assimilation was uniformly applied. Forced assimilation was justified not only on the basis of affording Indians the benefits of the superior culture but also as a means of securing national cohesion and integration. Achievement of true nationhood required the destruction of Indian culture and its replacement with the White man's religion, social and economic systems, and language. The harsh manner in which government imposed this policy on Indians in the name of humanitarian reform reflected the enormous disdain felt toward Indian culture.

The policy of Indian assimilation depended heavily on replacement of Indian languages with English. Consequently the government exerted considerable effort to bring this about and encouraged the use of coercive measures. The task of converting Indians culturally into White men was of course impossible in one or two generations, and the methods followed in pursuit of this goal did not facilitate the process. Policies that disparaged Indians, imposed alien standards upon them, and forced separation of children from parents induced both open hostility and subtle resistance. Under the English only policy the classroom became a battleground between cultures where the Indians continued their resistance to domination by White society. By intensifying the conflict between cultures, such policies helped to thwart Indian assimilation

The Nez Percé case is poignant because these Indians repeatedly demonstrated their friendliness toward Whites from the time of contact with Lewis and Clark until a minority faction led by Chief Joseph attempted to flee to Canada in 1877. They welcomed missionaries, provisioned settlers westward bound on the Oregon Trail, traded with gold miners, and counseled peace whenever Indian White hostilities broke out in the area. Despite their trust in White men, most of the Nez Percé lost their lands, their culture, and their language.

Government adherence to a policy of assimilation until the 1960s has left a bitter legacy that today fuels the Indian drive for retention of cultural and linguistic identity. Much assimilation, nevertheless, has occurred. It has taken place primarily because of the opportunities for individual advancement offered by a highly dynamic society at large and not because of educational policies based upon a power relationship. Those who hope that programs of bilingual education and cultural pluralism will arrest or reverse this continuing process of assimilation will have to contend with the inexorable operation of this larger societal process. It is also likely that these new programs will hasten assimilation in the long run by finally bringing to a close an extended period of cultural conflict that government policy promoted.

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II
Language Renewal Projects

Chapter 6

The Lushootseed Language Project

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Lushootseed is a Salish language spoken in western Washington State around Puget Sound. Like many Native languages of North America, Lushootseed is no longer spoken at home often enough for youngsters to learn it as they are growing up. Today Lushootseed is the first language of only about eighty elders, nearly all of whom also have fluent command of English.

Approximately ten years ago the Native young people in the Puget Sound area realized that a large part of their heritage was quickly disappearing with the demise of their ancestral langauge and they began earnest attempts to learn to speak it themselves. At that time, however, there was very little organized instruction. Elders who graciously consented to help these young people usually knew little about language instruction and simply taught lists of words. Many, in fact, were deeply puzzled because their own grandchildren had difficulty pronouncing the words and constructing a proper Lushootseed sentence that did not sound like a White trying to speak the language. The feeling then was that if the students were Indian, they should automatically be able to speak "Indian."

Finally, in the spring term of 1972, the American Indian Studies Department at the University of Washington engaged the services of a Lushootseed speaking elder and a linguist to conduct an introductory course in the Lushootseed language. That class was sufficiently popular for the department to expand the course offering to two terms the following year, meeting five times a week. In 1976 the course was again expanded. Currently, two years of three academic terms are offered. In the first year the students receive instruction in the sound system and basic vocabulary, and a good grounding in the grammar. In the second year more advanced grammar and vocabulary is presented in the fall, followed by two terms devoted to the study of Lushootseed oral and written literature—taught in the language.

While the language course was expanding at the university, the instructors were also engaged in helping elders teach the language to classes on various reservations. Some of these classes were for youngsters of elementary school age, others were for high school students, while still others were for young adults. The assistance provided by the elders varied greatly depending upon the needs and aims of each reservation's program. In some cases pedagogical primers were prepared, in others, elders were shown a phonemic system for writing Lushootseed, and in still other cases, the authors merely gave advice on which aspects of the language seemed to be more advantageously taught in what order or what teaching aids were available.

In addition to helping elders with teaching and writing, the authors have been asked to carry the Lushootseed language work beyond the university in other ways. For the past two years Hilbert has conducted Lushootseed language workshops for public school teachers who work in schools having

large numbers of Native students. The authors have also been invited to lecture about Lushootseed at other universities in the Puget Sound region and to gatherings at the Pacific Science Center in Seattle. This work has been an effort not only to maintain the language but also to enlighten the non Native residents of the Northwest about Lushootseed and other Northwest Indian languages

While these language programs were expanding, Hilbert began to engage in ethnographic fieldwork on her own. At first, this research was limited to collecting material useful for the classroom, but it has now evolved into several independent, major projects. One of these is the transcription and translation of sixty one hours of taped Lushootseed texts collected in the early 1950s by Leon Metcalf and later turned over to the Burke Museum at the University of Washington. These tapes are especially valuable because they recorded the best speakers of that period, all of whom had died by the time renewed interest in Lushootseed began twenty years later. Of immense value is the large set of tapes made from speakers of one of the dialects of the language that has since become extinct.

The students for whom the University of Washington Lushootseed classes are designed are both Native Indian and non Indian. The majority speak only English and have never studied a second language before. Since the courses began, about three quarters of each class have been Indian—most of whom come from areas outside the original Lushootseed speaking territory. For them, the principal motivation in studying the language is to satisfy the university's second language requirement, which they prefer to do with an Indian language rather than with one from Europe or Asia. Thus far, Lushootseed is the only Native Indian language taught on a regular basis at the University of Washington. A few are curious about other Indian groups and select the Lushootseed classes as a good way to begin to learn about Native peoples other than their own tribe.

Those Indian students in the class who are from the Puget Sound region are motivated by the desire to learn what they can of the language that is, or ought to have been, their heritage. Most of these students have grandparents or other older relatives who are fluent Lushootseed speakers whom they visit and practice with on weekends.

Many Native students from the Puget Sound area and elsewhere also choose the course for the opportunity it provides them to study with a Native elder The need fulfilled or the boost to morale provided by this elder has proved to be a very important factor in the continued popularity of the Lushootseed classes.

Every year about one fourth of each class is made up of non Indians. Some of these students are anthropology majors A few specialize in linguistics and take the opportunity to familiarize themselves with a language far different from the ones they usually study. Most non Indian students, however, are Whites who have grown up in the Puget Sound

region and have, since childhood, been interested in their Indian neighbors or simply in the Lushootseed names now on the English map.

It is these three groups—Puget Sound Indians, other Indians, and Whites—that the classes serve. However, when the course was originally designed, it was expected that the majority of students would be Indian young people from the Lushootseed speaking region, therefore, it is this group that provides the principal orientation of the class.

Goals of the Program

Four goals are set for students in the Lushootseed language program. The first, easiest to achieve, and perhaps most important, is to instill in each Native student a pride in his or her ancestral language and the culture it expresses. Not infrequently, students begin the course with the mistaken notion that Indian languages of North America are inferior to languages from Europe, that Indian languages have a small vocabulary and lack expressive power or the capability of being used effectively in modern settings. These misconceptions gradually give way to pride and enthusiasm for Native languages as the class grapples with the richness and subtleties of Lushootseed vocabulary or as the students begin to comprehend various grammatical concepts that English lacks entirely or can express only clumsily. Any lingering doubts about the expressive power of their ancestors' languages are completely dispelled when various elders visit the classes and, in Lushootseed, talk about a variety of modern topics as well as themes from the past.

A second goal shared by a few students is the mastery of a small stock of words and set phrases that can be used at longhouse ceremonies and other gatherings. For these students the time and effort required for young adults to completely master a second language is far greater than they feel to be worth their while. Nevertheless, they believe strongly in the importance of maintaining some vestige of Lushootseed as a symbol of their unique heritage. They exercise great care in mastering proper articulation of these phrases and use them with pride when talking to their elders. Those in this group who are parents have also taught these expressions to their children.

The third, important goal of the Lushootseed classes is called "home research." Many students become sufficiently curious about the old ways and the vast knowledge Lushootseed speaking elders have. They seek out these elders to learn from them either on an independent basis or through academic research projects ranging from term papers to dissertations. These students must be well trained in the language so that they can quickly and accurately transcribe the technical, geographic, and other special Lushootseed terms that the elders use. Because the Lushootseed sound system is so different from English phonology, it proves to be no small accomplishment to become sufficiently versed in the language to

write correctly Lushootseed words that the student has never heard before.

The proof of this difficulty is tragically evident in the various records anthropologists in the Lushootseed area have left. Almost without exception the words are so poorly recorded that their inclusion in the record has been useless. To give the reader some glimpse of the difficulty, it may be pointed out that Lushootseed has thirty seven consonants compared to the twenty four in English and of these only fifteen sounds are relatively similar between the two languages. The student must, therefore, master twenty two totally new sounds. Frequently, they strike the English ear as the same, whereas in Lushootseed they are distinct such as /kʷ/ and /qʷ/ or /hw/, /xʷ/, and, /χʷ/. Adding to the difficulty for the inadequately trained are the large numbers of consonant clusters the language employs which English ears are not accustomed to segmenting. For example, one might refer to a dog as a biter, *dxʷsx̌ƛalikʷ*, which is pronounced with an initial string of five consonants.

An even more sophisticated level of achievement attained by some students is the ability to interview elders partially in Lushootseed. To this end a number of advanced lessons have been designed to teach the student how to frame various sorts of complex comparative questions and other sorts of constructions useful in ethnographic research. Here, for example, are three sets of questions and answers handy for working out hierarchies of class membership:

A. stabaƛ tatačulbixʷ tiʔɬ.	What kind of "big animal" is that?
spaʔc tiʔɬ	That is a black bear.
dɬ ʔu bətatačulbixʷ tiʔɬ stiqayuʔ	Is a wolf also a "big animal"?
xʷiʔ lətatačulbixʷ. titčulbixʷ tiʔɬ stiqayuʔ	No it isn't. A wolf is a "small animal."
B. ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷi sləliʔ ʔə tiʔəʔ sdəxʷiɬ dxʷʔal x̌əlayʔ.	How does a "hunting" canoe differ from a shovel-nose?
x̌ʷəcx̌ʷəcyalus tiʔəʔ sdəxʷiɬ. gʷəl ʔəsp̓il̓ilyalus tiʔəʔ x̌əlayʔ gʷəl x̌ʷuɬ gʷəƛ dxʷʔalstuləkʷ. sdəxʷiɬ gʷəƛ dxʷʔal x̌ʷəlč, dxʷʔal x̌aču?	A "hunting" canoe has sharp ends. But the shovel-nose has flat ends and belongs on rivers. The "hunting" canoe belongs on the salt water [and] on lakes.
C. ʔəsʔəx̌id kʷi gʷəcəxʷsuxʷtəš tiʔɬ x̌ʷətis	What does a silver diver look like?
x̌išuk̓ʷ tiʔəʔ diʔəʔ sqʷəličs	Its back is gray.
x̌ʷiqʷəq̓ʷ tiʔəʔ cəqapsəbs	Its neck is white,
gʷəl haac tiʔɬ cəqapsəbs haac tiʔɬ bəbəqsədš gʷəl x̌ʷəlč buʔqʷ tiʔɬ x̌ʷətis	and it is long. Also long is its bill. The silver diver is a saltwater waterfowl.

The students record on tape the answers given to their Lushootseed questions so that the information is not lost if the answers involve language complexities and vocabulary beyond their level of understanding or ability to transcribe quickly. In such cases the teacher helps them with the transcription and translation when they return to campus.

Recordings in the Native language are essential for several reasons beyond language preservation. One of these is simply language fluency. Those elders who are the most knowledgeable about the culture and history of their people almost always do not have a command of English equal to their expressive power in Lushootseed. This difference is as true for those elders whose English sounds just like their White neighbors' as it is for those whose pronunciation of English reveals a Lushootseed accent. By interviewing and recording in Lushootseed, the student is tapping the elders' greater expressive power.

A second and more important reason for recording in Lushootseed rather than English involves the kind and amount of information forthcoming. In a fifteen year period prior to setting up the Lushootseed classes, the authors themselves were engaged in linguistic and historical research with Lushootseed elders. They had the opportunity of asking the same questions (same in the sense of translations) of some elders in English, some in Lushootseed, and some in both languages. Several years intervened before they repeated a question to the same elder framed in the other language. Often quite different information was given depending upon the language used.

For example, in seeking information about the six classes of canoes used in the old days, elders regularly described all canoes in terms of the *sdaxʷił* class *when speaking in Lushootseed*. However, this comparison was never made when answering in English, even though there is a well-established English term for *sdaxʷił*, namely, hunting canoe. On the other hand, in English elders would frequently mention in feet the typical length of the canoe type being described. If size was mentioned at all when speaking Lushootseed, and it frequently was not, elders usually simply said that the canoe was big, small, or medium sized, even though Lushootseed has a special vocabulary for measurement. The significance of reference to *sdaxʷił* can be appreciated when it is pointed out that cognate words in related languages to the north designate not a class of canoe but all canoes. The cognates of *sdaxʷił* are generic terms, not specific. Although the Lushootseed word applies to only one canoe class, at some level speakers feel *sdaxʷił* to be the epitome of all canoes. Perhaps there even still lingers a hazy feeling of original, more general meaning for *sdaxʷił*. At any rate, they consistently make all their descriptions in terms of it when and only when speaking Lushootseed. This preeminence of *sdaxʷił* is not revealed in English.

What is true when researching aspects of material culture is even more the case when elders talk about nonmaterial facets of Lushootseed life. The vocabulary of each language reflects the life and beliefs of the people it serves. To the extent that the metaphysical views differ from one culture to another, the vocabularies differ, too. English simply lacks the words to express many concepts of Lushootseed daily life, concepts for which Lushoot seed has rich specialized vocabularies

For these reasons, elicitation in Lushootseed has proved to be far more than mere language learning exercises. The advanced students are helping contribute to the documentation of Lushootseed culture as well as language.

The fourth and ultimate goal of the course is to bring the student to a sufficient level of language proficiency so as to be able to continue Lushootseed study with the cooperation of one or more fluent speakers without needing the specific guidance of a classroom teacher or lesson materials from a textbook.

Teaching Methods and Course Structure

The class itself meets five times a week for fifty minutes throughout the academic year. Although the students are expected to master the Lushoot seed writing system, most of the class hour is devoted to oral drills in the early weeks. In fact, initially the students do not see any written material. They first begin to understand the language through situational context. Neither writing nor translation is used until after several weeks have passed.

Following traditional academic policy, the elder who teaches the classes typically assigns from one to two hours of homework daily once initial contact and familiarization with the language have been established. Part of this homework is time spent in the language laboratory practicing orally and aurally A weekly quiz is given each Friday which helps students to keep up in their studies. In addition, there is a midterm and a final examination each academic quarter.

The first weeks of class are devoted to language exercises built around getting acquainted. Students learn the tribal affiliations of their classmates and some time is spent discussing (in English) similarities and differences in customs among the tribes represented in class. These discussions create a feeling of belonging among the shy and help all students appreciate their own tribal traditions as they share them with the class.

From the first day of class, the instructor begins to inculcate the Lushootseed value systems as well as language. Dependability is expected. Absenteeism is commented on in Lushootseed, a student missing more than four periods is requested to withdraw. It is on field trips, however, that Lushootseed values and manners are most expressly taught Naturally,

common courtesy applies in any culture. At Lushootseed gatherings it is polite to greet others with outstretched hand, to introduce oneself by name and tribal affiliation (or with the explanation that one is a student studying the language and culture), and to be attentive as people speak. Students who come from neighboring tribes explain their family background to help elders identify the students. It was the practice years ago to bring a contribution of food to supplement the host's table, and people noted who arrived empty handed. For some occasions this practice is still advisable. It was also part of a young person's training to observe where there was a need for help. That practice still applies. There are usually tables to be set or cleared, potatoes and other vegetables to be peeled, or coffee pots to be filled with water for heating. Benches need to be carried in and arranged. Wood needs to be brought in. The instructor teaches the appropriate vocabulary for each of these activities.

Once the student begins to get a feel for the language, fifteen minutes of dictation are given daily and all classroom assignments and other instructions are made in Lushootseed.

Because the classroom is an artificial setting for language learning, every effort is made to bring the real Lushootseed world into the class and to take the class out to the Lushootseed world. This is attempted in a variety of ways. For example, the week following each midterm students relax by learning and playing *sləhal*, bonegame. The initial cultural significance is explained and discussed, then students choose sides and their leader. They are given handouts containing information about the game. They learn that originally the game was a test of the spiritual strength of the main players and was not the casual recreation it sometimes appears to be. The students memorize *sləhal* terminology to enrich this experience.

A simple explanation of the game is as follows. Two teams are created which seat themselves in two facing rows. The objective is to win tally sticks from the opposition by guessing correctly in which hand the opponent holds an unmarked bone. In a regular game each side puts up a matching pot and chooses a leader who leads his side with a *sləhal* song. The leader decides who shall be the guesser (or pointer), whose responsibility it is to win all the tally sticks for his team. The singing is accompanied by drum and sticks pounded on boards laid on the ground in front of both teams. (In classroom games money is not bet. Instead, each member of the losing team must create four original Lushootseed sentences which are read to the winners. The winning team is then requested to interpret.)

While the class is studying the ninth lesson, which introduces such concepts as hunger, thirst, food, and drink, an Indian food day is held. In addition to the Lushootseed diet, students learn about each other's tribal foods, for samples are brought from all regions. For example, from the Okanagan have come sun dried fish, from Oklahoma, meat pastries, from Nisqually, salmonhead soup, from Yakima, bitter root and fried bread.

There have been mountain blueberries, smoke dried salmon, wild blackberries, and venison jerky.

Field trips are a third method the instructor uses to try to make language learning more of a real experience rather than an empty collection of exercises. For example, at least once each year the class attends a nearby longhouse during the winter dance season. Special information is presented before attending, this includes a brief history of the government's former suppression of longhouse activities. The class is told what to expect and is given a partial explanation of the ceremonies to be seen. Again, proper etiquette is taught. Students are cautioned not to stare into the faces of the dancers, not to speak to new dancers, and above all, not to bump into or startle members of the longhouse because of the danger of causing a new member to lose control over his spirit power. The class is also taught a bit about the costumes and song categories each represents.

