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ABSTRACT

This volume includes papers delivered at the Ninth Annual International Native American Language Issues (NALI) Institute. Dick Littlebear's keynote address describes the importance of maintaining Native American languages. James Crawford's "Language Freedom and Restriction: A Historical Approach to the Official Language Controversy," describes the "English Only" movement's threat to Native languages and documents tolerance of language freedom in U.S. history. "The Dene Standardization Project," by Elizabeth Biscaye and Mary Pepper, and "The Stoney Indian Language Project," by John W. Friesen and others, describe Native Canadian efforts to put native languages into standard written formats and teach them to children. "Written Ute English: Texture, Construction, and Point of View," by William Leap, and "Narrative Literacy Patterns of Northern Ute Adolescent Students," by Sonia Manuel-Dupont, describe Native Americans' English dialects and suggest better English-teaching methods. Jon Reyhner's "A Description of the Rock Point Community School Bilingual Education Program" discusses the use of Navajo and English as languages of instruction. Rangi Nicholson's "Maori Total Immersion Courses for Adults in Aetearoa/New Zealand: A Personal Perspective" describes an effort to restore the Maoris' native language. Barbara J. Walker's "A Reading Strategies Program for Native American Students," and "Cooperative Approaches to Language Learning," by Lois A. Hirst and Christy Slavik, describe teaching strategies in reading. David M. Davison's "An Ethnomathematics Approach to Teaching Language Minority Students" describes how language awareness helps Native Americans learn mathematics. NALI is described in a final chapter. (TES)

Effective Language Education Practices and Native Language Survival

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Native American Language Issues (NALI) Institute

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Introduction

The contributors to *Effective Language Education Practices and Native Language Survival* reflect the strong support ancestral languages have among Native people today. Dick Littlebear's Keynote Address describes the importance of Native languages to Native Americans and the effort that needs to be made to maintain them. James Crawford describes the major threat to Native languages embodied in the "English Only" movement and documents how historically the United States has allowed language freedom.

In chapters three and four, Canadian educators describe efforts by Canadian natives to put their languages into standard written formats and to use Native languages with their children. In chapters five and six, William Leap and Sonia Manuel-Dupont describe English dialects spoken and written by Indian students and how teachers can help students master standard spoken and written English.

Chapter seven contains a description of a model bilingual program utilizing Navajo, as well as English, as a language of instruction throughout the elementary and high school years in a tribally controlled community school at Rock Point on the Navajo Nation in the United States. In chapter eight, Rangi Nicholson tells about his experiences with adult immersion language nests for restoring the Maori language to the first inhabitants of *Aotearoa*/New Zealand.

In chapters nine and ten, professors at Eastern Montana College and Northern Michigan University describe ways to help Native American students read better while in chapter eleven, David Davison describes how knowledge of language differences can help Native Americans learn mathematics better and easier.

The chapters in this book contain descriptions of only a few of the many promising Native language programs going on today in New Zealand, Canada, the United States, and other countries. Dick Littlebear in his Keynote Address mentions others. The New Zealand and Hawaiian immersion language nests for pre-school children are a particularly promising avenue to restoration and maintenance of Native languages. More of these promising programs will be described at the Tenth Annual International Native Language Issues Conference to be held in Oklahoma in 1990.

It is hoped that this book in a small way will add to the growing support for a multilingual, multicultural World where Native languages are respected, encouraged, and taught.

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KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Effective Language Education Practices and Native Language Survival

Dick Littlebear

It is difficult for our Native American languages and cultures to survive and it will get more difficult. One of the reasons for this increasing difficulty for Native language groups is that we are in the midst of a cultural transition which has demeaned our languages and cultures. However, remember that our cultures have proven their ability to survive and adapt over the past thousands of years when they have undergone other cultural transitions. Let us not allow this present cultural transition to be any different. The problem is that others have defined for us how to cope with this transition and their efforts have only minimally succeeded.