Still other methods the teacher uses to breathe life into the classroom learning include videotapes of the best Lushootseed orators and instruction in various genres of Lushootseed music, which also involves learning a few songs and visits by elders to the class.[1]

In the third term of the first year, students are encouraged to put their knowledge into practice by creating their own writings and stories in Lushootseed for their classmates to understand and interpret. These are put on the blackboard and the class then discusses the work and makes necessary corrections. Vocabulary alternatives are pointed out. This method of teaching has proved an excellent way to encourage participation and idea sharing. It exercises the imaginative, creative ability present in the classroom and it prepares students to appreciate the more sophisticated Lushootseed stories and speeches. One year the class enjoyed this sort of project so much that each student wrote an original Lushootseed story complete with glossary, photocopied it, and distributed it to the others.

The second year is devoted to reading and listening to unabridged Lushootseed literature. All quizzes are conducted in Lushootseed and involve matters of culture reflected in the texts or questions about language style. Students also undertake a variety of independent research topics as mentioned above. The following outline of the second year course will give the reader an idea of the range of topics treated:

Outline
Lushootseed Literature

First Term—AIS 313

Week One	Cultural theme	Respective values placed on diligence, skill, and supernatural assistance
	Text(s)	*Bear and Ant* *Coyote and Rock*

Week Two:	Theme:	Hospitality and etiquette Discussion of Lushootseed music Lushootseed literary genres
	Text(s):	*Bear and Fish Hawk* *They Liked Each Other*
Weeks Three-Four:	Theme.	Types and effects of spirit power Discussion of Lushootseed music
	Text(s):	*A Shaman Cure* *Crow is Sick*
Weeks Five-Six:	Theme:	Sources of Spirit Power
	Text(s):	*Sgʷədilič* *A Crippled Boy Gets Tiyutəbaxad*
Weeks Seven-Eight:	Theme:	Lushootseed cosmology Taboos of death and naming
	Text(s):	*Crow Seeks a Husband* *Changer Walks Through the World*
Week Nine	Theme:	Personality types; humor; stylized speech
	Text(s):	*There Coyote is Walking* *Basket Ogress*
Week Ten:	Review and Exam	

Text. *A Reader for the Study of Northern Lushootseed Language and Culture*, by Thom Hess (1977).

Second Term — AIS 314

Weeks One-Two	Themes:	Family relations
	Text(s):	*Salus* *Heron and Little Diver* *Owl and Frog*
Week Three	Theme.	Food gathering and preparation
	Text(s):	*Dəwʔayus* *Berries* *Ducks*
Week Four	Theme:	The Three Lushootseed Tricksters —Mink, Raven, and Coyote
	Text(s):	*How Daylight was Stolen*
Weeks Five Six	Theme	Other beings in the present world Further applications of power More on taboos and family relations
	Text(s):	*Pheasant and His Brothers-in-law.*

Weeks Seven Eight	Theme.	Literary forms and styles in Lushootseed
	Text(s):	*All Year Around Story*
Week Nine	Theme:	Comparing various versions of the same myth
	Text(s):	*Mink and His Young Brother* (Three versions)
Week Ten	Review and exam	

Text. *A Reader for the Study of Northern Lushootseed Language and Culture.*

Third Term — AIS 315

Weeks One-Two	Themes:	Stylized speech More on family relations
	Text(s):	*Grandchildren of Magpie*
Weeks Three-Six	Theme:	Summary of Lushootseed Cosmology
	Text(s):	*Starchild Epic*
Weeks Seven Eight	Themes.	Summary of Tricksters in Lushootseed Literature Summary of Lushootseed taboo in evidence and in the literature
	Text(s)	*Raven's Eyes*
Week Nine	Student presentations	
Week Ten	Review and final examination	

Text. *A Reader for the Study of Northern Lushootseed Language and Culture.*

Textbooks

Three textbooks have been written for use with the two years of Lushoot seed classes, *Lushootseed, The Language of the Skagit, Nisqually, and Other Tribes of Puget Sound, An Introduction, Book One; Book Two;* and *A Reader for the Study of Northern Lushootseed Language and Culture.* The first two are traditional pedagogical grammars for second language teaching at the college level, and are based on the pattern drill approach. They assume no second language experience for the student and avoid nearly all grammatical terminology, both traditional and modern. What few technical linguistic terms do occur are fully defined. These first two books have a total of fifty two lessons, a glossary of Lushootseed to English and English to Lushootseed, a selected bibliography of articles and books about the language and its speakers' culture, and an index designed for language specialists.

The vocabulary and accompanying tapes are (with only a few exceptions) based on the most northerly dialect of Lushootseed, Skagit, as spoken on the Swinomish Reservation. Footnotes and the vocabulary comments point out those ways in which one or another region differs from Skagit, therefore, a teacher from any other Lushootseed speaking tribe is able to adapt the lessons to his or her own speech community.

Most lessons consist of seven sections. Choral Repetition, Sound and Symbol, Grammar Notes, Sound Drills, Vocabulary Comment, New Vocabulary, and Exercises. The first, choral repetition, is the backbone of each lesson. Here the grammar and vocabulary are presented in very short sentences following a pattern of question and answer. Vocabulary is most accurately mastered in the context of actual sentences rather than as isolated items. Similarly, the grammar is best assimilated through the use of short, structural conversations instead of memorizing lifeless rules. This format of question and answer enables the student to engage in brief conversation with fluent speakers at a fairly early stage and to question elders about those aspects of the culture that cannot be readily expressed in English. To this end, interrogative words and a part of the locative system are presented at the outset.

The intended use of the choral repetitions is as follows. The instructor reads each sentence while the students listen without looking at their texts. The instructor reads the sentences a second time while the students follow the printed page. A third and fourth time he or she reads the sentences, pausing after each to enable the students to repeat them aloud in unison. The teacher often asks individual members of the class to recite one or another sentence for additional drill or to check pronunciation. It is essential that choral repetition sentences be repeated enough times to inculcate the new grammatical patterns and vocabulary.

As the lessons progress, short texts are gradually introduced to prepare the student for reading and appreciating the body of literature being written down from the rich oral traditions of Lushootseed. This literature consists mostly of the ancient stories (called *sʸəyəhub* in the northern Lushootseed territory and *sx̌ʷiʔab* in the southern regions), but there is also a sizable corpus of information about Puget Sound Indian history recounted by Indian elders in their own language and from their point of view—not from that of the White historian.

The section Sound and Symbol explains, in brief, nontechnical terms how the sounds of Lushootseed are made and presents the symbols used to represent those sounds. There has been considerable debate among Salishanists and Wakashanists engaged in preparing language lesson materials as to the type of symbols to be used to represent the sounds of Northwest Native languages. At the University of Washington and elsewhere in the Lushootseed region the authors have opted for a set of symbols very similar to the ones used by professional linguists. Many ad

visors from the professional White community have argued against using linguists' symbols, maintaining that they are too difficult for most Indian people to learn. In the authors' eight years' experience, however, they have encountered no one who could not learn them. In fact, elders who have had only a few years of formal schooling in the elementary grades learn to read the language written with these symbols within a week or two. The writing for older people requires a couple of months' practice.

However, the textbooks were initially intended for university students—a class of people surely capable of coping with new symbols. Second, elders have been delighted to learn about the new symbols for, as they say, "Our language sounds different [from English]. It ought to look different, too." Third, the attempt to render Lushootseed sounds with English letters often hides the constructional consistency of the language. The vast majority of Lushootseed roots consist of consonant + vowel + consonant. For a few roots, English letters are fine, in that this pattern appears in the spelling, but for most roots, English letters render complex looking what is really the same simple pattern. Compare the following two roots written first with Lushootseed letters derived from linguistic symbols and then with English letters:

pus	throw at	*pus*
ƛuc	tie knot	*tl'uts*

Tl'uts disguises the simple canonical shape of the root and becomes even more complex when reduplicated:

ƛucƛuc	much knotting	*tl'utstl'uts*

A fourth reason for deriving Lushootseed letters from linguists' symbols rather than from the English alphabet is that the growing number of literate Lushootseed speakers are easily able to read what linguists and anthropologists write about their language and make many important emendations. A few, in fact, are now presenting formal papers of their own to Salish conferences and articles to linguistic journals.

However, for anyone who might object to the sort of Lushootseed alphabet adopted by the authors, they have provided with each word (the first time it appears) an English alphabet rendition of it as best they could. These two systems can be seen in the sample lesson at the end of this chapter.

However, far more important than the letters used to represent Lushootseed sounds is the question of spelling convention. Should Lushootseed be spelled phonemically or morphophonemically? Because the first obligation was to the students enrolled in the Lushootseed classes at the university, the authors began with a system that would be easiest for these students. That system turned out to be phonemic in many respects, but most inflectional prefixes and some suffixes were best spelled mor

phophonemically to preserve underlying regularities. The two following partial paradigms are presented first in phonemic then in morphophonemic writing:

phonemic

ti dbad	my father	*ci ck̓^{w}uy*	my mother
t adbad	your father	*c ack̓^{w}uy*	your mother
ti bad^{z}	his father	*ci sk̓^{w}uys*	his mother

morphophonemic

ti dbad	my father	*tsi dsk^{w}uy*	my mother
t(i) adbad	your father	*ts(i) adsk^{w}uy*	your mother
ti bads	his father	*tsi sk^{w}uys*	his mother

The phonemic spelling records four assimilations, all of which are automatic. /t/ + /s/ > /c/, /d/ + /s/ > /c/ initially, /d/ + /s/ > /d^{z}/ finally, and /i/ + /a/ > 'a/. These changes render the first paradigm irregular in appearance and prove to require more effort for the students to learn than the morphophonemic paradigm, where all looks absolutely regular. Furthermore, it happens that English speech habits (which the students already have) are such that the students automatically tend to make the same assimilations as in Lushootseed, so given the morphophonemic spelling, they make the proper articulation anyway. The only exception is the vowel assimilation. Therefore, the convention of writing in parentheses a vowel that goes to zero is adopted. The students see it and the pattern it preserves but at the same time they are told not to pronounce it here.

The third part of each lesson is Grammar Notes, which calls the students' attention to particular facets of the language structure and summarizes the grammatical points that arise in the choral repetitions. Sound drills emphasize those Lushootseed sounds that English speakers find difficult to distinguish and provide practice sentences for drilling proper articulation. Vocabulary Comment discusses specific words in detail, often providing etymological discussions and explaining the meaning of place names that have entered the White's map of the Seattle area from Lushootseed names. The part called New Vocabulary is simply a list of the words occurring in the text for the first time, and provides a convenient summary for the student. The exercises of the last section are designed for the student to apply the new grammar and vocabulary through actual language use. Although some translation work is included, most exercises are such that the students manipulate Lushootseed words and phrases without recourse to English.

The *Reader* consists of twenty texts that have been transcribed from

tape recordings given by elders fifteen years ago and more. Most of these excellent speakers are no longer living so the book serves not only pedagogical purposes but also preserves an elegant style of the language used by very few speakers today. Because each selection is on tape, the students can listen to the stories as well as read them. The selections in the reader include history, ethnographic narratives, and many myths. These are arranged from texts with fairly easy style at the beginning through progressively more complex stories in both grammar and allusions to pre White-contact social organizations. The reader has a glossary and the instructor's copy also includes a concordance.

Although these books have been designed and written primarily for university students, considerable effort has gone into making them useful to a wider readership. On the one hand, the style used in grammatical explanations and the presentation of the sound system and alphabet have been done in such a way that any native speaker of Lushootseed, regardless of formal education or previous teaching experience, is able to use the books effectively in conducting his or her own classes on the home reservation. A number of elders have also used the books to teach themselves to read and write the language. On the other hand, two features have been included for the benefit of linguists and other scholars who wish to learn about a specific aspect of Lushootseed without desiring to master the entire language or thumb through every page hunting the particular information needed. For these scholars there are appendices that summarize paradigms and an index in linguistic terminology that refers the researcher directly to the appropriate sections. Also, copious footnotes and the English to Lushootseed part of the glossaries contain detailed dialect information on lexical and phonological variations among the Lushootseed regions.

Sample Lesson from *Lushootseed, An Introduction*

ċuʔkʷs

Choral Repetition

1. *tulčad čəxʷ.*	Where are you from?
(tōlʔ-chahd chuwh)	
tuliʔal čəd sw̱ədəbš.	I am from Swinomish.
(tōʔ-lahl chud swu-dubsh)	
2. *tulčad tiʔiɬ stubš.*	Where is that man from?
tuliʔal dxʷl̓iləp.	He is from Tulalip.
(dwh-tū-lup)	
3. *tulčad tsiʔiɬ sladəyʔ.*	Where is that woman from?
tuliʔal d̓əwʔabš.	She is from Duwamish.
(duw-ʔahbsh)	

4. *tulčad ṯs(i) adčəgʷas.* — Where is your wife from?
   tulʔal puyaləp. — She is from Puyallup.
   (poo·yah·lup)

5. *tulčad t(i) adsčistxʷ.* — Where is your husband from?
   tulʔal sqʷaliʔ. — He is from Nisqually.
   (sqwah·lāʔ)

Sound and Symbol

7.1 *č* is something like *ts* pronounced as one sound but with a catch in the throat at the same time. It is a combination of *c* (1.2) and *ʔ* (1.12). There is no sound quite like it in English. Imitate the teacher (or recording) carefully. (See 7.4.)

7.2 *l* is usually pronounced as a sequence of *l* plus *ʔ* (1.12) or *ʔ* plus *l*. When *l* is followed by *a, ə, i* or *u*, it sounds like *ʔl*. When followed by any other letter or when at the end of a word, it sounds like *lʔ*. Thus, *tulcad* is pronounced as though it were spelled *tulʔcad*. In the case of *tulʔal*, however, the expected pronunciation *tulʔʔal* is not used. Instead, the Lushootseed say it as if it were spelled *tuʔlal*.

Grammar Notes

7.3 The student has already learned the words *čad*, "where" (Lesson Four), and *ʔal*, "location" (2.3). *tul*, "from" combines with these words making *tulčad*, "from where" and *tulʔal*, "be from."

The sentence *tulčad čəxʷ* is a general question and can be used in many situations. However, when asking specifically about a person's home village or lineage, it is possible to say, *sčads čəxʷ*. In answering either question, the same reply may be said, *tulʔal čəd* _____ For the beginning student only the first phrasing should be used.

Sound Drill IV: č

Listen carefully as the teacher says the following pairs of words several times. Can you hear the difference between both sets at the beginning as well as at the end? Imitate the teacher exactly.

7.4 *č* and *c*: *sčapac* willow tree : *scapaʔ* grandfather
čəlalikʷ win . *cəlac* five

Repeat the following sentence after the teacher as exactly as you can. (See remarks under Sound Drill I, page 5.)

7.5 *ʔəsčəxčəx tiʔəʔ čukʷs sʔičəb gʷəɬtiʔəʔ ʔəsčuɬ stubš.*
The seven blankets of this weak fellow are all worn out.

Vocabulary Comment

7.6 Many Lushootseed proper names are so old that their original meaning is lost in history. However, some names are composed of words that are still part of the modern language.

7.6.1 *dəw?abš* means the "people of the inside." *dəw?*, a variant of the word *dək^{w}/dəg^{w}a-*, "inside," is the name for the Cedar, Black, and Duwamish River drainage. It designates the region inside as opposed to the open area along the shores of the Sound. (See map for the river courses before changed in the present century.) The ending *-abš* means "people of."

7.6.2 *dx^{w}liləp* is composed of three parts. *lil*, "far" or "distant"; *-əp* (from *-ap*), "bottom" or "end"; and *dx^{w}-* "to" or "toward" (18.6, p. 96). Thus, the name means "far to the end" (of the bay), which describes the length of Tulalip Bay.

7.6.3 *puyaləp* likewise is made up of three parts. *puy*, "curve" or "bend", *al* (from *?al* (2.3)); and *əp* from an old suffix (in an earlier period of the language) meaning "river." (Compare *-apš*, "river," in the related language Upper Chehalis.) Thus the name means "river of bends." i.e., "winding river."

7.6.4 *sq^{w}ali?*, "grass" or "hay," refers to the large prairie in much of the Nisqually territory. (The Skagit equivalent for *sq^{w}ali?* is *saǰ^{w}il*. The Snohomish and all Southern Lushootseed groups use *sq^{w}ali?*.)

7.6.5 The meaning of *swədəbš* is not readily apparent. The ending *əbš* (from *-abš*, "people of") is the only part of the word that is easily interpreted today.

7.7 The student will observe that many Indian names are rendered in English with *m* and *n* whereas the people themselves use a *b* and *d*, e.g., *(a)mish* from *(a)bš*. The reason is that when the *pastəd*, "White man," first arrived in the area, the language used *m*'s and *n*'s so Indian words were borrowed into English with those sounds. Within the last one hundred years or so the language has changed from *m* and *n* to the use of *b* and *d*.

Even today, however, *m* and *n* are heard in special vocabularies such as some proper names and religious terms, and in certain styles of speaking and singing. This is especially true in prayer, talking endearingly to children, and quoting the speech of certain animals and other supernatural beings.

New Vocabulary

čəd	I, me	*s.q^{w}ali?*	Nisqually
čəx^{w}	you	*tul-*	from
dəw?abš	Duwamish	*tulčad*	from where
dx^{w}.liləp	Tulalip	*tul?al*	be from
puyaləp	Puyallup	*s.wədəbš*	Swinomish

(As pointed out in Lesson Six (6.4), underlining is the way capital letters are made.)

Exercises

1. The teacher asks every student *tulčad čəxʷ* to which the student should give the appropriate reply in Lushootseed.
2. Every student in turn asks the teacher *tulčad čəxʷ* to which he or she responds. After every question and answer, the teacher follows with the question *gʷəl tulčad čəxʷ dəgʷi*, "And where are you from?" [The words *gʷəl*, "and," and *dəgʷi*, "you," are new to the student. He or she is not expected to use them nor even fully understand them, but should be able to get the general idea from the situation. The first time the teacher asks the "return" question, he or she might quickly repeat the question in English. (Both *gʷəl* and *dəgʷi* are presented formally in a later lesson.)] The student should reply appropriately.
3. Every student asks a neighbor about a third student, saying *tulčad tiʔɬ stubs* or *tulčad tsiʔɬ sladəyʔ*. Some students may want to ask classmates still other questions such as *tulčad ts(i) adskʷuy*, "Where is your mother from?", *tulčad t(i) adsčistxʷ*, etc.
4. Dictation The teacher will dictate six short sentences in Lushootseed which the student should write in Lushootseed.

Notes

1. These visits by some of the elders are a real learning experience for the class. We acknowledge their kindness to our classes here:
   a. Isadore Tom, whose ancestry is Lummi and Skagit, is a well-known *dxʷdaʾəb* shaman who resides in Lummi. He is respected for his abilities as a practicing *dxʷdaʾəb* who also has the *sgʷədilič* spirit power. He has given many lectures because he has the ability to explain his shamanistic gift to the public while he practices effectively among his people.
   b. Martin Sampson, a Swinomish chief now residing in Tacoma, Washington, is a fluent speaker of the Skagit language and is consulted by all about the history, culture, and language of his people.
   c. Harriette Shelton Dover of the Tulalip tribe is a lecturer and tribal historian residing at Tulalip.
   d. Morris Dan, a Swinomish elder, is an orator and historian consulted for his knowledge about all facets of the culture.
   e. Dewey Mitchell, Upper Skagit residing at Swinomish, is fluent in the language and shares his information about the language and the culture as he is consulted. He has been a member of the tribal senate for many years.
   f. Fillmore James, a Snoqualmie who resides at Tulalip, teaches some language and culture to preschool children and lectures in the public schools about the culture. He also entertains his audience with a beautiful voice as he sings traditional (and occasionally country western) music.

   Our classes have indeed been fortunate to have these spiritual leaders, lecturers, and teachers visit. We are grateful to them for their continued practice of the traditional ways.

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Chapter 7

Cultural Retention Programs and Their Impact on Native American Cultures

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Introduction

Observing their fellow Indians in today's world, it is not difficult for traditional Indians to conclude that the young members of their tribes are losing their identities as members of that tribe, or perhaps even as Indians altogether. Intertribal and interracial marriage, increased mobility, the pressures of the White world, television, education, making a living—all of these are cited as factors that have taken and are taking their children and their children's children out of the old ways and into non Indian ways (Hill and Lujan, 1979).

Fewer and fewer young people speak the tribal language (Martin, 1975), fewer and fewer are interested in the legends and teachings of their grandparents (Wondergem, Kennan, and Hill, 1978). There is a generation gap that represents a difference in the quantity and quality of the cultural knowledge that the older generations possess compared with the middle and younger generations. It is not unusual to hear from Indians comments like "I wish some of our elders were here. I knew one who has gone on, he would know about that, how to say that and say it well," or "I know some things that I learned as a youngster, and I'm willing to pass those on, but I don't know very much."

In the last few years several tribes in Oklahoma have responded to this perceived gap by instituting programs designed to record some of the knowledge that the older people possess and make it available to the middle and younger generations. These programs come under the general label of "cultural retention programs." This chapter attempts to put these efforts—some of which focus on language, others on arts and crafts or on oral history, and still others on more specific sorts of knowledge—in perspective. The authors' position is that cultural retention programs are active, organized efforts on the part of a certain segment of the people to intervene in the course of their cultural history. Further in spite of the obvious differences in modern transmission methods, they argue that there are certain ways in which these interventions are appropriate to the traditions of Indian culture.

Social scientists use the term *culture* to refer to the general principles that appear to regulate that part of human behavior that is learned and shared as a result of membership in a group (Ross, 1973, p. 70, Triandis, 1971) This definition includes the mechanism of regulation. the norms, attitudes, and values, and especially the group's perceptions of those norms, attitudes, and values. There will be no attempt at a description of either Indian or White culture here,[1] but it should be noted that older, more traditional Indians seem to have an almost mystical feeling about their culture, which they refer to as "the way" (Williams, 1979). It supplies them with a sense of identity and individuality that distinguishes each tribe from both Whites and other tribes. In developing the theme that cultural retention programs are interventions the authors point out what they feel is a

crucial difference in the process of socialization in the two cultures. This difference affects cultural retention programs and helps to evaluate them.

First, four of these programs will be briefly examined as examples of variations in scope, purpose, and tribal involvement. The appropriateness of this sort of intervention in Native American cultures will then be considered, followed by an evaluation of the impact of these programs on the tribal cultures involved.

Cultural Retention Programs

Cultural retention programs in Oklahoma vary in size, organization, and scope, but they all have certain aspects in common. At their core are one or more people who are concerned about the lack of traditional cultural knowledge in the younger generations. Often these few individuals are not members of the tribal government but are simply from the older generation in the tribe. They know a great deal about the tribal culture as it was in their day and are concerned about the lack of this knowledge in the generations following them. Sometimes the core of individuals is part of the tribe's governing structure. These people often are from a middle generation who feel that they do not know as much about the old ways as they would like. In both cases, however, the concern is not for the middle generation or the younger people as individuals, but for what this loss of knowledge will mean to the tribe.

Typically tribes do not know how to go about gathering and processing the data they want, nor do they have the funds to do the task, so they turn to others for financial and organizational assistance and encouragement. Most commonly their goal is to record as much information as they can about subjects like religion, history, their origin, or their language from the memories of the elders, and then to prepare the resulting tapes and transcripts as archives belonging to the tribe. The authors have chosen four tribes as examples of this process. the Kiowa, the Delaware of Western Oklahoma, the Thlopthlocco Creek, and the Comanche. The decision to use these tribes as examples is based on familiarity with their programs and the desire to represent faithfully the diversity of the programs. The Kiowa projects, while individually very different, cumulatively represent a large scale effort, the Delaware projects and the Thlopthlocco project are much smaller in scale but differ from each other in significant ways. In each of these three tribes, the originators of the idea of a cultural retention program were also the main contributors to the collected data. The Comanche program represents a large scale, diversified effort, significantly different in its organizational structure in that the resource people were neither the original organizers of the program nor the people who did the work.

There are three concurrent cultural retention projects in the Kiowa tribe. The largest, the Kiowa Cultural Program, is funded through tribally administered funds. It involves a group of about ten elderly people serving

as resources and up to four regular staff members whose task it is to record and process the data that these resource people supply. Some of the staff members received considerable training and assistance from the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission. The data are from tape recorded discussions by the resource people, supplemented by photographs, on subjects such as origins, history, religion, games, and the Kiowa language—which is not a written language although several spelling systems exist. Their goal is to develop a written and audiotaped library of information on these subjects which would be available to members of the tribe. By the fall of 1979, nearly 250 hours of tape recordings had been collected. The tribe has a fulltime employee translating and transcribing them.

The other Kiowa projects are each very different from the cultural program in some essential way. The Kiowa History Project is smaller than the cultural program and receives support from outside grants. It has similar motivations and goals as the cultural program, except that it includes as resources archives from outside the Kiowa community. Some of these archives include a significantly different type of data. records that are not just written, but that are written by Whites. This makes the Kiowa History Project different from all the other known programs in that the others use essentially oral material and are not at all interested in what Whites had to say about Indian culture, tradition, or history.

Finally, one man has received a grant from the Smithsonian Institution to help him prepare his own very extensive archives on the Kiowa language and related subjects for eventual transfer to that institution. This last project differs from the other two in that its materials neither belong to the Kiowa tribe nor will they be staying in Oklahoma, instead they will become the property of the Smithsonian, where they will not be available, in any practical sense to the tribe. Nevertheless, it is motivated by the same desire to record and preserve invaluable parts of the Kiowa culture that motivated the other two projects.

Since 1974 a small group from the Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma in Anadarko has been involved in projects aimed at preserving as much of their own language and culture as they can. This group of a half dozen elderly people represents the last speakers of Delaware in Anadarko and quite possibly more than half the fluent speakers in the United States. Their interest was originally triggered by their work with linguists doing research on Delaware and by their own frustration at their loss of Delaware because of the lack of opportunity to use it. They began meeting together in 1974 to speak Delaware and to record stories and reminisce in both English and Delaware. They were supported by a small federal grant.

In order to continue this work, the tribe contracted with the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission in early 1977 to supply a staff to collect and process data. This second project was funded with state administered funds and involved the same group of resource people, with the addition of a staff of three and part time consultants from the Indian Affairs Commission. It

terminated in the summer of 1977 with the publication of a small book of pictures and stories for children (Delaware . . . , 1977). At that time the tribe contracted with the first author to continue the data gathering and analysis on a data-sharing basis (Cooley, 1978a, 1978b, 1979a, 1979b; Cooley and Yoder, 1978). This last project was funded for 1977-1978 by the Department of Communication and the Graduate College at the University of Oklahoma and is now funded by the tribe itself.

While each of these projects has been small in scope, together they have resulted in the accumulation of a very large mass of data on the Delaware language and culture. Well over 100 hours of tape have been recorded in both languages and about 40 percent of this material has been transcribed. Considerable interest has been generated in the tribe during the last three or four years and the tribe itself has become involved, through its elected officials, in obtaining funding for the data collection and its eventual publication.

In 1978 a small group of elders from the Thlopthlocco tribal town of the Creek Nation also became involved in a cultural retention program. Their tribal council contracted with the Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission to record and transcribe their recollections and reconstructions of their culture and history. The transcriptions are the basis for a book, in both English and Creek, which is being printed for the Thlopthlocco.

The Comanche Cultural Program was begun in 1976 at the completion of the Comanche Cultural Center in Cache, Oklahoma. The idea for a cultural program originated in the tribal business committee. The grant for the program came from the Folklife Division of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and was supplemented by small grants from other sources for certain closely related projects. The NEA grant was administered by the Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity but the work was accomplished by Comanches working within the existing tribal structure. There were three thrusts to the project: community strengthening, language teaching, and oral history.

Even though the community strengthening efforts were, in the main, peripheral to the cultural program efforts, they did serve two very important functions within that program. First, they were an opportunity to assess the tribe's cultural resources—to find out who the interested and knowledgeable people were. Second, they served to give the program legitimacy among the members of the tribe on whose cooperation the success of the program depended.

Although several different types of activity were involved in the community strengthening efforts, the activities that were the most important to the success of the cultural program were periodic luncheons which were called language luncheons, but which also involved oral history. It was at these luncheons that the staff heard about those elder people who were experts in some particular area in which they were interested, and it was at these luncheons that they often made their initial contacts with these

people. The luncheons also served as an effective place to disseminate information about the program and to disp[illegible]nors. Since elder people who were known to be very knowledgeable about some particular facet of tribal culture and history were regularly invited, the luncheons could also be seen as an occasion to honor these people. Such honoring comprised the rituals of inviting, greeting, eating with, listening to, conversing with, and leave taking from each other. As a result the luncheons not only served as a device through which the program staff could become legitimate in the eyes of the elders whom they needed as resource people, but they were also a series of events through which the staff could demonstrate their worthiness to participate in the sharing of the elders' knowledge. This process undoubtedly contributed to the program's eventual success.

The language teaching portion of the Comancne Cultural Program began in 1976 with a regular staff of five. a director, two highly qualified speakers of Comanche as teachers, a classroom assistant, and a bus driver. The staff of the cultural program assisted in the preparation of materials, since none were available. The teaching program was divided into two four month sessions. The first session was devoted to teaching five and six year old children who met two times a week for two hour sessions. The classes were organized around specific situations. mealtime, visiting, kinship structure, etc., and the goal was to teach the culturally appropriate behaviors and Comanche words and phrases for those situations. During the second session the program was expanded to one section of classes for children and one section for adults. Each section met for one hour twice a week. The enrollment was approximately twenty in the children's section and a dozen in the adults' section.

Both sections were successful learning experiences, but the adult section had a particular impact on the whole cultural program. The students became very involved and enthusiastic, and this attitude seemed to be contagious. There were numerous pedagogical problems because of the newness of the program, and the staff became caught up in trying to find their solutions. From both inside and outside there was a general feeling that the adult class was an interesting and rewarding experience. As a result, the language program received a great deal of recognition throughout the tribe and the state. There was a general attitude that studying Comanche was a positive thing, this is quite different from the stereotypical feelings that many Indians have about their languages.

At the completion of the second session, the cultural program was able to secure the assistance of a linguist to prepare materials on the language for students and teachers. This research was supported by a small grant from the Center for Applied Linguistics. It resulted in the publication, in 1979, of a booklet on Comanche which is to be made available to future classes (Comanche, 1979). There is also a series of twelve tapes on basic Comanche vocabulary which has been tested and is available for future adult classes.

The oral history project also began in 1976 under the cultural program director, with a staff of up to four interviewers who were trained by the director. Training included not only the general techniques of interviewing, determining appropriate content, recording techniques, etc., but also discussions of the culturally appropriate ways of going to people's homes and what it means for the staff to treat the people and their information with consideration and respect. It was decided to interview the oldest people who could be found. Contacts came from people the staff already knew and from the language luncheons, with advice from the Comanche Health Program concerning the health of these prospective resource people. Interviews were centered on legends, songs, raising children in the old ways, growing up in the Fort Sill Indian School, and personal histories of famous Comanches. Over 200 tapes were recorded and are on file at the culture center office in the tribal complex.

The cultural retention programs in these four tribes exemplify the variety in the programs in Oklahoma with which the authors are familiar. With the exception of the two smaller Kiowa programs, the primary goals are to preserve knowledge of that portion of the past that is stored in the memories of the elders, to record it in some form so that it will not be forgotten, and to make it available to the rest of the tribe, especially to those young people who don't know much about their own culturally unique history. Even the two smaller Kiowa programs, although they differ in their data base or in the availability of the archives to the tribe, are motivated by the need to preserve as much knowledge as possible.

These programs are also similar in the type of data they have produced. In all of them the effort has focused on the production of a fairly large quantity of tape recordings. In two of the programs, the Delaware and the Thlopthlocco Creek, some of these tapes have been distilled into some sort of book, but in no case have the projects produced a complete and indexed set of written transcripts of the tapes, although the Kiowa Cultural Program is working toward such a goal. This is partly a pragmatic problem. To accomplish this sort of task takes between twenty and thirty hours of work for every hour of tape. It is partly an economic problem, none of the granting agencies required, or funded, such a product. Further, it appears that, while the tape recordings themselves are culturally appropriate ways to transmit culture, transcribing the tapes is not necessarily appropriate.

Cultural Transmission

In this section the authors briefly examine the transmission of special knowledge in Indian tribes in order to illustrate the dramatic difference in values between White and Indian cultures. This discussion will furnish a background within which to better understand the phenomenon of the Cultural Retention Program.

For traditional Indians the way in which some types of knowledge are

passed on is as important as the knowledge itself. If the correct way to pass it on can't be followed, the knowledge is properly lost. A key ingredient in this transmission is the idea of the recipient's responsibility. In many tribes certain men were given the responsibility of "keeping" articles of religious significance. Along with possession of the articles went not only possession of knowledge about their power and their use, but also the responsibility to act in a manner worthy of a keeper. Judgments about the readiness of an individual to accept such responsibility were made only after observation for a number of years. When it became necessary to choose a new keeper the choice was made from a group who were in various states of preparation, but most important, from candidates who were judged able to accept the responsibilities of the office. If no one was properly eligible then tribal leaders would meet and decide to ask someone who could be trusted to act responsibly, but who might not be qualified under other circumstances.

Powell (1969) illustrates both the idea of responsible behavior and the process of choosing in the Northern Cheyenne. According to Powell, when the keeper of the Sacred Buffalo Hat became feeble he asked that a new keeper be chosen. The clan chiefs and the military society leaders met and chose a new keeper. But in succeeding years it became apparent to the people that the new keeper was not acting in a responsible manner, so the chiefs met again and chose a new keeper. Because she was quite elderly and lived alone she would not have ordinarly been chosen, but she was judged by the chiefs to be a person who would act responsibly in the execution of her duties and in her everyday behavior.

What happens if there is no one who is judged both eligible and fit to take the responsibility? For at least some tribes there is an option of lessening the knowledge so that there are less powerful restrictions on the keeper. A case in point is the Fort Sill Apache.[2] The Apache Fire Dance was originally a ceremony with deep religious significance, and the knowledge that was given to the original keepers concerned healing. As a consequence there was a strong set of restrictions on the keepers' behavior, affecting their whole way of life and that of their families. Because of the strength of these restrictions, fewer and fewer people were willing to accept custody of the knowledge of the dance. Consequently, in order to keep the knowledge from being entirely lost, the decision was made to pass on only that portion that was less significant religiously, so that the restrictions could also be lessened. Such an approach is possible every time a new keeper must be chosen and, if exercised, will cause the knowledge that is passed on to be less and less involved with the original meaning of the ceremony and the ways of healing, until only the form of the ceremony remains. As long as there is no one willing to take on the responsibility of the office, the elders judge that passing on the lessened knowledge is preferable to the other alternative, total loss of the Fire Dance even as an artifactual ceremony.

The key to this method of passing on knowledge is the opportunity to observe younger people so that enough is known about them to allow judgments about their moral character and their ability to accept the responsibilities of the office. When he was a younger man, two medicine men observed Marcellus Williams,[3] although he was unaware of it at the time. They found his behavior satisfactory and approached him separately, saying, "I've had you in mind to carry on my ways. I'm getting old now." Such an honor served for him as an incentive to learn and to behave in ways fitting the new role. He felt a sense of rebirth, dedication, and responsibility, which is central to the process of passing on the core knowledge through the generations. The more central the knowledge, the stronger the moral sense that accompanies it, consequently, the more important is the adherence to the proper method of transmission, with time to observe and learn being a crucial part of the process.