This means we must devise our own strategies to counter the negative effects of cultural transition. Especially since this cultural transition is being complicated by alien organizational systems, by high technology, by alcohol, by drugs, by ambiguous values, by exploding populations, by erosion of language and culture, and by a shrinking world which brings new demands that impact daily the remotest villages and reservations. Because of these complications, this transition is forcing us to realign our cultures to fit the present educational, economic, political, and social circumstances in which we native minority language people find ourselves. However, I believe we can use the white man's education, as we Cheyennes refer to it, to our advantage.

By manipulating the white man's education we can shape our cultures to our liking to fit our needs. After all, it is the white man's education and the way it was perpetrated on us that we have objected to; we have never objected to learning itself. Manipulating the white man's education is a challenge. Let's not be discouraged. But above all, let us not say we do not want the white man's education. Though it was imposed on us insensitively, let's make it our own by giving it our own unique cultural input and making it relevant to our situations. Our languages and cultures will have a better chance of surviving if we have the same academic knowledge as the dominant society.

I am optimistic that we can do this with a more manipulative attitude toward the white man's education so that we can have the final word in what shape our cultures assume. Developing this attitude has not been and will not be easy. Getting educated in the white man's way has been difficult, especially for Native Americans, for a variety of reasons. One of them is the lack of positive acknowledgement of our cultures and languages.

Native American students have the highest dropout rates when measured by any criteria. These dropout rates are rapidly becoming a Native American academic tradition. It is a tradition that is being forced on us; it is a tradition with no cultural basis. What causes this dropout rate? In Alaska about sixty percent of urban Alaskan natives drop out of high school, partly because of the stress of changing social and cultural factors (Native, 1989). Part of the cause is the "stress of changing social and cultural factors," the cultural transition I have referred to.

Because this stress is present, I speculate that something definitely is wrong with the way we are being educated. What is wrong is that we language minority Americans have seldom been asked to participate positively in the education of our own children. This brings us back to our conference theme, *Effective Language Education Practices and Native Language Survival*. It contains two ideas, effective practices and language survival, which, when acted upon positively, can help lower the dropout rates of our native language

minority students, increase their achievement levels, enhance individual and cultural self-esteem, and aid in the acquisition of English.

Willig (1985) in her research on bilingual education found that students who participated in bilingual programs consistently got higher English language test scores in reading, language skills, mathematics and total achievement. It is clear that educational methods incorporating the cultural and linguistic knowledge of students are the most effective methods for preparing them to compete in the mainstream of society.

What are effective language education practices? The most effective are those which have been in use for thousands of years; those done by the family. If we are serious about preserving our languages and cultures, we must start using our languages daily and everywhere. We must talk to our children in our own languages and share with them the positive sides of our past and contemporary cultures.

If they are to survive, we must return the learning and teaching of our languages and our cultures to where they rightfully belong -- in the families. The parents and elders represent the most effective language learning and teaching practices that we can utilize to ensure the survival of our languages and cultures. We must re-instill the value of our languages and cultures in the family unit and not just hope the schools will do it for us.

Schools have limited resources and opportunities to do what the family and the tribe can and must do; after all, they have done it for thousands of years. For instance, a Title VII Bilingual Grant, with its funding based on three year increments, cannot turn back the language loss that has been going on for hundreds of years and which has intensified during this century. Schools can only reinforce the language and cultural learning that goes on at home.

However, if we are going to turn over to the schools our responsibilities for teaching our languages and cultures then we must help the schools in a positive way. We must help identify the most effective language practices. Parents must encourage and support the schools in their efforts. That is the

price for abdicating a role that has belonged to families for thousands of years.

We have to identify and learn to use effective language practices so that we can learn both our native languages and English. Admittedly learning native languages and English are difficult demands. They are made even more difficult if we do not know how to speak our own languages, if we do not teach our children how to speak our own native languages, if we speak only survival level English, and if we do not know how our languages work linguistically. We must also be able to apply all of this learning in the classrooms and in our homes.