The opportunity for such observation is virtually nonexistent in many tribes today. Social and economic pressures make it difficult for young adults to take the necessary time to learn. More significantly, they are simply not available for observation so that judgments can be made about their fitness. Consequently, strict adherence to the old way of transmitting knowledge results in that knowledge being totally lost.[4]

In contrast, possession of knowledge in the White culture entails neither a sense of personal responsibility nor moral constraint on behavior outside the professional role. This is true even in professions with considerable status, such as medicine and the military. This circumstance is possibly a result of a system of writing, which enables the source of knowledge to be removed from the recipient and where any testing is of the type and quantity of the knowledge that the candidate has acquired rather than of his or her moral qualifications and sense of responsibility.

The information that cultural retention programs gather is different from the type referred to in this section, but the occasions cited here seem to exemplify a model for how one should feel about cultural knowledge in general. Two different kinds of data support this claim. First, comments by members of various Oklahoma tribes involved in cultural retention programs (Williams, 1979) have a tone that is very similar to the comments about ritual knowledge such as have been cited in this section. Second, and more significant, staff in cultural retention programs are often placed in the role of the recipients of the knowledge and unless they have been observed for a sufficient length of time and have passed the test, as Williams did, they are not allowed by the elders to be very effective in their jobs. The most successful cultural retention program had at least one staff member who appeared to meet these requirements. This person was known to the elders who were supplying information and demonstrated a strong sense of respect for them and a deep sense of responsibility for the knowledge they were sharing with him.[5]

The cultural retention programs that exist in Oklahoma share certain

characteristics of both the White and Indian models of culture transmission. In the first instance there is a separation in time and distance between the source of the information and its recipient and no time for observation and testing of the recipient. These characteristics certainly fit the White model. On the other hand, these cultural retention programs are interested in orally transmitted knowledge, and they return to a traditional role for the elders and involve feelings of responsibility toward their knowledge—all characteristics of the Indian model.[4]

An Assessment of Cultural Retention Programs

There are many questions that can be asked in an effort to assess the accomplishments of cultural retention programs. For example, how much of the knowledge will get passed on? How many people will actually hear the stories, songs, traditions, etc., that are being recorded? The problem is that there is no way of answering future-oriented questions such as these. It may be that what appear now to be very successful programs have no future audiences at all. Or they may have very large audiences. There simply is no way of predicting.

On the other hand, what sort of knowledge is being recorded? Is it culture or is it knowledge about history and culture? Clearly, both from the definition of culture mentioned earlier and from the Indians' own definition, which Williams paraphrases as "our way" (Williams, 1979, pp. 36), it is the latter. Categorizing the knowledge this way does not mean that it is not valuable. On the contrary, what has been recorded in these tape collections is the very best that the elders could give, it is an immense and priceless store not only of the facts as they remember them, but also of the contexts that give those facts meaning.

Still, recognition of this does not constitute an evaluation of the programs themselves. What is needed is a different type of question that centers on the impact that involvement in the process of cultural retention is having on the tribe today. These cultural retention programs are examples of the tribes' actively intervening in and contributing to their own cultural heritage. In the past, most of the changes in tribal culture occurred as a result of contact with the dominant White culture, and the recording for the Indians of their changing cultures was left to the Whites. Cultural retention programs are creating something that did not exist before—a recording of some portion of the Indians' history and of some knowledge about one stage in their culture, in a way that incorporates many of the features of that culture. These programs are evidence that there is a group that is involved and contributing, and they are a source of pride to the involved individuals and to the tribes. They thus affect the view the tribe has of itself and the view others have of it. Tribes that have these programs are noticed and people make positive comments about them

Conclusion

It is not difficult to see that cultural retention programs are borrowed from White culture and are antithetical to many of the concepts of socialization that have been extant in Indian culture for years. They remove the source of the knowledge from the learner and they do not require that an individual be morally and ethically qualified to be a student. But, in another sense, cultural retention programs are very much congruent with Indian culture. The knowledge that is being gathered and made available represents the best the older generation has. history, stories, religion, medicine, and way of life, which would have been passed on in the "old ways" had there been time. Today this information is being gathered in ways that are acting out and thus strengthening the values that the "old ways" still represent

It seems proper to conceive of cultural retention programs as active, organized, and relatively large scale attempts to intervene in the course of cultural history. Individuals and groups have decided to change the method of cultural transmission in order to save a part of their "way." Without these interventions, a great part of the history and traditions of these tribes would be gone in a very few years. In that sense alone they are interventions, but, more important, they are making available to the younger generations a body of knowledge that, although it is changed in significant ways, still can serve as an anchor point for identity and a sense of belonging (Roark-Calnek, 1979), as the "way" that the elders know does for them.

Notes

1. See Kim, 1978. Kim discusses the difficulties, perhaps even impossibilities, involved in trying to describe an American culture
2. Marcellus Williams, personal communication
3. Marcellus Williams, personal communication
4. Some individuals and tribes still maintain a strict adherence to the old way
5. Note the similarity between what these people felt and what Williams (1979, pp. 5-6) offers as a list of steps for researchers to follow when working with Native American resource people.
6. In this context it seems appropriate to leave the tapes untranscribed. To do so might make the participants feel they were moving even further toward the White model

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Chapter 8

A Bilingual Education Program for the Yakima Nation

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Introduction

For bilingual Native Americans, maintaining the ancient values and languages of their people is vital to them as Indian people, but their needs, philosophies, and cultural uniqueness are continually ignored in favor of those of other groups that already have written languages for which vast amounts of curriculum materials have been developed. Yet maintenance of Indian languages would provide equality of language opportunities for Indian children (Spolsky, 1972).

Although all Indian people share a common bond of cultural uniqueness, they have distinct and different languages, customs, and tribal heritages. Thus, curriculum development, dissemination, and evaluation requires involvement and approval by knowledgeable members of the local tribes. It has been the experience of Indian people that if they want relevant curriculum materials reflecting their cultures and languages, they are the ones who must develop, edit, field test (evaluate), and disseminate them within their individual Indian communities. The need for development of these printed and audiovisual materials in American Indian languages is great in all academic areas.

Language is an important and integral part of culture. The cultures of the Yakima Nation and many other Northwest Tribes were kept alive through the efforts of tribal elders who continue to speak the Indian languages and to pass them down to their children. Indians know that their past as well as their future depend upon keeping their language alive. Oral history is not enough, and the Indian people feel an urgency to put their spoken language into writing before the elders pass away and with them, their knowledge of their inheritance. Therefore, after many years of dedicated effort by tribal elders, a written alphabet for the Yakimas was designed.

As the Indian people are in the process of developing these writing systems (orthographies) for their languages, they rely upon their elders as teachers. At the same time, however, school districts want certified teachers in the classroom (Michigan, 1977). Certification of Indian language teachers who are knowledgeable about the needs of the Indian students and schools, their heritage, and the traditions of Indian people is needed. Until then, who but the tribal elders has the knowledge to share with the Indian child?

Background and Purpose of the Study

Each culture imposes societal values that prescribe a given behavior in given situations. Consequently, while physical and psychological needs are universal, the individual aspirations that give direction to these needs arise out of the basic values of a particular culture. Confusions results when students are confronted with conflicting, ambiguous expectations. Indian students have not been able to resolve the inherent difficulties that are

associated with their involvement in both traditional and contemporary lifestyles.

A productive approach to understanding another society involves ascertaining the ways the culture has influenced basic needs, in terms of both the relative importance assigned by that society to a particular need and the ways provided by that society to satisfy that need.

School districts in the state of Washington are legally obligated to provide special help for all children who are not fluent in the English language The Washington Human Rights Commission, in June 1974, adopted a regulation that specifically states that there shall be equal opportunity for children who are limited in English language skills because of national origin. By 1975 at least sixteen states had passed their own bilingual education laws.

Bilingual education must adhere to two principles. first, it must realistically address the educational needs of the limited English speaker through methods and techniques that acknowledge the student's linguistic capability and cultural background Second, programs must include well prepared teachers who have an appreciation and understanding of the unique problems of these students.

Indian children are required to speak English in public schools and learn from methods and books that do not promote Indian ideals. The development of Indian curricula is an attempt to provide adequate, relevant Native language materials that will reflect their cultures and reinforce the concepts currently being taught by the public schools to Indian children. The purpose of this study was to develop a Sahaptin vocabulary workbook in the Mamachat dialect to be used in Grades 4, 5, and 6 with this attitude in mind.

Many Indian children, whose parents or grandparents speak the Indian language and whose home environment may be quite different from that represented by school materials and personnel, often experience conflict, alienation, and failure in the public school. The experience diminishes a positive self concept among children who come to feel that their language and culture are less acceptable than those of the non Indian child.

It is desirable that Indian children become fluent and literate not only in English, but in their vital and beautiful native language as well. This fluency can be combined with a growing awareness that self concept is directly related to achievement. Bilingual education can increase family, school, and community cohesiveness, and provide encouragement for Indian youngsters to learn about their language and culture.

Explanation of Terms Used

For purposes of this paper, the author defines certain terms as follows.

- *Yakima Nation.* The Yakima Nation comprises fourteen Confederated Tribes and Bands located in central Washington State in the Yakima Indian Reservation.

- *Sahaptin:* A common term used by anthropologists and linguists in their journal articles and books to designate the native language of the Yakima people, though this is not the Indians' own name for their native language.
- *Mamachat:* One particular dialect within the broader Sahaptin language family.
- *Orthography:* The symbolic system used in writing a language.

Limitations

While Indian language programs are expanding rapidly, the speaking skills of the students exceed the level of development of curricular materials in their languages. The instructional material development cannot keep pace with the demand.

There are fourteen distinct dialects of the Sahaptin (Yakima) language within the Yakima tribe. The development of a curriculum, therefore, needed to be in one specific dialect. The Mamachat dialect was chosen since it was used as a trading dialect and was readily understandable to speakers of the other dialects. Speakers and teachers of the other dialects would need to become acquainted with the orthography of the Sahaptin language so that they might use the curriculum in their dialects.

Bilingual Teaching Methods and the Needs of American Indians

Bilingual education is concerned with bringing instruction using two languages into a setting whereby students will use and develop their dual linguistic competency naturally and interchangeably during the course of the day. Bilingual education is distinct from other language instruction such as teaching a second language, teaching English as a second language (ESL), or using a second language exclusively (Finocchiaro and Bonomo, 1973, pp. 70-79).

> The foreign language instructional technique was developed in the early sixties and largely used at institutions of higher education where it is assumed that the student has had prior knowledge of the language to be taught. Teaching English as a foreign language as well as English as a second language are related in that they have as their goal competency development of the target language with strong emphasis in the basic language skills. (Finocchiaro and Bonomo, 1973, p. 73)

The social and cultural variables of the language to be learned represent a marginal emphasis and are rarely included in the second language program or curriculum. In the case of English as a second language, purely linguistic acquisition is of concern where students are drilled on using contrastive analysis of sound systems of the two languages and are made aware of the distinct patterns.

On the other hand, the content of the bilingual learning experience is not restricted to the acquisition of the basic language skills—i.e., reading,

writing and speaking but should extend to the development of other skills such as arithmetic, history, science, and other cultural variables associated with the two languages.

Bilingual instruction implies that the students are participating in a bilingual setting outside the classroom. The educational process, then, should take into account the natural setting of the children—fostering growth and maturation of the students' total cognitive development. Rather than disturbing the cognitive process with abrupt transition to a second language, the approach focuses on smoothly developing both lan guages (Finocchiaro and Bonomo, 1973, pp. 89-103).

The educational needs of Indian students in Washington are great. Language specialists are only now offering for the first time viable programs to Indian boys and girls. The majority of teachers are White, even in those communities with significant populations of American Indians. These teachers must rely heavily upon commercially developed multiethnic curriculum materials, which often reflect little knowledge of the quality or relevance of such materials for American Indians. The only bilingual materials available to teachers of Indian students in Washington State are Indian language materials developed through individual tribal efforts. The result is that there are few bilingual Indian curriculum resources in use in the public schools. Few materials have been developed that can appropriately help Indian language specialists provide a sequential learning format for Grades K-12 in any one of the major Indian dialects.

Without the basics in cultural materials, or the ethnic staff members to understand their culture and provide educational models, the Indian students' progress in school is slow. Their dropout rates far exceed those of their White peers. The consequences of this pattern for Indians are underemployment, lack of education, and an alienation born of frustration with a system that persists in ignoring their different needs and their resistance to being swallowed up in the White mainstream.

The Indian child's lack of proficiency in English can find its source, in part, in the use of the Indian language in the home. Elders in the tribe were forced to speak their native tongue only in secret—or at least away from public view—for so many years that younger parents, attempting to "abide by the law," tried to keep the language from young children. The result was often a form of broken, mixed dialect Indian language Today on the reservation, some entire families speak only a form of mixed dialect and broken English. This is the speech pattern many of the young children use when they enter school.

The cultural implications of oral language development do not stop with speech itself. There are other profound cultural implications that accompany the language habits of Indian youth. These include respect for the ages of the speaker and the listener, attitude toward showmanship (i.e., ability to capture and hold the attention of one's listening audience by adding sounds or actions if necessary to get a point across), pride, modesty,

etc In essence, a lack of awareness of Indian cultural traits on the part of educators has caused Indian student verbal and nonverbal communication patterns to be labeled negatively in public school classrooms.

Since oral communication is still considered a prime criterion for measuring the potential worth of a scholar at any age level, it can be seen that the present lack of Indian language development programs plays a complex and devastating role in the failure of Indian school age children.

A common error to be corrected is the perception of Native American language dominance as a handicap It is an asset that children bring to formal education, having learned valuable oral language skills from their families before entering school. This asset is the strength of the children which schools should accommodate by using these languages as the medium of instruction.

Bilingual Bicultural Education for Yakima Indians

Ethnic diversity has remained visible despite the assimilation process. The values and behavior of many Indians are heavily influenced by their ethnicity Ethnic identification is also increased by the discrimination experienced by many because of their Indian characteristics, language, and culture.

The psychological cost of assimilation is high. It demands self-denial, self hatred. and rejection of family ties. Social demands for conformity that have such exaggerated effects are neither democratic nor humane (Brouillet, 1975; National Council for the Social Studies, 1976, Cohen, 1978) So that Yakima Indian students might better understand that there is strength in diversity, and that social cooperation among ethnic groups is not necessarily predicated upon their having identical beliefs, behaviors, and values, the researcher is attempting to develop Indian bilingual bicultural curriculum materials and programs.

The objective is that both languages will eventually be spoken, read, and written by the student to a more or less coordinate degree of proficiency Bilingual bicultural education programs will provide ample opportunity for Indian children to learn to use their knowledge in making sense out of the situation they may encounter.

Previously. the Indian language has been a totally oral language and has been taught as an oral language. In the public schools the learning style of the Indian child has changed, thus necessitating the development of another language teaching method and materials.

Methods and Procedures

Some curriculum materials have already been developed for first, second, and third grades. Therefore, the grade level of the students for which the researcher visualized using these new materials was fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

Much of the material developed was field tested through classroom use by the researcher and various Indian language specialists. The researcher found that the material was easily adapted to any grade level by omitting or adding words, depending upon the age, ability, and speaking level of the children or adults being taught. Adults being taught the Indian language have found the visual aid materials as useful as the children did in their initial acquisition of the language.

The structure of the lessons was the most difficult area to develop. In translating sentence structures a word for word translation method could not be used. Stress marks needed to be correctly placed so that the phonetic sounds were properly produced, ensuring the correct dialect meaning. One misplaced or omitted word or letter could change the meaning of a sentence or the tense of the word. Editing precautions were followed by the researcher to ensure the correctness of the word and its meaning in accordance with the directions given by the language speaking elders. Another source used for clarification of word spelling and meanings was the *Yakima Language Practical Dictionary* (Martin, 1975).

Considering the age group and principle of retention, the researcher included some repetition of phrases from previous curriculum projects as a reinforcing review and then expanded with a more complex structure. Interviews were held with language students about their interests, while Indian language specialists provided a list of kinds of materials they would like developed for a more comprehensive and effective language program. Material developed was given to various language specialists for use on condition that they share the ways they used the material if they were different from the suggested use implied by the researcher.

The researcher volunteered to teach a language class in various school districts so that she might present the material and improve the method of presentation. This provided the researcher with an opportunity to measure the adaptability of the material and the relevance of the content by actually being involved with several school districts. It further provided the researcher with immediate personal feedback through contact with the students being served. Another method of research was to actively participate in and observe local school districts' curriculum teams. The local school districts are in the process of redefining their goals and updating the curriculum in such areas as language arts, social studies, geography, mathematics, etc.

College professors reviewed the material and interviewed the researcher. Many questions were asked about the intention of the researcher and the way the material was to be used. Many of these reviewers provided helpful information and useful suggestions based on their knowledge of the classroom and learning styles of children.

In developing the lessons the researcher felt the need to make the learning experience fun. Since all children enjoy coloring as an activity, an illustrator was asked to provide illustrations for the lessons.

In keeping with Indian tradition, the researcher prefaced the curriculum with two stories because lessons were generally taught through legends or stories. One of the stories is based upon an actual experience of the gentleman writing about memories of his youthful days during huckleberry picking time. The other is a combination of a vivid, wild imagination and actual occurrences. Both stories contain moral lessons based on Indian cultural values and provide the students with examples of family life and responsibilities expected of each family member today as well as yesterday

Development of Vocabulary Workbook: Two Examples

Yakima Farming. The Yakimas are noted for having many horses, and when research began on presenting lessons on animal *colors* it led to using horses as models. A natural sequence then was to expand into the area of how people use horses today. During discussion it was found most horses are associated with farms or farming in the region. This association of horses with farms brought about the farming workbook as a natural sequence to the horse booklet. The sentences cover the very basic structures and a basic vocabulary of the Mamachat dialect. The phrases consist of dialogues giving the students an opportunity to practice the new lesson

A Walk with Grandfather. During a discussion about things people do with their grandfathers, one of the Indian children mentioned walking through the field with his grandfather. A non-Indian child asked, "Were you going war dancing?" The Indian child refused to enter into the class discussion after being asked about war dancing. For the next visit the researcher had a book called *Our Grandfather,* with photographs of Indian men and children fishing, picking wild flowers, bowling, etc The discussion about the pictures was lively and all the students took an active part in it It seemed like a minor project, but to the child who was turned off by another child's stereotyping, it could and did improve his sense of self worth.

A Walk With Grandfather, then, was an attempt to explain to all children that grandfathers, no matter what nationality, enjoy spending time with their grandchildren.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Although Indian people share a common bond, they have distinct languages. Therefore curriculum development of Indian language materials has begun to emerge locally. This requires local tribe people who are knowledgeable about their language, customs, and heritage, who are dedicated to Indian education, and who possess the capability and willingness to develop Indian bilingual materials. To date, Indian people have accomplished a great deal in the area of curriculum development; however, without assistance, their desire to become involved with the education of their children will not be fulfilled.

The Indian people feel an urgency to put their language into writing before they lose all their elders and thus their knowledge of their inheri tance. They are attempting to use the accepted teaching methods of the public system, while assuring the relevance of Indian culture and language in an acceptable format to the Indian community through continued evaluations and revisions of materials being developed (Platero, 1977).

Every child has the right to take pride in his or her heritage and all children have a right to understand and respect each other in their multi cultural society We should recognize the development and importance of all languages as a means of instruction and learning, as well as the cultural dynamics conveyed by these languages.

The Indian language is the basis upon which the Indian culture revolves. "Culture is the totality of Indian creations expressed in dynamic form through the life and history of their people" (Seelye, 1976). These expressions include the goals, actions, feelings, attitudes, customs, and values of the Indian people. The development of the Indian language, as well as English, should be recognized by educators as a means of instruc tion and learning for the Indian child. A student's development of the feeling of sensitivity and depth of human understanding, the ability to relate favorably to one's fellow man, regardless of race or nationality, and the acknowledgment and appreciation of the heritage and contributions of all citizens of this country are based upon the successes of the educators.

In sum, the needs of Indian students in today's schools are great. The researcher has attempted to develop Indian language curricular materials for implementation by local school districts' Indian language specialists, in an effort to tackle the great underlying problem of maintaining and pro jecting the Indian culture and language into all areas of the public schools' curriculum.

Notes

1. The researcher, through participating in bilingual conferences, attended dis cussions involving issues on Vietnamese, Chinese, and Spanish as languages and the methods used in teaching. Many discussions revolved around the com plexity of teaching the languages because of the large number of dialects within each language group.

   Through attendance at workshops involving teaching English as a second language and observing the teaching techniques being demonstrated, the researcher was able to pick up information useful in the development of the language curricula material. Previewing of material already developed and in various stages of development at these workshops provided the researcher with valuable insights as to areas to avoid and areas to expand.

2. The writer wishes to express her appreciation for the contribution of knowl edge provided by the elders of the Yakima Tribe so that Indian children might benefit from their knowledge of Indian heritage, culture, and language, to Rosalie Bassett and Lena L. Owens who shared their teaching materials, methods, and experience of teaching the Indian language with the researche., and to Dr. Anis Quidwai, Sister Elizabeth Simkins, Sister Kathleen Ross, and Mrs. Mary Schlick for their guidance, support, and encouragement.

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III
Interaction of Linguistic Codes

Chapter 9

Phonologic Variations of Pima English

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For several years studies of academic performance among the children of the Gila River Indian Community have demonstrated the need for an oral language development program. According to statewide scores, Pima children rank among the lowest in reading and language-oriented activities. Poor performance persists despite efforts to remedy the situation.

Several facts were reported to account for the generally depressed skills of these children:

1. Conflicts between the language patterns used at home and those used at school
2. Cultural orientation of the home vs. school
3. Teaching styles vs. learning patterns of Pima children
4. A lag in oral language development.

Any one of these items may have contributed to academic underachievement. In this case their collective effect has been devastating.

In order to devise a comprehensive educational program in oral language, Title VII Project SOLD (Steps to Oral Language Development, 1975) was designed to identify and assess specific expressive abilities of Pima children. Two test instruments were used to measure language dominance and proficiency among 372 Pima children in Grades K through 4. the Basic Inventory of Natural Language (BINL), a test of elicited language, and the Gloria and David Test, an imitative task. Both tests revealed morphological and phonological patterns believed to result from Pima language influence.

The testing was conducted only in English; therefore language dominance was not determined. However, the findings classified the majority of these children as limited English speakers. Perhaps it is best stated that Pima children acquire the nonstandard form of English used in their homes and accepted in their community.

During the past decade researchers have studied the developmental course of bidialectal and bilingual variation in children's language. Findings have indicated that phonologic and syntactic changes occur as children shift from the dialectal characteristics of their linguistic community to those characteristics which approximate standard English (Stewart, 1964, Labov, 1970, Bountress, 1977). Still there is a question as to whether these changes interfere with or facilitate language performance.

Pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, and functional use have been identified by Burt and Dulay (1978) as the language aspects most commonly assessed by language proficiency tests. Although Project SOLD examined these elements in a general sense, the specific differences between academic English and Pima English have not been addressed.

An easily distinguished feature of Pima English is its sound system. This system seems to resemble the Pima sound system, though the specific similarities have never been documented. The purpose of this investigation

is to study the effect of Pima phonology upon the English pronunciation of children in the Gila River Indian Community.[2]

Method

Subjects. One hundred sixty Pima Indian children ranging in age from 5.5 to 13.0 years were chosen to participate in this study. All were enrolled in the Sacaton Public School system, located on the Gila River Indian Reservation in Arizona. A mean of twenty three students was selected from each of Grades K through 6. Half of the subjects were female. Eighty eight percent of the students recorded English as their first language (Tables 1 and 2).

Subjects were selected on the basis of at least average academic performance as measured by the California Achievement Test for Grades 2 6 and verified by classroom teachers for Grades K 6 (Table 3). None of the subjects were receiving supportive instruction from reading, speech and language, or learning disability programs.

The speech patterns of twenty Pima Indian adults were also observed and used as a reference point (Appendices A and B).

Procedure. A standard sample of speech was collected from each participant. The sample was designed to test English speech sound production in varying contexts. The Goldman Fristoe Test of Articulation, sound in

Table 1
First Language Inventory A

	Pima	*English*	*English and Pima*	*No Response*
Elementary Subjects	5%	92%	2%	1%
Middle School Subjects	7%	75%	8%	10%
Adult Subjects	45%	35%	20%	—

Table 2
First Language Inventory B

	Pima	*English*	*English and Pima*	*No Response*
Student Subjects	6%	88%	4%	2%
Adult Subjects	45%	35%	20%	—

Table 3
California Achievement Test Data

Grade	*N*	*Chronological Age Data*	*California Total Battery Scores/ Grade*	*California Total Battery Scores/ Test Group*
2	18	Range: 7.9–8.3 $\bar{x}$ = 7.8	2.0	Range: 1.6–2.6 $\bar{x}$ = 2.1
3	26	Range: 7.10–11.7 $\bar{x}$ = 8.1	2.5	Range: 1.6–4.7 $\bar{x}$ = 2.5
4	22	Range: 9.5–11.4 $\bar{x}$ = 10.0	3.4	Range: 2.3–5.1 $\bar{x}$ = 3.6
5	32	Range: 9.7–11.1 $\bar{x}$ = 10.5	3.8	Range: 2.9–5.9 $\bar{x}$ = 5.6
6	24	Range: 10.7–13.0 $\bar{x}$ = 11.9	4.8	Range: 2.9–8.11 $\bar{x}$ = 5.6

words subtest, was administered along with the vowel segment of the Ari zona Articulation Profile. The constancy of these productions was then ob served on four levels: *imitative,* using word and sentence repetition; *elicited,* using action picture description; *spontaneous,* using responses to the examiner's cue "Tell me about Christmas"; and *reading,* using a phonemically balanced paragraph for Grades 3-6.[3]

Individual oral performances were audiotaped using a portable cassette tape recorder. Each recording was phonetically transcribed using the In ternational Phonetic Alphabet (Carrell and Tiffany, 1960; Perkins, 1971). Phonologic variations between Pima English and standard English were identified. The number of changes for each phonologic feature was com pared with the number of changes within chronological age groups. These results were then analyzed with respect to Pima phonology.

The examiner's reliability in calculating the phonological variations was determined by measuring percentage agreement with four other judges. Using the formula: Ag/Ag + Dg = %Ag, where Ag is the number of variations agreed upon and Dg is the number of variations disagreed upon, interobserver agreement was computed as 0.9.

Results

Specific differences between American English pronunciation and Pima English pronunciation were observed in each of seven age groups. Pima English pronunciations were found to be consistent at the imitative, elicited, spontaneous, and reading levels.[4] In view of this finding, it was hypothesized that there would be no significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies of Pima English pronunciation with respect to age. The expected frequencies of Pima English pronunciation across grades in Table 4 were based on the hypothesis of equal probability.

A chi square analysis of the data in Table 4 showed that there was a statistically significant difference at the five percent level ($P < .05$) between observed and expected percentages of school children using Pima English pronunciation. In other words the participating Pima children did not use the given Pima English pronunciation with the same frequency.

Children in Grade 4 showed the highest incidence of Pima English pronunciation followed by children in Grade 6. Grades 5 and Kindergarten clustered at about the same frequency levels and were followed respectively by Grades 3 and 1. Second graders used Pima English pronunciation the least. Twenty three and one tenth percent fewer children used the accent in the second grade than in the fourth (Table 4).

Examination of individual chi square scores for each of the forty seven test items revealed that seven computations showed no statistically significant difference with respect to age. That is, items 3, 5, 9, 15, 20, 28, and 33, found in Table 4, represent phonological features used in all grades. Comparison of these features with the Pima phonological schemata[5] revealed that they are used in spoken Pima.

Discussion

This investigation was designed to explore the phonological aspects of Pima English spoken by school children in Grades K-6. The study questioned (1) whether Pima children have a consistent way of pronouncing their words that differs from American English pronunciation and (2) whether the phonological pattern used by the children is indeed influenced by the Pima language.

The data were first analyzed with respect to the frequency of the Pima English accent. Based upon the information found in Table 1, it appeared that the younger the child the less likely her or his parents were to be fluent in Pima. It then followed that the older children should have a more pronounced accent, since more of them came from homes in which Pima was spoken.

The results showed that children in the upper grades had a stronger accent than those in the lower grades with the exception of kindergarten

Table 4

The Significance of Frequency Differences of Observed and Expected Percentages of School Children Using Pima English Pronunciation

Pronunciation	*Observed*							*Expected*
Grade	*K*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	
'haʷs	71	53	33	60	77	83	77	65
'tɛˈ lɛˈ foʷːn	75	56	28	60	69	89	77	65
'kˈaᵊ	83	75	73	95	81	89	91	84
'gvn	50	9	6	50	77	61	64	45
'wɛn doʷ	33	28	33	50	42	33	41	37
'wɛˈ gɛn	75	40	44	40	35	44	14	42
'wIˈoʷ	71	50	50	95	54	78	68	67
'sIs sr	50	28	22	60	50	22	41	39
'dˈΛᵏ	83	72	78	60	92	83	82	79
'jɛːl loʷ	46	38	56	35	46	50	23	42
'mʰaːˈtʃ ɛz	50	28	56	20	42	83	82	52
'laːmp	50	31	39	45	58	61	77	52
'ʃɛ vɛoʷ	63	38	67	85	88	89	82	73
'pΛʷːn sIl	79	38	33	10	12	6	23	29
'ræ bˈɛˈ	71	69	83	90	85	89	77	81
'fæ dr	79	59	61	75	42	61	64	63
'fɛʃ Iŋ	17	28	83	30	54	61	55	47
'dIs/dˈæˈ	54	22	6	40	42	33	23	31
'kɛr It	46	16	22	30	50	22	27	30
'bæ tΛb	63	50	67	75	69	61	73	65
'bæ t	58	28	11	10	23	22	9	23
'fiŋ gr	50	31	33	40	62	44	50	44

(continued)

children. Kindergarten children also were found to have a high incidence of Pima English pronunciation. These children on the whole did not come from homes where Pima was the primary language. However, because they were kindergarteners they had had the least exposure to speech sound patterns other than those used at home. These children had simply acquired the accent of their parents with no accompanying Pima language base.

Second graders were found to have the least pronounced accent of all children observed. Like kindergarteners, these children were reported to have had little exposure to the Pima language. But through school they have had more exposure to American English, and therefore have had more time to develop their language skills. Though these children continue to use a dialectal form of English, their American English accent is closer to standard form.

Pronunciation	Observed							Expected
Grade	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	
'riŋ	50	34	56	90	77	83	86	68
'ʤ am piŋ	46	19	39	40	50	22	45	37
'ɪdʌ m	75	72	39	60	96	83	91	74
pI 'ʤa mIs	46	19	33	10	12	33	50	29
'pleʳn	20	19	28	20	50	61	41	34
'bluˌ	71	69	67	75	85	78	100	78
'braːʃ	54	47	44	60	50	83	68	58
'draːm	46	34	6	10	42	11	18	24
'ʧæʳ	46	47	56	85	81	94	86	71
'sliːp iŋ	63	41	72	70	85	89	82	60
'b'ɛd	88	81	78	85	92	94	91	87
'stɑf	33	31	17	40	46	50	18	34
's'up	58	56	28	60	50	83	50	55
'b'vʰ	88	81	39	55	88	78	95	75
'hos	67	78	22	70	69	67	95	67
'laʳː ɛn	58	53	28	25	81	33	41	46
'p'Iʳ	75	72	39	60	85	89	95	74
'k'eʰ	79	63	28	55	77	83	86	67
'k'æʳ	71	69	44	65	81	56	91	68
'kl'ak	75	69	39	65	96	61	91	71
'b'ʤʰ	75	72	39	60	96	83	91	74
'd')ʳ	79	78	50	60	85	78	86	74
'paʳː	71	31	44	60	77	67	73	60
'k)ʳ	75	53	50	55	88	78	91	70
'hars	38	38	22	25	88	39	5	35

$x^2 = 1617.0$ $P < .05$

It is necessary to remember that this study was not longitudinal It was only a representation of the speech being used by these children at one point in time. Whether or not constant exposure to academic English will lead to the progressive deterioration of local English speech patterns is yet to be determined. But exposure to academic English along with the declining use of the native language in the home seem to account for the differences in accent presently occurring between the older and younger children.

The data were also analyzed with respect to the influence of Pima language sounds on spoken English. Comparisons between American and Pima English phonologies showed differences in both vowel and consonant productions. The results showed that Pima English pronunciation reflected a carry-over effect from Pima.

Vowels. Each vowel sound requires a different lingual placement. A diagram illustrating these placements was used to compare American English, Pima English, and the Pima vowel systems (Figure 1).

High front vowels /i/ and /I/ were found in Pima, American English, and Pima English pronunciations. In the Pima language examples include *ki*, meaning house, and *gidal*, meaning *guitar*. Some shifting occurred between American English and Pima English pronunciations. High front vowel /i/ in the word *feeling* /'fil Iŋ (American English) became high front /I/, pronounced "filling" /'fIl Iŋ/ in Pima English. If a blend occurred before /i/ (e.g., *sleeping, drinking* etc.) the vowel in Pima English did not shift but was prolonged (e.g., /'sli:p Iŋ/).

In single syllable consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) words like *pig* /pIg/, the vowel did not change in Pima English but a glottal stop /ˀ/ was employed before the vowel (e.g., /p'Iˀ/). This was true of all CVC combinations (e.g., *cake* /kek/ became /k'eˀ/, *cat* became /k'æˀ/, etc.)

The glottal stop inherent in Pima English is a functionally significant feature of articulation in the Pima language. It characteristically occurs

Figure 1

Tongue Placement	*Front*		*Mid*		*Back*	
	Pima	*English*	*Pima*	*English*	*Pima*	*English*
High	i	k<u>i</u> beat			u	mu:la f<u>oo</u>d
	ɪ	g<u>i</u>dal b<u>i</u>t			ʊ	huk f<u>oo</u>t
Mid	e	n<u>a</u>me	ɝ	b<u>ir</u>d	o	<u>o</u>mit
	ɛ	b<u>e</u>t	ə	hammer		
			ɔ	<u>a</u>bout	)	'obi w<u>a</u>lk
			ʌ	b<u>u</u>tt		
Low	æ	b<u>a</u>t			ɒ	w<u>a</u>tch
	a	g<u>o</u>d			a	mad f<u>a</u>ther

Pima vowel diagram based upon words found in *'o'odham ni'oki Ha kaidag c ha'icu ce g..da.* Native American Language Education Project, Sells, Arizona, 1976.

English diagram based upon configuration in W. Perkins, *Speech Pathology, an Applied Behavioral Science.* St. Louis: The C V. Mosby Company, 1971.

before initial vowels and before vowels in CVC combinations in Pima. In other words the Pima language uses the glottal stop as a distinct speech sound. This attribute has been retained in Pima English.

The word *except* illustrates this point. American English employs a glottal stop before the initial vowel /I/ in *except* /ˈɪk sɛpt/. When a Pima English speaker says the word, he or she uses a second glottal stop adding the CVC feature used in the Pima Language /ˈˀɪk sˀɛP/. Though the glottal stop occurs in American English, it is not significant.

Finally, in multisyllabic words (e.g., *rabbit* /ˈ ræ bɪt/, *window* /ˈwɪn doʷ/) the /I/ vowel shifts to /ɛ/ in Pima English (e.g., /ˈræ bˀɛtˀ/, /ˈwɛn doʷ/).

Midfront vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ were not identified in the Pima language, but they were used in Pima English. Although the midfront vowel /e/ does not change in single syllable words, in CV combinations (e.g., *day* /de:/, *play* /ple./) the vowel /e/ takes on a partial /I/ quality. The resulting dipthong /eᴵ/ is used (e.g., /deᴵ/, /pleᴵ/). This form is not prolonged like its comparable American English form /ple:/.

In multisyllabic words (e.g., *telephone* /ˈtɛl ə foʷn/), /ɛ/ takes on an /I/ quality (e.g., /ˈtɛˡl ɛˡ foʷn/).

The low front vowels /æ/ and /a/ were not noted in the Pima language. In Pima English two vowel shifts were noted for the vowel /æ/ in multi syllabic words. The /æ/ in *matches* /ɪm æt ʃ ɛz/ became /a/ (/ɪmˀa.t ʃ ɛs/) while /æ/ in *wagon* /ˈw æg ən/ became the dipthong /eᴵ/ (ˈweˡg ɛn/).