What we need are more native teachers, administrators, and better informed school boards whose agendas are education and students. We must encourage our native people to become linguists. We must look to the examples of the Maoris of New Zealand and their preschool language nests. We must look to using strategies like the summer language camps on the Rocky Boy's and Wind River reservations. We must look to using methods such as Total Physical Response and High Intensive Language Training teaching techniques as is being done on the Blackfeet and Flathead reservations or use the Japanese models for after school and weekend language classes.

We must prepare ourselves to sustain generations-long, tribal-wide efforts if we hope to restore our languages and maintain them at conversational usage levels, presuming that is what we want to do. We must capture and apply the knowledge about our languages and cultures so that they can survive the onslaughts of today's media, schools, religions, and misguided tirades from the "English-only" movement.

Furthermore, the graduates of the year 2000 are already in the first grade this year and they will be college graduates in 2004. If we are to educate our future leaders of the 21st Century to value our languages and cultures, we must start educating them now about our languages and cultures. If we want our students to reap the advantages of the dominant society while still retaining our cherished cultural values, we must start educating them now about these values.

We are going to need leaders with a vision that includes our languages and cultures, leaders who can articulate that vision to our people, leaders who can transform that vision to our people, leaders who can transfer that vision into constructive action for the greater educational, economic, political, and social advantage for our people. More concisely, we are going to need leaders who match and exceed the time-tested qualities of past leaders of our tribes and villages.

Native minority language people are just as eager to have their children succeed as any middle class family, but they have seldom had much say in how success comes about. It is time we were listened to when it comes to educating our own children. It is time the dominant society lets us help educate our children as we have done over the past thousands of years.

Let us make, for instance, bilingual education an option or an endorsement or at least an emphasis in the teacher education programs everywhere. This will partially acknowledge the profound fact that for many of the students in this country that there are other powerful, dynamic cultures still contributing to the development of minority language children.

It is time that multicultural courses be required of all college graduates and especially for those who are aspiring to be teachers. It is time that state education standards are made flexible so that we can use native minority language and cultural expertise without having to abide by state standards which seek to exclude this native expertise, which have minimally met our needs, which have failed to acknowledge in actual practice the existence of our cultures and languages, which have not increased our achievement levels or our graduation rates, and which have done little or nothing to eliminate the burgeoning dropout rates except to imply that we fail because we are language minority people -- a curious twist on blaming the victim.

It is time to insist on cultural relevance for those school systems which serve a majority of language minority students. I believe that including our languages and cultures on a positive basis in the school systems is one part of the answer.

I am not asking that standards be lowered merely to accommodate minority language people. I am sure that the same degree of rigor now in place could be applied to these flexible standards if they were ever to become realities. I am also sure that minority language people could meet and better any standards as long as they saw the relevance these standards have to their unique situations. I am saying that these flexible standards should be made relevant to local situations especially where there are language minority students involved.

All the forgoing would probably mean a wholesale revamping of state and provincial educational standards so that they are relevant to schools on an individual basis. This probably means that revamping will never occur. However, it would seem that countries should be able to devise flexible education standards. It would mean more involvement of Native people in state, provincial, and national political processes. That would mean an investment of personal time, but the return would be great since we could then help determine political agendas and representation.

If we are going to constructively deal with the misguided rhetoric of the ethnocentric "English-only" movement in this country, then native minority language people are just going to have to get involved in state and national politics so injustices are not perpetuated. Let's not use what I refer to as "cultural trauma" as an excuse to relinquish our citizenship rights in our state, province, or nation or our concern for appropriate educational systems.

For too long what happened to our people in the past centuries and what continues to happen today has left our cultures traumatized. Granted what happened to us in the last century was horrible. I do not want to minimize that. However, many of us tend to use those historical events to blame the dominant culture for everything that happens to us, even if those events are of our own making. I think we should use those past events as object lessons, learn from them and move on. Other contemporary cultures have experienced similar horrible treatment and have learned from it and moved on. So let us shake off the paralyzing effects of the cultural trauma

of the previous century and not perpetuate its effects. I believe we can do that. A culture's longevity is measured by its adaptability and by how much it can absorb and utilize positive aspects of alien cultures. I believe most fervently that our native cultures have these characteristics.