The mid vowels /ɝ, ɚ, ʌ, ə/ were not identified in the Pima language. The forms appeared to be used similarly in both American and Pima English. The CVC rule applied with stressed /ɝ/ in the single syllable word *bird* /bˀɝd/. The vowels /ə/ and /ʌ/ shift. The /ə/ in *wagon* /ˈw æg ən/ became /ɛ/ (/ˈweˡg ɛn/) while /ə/ in *telephone* /ˈtɛl ə foʷn/ became /tɛˡl ɛˡ foʷ:n/. The /ʌ/ in *brush* /ˈbrʌʃ/ and *jumping* /ˈdʒʌmp ɪŋ/ became /ˈbra. ʃ/ and /ˈdʒamp ɪŋ/.

The production of *mu.la* meaning *mule* illustrated the use of the high back vowel /u/ in Pima. The Pima English form of the American English word (e.g., *blue* /ˈblu/, *soup* /ˈsup/) remained somewhat the same. Pima English used lip rounding /ˈblu̥/, /, /ˈsˀu̥ˀ/ and abruptly ended the vowel sound. High back vowel /ʊ/ also used in Pima (e.g., *huk* meaning *wood*), again supported the CVC glottal stop rule. *Book* /ˈbʊk/ became /ˈbˀʊ̥ᵏ/ in Pima English.

Midback vowel /o/ was not found in Pima pronunciation. In American English the final /o/ sound in *window* /ˈwɪn doʷ/ is dipthongized /oʷ/. This occurred in Pima English, but lip rounding was employed as well /ˈwɛn do̥ʷ/. The mid vowel /ʌ/ was used in Pima (e.g., *ʾobi* meaning *Apache*). The American English form as in *dog* /ˈd)g/ and *walk* /ˈw)k/ use the CVC rule in Pima English /ˈdˀ)ᵍ/, /ˈwˀ)ᵏ/. On the other hand, the American English form /ʌ/ as in *horse*, became /a/ (/ˈharsʌ/) in Pima English.

Finally, low back vowel /ɒ/ as in American English (e.g., *watch*) was not identified in the Pima language. Pima English employed the glottal stop

/'wɔtl/. Low back vowel /al/ as in American English form *father*, did not shift in Pima English. It was found in Pima as well (e.g., *mad* meaning *baby*).

Consonants. Consonantal sounds result from movements of the speech mechanism which serve to release or arrest the flow of breath from the larynx to the lips (Heffner, 1969). The typical English consonant chart in no way speaks to all the physiologic adjustments needed for consonant production. However, it does address the placement and manner of articulation (Perkins, 1971). Figure 2 outlines the placement and manner of articulation for English and Pima consonants.[7]

Although several sounds are common to Pima and English, English sounds /d, f, r, w, z/ are not found in the Pima language. Many of the Pima consonants that are found in English have added qualities that distinguish the two pronunciations. As noted in Figure 2, several Pima sounds are preaspirated—they take on an /h/ quality. Examples are: /hp, hθ, hʃ, hk/. Preaspirated /t/ also has an unvoiced *th* quality /θ/. When the /t/ sound is produced in Pima, the oral mechanism assumes the posture for the interdental sound /θ/ but unvoiced /t/ is heard (e.g., *sa.mt* meaning *adobe brick*).

This behavior is noted also in the production of cognate /d/ as in the Pima word *dai* meaning *put down*. The mouth is positioned for the production of /θ/, but voiced /d/ is heard. Another sound written 'd̲' in Pima is actually pronounced as unvoiced /t/ in English (e.g., *mad* meaning *baby* and *hujud* meaning *lizard*).

The Pima /ʃ/ sound (e.g., *ʔeṣ* meaning *chin*) is produced with an /r/ quality. The speech mechanism assumes medial positioning for the production of associated /r/ vowel form /ɝ/. This positioning is held through the production of /ʃ/. The resulting *sh* is common to Slavic languages and in English most resembles the /ʃ/ in the word *should*.

The /l/ sound in Pima (e.g., *gidal* meaning *guitar*) also takes on an /r/ quality. The mouth is initially positioned for /r/, but the alveolar /l/ sound is produced instead—hence /rl/. This complex sound is common to several Asian languages.

The alveolar nasal sound /n/ used in Pima (e.g., *hu:ñ* meaning *corn*) is not used in English but common to Spanish (*pequeño*) and French (*agneau*).

All of the above consonant forms used in the Pima language are found also in Pima English. Many of the changes involve cognate reversals. Specific examples include the substitution of unvoiced /t/ for its voiced cognate /d/, and substitution of unvoiced /t/ for unvoiced /ð/ (e.g., *should* in English pronounced "shoult" in Pima English, *bath* in English pronounced "bat" in Pima English). Unvoiced fricative /s/ is substituted for its voiced cognate /z/ (e.g., *nose* /nos/ for /noz/). Voiced fricative /z/ is not found in the Pima language.

Figure 2

Manner of Articulation	*Place of Articulation*													
	Bilabial		*Labio-Dental*		*Dental*		*Alveolar*		*Palatal*		*Velar*		*Glottal*	
	P	*E*	*P*	*E*	*P*	*E*	*P*	*E*	*P*	*E*	*P*	*E*	*P*	*E*
Nasal	m mu la (mule)	m					n na:k (ear)	n			ŋ ta ŋgı (barrel)	ŋ		
							ɲ hu:ñ (corn)							
Plosive	ᵇp pukan (wheat)	p			ᵈtᵈ tamvol (drum)		t mad (baby)	t			ᵍk kı (house)	k	ʾ ʾa'an (feather)	ʾ
	b babad (frog)	b					dᵈ dai (put down)	d			g gidal (guitar)	g		
		hw		f	ᵈtᵈd	θ	s siwol (onion)	s	(r)ʃ ʾeʃ (chin)	ʃ		ɾ	h huk (lumber)	h
Fricative		w	v vo k (stomach)	v		ð		z		ʒ				
Affricate									ᵈtʃ cuçul (chicken)	tʃ				
									dʒ ju ki (rain)	dʒ				

P = Pima
E = English

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The Pima "d" sound used in the word *dai* replaced the /θ/ sound in the word *thumb* (e.g., /θʌm/ in English becomes /θdʌm/ in Pima English). Voiced /ð/, a sound not found in Pima, is compensated for in Pima English using the same /θd/ sound (e.g., /ˈˈd æˈ/ for *that* /ˈðæt/, /ˈfɛˈd ɚ/ for *feather* /ˈfɛðɚ/.

The substitution of unvoiced /f/ for its voiced cognate /v/ appears in words such as *stove* or *move* which become /ˈstof/ and /ˈmuf/ in Pima English.

The discrepancy between the /r/ and /l/ sounds in the Pima language probably accounts for the distortion of final /l/ in Pima English. The dip thong /oˑ/ is used instead (e.g., in the word *shovel* "oh" replaced "l" /ˈʃɛv oˑ/. The /r/ sound used in Pima English appears to be similar to the 'r' sound /ɾ/ used in Spanish. This sound was used during production of vowel like /ɚ/ (e.g., /ˈsisɾs/ versus /sIz ɚz/).

Conclusions

Although the Pima language is spoken in many homes, on the whole children of the Gila River Indian Community speak English as a first language. This finding is supported by Ramírez and Politzer (1975), who found that the use of a given language at home by the parents or others residing there does not necessarily imply that children also living in the home are proficient or dominant in that language.

Along similar lines, Padilla and Lindholm (1976) found that a child's command of the phonological system of the first language may be greater than his or her command of the second, but the child may have a larger active vocabulary in the second language than in the first. This observation applies directly to the Gila River Indian Community, where the children acquire the Pima sound system yet speak English as a primary language.

The additional finding that Pima children do not use Pima English pronunciation with the same frequency is supported by Burt and Dulay (1978). These authors state that phonologic variations occur within any language group. However, within a bilingual speaking community norms of pronunciation may differ for each language, and they may differ from those used by the monolingual speaker of either.

The roles these phonological differences play in the academic performance of Pima children remain to be seen, however, the present findings do suggest that teachers must have a sense of the systematic variations used by these children so that pronunciation differences are not confused with articulatory deficits. For similar reasons teachers must be aware of the lexical,

semantic, and morphosyntactic variations found in Pima English. Clearly more intensive investigation is needed across all language dimensions.

Knowledge of the basic features of the home language will allow educators and administrators to more clearly define the needs of Pima children. Accordingly, educational programs can be structured around the subtle nuances of the Pima dialect that may aid in abating the Pima child's perception of "academic" English as a foreign language.

Appendix A

Percentage of Pima Language Speakers Among 160 Pima Indian Children Ages 5.5 – 13.0

	Fluent Speakers	*Speak A Few Words of Pima*	*Do Not Speak Pima*	*Information Not Available*
Children who speak Pima	3	58	39	
Children who understand Pima	7	68	26	
Parents who speak Pima to their children at home	14	59	27	
Parents who speak Pima among themselves	46	35	21	
Maternal and paternal grandparents speak Pima	49	4	6	11
Maternal grandparents alone speak Pima	20	5	1	4
Paternal grandparents alone speak Pima	5	4	6	16

Appendix B

Percentage of Pima Language Speakers among 20 Pima Adults

	Fluent Speakers	*Speak a Few Words of Pima*	*Do Not Speak Pima*	*Information Not Available*
Adults who speak Pima	65	30	5	
Adults who understand Pima	65	35	0	
Adults who speak Pima to their children at home	25	40	35	
Adults who speak Pima among themselves	40	45	15	
Parents of said adults:				
Both mother and father speak Pima	60	0	5	
Mother alone speaks Pima	30	0	5	
Father alone speaks Pima				35

Notes

1. The writer views the term Standard English as representing a theoretical or pure linguistic form and academic English as the functional language used in textbooks. For the purpose of this study the terms American English and Pima English will be used.
2. The author gratefully acknowledges the efforts of those members of the Gila River Indian Community who gave so generously of their time throughout the various stages of this investigation. Special appreciation is extended to the Sacaton Public School teachers and administrative staff for their patience and support in the preparation of this study.
3. The standard speech sample used in this study was based upon a similar sample developed in 1975 by the E.M. Luse Center for Communication Disorders, Burlington, Vermont.
4. Because intrapupil productions were constant across subtests, statistical analysis was completed only on the results of the Goldman Fristoe Test of Articulation and the Arizona Articulation Profile.

5. The Pima alphabet and phonologic system were standardized by the Title VII Orthography Committee, Sacaton, Arizona, 1979.
6. A glottal stop is the simple closure and release of the edges of the vocal cords (Heffner, 1969).
7. Various features that may be attributed to a particular consonant do not necessarily remain constant for a range of phonetic contexts. Thus the consonant productions outlined below must be viewed in terms of the information present in vowel transitions (Liberman, 1967).

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Chapter 10

English Acquisition by Monolingual and Bilingual Pima Indian Children

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The bilingual and monolingual Pima Indian children in this study are not only ethnically comparable, but they are also economically, socially, culturally, and educationally comparable. They all live on the Salt River In dian Reservation near Phoenix, Arizona, which is the general area in which Pima Indians were residing when they were first discovered by Spanish ex plorers in the sixteenth century. Since that time they have been subjected to continuing Spanish influence, although that influence has been in part supplanted by English influence since the mid nineteenth century. English influence became pervasive and sustained only after the economic develop ment of the Phoenix-Scottsdale-Tempe area.

The Pima Indians tend to remain close to their reservation, leaving only for daily or weekly work, or short visits and attempts at life away from the reservation. Most such ventures end in a return to the reservation, thereby minimizing outside influence. Few Pimas have ever attended university, many do not finish secondary school, and most attend elemen tary school on the reservation or nearby. The Pimas are a community of high unemployment, with the men working as day laborers and farmers, and the women staying at home. They are an economically deprived group by federal standards, with their income falling to the level of about half what is considered poverty level income in the United States. As a group they lack the political power, social and cultural prestige, and the economic means to acquire luxuries and many of what normally are considered the necessities of life.

There is little information available on the linguistic situation of the Pimas, there are no reliable figures on the number of adult English or Pima monolinguals, the number of adult bilinguals, nor on the presence of third and fourth languages in the community. In the recent past official govern ment policy toward the Indian was one of active acculturation and English monolingualism, and it was therefore believed that information from parents concerning the bilingualism of the children tested might not be reliable. With no other information available, the classification of the children as monolinguals or bilinguals was made on the basis of whether they actively employed a language other than English. The children were questioned about the languages they spoke and when they used them. The degree of Pima usage varied considerably from child to child, where some children only used Pima with grandparents and others used Pima or other languages in a number of situations. As a result, only active bilinguals have been classified as bilinguals, although it is assumed that at least some monolinguals understood Pima and were in this sense passive bilinguals.

The research in this project is based on the premise that children in ternalize rules of grammar by listening to adult speech and generalizing from it, and that these rules are immeasurably aided in their formation by the human predisposition toward language and by the active ex perimentation of the children as they acquire language. Language

acquisition is seen as the early creation of a naive and tentative grammar consisting of the rules for producing meaningful speech, which the children constantly refine as they mature. They create, in effect, a series of grammars—each more sophisticated, complete, and sensitive to the nuances of the language than the preceding one. Presumably the internal grammars of any representative group of children at age ten, for example, would reflect more complexity and likeness to adult grammar than those of a representative group of children at age nine.

By taking children of various ages and testing them in age groups, one should find a progression in language acquisition that would reflect how children in general acquire a language. The Pima children, who were tested in English, ranged in age from eight to eleven, and when grouped according to age, it was assumed that the change in grammars from one group to another would represent the progress made in English language acquisition. When they were also grouped according to whether they were monolingual or bilingual, it was assumed that further differences in acquisition were due to whether English was their first or second language.

The children were given grammatical tasks of three kinds. In the syntax portion of the test they were asked to form simple constructions such as negative sentences, which used word arrangements and changes in word arrangements as a part of larger grammatical units. In the inflectional portion of the test the children were asked to produce suitable endings for nonsense words in context to indicate plurals, possessives, tenses, and comparatives. In a brief test of derivational endings the children were asked to supply endings to words that would produce derivative forms indicating agent, abode, diminutives, and quality.

With the exception of the syntax test on embedding, all grammatical tasks were devised to produce as little ambiguity in evaluation as possible. The results cannot be considered a statement of a child's competence, but only of performance on that particular day. It does not in fact appear possible to test competence, and while it may be a good explanation for those occasions when performance falls below predicted performance, or even surpasses it, it is more likely that competence is synonymous with average performance.

Fifty suburban Washington, D.C. children were given the same tests in an effort to establish what the norms might be for language acquisition. In assessing the test results it was found that Pima children showed a generally poorer performance on the individual grammatical tasks presented them than did suburban children of the same age. Of ten tasks in syntax, Pima children and suburban children were roughly equal in performance only in negation. In the test of interrogative constructions, Pima children of eleven reached the level of suburban children of ten. In the remaining tests for syntax, the Pima children fell from two to three years behind the suburban children. Included in these tests were the choice and

production of reflexive forms, verb particle permutation, imperatives, tag questions, and passive constructions. In conjoining, the performance of Pima children of eleven was no higher than that of suburban children of nine or ten. In many cases suburban children had a sizeable lead on Pima children by age eight, indicating that the stage of presumably equal beginnings would have to be pushed back to preschool years.

A comparison of performance between the two groups with regard to inflections produced even wider gaps. Suburban children appeared to have mastered the inflectional endings for which they were tested—except for the comparative and superlative endings on adjectives—by the age of eight or shortly thereafter. The same cannot be said generally of Pima children. For example, only 37 percent of the Pima children at age eleven used an inflectional ending to show the possessive. This figure compares with 95 per cent of the suburban children. Again, only 37 percent of the eleven year old Pima children added *-ing* to verb bases when required, but suburban children reached 100 percent performance with *-ing* at age nine. The findings for derivations were much the same. Thus a comparison of the performance of Pima children with that of suburban children shows Pima children to be behind generally in acquiring morphology. While the lag is sometimes no more than one year, more often it is two or three years. If data were available in those cases where Pima children fall considerably behind suburban children at age eight, it might be possible to show that they were four or more years behind them in selected categories.

The preceding has been a brief review of English language acquisition by both monolingual and bilingual Pima children as compared to suburban children. When Pima children who are monolingual in English are compared with Pima bilinguals, some interesting facts also emerge. One is struck immediately with the fact that while there are differences between Pima bilinguals and monolinguals, they are in fact closer to each other in their performance than either group is to suburban children of the same age. It is also noteworthy that what may be characterized as slight differences between the two groups of Pima children at eight years of age become considerable differences by age eleven. While at age eight bilinguals and monolinguals tended to be nearly equal in every syntax task except construction of the passive, at age eleven monolinguals surpassed bilinguals. In three of eight tasks bilinguals were slightly ahead at eight years in spite of the fact that the language of the home may have been Pima more often than not, with English confined to the playground and the classroom. In the remaining tasks monolinguals slightly surpassed bilinguals or equaled their performance, with one exception. This was in sentence embedding. Pima bilinguals of eight were far behind monolinguals in embedding skill, but by age nine bilinguals had not only caught up with monolinguals but had also surpassed them. Perhaps embedding is learned later than the other grammatical operations tested, and bilinguals had not had as much opportunity at eight to acquire this skill.

Both monolinguals and bilinguals have certain phonetic peculiarities of speech, which may belong exclusively to this community and result from linguistic interference from Pima. For example, there is a strong tendency to neutralize voicing in final stops, including those in inflectional endings In a verb like *play*, which forms its preterite with /d/, the stop may actually be produced as /t/, that is, a voiceless alveolar stop occurs instead of the anticipated voiced alveolar stop. Similarly the final voiced velar stop /g/ and the voiceless alveolar stop /k/ occur indifferently as one or the other, but most probably as the voiceless variety. The nasal alveolar /n/ and the nasal velar /ŋ/ are also neutralized in final position, producing such nonstandard verb forms as *singin'*, a situation found in many nonstandard dialects of American English. At least some consonants are susceptible to change in intervocalic position as well as final position, although this may be limited to indecision regarding the voiced bilabial stop /b/ and the voiced labio dental fricative /v/. Generalizations regarding these two sounds must be made with caution, however, because of the considerable presence of the Spanish language throughout this area, and because at least some New Mexico and Arizona speakers of Spanish employ the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ in their dialect of Spanish in spite of the disbelief of scholars who have not personally witnessed this phenomenon. The use of the voiced labio-dental fricative in Spanish should probably be termed ultracorrection due to English influence. It is interesting that what may have begun as English influence on Spanish sounds returns to influence the English sound system in this community. The principal vowel difficulties are lack of discrimination between schwa /ə/ and the low central unrounded vowel /a/ on the one hand, and between the low front unrounded vowel /æ/ and the mid front unrounded vowel /e/. Not only are these vowel distinctions lacking in Spanish but they are also lacking in the Papago language, a close relative of Pima

Due to differences in the phonetic makeup of the English of Pima children, they speak an English dialect presumably distinct from all other English dialects, standard or nonstandard. This may be due to the fact that English influence came late, and that many Pimas did not begin to learn English until the twentieth century. While English schools were established for Pimas in the late nineteenth century, it is uncertain how many students were actually enrolled, as Indian attendance at school always has been characterized by considerable absenteeism. Effective contact with English may have begun only in the recent past. Whether this English dialect with its phonetic variations is an intermediate step in the transition from Pima monolingualism, or whether there is already an established tradition of Pima English is not clear at this time. In the phonological makeup of this English dialect and in its neglect of inflectional endings there exists a linguistic condition resembling nonstandard English. While the study embraced children of eight to eleven, many of these characteristics were so widespread in their speech that it seems safe to assume that they occur in

adult speech as well. In the United States nonstandard English is characterized mainly by phonological, morphological, and lexical variation, its syntax being nearly standard. It does not seem, however, that this dialect belongs to the tradition of nonstandard English that is presumed to have existed on the North American continent since the earliest maritime explorations, for Pimas have a long history of Spanish contact but a relatively short history of English contact.

When the individual scores from each grammatical task are totaled for each child and they are plotted on a graph, the highest scores of the Pima children taken as a whole reach the mean scores of the White suburban children only at age ten. Before age ten the Pima scores are sharply below the mean scores of the suburban children, after age ten they again taper downward below the level reached at age ten, while suburban scores continue to mount slowly upward. From this we conclude that language acquisition in White suburban populations continues until about the age of puberty, but for not clearly understood or well-documented reasons, the same does not occur with Pima children. At about the same time that their acquisition of English appears to recede, there is a corresponding drop in academic achievement and an accompanying degradation in self image.

When the total scores of monolingual and bilingual Pimas are compared, the top scores at age eight are exactly even, although bilingual scores range lower Monolinguals at this age show a narrower range of variation in language acquisition than do bilinguals, and continue to do so at nine and ten From comparable levels at age eight, bilingual scores rise sharply by age nine, and at nine and ten the highest total scores of bilinguals far surpass their monolingual counterparts. This may foretell possibilities for superior intellection and achievement which some bilinguals manage. However, by age eleven bilinguals for the first time show a lower total score in language acquisition, while monolinguals' scores continue to rise. A possible explanation for this is that children begin to sense their identity in terms of their total environment about this time, and many studies have shown conclusively that Indian children who are English monolinguals are more likely to have better school achievement than those who are bilinguals or those who begin school as non English monolinguals. We tend to believe that the possibility for equal or even superior achievement is there, but that it is thwarted from fruition by outside factors having to do with the child's sense of well being, worth, and participating membership in the dominant culture. If this is indeed the case, no amount of linguistic expertise can right the situation, and the solution lies outside the realm of pure language and has to do with cultural, social, and economic conditions.

The evidence suggests that the knowledge of a first language—in this case Pima—does not in any way hamper the acquisition of a second language prior to the age of ten. It further appears that it does not abet it much, either Bilingualism seems to be a neutral linguistic factor. However,

from the age of ten onward, bilinguals begin to lag in their acquisition of the second language, and the lag increases with advancing age. Since the lag in second language acquisition is accompanied by a corresponding lag in academic achievement and individual social development, it is suggested that the reasons lie outside the realm of language.

By age ten the children begin to sense outside attitudes about their language, their community, and themselves. This in turn causes the children to view themselves in a certain manner. In the case of Pima children, the view is not flattering. This warping of spirit is reflected not only in their values and attitudes but also in their language, for while they can learn the language of the dominant culture they cannot participate fully in that culture. This produces what might be called nonviable bilingualism, and is most likely to occur in deprived and depressed communities of monolithic composition. Sometimes the language of the community is distinct from that of the larger surrounding community, at other times only the dialect is distinct.

We might expect, therefore, that some day the Pima language will fall into disuse and be replaced in the community by Pima English, but if the sociocultural and psychological circumstances are the same, there will be little community change. If one were to review those studies that conclude that bilingualism is an impediment, it is expected that they would deal largely with populations that are in some sense deprived. In cases where this expectation is not fulfilled, it might be possible to discover nonlinguistic attitudes not previously recognized as contributory.

The nonviable bilingual contrasts with those bilinguals whose bilingual condition is obviously viable. There are numerous communities where bilingualism is judged both an asset and a necessity, and studies of such communities show that bilingualism is a positive force in intellectual development. Rather than look for conclusive evidence either for or against bilingualism, it is more to the point to endeavor instead to pinpoint those community attitudes and forces that result in nonviable bilingualism in the individual. Bilingualism can then be recognized as a neutral linguistic condition, at both the individual and community levels, and attention can be focused on the external factors that create this favorable or unfavorable climate which in the past has so often been drawn around bilingualism.

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Chapter 11

The Educational Implications of American Indian English

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Cultural, historical, and linguistic preservation projects have recently become rather common on American Indian reservations in the United States and Canada. The hopeful intent of these programs is to retrieve, preserve, and revitalize Native cultures and languages for future generations of American Indians.

The author is most familiar with such projects from the Northwest Coast of North America. He has organized and participated in several educational linguistics projects, including one for the Salish speaking Clallam Indians on the Olympic Peninsula of Washington, and another with the Nootkan speaking Hesquiat Indians on the western shore of Van couver Island, British Columbia.[1]

Educational linguistic projects appear more frequently in socio-linguistic situations where the native language of the Indian people is becoming sociologically extinct. In educational situations the author has worked in, the Native language of the people was not used in the speech community. In the case of the Clallam people there were fewer than twelve native speakers, and in the Hesquiat situation there were fewer than twenty-five native speakers.

The first task of the linguist participating in a language and community project is to record whatever linguistic and ethnographic information is available. This type of salvage ethnography and linguistics is becoming more common in areas like the Northwest Coast, as in North America in general, where aboriginal cultures are dying. In many cases the Native culture and language will die with the last elders.

For the most part, an educational linguist working in this type of situation tries to make the best out of having too few data, too little time, and too little money. Educational linguists may forget that their com munity's Native language is either extinct or virtually so, and, for the most part, native forms of culture have also been lost.

Part of an educational linguistics project is to instill positive educational habits, and the focus of the educational programs is usually In dian language and culture. The common language used by the educational linguist and the Native people in the program is American English. As educational linguists have worked hard along with Native people to develop educational projects, the linguists have often forgotten to pay at tention to the American English used by the Native people, and to the educational implications of that social dialect in the formal education of American Indians.

This chapter raises the question, "What is American Indian English?" from a sociolinguistic and historical point of view. The recent studies of

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Chicano English, Puerto Rican English, and Black English, and the controversies over the use or disuse of Black English for teaching Black students, prompted the author to think about American Indian English from a similar sociolinguistic perspective. Analysis of Black English has shown that it is not simply a social dialect of standard American English, rather it carries with it a linguistic and social history which is quite distinctive in comparison with standard American English. The studies of the educational situation for Black English speaking children show that there is a cognitive boundary between speakers of Black English, and non Black English speakers. Additionally, cultural values and ideals from the speech community impinge on the formal educational process.

Educational projects on American Indian reservations use as the common code the standard American English of the educational linguist. It is not uncommon to find White teachers in reservation schools who do not know the social dialect of the community. Furthermore, the Indian students who are trained in universities and colleges may return to their homes to teach in the school, and may have replaced the phonological and syntactic features of American Indian English with a more standardized variety.

The kernel of the problem is this: American Indian children growing up on geographically isolated reservations learn the language of their speech community and its cultural attitudes toward formal education. The children carry this with them, of course, when they leave the reservation to attend predominantly White secondary schools, colleges, and universities. It is the author's assumption that there is a good deal of cultural and linguistic dissonance for the American Indian student entering a White educational system, and that a good deal of this dissonance stems from the conflict between standard American English and American Indian English.

These observations are based on the author's work with various groups on the Northwest Coast, and cannot and should not be generalized for American Indian English or for the educational interaction between Whites and Indians. However, the author suggests that educational linguists and teachers—both White and Indian, in White and Indian schools should be aware of the potential of American Indian English and culture as a significant variable in the education of American Indian students.

A case example worked out for a single American Indian community on the Northwest Coast is presented (see also Leap, 1973, 1974, 1977). The community is Neah Bay, on the northwestern tip of the Olympic Peninsula of Washington. Neah Bay is the only community of approximately 800 people on the Makah Indian Reservation. Makah is a Nootkan language.

The author has selected and researched the Makah and their linguistic ethnohistory principally for two reasons. The first is the geographic isolation of Neah Bay, which is thirty miles from the nearest White logging community of Forks, Washington, and approximately seventy five miles west of Port Angeles, Washington, the largest community on the northern

shore of the Olympic Peninsula. The geographic isolation of Neah Bay until the construction of highways in 1933 has perhaps kept out the main stream of non Indian culture and has been the boundary between the social dialects of Neah Bay and the surrounding White communities. The second reason for selecting Neah Bay is that the ethnohistory of the area is fairly well documented.

English is the dominant language spoken by Makahs in Neah Bay. There are two ways of viewing Neah Bay English. The first is to consider Neah Bay English (NBE) as a social dialect of standard American English (SAE), used in a small isolated Indian community. The linguistic features of NBE remain unknown since no linguist known to the author has conducted research with the Makah speakers of SAE. Furthermore, there has never been a community study of NBE in its cultural and social context. A second way of viewing NBE is linguistically more radical. This is to assume that NBE has creole origins which place linguistic constraints on the variability of NBE. The educational consequences of this position are as significant as those for Black English.

The first view of NBE as a social dialect that is significantly different from surrounding White social dialects is rather easy to investigate. Neah Bay English is likely to be characterized by systematic, rule governed variations that distinguish it from surrounding dialects.

The second view of NBE as a language with creole origins is a good deal more difficult to demonstrate. However, the sociolinguistic ethnohistory of Neah Bay seems ideal for the gradual emergence of Neah Bay pidgin followed by the development of Neah Bay creole.

New languages appear in one of two ways. (1) by gradual emergence from an ancestral language, or (2) in the context of cultural and linguistic collision. If one considers NBE to be a social dialect of SAE then one must assume that NBE developed from an earlier form of SAE. Historically, SAE is a recent addition to the linguistic inventory of the Olympic Peninsula. The gradual emergence model for new language formation does not conform to the historical data from Neah Bay. There are events in the history of Neah Bay that set the stage for pidgin and creole formation. The reader should keep in mind that the following sociolinguistic history is reconstructed from available documents and contains extrapolation into the sociolinguistics of Neah Bay. The author presents these data and assumptions as an ethnohistorical sociolinguistics model, which in terms of its structure and potentiality of social interaction may be applicable to other American Indian areas.

Pidgins are marginal languages characterized by three sociolinguistic criteria. First, discourse in pidgin languages is limited to particular areas of social interaction, e.g., seafaring, trade. Chinook Jargon is the pan Northwest Coast European trade pidgin, however, it is linguistically possible and reasonable to assume that the influence of European languages on the native Northwest Coast produced pidgins of local or regional distribution.

The location of Neah Bay at the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca is an ideal setting for contact with European trading vessels.

The second criterion is that a pidgin is never a first language. The establishment of White schools on the Olympic Peninsula in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a barometer of the rising political domination of Whites over the local Indian population. For example, schools were built in Neah Bay in the 1800s and 1900s and in reservation communities on the Olympic Peninsula as early as the 1850s.

This social and political situation sets the stage for the appearance of NBE as a creole language. A creole language develops from a pidgin language through grammatical and lexical development and expansion. Socially, pidgins and creoles are significantly different. Pidgins are never spoken as first languages whereas creoles are always first languages.

The sociolinguistic scene in Neah Bay was quite complicated. In the late 1800s and during the first half of the 1900s major sociocultural, economic changes were beginning to occur. White society was gradually becoming dominant, and Whites were gaining political control. This is illustrated clearly by the White school that taught English. Missionary schools were set up in a number of different Indian communities in the general area, and the teachers in these schools attempted to use both English and the local Native language. Bible translations into Native languages were not uncommon in these early times. However, if Native languages were used for classroom instruction, the Native language was apt to be greatly simplified by the instructor and the non Native speaking students. Most probably the instruction was given in a pidginized code.

As a footnote that illustrates the probability of this occurring, the author offers this anecdote. In the summer of 1978, he conducted a pilot summer project for the Hesquiat tribe at their native homeland on the west ern shore of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Accompanying him was a student of his from Columbia University's Department of Linguistics. This man was a bright student and well versed in field methods in linguistics, and had just completed a long master's thesis on Gullah creole. The author asked him to conduct language lessons each day for about fif teen Hesquiat children who were in the class. During vocabulary drills it became quite clear that not only were the children pidginizing Hesquiat, but also that the well trained linguistics student was simplifying the Hesquiat language regularly according to the rules of English phonology.

The early nineteenth-century languages in Neah Bay included Makah, English, and probably several other Nootkan and Salishan languages. The Salish speaking Clallam people were contiguous with the Makahs directly to the east. Frequent intermarriages occurred and political and economic relationships were common. In aboriginal times the ethnic composition of Neah Bay was not homogeneous. This suggests that a number of North west Coast Indian languages may have been present in addition to the Nootkan and Salishan languages already spoken in Neah Bay.

As White influence increased, the number of native speakers of Makah decreased. Children continued to learn English in school. A Bureau of Indian Affairs ruling prohibited the use of Native languages in reservation schools. However, the major impact of language learning may not have been in formal education but rather in peer groups and in extended family situations. Using the native Makah language in family circles was probably the conservative force keeping Makah vital in the speech community. The economic and political interaction between Makahs and Whites increased as the twentieth century progressed.

English maintained its dominant position in Neah Bay. Adult Makahs in increasing numbers were forced to learn English to gain access to the changing economy. This linguistic process of learning English by native Makah speakers produced Neah Bay Pidgin English. This probably occurred during the decades of the late 1800s, and intensified in the early 1900s.

A pidgin language is the product of language simplification. As Makah speakers learned English they simplified English phonology, grammar, and semantics. This yielded a language that has English and Nootkan linguistic features.

A pidgin does not necessarily become a creole. For example, Pidgin English and Pidgin French have retained themselves as pidgins in Vietnam. There are pidgins that have developed into creoles and continued to elaborate, e.g., a hypothetical Celtic Germanic pidgin that may have developed through a creole into English.

The key variable surrounding the linguistic change from a pidgin to a creole language is the intensity of intergroup contact. In effect, the social and psychological environments that surrounded pidgin formation are extended and exacerbated to the point where the pidgin replaces the group's native language. As the pidgin language was being learned by the group's children as their first language, the pidgin became a creole. The native sociocultural linguistic matrix had been eclipsed and NBE Creole emerged.

Describing the social and linguistic processes encompassing the transmission of pidgins and creoles across generational boundaries is difficult. In situations such as this there are no written records and little to no accurate information about the languages in use in the speech community. As the 1900s progressed the Neah Bay community became more open to outside cultural and linguistic influences. As a result of the influences from the surrounding dominant English speaking community, the Neah Bay Creole (NBC) that emerged perhaps sixty years earlier began to weaken in its creole base.

At this point, the post creole continuum began to form. The post creole continuum is a speech continuum that ranges from a conservative form of creole called the basilect, to a nonconservative speech type called

the acrolect, through a midrange speech level called the mesolect. As individuals in Neah Bay learned NBC they learned a sliding variety of lexical and grammatical forms. The use of these speech types was conditioned by their social context. For example, a Makah speaking with a White tourist switches into creole forms that are linguistically like SAE. On the other hand, when speaking with a fellow Makah a Makah can use forms that vary along the continuum from basilect to acrolect depending upon social situation, topic, and the like

It is the author's assumption that NBE today reflects the existence of a post-creole continuum. Children learning their native language in the community have access to the data of the continuum, and frame their grammars on these data. The result is that Makah children whose social world is limited to basilecta' speech may have a good deal of difficulty in schools where the teacher is not acquainted with the potential linguistic problem.

Even if NBE turns out not to be a creole language, there are still significant linguistic features of the Makah social dialect of SAE that have to be recognized, in addition to understanding the role of the language in the community.

There is a great need for research in the sociolinguistics of American Indian English and the effects of American Indian English on Indian education. On many reservations where the Native language remains a viable means of communication, the efforts of educational linguists to help teach and preserve the Native tongue are certainly productive. On the other hand, there are many situations where a speech community has totally lost contact with its ancestral language. In such situations, preserving any remaining aspects of Native culture and language is significant in terms of affecting a sense of history in Native American children. Moreover, educational linguists may spend their time productively by investigating the community's viable linguistic life, in addition to attempting to salvage what remains of the extinct Native language and culture (see Powell, 1973)

Notes

1 The educational aspects of the Clallam and Hesquiat research were spin offs of basic research in linguistics and ethnography. The Clallam research was supported by Washington State University and the Clallam Indians, Lower Elwha Band, Port Angeles, Washington. The Hesquiat research was supported by an American Philosophical Society grant, and by the British Columbia Provincial Museum, Division of Archaeology, which graciously provided office space, equipment, and transportation. The author extends his thanks and appreciation to Gay Boehm and James Haggarty for all of their cooperation and support. Hesquiat linguistic and ethnographic research is currently being pursued under a research grant from Washington State University Research and Arts Committee

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Chapter 12

Semilingualism as a Form of Linguistic Proficiency

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Analysis has shown that many English varieties characteristically found in American Indian and Alaska Native speech communities contain phonological and grammatical rules that in no way replicate the conventions of standard or vernacular English. In some surprising ways, however, the rules appear to parallel the grammatical detail of the ancestral Indian language of the speaker's home community (Leap, 1977a, Leap, 1980; Nelson Barber, this volume). This language specific grammatical uniqueness means that there are as many different forms of Indian English as there are different Indian languages and language traditions. Indian English speakers acknowledge this fact frequently—as, for example, when they identify a person's tribal affiliation merely by calling attention to some specific features in the person's spoken English.