The white man's education is definitely one of these positive aspects when it is made relevant to our own situations as language minority people. I personally see no conflict in getting educated because I believe that it is the Cheyenne way to self-actualize, to be the best Cheyenne I can possibly be with what *Ma'heo'o* has granted me. I further believe that our chiefs from the past would have wanted us to get educated because they would have seen in an appropriate education the means of language and cultural survival. I have deep respect for our native ceremonies, our languages, and our cultures because they have meaningful and enduring qualities from which we can learn. They have had these qualities for thousands of years. I believe these qualities are what has been missing from the white man's educational systems. For that reason we should seek to perpetuate our cultures and languages.

It is time that we look to our own histories, not as they were taught to us in school, but as we know them through the stories of our parents and grandparents and there find the inspiration to take charge of our educational, economic, political, and social destinies. Our histories teem with appropriate examples.

For instance, in Cheyenne history there is an account of the tribe encountering a marshy area. Curious as to what was on the other side of the marsh, the tribe sent a group to explore. When they came back they told of flat dry land on the other side. They marked the way by sticking poles in the water. By following these poles the Cheyennes were able to cross the marsh and begin their transition to becoming a tribe of the Great Plains. By using the poles, the Cheyenne found a better place to live (Weist, 1977).

I see in this account a parallel for education among our own native people. Symbolically, the poles could represent

appropriate education to show us the way to better our lives and the lives of those who are going to follow us.

For all my talk of native languages, we must also learn the English language because it provides access to the dominant culture. If we do not have access we will not be able to determine our own educational, economic, political, and social agendas. For this reason, I see our native languages nurturing our spirits and hearts and the English language as sustenance for our bodies.

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Language Freedom and Restriction: A Historical Approach to the Official Language Controversy

James Crawford

Does the United States need an official language? In a recent national survey, nearly two-thirds of respondents assumed that English already enjoyed official recognition in the United States Constitution (Associated Press, 1987). On learning otherwise, many Americans respond: Why not? From 1981 to 1988, fourteen states recognized English through statutes or constitutional amendments, for a total of sixteen Official English states.[1]

Meanwhile, a movement is growing for an English Language Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Voters and legislators tend to view such declarations as symbolic and benign. They ask: Why not recognize in law the reality that English is our national language, which all Americans need to know -- and should know -- to prosper economically and to participate as full citizens of this country?

Perhaps a better question would be: If the United States has gotten by without an official tongue for two hundred

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[1]Nebraska and Illinois had already adopted such measures. A seventeenth state, Hawaii, is sometimes counted in the Official English column because of its 1978 constitutional amendment declaring English and Native Hawaiian as official languages. But this policy of official bilingualism is diametrically opposed to the "English Only" thrust of other Official English legislation. For example, Arizona's 1988 amendment reads in part: "This State and all political subdivisions of this State shall act in English and no other language" (Crawford, 1989).

years, why does it need one now? An English Language Amendment was first introduced by then-Senator S. I. Hayakawa. Never before had a national Official English declaration been proposed in any form (Marshall, 1986).[1] Was this an oversight? Or were there well-considered reasons for rejecting language legislation?

U.S. English, the lobby behind the Official English campaign, offers the following answer: "It is a shared language that has allowed us to rise above our differences and come together as citizens of one nation. ... In the past, we functioned quite well with a *laissez-faire* policy on language [because] ... there was no resistance to the notion that learning English was the price of immigration." Today, however, there is a growing threat to English as "our common bond," owing to an unprecedented "drive for public recognition of other languages." New programs like bilingual education encourage minorities to maintain their native tongues rather than to learn English. "All we have to do is look at our neighbor to the North to see the kind of conflicts language differences can engender." Therefore, English needs "legal protection" (U.S. English, 1987).