This tribally focused distribution of Indian English fluency in the United States carries with it some additional implications. The underlying Indian language basis of each code's grammar lets Indian English function, in each instance, as the one variety in the tribe's verbal repertoire that is appropriate for use in conversations with outsiders. The fact that Indian English speakers may be forming sentences in such instances according to one set of grammatical rules, while the persons from outside the tribe are interpreting those sentences using a second set of grammatical rules, helps explain why neither party seems fully able to communicate to the other participants the justness of their position, as is so often the case in political negotiations, dispute settlements, or discussions about land claims and water rights.

There is evidence that Indian English codes have been used in such a secondary and supportive fashion since the turn of this century (Dubois, 1977, Hutchinson, 1977, Leap, forthcoming). Increasingly, however, Indian English has now become the first language and may remain the only language acquired by its speakers, particularly among the younger members of the reservation community. In this way, questions about Indian English come to dovetail with a second, equally important issue. Indian educational equity.

That a wide range of educational problems and barriers must be overcome if the Indian student's schooling experiences are to be successful has been well established in the literature (Fuchs and Havinghurst, 1972, American Indian Policy Review Commission, 1977, Education Commission of the States, 1980). All too often, these problems and barriers have

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been traced to the skills of Indian students themselves. Usually, the fact that such students do not possess adequately developed spoken or written English skills is emphasized. "Adequacy" in such instances is usually measured against the expectations of school personnel and the curriculum at each grade level. These measurements are always defined in terms of standard language criteria, and are highly appropriate for students who come from standard language speaking backgrounds. Such measurements may not always be applicable in Indian education. As the comments of school authorities and Indian parents continually make clear, the relationship between students' English skills and their classroom performance remains an issue of great concern throughout Indian America (see, for example, the testimony presented before the U.S. House Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education during its Oversight Hearings on Indian Education, 1977). In recent years, Indian interest in bilingual education and Indian language arts maintenance and revival programs have intensified, and many tribes have called for changes in school related services in the areas of ancestral language and culture. Yet no tribe, to the author's knowledge, has let its concerns with Indian language retention outrank its concerns with the development of students' English language skills. the significance of English language skills in Indian education cannot be ignored.

Such observations are hardly restricted to the Indian education experience. The growing awareness of the basic skills crisis facing *all* school children in the United States has given new impetus to questions about English language attainment and the most appropriate ways to ensure that students develop full mastery of English language skills. Instances where such mastery has not been evident are viewed with alarm. Federal, state, and local funds have been set aside specifically to respond to those needs.

A number of reasons, ranging from students' poor self image to lack of motivation, the crippling effects of the community's poverty, and the interference of home language backgrounds, have been suggested to explain why the basic skills crisis continues. Recently, the professional literature has introduced another possible explanation for this situation. Some scholars have begun to discuss a type of "faulty linguistic competence" that can be observed in individuals who, since their childhood, "have had contact with two languages without sufficient or adequate training or stimulation in either of them" (Loman, cited in Paulston, 1975, p. 389). The term for this condition is *semilingualism.* As used by two of the Scandinavian scholars who have done much to popularize the concept in Europe, semilingualism describes a situation where "a migrant child does not have proper command of the language of the host country but has no proficiency in his mother tongue, either" (Toukomaa and Skutnabb Kangas, 1976, p. 2). Another scholar states the matter more precisely. semilingualism involves a less than native like competence in both the

speaker's languages. This means, as an American scholar has written: "[B]y knowing two languages poorly, the children know no language well and this condition has negative emotional, psychological, cognitive, linguistic, and scholastic consequences" for these children (Paulston, 1975, p. 390).

These are the very conditions that bilingual education and other remediation programs are trying to avoid. The author views this as the reason why several nationally prominent U.S. schools have begun to make an association between semilingualism and the language needs of students from language minority backgrounds. Semilingualism, once recognized, offers a powerful argument in favor of increasing the language remediation efforts of each local school. If students are classified as semilingual, the school is the only local institution capable of bringing about the necessary remediation.

The author cannot speak to the relevance of this concept where the English language needs of many of the nation's ethnic minorities are concerned. He is concerned in this essay only with its relevance to the language needs of this nation's American Indian students. Semilingualism alludes to a particular kind of language proficiency—one where the speakers exhibit an incomplete or partial control over the grammars of the languages they know. It is difficult to draw conclusions on this matter from the discussions of Indian student English skills provided in much of the literature. As the author has noted in previous discussions (Leap, 1977b), the grammatical conventions of standard English have been used as the frame of reference through which most of the examples have been presented. Much is learned from such studies about the details that are *absent* from the surface structure of Indian student English, but very little is learned about the grammatical processes that *are* being used to form such constructions in the first place.

The author's own research and that of his students and associates have operated in terms of a different set of procedures. Instead of attempting to typologize Indian English in terms of its "subtractions" and "deletions" from standard English, these researchers take the surface structures of Indian English sentences at face value, assume that the structures are well formed, and then set out to determine the rules and rule patternings that are governing the formation of those constructions. In most cases, it has proved especially productive to begin the analysis in extremis, wondering whether (or, more properly put, to what extent) constraints from the speaker's Indian language tradition might be the sole source governing that formation.

Quite frequently, constructions of that sort can be found. The pairing of the verb forms in sentences 1 through 3 that follow can be explained as a byproduct of a tense/aspect rule commonly used in the formation of sentences in the speakers' ancestral language.

1. The little girl *run* up to me and she *said*. . . .
2. Him and his boys *come* over and *asked* if they are going.
3. She *get* after us that we *were* going to turn into snake.

The rule in question allows the speaker to mark, through verb reference and verb surface form, the difference between actions that continue over time and actions that occur only in specific, limited, or bounded spatio-temporal positions. These latter, distributive references are marked in the surface structure of the Indian language through the use of an uninflected verb form (more accurately, verb base combined with suffix); the more punctual-like references, on the other hand, are indicated through the selection of the tense/aspect suffix that best identifies the specific point in space and time in which the action is constrained.

It is clear that the speaker knows how to inflect English verbs for past tense. The analysis might explain why the speaker did not use that knowledge when forming the first verb in each sentence, but did apply that knowledge when forming the second verb. The parallel to the Indian language based semantic contrast and to the marking conventions that express the contrast in Indian language sentences explains this seeming discrepancy. The parallel also predicts when, in future such sentences, the speaker will and will not generate uninflected verb forms of this variety. Viewed in terms of a standard English perspective, however, both the prediction and the logic that underlie it are obscured by the simplistic observation that the speaker has failed to use the past tense suffix appropriately.

Sentence-level paraphrastic verb constructions in this Indian English variety can also be profitably analyzed in terms of the corresponding Indian language perspective. Standard English grammar requires the presence of the participial suffix on the main verb in sentences like 4 through 6:

4. I *have weave* two belts this week.
5. He *is* still *recognize* as the clan leader.
6. The pueblo, it *have change* a lot since I was a child.

Yet noting the absence of the requisite suffix in these sentences explains nothing under these circumstances. The real issue is why the main verbs remain uninflected given that the speaker can use "proper" verb inflections under other circumstances. A phonologically based explanation could be posited for the form in sentence 5—e.g., the underlying -N on the main verb is "deleted" because of some contextual influence. N deletion would predict a surface level **have wove* as the verb form in sentence 4. Clearly, phonological conditioning is not the primary process at stake in these constructions.

Testing for the presence here of Indian language grammatical conventions will yield a more productive analysis. However, to do so requires

that the difference between the verb semology of standard English and the Indian language of these speakers' home community be made clear first. Verb reference in standard English allows the amount of time occupied by an action to be indicated through surface structure. The speakers' Indian language, on the other hand, allows for a two-dimensional representation to be given an event, for duration in space as well as in time can be expressed through the tense/aspect marking conventions. Frequently this is accomplished through the use of two verbal elements within a verbal complex, each making its own contribution to the overall tense/aspect specification. Though just as often, the suffix selected to occur on the single verb base can provide sufficient information on this question.

Combinations of these principles are also possible. The verb forms in sentences 1 through 3 illustrate one of the many possibilities that arise out of these options in Indian English. Two different space time correlations are at issue, and thus two different space time references are marked through the verb forms. Sentences 4 through 6 illustrate another of these options, this time with the main verb denoting actions that recur sporadically (are distributed) through space and time, while the auxiliary verb indicates the portion of the more general temporal continuum within which the actions of interest to the present discussion occur. Hence sentence 4—whose meaning shows that the speaker, over some specified but now completed period of linear time, was intermittently involved in belt weaving Sentences 5 and 6 yield to a corresponding analysis. Note that, by this analysis, the specifically tribal focus on the English surface structure is affirmed The tribal specificity of the reference and the syntactic complexity that its expression requires are both overlooked by the linguist or educator who classifies such constructions as instances of suffix deletion or faulty tense marking.

The preceding sentences have looked at only one of the ways in which the tense/aspect conventions of an Indian language may become incorporated into the sentence formation process of the corresponding Indian English variety. Other components of an Indian language grammar may similarly appear in Indian English sentence constructions, as sentences 7 through 9 show:

7. No, he can has his rights in the corn.

8. Can you be able to do it?

9. This I know: They did used to hold them.

Standard English analysis would account for these constructions in one of several ways. More traditional perspectives would view sentences 7 through 9 as instances of Aux-copying without first copy deletion. More recent perspectives (Emonds, 1977, for example) would derive part of the construction from the underlying verb node, and part from the underlying and independent AUX. Both approaches would, however, analyze sen

tences like 7 through 9 as exceptions to the more frequently encountered, standard language tense/aspect reference marking.

When such sentences are viewed in terms of the corresponding Indian language grammar, there is no need to appeal either to special cases or to tense/aspect properties. The Indian language grammar in question here can easily be used to govern the formation of these constructio. provided the presence of two underlying sentences is postulated in each case. Then, following grammatical conventions commonly used throughout the entire language family, the verb and object NP of the subordinated clause become "raised" into the object NP position within the main clause. Admittedly, the result—the sequence *has his rights in the corn* functions as the direct object of the surface verb *can*—is an atypical English structure. Yet the Indian language based analysis accounts for the regularities in these sentences without the use of ad hoc conventions, rule exceptions, or other attributes that overly reify the deviation of such constructions from standard English models.

An analysis of sentences 7 through 9 in Indian language terms also allows the relationship between those sentences and sentence 10 to be clearly demonstrated. Sentence 10 would be explained here as a byproduct of the compounding of two underlying sentences, not the subordination of one sentence to another:

10. The war captain can and have the authority to send people away.

And here, as in sentences 7 through 9, treating the verb constructions as a special case of English tense/aspect marking would yield a quite misleading picture of what Indian English speakers from this community know about these sentences and what rules they employ in forming them.

A recent study of the impact of Indian English on student reading and writing skills (Wolfram et al., 1979) presents an opportunity to look more closely into the clausal subordination process in second Indian English variety. Forms such as those in sentences 11 through 14 can be handled, as before, in terms of several sets of claims about English grammar, provided certain low level rules are introduced at strategic points in the derivation to ensure that the surface level details actually conform to the theory of the derivation.

11. Don't talk about those things is not nice.
12. They have never taken the championship until last year was the first year they took championship.
13. Tell whoever is in charge to watch the children how they treat this man.
14. They ride bikes is what I see them do.

It proves more productive, however, to analyze these sentences as byproducts of an underlying main clause subordinate clause structure

(Leap, 1980). Doing so in this case, however, requires that the concepts of main and subordinate clause be reversed from the sense usually associated with English grammar. For in the grammar of the Indian language spoken in this community, the main clause is the *most* embedded clause in the sentence structure, correspondingly, the main clause becomes the most modified clause during the raising or embedding process. Indian language sentence formation in this community is left-branching, not right branching as in English, and this brings further aspects of contrast to the analysis. In this instance, and perhaps more clearly than in any other of the examples discussed in this chapter, it is apparent how sharply an Indian English speaker's knowledge of sentence formation and sentence interpretation can differ from that of a speaker of standard English under comparable conditions.

The educational implications of such differences should be clear, especially when the Indian English speaker is a student in a standard English oriented classroom. Part of the analysis undertaken in Wolfram et al. (1979) focused on the relationship between Indian English grammatical proficiency and student performance on certain classroom related tasks. It was found, for example, that the Indian English speaking students' levels of reading comprehension correlated most closely with their level of success in decoding grammatical relationships within the sentences in the text. That is, the greater the evidenced difficulty in deciphering syntactic cues, the greater the difficulty in retelling both the sequence and the content of the overall narrative.

Such findings are hardly surprising, in the context of the present analysis. If the Indian English speaking students bring their knowledge of the Indian English syntactic process to the reading of a standard English text, the grammatical relationships within the narrative will be interpreted in terms quite different from those that governed the formation of the sentences to begin with. Accordingly, reading comprehension under such circumstances will be adversely affected.

The preceding examples have been offered to illustrate the need for reference to Indian language grammatical perspectives whenever the grammatical skills of Indian English speakers are being described. The author does not want to imply that Indian English grammars are made up of exclusively Indian language grammatical rules. Several studies have shown that the grammars of these codes may best be characterized as syntheses of language traditions, since Indian language—pan lectal, post creolized, regional, and areal nonstandard and standard English rules may all be involved in the derivation of any Indian English sentence (Leap, 1974 and 1977). But the observation only emphasizes the concern that initially motivated the discussion given in the preceding section. Attempts to analyze the grammars of any Indian English code dare not begin with anything more than the most basic of grammatical assumptions. The variety of rules employed by speakers of these languages and the com

bination of rule properties that they need for sentence formation remain to be discovered in each instance, these rules and combinations are not facts conveniently to be assumed before the analysis.

The same argument would apply when any attempt is made to assess the grammatical skills of Indian English speakers. The assessment process must be designed to discover speakers' areas of strength and weakness, not to presuppose them. Much can be learned about Indian English speakers' grammatical skills when their sentences are subjected to detailed linguistic scrutiny. Assessments of language ability that do not take such direct evidence of language skill into account can hardly be viewed as acceptable substitutes for such procedures.

Here lies the difficulty with any attempt to describe the English of American Indian students as something of a semilingual phenomenon. Semilingualism is not a concept that has grown out of the careful description of the strengths and weaknesses of the students' verbal skills. The conditions Loman refers to as a "faulty linguistic competence," Toukomaa and Skutnabb Kangas term "an improper command of the language of the host country," and Paulston sees emerging when speakers "know two languages poorly . . . (and) no language well," are *not* conditions that have been identified through direct observation or direct analysis of speakers' verbal skills. Samples of the children's speech, oral reading, or writing ability have not been used as the basis for drawing these conclusions. Instead, in every instance where semilingualism has been "discovered," the judgment has been based exclusively on the students' performance on standardized tests of language and cognition.

> On the Finnish picture vocabulary tests . . . , the Olofström children, with no instruction in Finnish, had the lowest scores, whereas the children in the Gothenburg experimental Finnish classes had the highest scores. Both of the third grade groups instructed in Swedish, in Olofström and Gothenburg, performed at a level lower than 90 percent of Finnish children in Finland. However, the experimental class did not approach the average score of Finnish children, either. This shows that their Finnish was poor already when they entered school. . . . The performance in Finnish of all the other children, except the Gothenburg experimental children, was so poor that one suspects that these children do not know enough Finnish either to maintain their own Finnish language culture [sic] in Sweden or to be able to go back to Finland and to go to school there. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, pp. 7-10)

That the test scores of Finnish speaking children in Sweden are lower than the test scores of the Finnish children in Finland cannot be disputed from the tables that accompany this quotation. Yet low test scores—contrary to Skutnabb-Kangas's impressions—do not prove that the children do not know Finnish or Swedish as well as monolingual children. Picture vocabulary tests do not allow us to determine whether a student's Finnish was or was not "poor" when he or she entered school (regardless of the

meaning to be assigned to the term). Such tests are only indirect measures of student verbal skills. And as such, the evidence they provide cannot be used to determine whether these children will, or will not, be able main tain their Finnish "language culture" in Sweden or Finland. Such considerations hinge on the students' abilities to form and interpret sentence level constructions. The strength of those abilities is determined through direct assessment and direct analysis, not through the use of picture vocabulary tests.

The language arts needs of Indian students present unresolved and serious issues in Indian education. This doesn't mean that the present argument calls for more and better research at the expense of more and bet ter policy development and program implementation. The issue is very sim ple. If we are to attempt to diagnose the language needs of American In dian students, we must construct that diagnosis in the light of the language skills the students actually possess. Data discussed in this paper demon strate that those skills can be classified if the language assessment process focuses on student verbal performance and on the cues to verbal skills which that performance contains. According to such an analysis, Indian English sentences are well formed constructions. The fact that the gram mar that forms them is not a close approximation of standard English grammar does not alter this observation.

Semilingualism, on the other hand, makes its judgments about student verbal proficiency and offers its recommendations about language policy and remediation strategy totally without regard for the verbal skills the students actually possess. Careful assessment of students' verbal skills do not attest to the conditions of "faulty linguistic competence" and "in complete control over grammars" predicted by proponents of this theory. There is no syntactic evidence to support the observation that Indian English speakers "know two languages poorly . . . [and therefore] know no language well." And syntactic skill, let us recall, lies at the very heart of the mechanisms that enable sentences to be formed and interpreted in the first place.

To put the matter directly, Semilingualism underestimates the verbal skills and verbal attainments of Indian English speaking students. For this reason, the concept has no place in Indian language education.

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