Because these assertions echo the mythology of the Melting Pot, as well as pervasive misconceptions about language, they often go unchallenged. But none is supported by the historical record. In fact, a history of U.S. language policy -- or lack of one -- both undercuts the rationale for Official English and provides cautionary lessons about proposals to restrict minority languages.

In interpreting that history, I would advance the following theses:

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[1]The only previous official-language measure considered by the U.S. Congress was a 1923 proposal to designate "American" as the national tongue. Sponsored by Rep. Washington J. McCormick, a Montana Republican, the bill was an open attack on literary Anglophiles. It died in committee, but a similar law was adopted by the state of Illinois, where sympathy for the Irish Revolution was strong among legislators (Mencken, 1985). Illinois dropped "American" in favor of English as its official language in 1969.

1. Contrary to myth, the United States has never been a basically monolingual country. While one out of eight U.S. residents reported a language background other than English in 1976, this diversity is nothing new (Ferguson & Heath, 1981). Some linguists believe that the United States has been the home of more bilinguals than any other nation in world history (Haugen, 1969). As early as 1664, when the colony of New Netherland was acquired by the British, eighteen different languages were spoken on Manhattan Island (Hansen, 1940), not counting Native American tongues which numbered more than 500 in North America at the time (Castellanos, 1983).

From their writings, we know that early leaders like Thomas Jefferson prided themselves on their ability to read several languages and urged educated citizens to study them as well (Heath, 1981). But bilingualism, and often trilingualism, seem to have been equally common at the other end of the social scale -- for example, among slaves and indentured servants, both black and white. Advertisements for runaways placed in mid-18th century newspapers made frequent reference to their proficiencies in German, French, Spanish, Irish and Dutch. Conversely, servants who were monolingual in English were so identified, as if that was something unusual or noteworthy (Read, 1937).

As far as numbers go, unfortunately there is less than optimal data on the languages spoken by Americans, then or now. But we do know that the German-speaking population was sizable at the time of the American Revolution, amounting to one-third to one-half of the white residents of Pennsylvania (Graeff, 1942). In the 1790 Census, German Americans comprised 9.6 per cent of the population in the original thirteen states (American Council of Learned Societies, 1931). By comparison, the U.S. Census Bureau (1987) estimates that Hispanics represent 7.9 per cent today.

And so, there was considerable language diversity in the United States even before the massive immigration that began after 1830 and the massive territorial expansion into lands populated by non-English-speakers -- Louisiana, Florida, the

Southwest, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.

2. For most of U.S. history, the dominant federal policy on language has been one of tolerance and accommodation. Despite the language diversity that existed in 1787, the Framers took no steps to protect or promote English in the U.S. Constitution. Because discussions were held in secret and we must rely on James Madison's informal notes, it is unclear whether language issues came up during the Federal Convention in Philadelphia (Farrand, 1913). But evidence strongly suggests that our early leaders regarded language laws of any kind as a threat to civil liberties. A few years previously, the Continental Congress had spurned a proposal by John Adams to establish an "American Academy for refining, improving, and ascertaining the English Language" (Adams, 1780). According to Shirley Brice Heath (1976), the consensus was that a democratic government had no business telling the people how to talk, that language choices should be left to the individual.

And so, the founders of this country made, in Heath's words, "a deliberate choice of a *policy not to have a policy*" on language (emphasis in original). That is, they chose to deal with language issues on an *ad hoc* basis. Often this meant accommodating non-English-speakers by publishing government documents in their languages, especially German and French (Kloss, 1977). It was not until 1906 that English-speaking ability became a requirement for naturalization as a U.S. citizen (Ueda, 1980).

This is not to say there was no concern about the persistence of ethnic enclaves. Benjamin Franklin became an outspoken critic of the Pennsylvania Germans, accusing them of resisting English and arrogantly preserving their own culture: "Why should the *Palatine Boors* be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together, establish their Language and Manners, to the Exclusion of ours? Why should *Pennsylvania*, founded by the *English*, become a Colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them?" (Read, 1937). Elsewhere Franklin (1753) warned that the colonial Assembly

would soon have to employ translators "to tell one half of our legislators what the other half say," and he objected to bilingual advertising and street signs in Philadelphia.

Fortunately, this intolerant view, which Franklin later regretted, was the exception among our early leaders. His fellow Pennsylvanian Benjamin Rush also hoped to assimilate the Germans, but favored a more democratic approach: bilingual higher education. A federally funded German College, Rush argued, would "open the eyes of the Germans to a sense of the importance and utility of the English language and become perhaps the **only possible means**, consistent with their liberty, of spreading a knowledge of the English language among them" (Heath, 1976; emphasis in original). It was clear to Rush that national unity could not be coerced. He recognized that the Germans would gradually learn English, on a voluntary basis, if provided sufficient opportunities to do so.

3. Recognition of minority language rights was reflected in bilingual and non-English-language schooling, which were commonplace in many localities until the World War I era. In 1710 British missionaries were invited to establish schools among the Iroquois Confederacy, with the stipulation that students had to be instructed in their native tongue. Parts of the Bible translated into the Mohawk language were among the texts used. In 1802, Congress initiated a yearly appropriation ($15,000) to promote "civilization among the aborigines." This money went to missionary schools, many of which appear to have been bilingual. Again religious conversion was the overriding goal of these schools at this point -- not cultural assimilation -- and so missionaries were willing to use the most effective medium of instruction -- native languages (Macias, 1984).

An 1824 treaty with the Cherokee nation specified: "It is further agreed by the United States to pay $1,000 toward the purchase of a Printing Press and Types to aid towards the Cherokees in the progress of education and to benefit and enlighten them as people *in their own language*" (Leibowitz, 1971; emphasis added). This enabled the tribe to publish the

first newspaper in a Native American language, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, using Sequoyah's syllabary.

The treaty was soon abrogated by the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which led to the infamous Trail of Tears, with all southeastern tribes forcibly relocated to Oklahoma. (When the Cherokees used their press to organize resistance, it was confiscated by the state of Georgia.) And yet, the development of the Cherokee language continued. In Oklahoma the tribe established a system of twenty-one bilingual schools and two academies, achieving a ninety per cent literacy rate in Cherokee and a literacy rate in English higher than that of white settlers in Texas and Arkansas (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969). The Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles also established their own schools.

Among other language groups, bilingual education also became widespread in the Nineteenth Century. A dozen states passed laws authorizing bilingual public schools, and they operated unofficially in many other jurisdictions -- in German, French, Spanish, Norwegian, Polish -- wherever speakers of these languages commanded political clout (Castellanos, 1983).

Generally speaking, native-language schooling owed its existence to parents' determination to preserve their ancestral cultures. And this was especially true among German Americans, who even had a word for this ethic -- *Deutschtum*, or German-ness. There was a sizable German element that was unabashed about resisting assimilation, especially in rural areas of the Midwest and Texas (Hawgood, 1940). According to Heinz Kloss (1977), in 1900 there were 600,000 American elementary-school children, public and parochial, receiving part or all of their instruction through the German language. That represented about four per cent of total elementary-school enrollment.

Also around this time came the first conflicts over minority languages in schools. In the late 1880's, states began to pass laws mandating English as the sole language of instruction. In Wisconsin an English Only statute -- known (prophetically?) as the Bennett law -- was aimed in large part against Catholic parochial schools, which often operated in German

(Leibowitz, 1974). In other words, language discrimination served as a convenient tool of religious bigotry.

4. Our libertarian policy on language -- like most democratic ideals of this country -- has not always been upheld. And it was especially not upheld in policies toward indigenous and conquered peoples, colonized groups and racial minorities. Nineteenth Century attitudes toward their language rights were considerably less tolerant than, say, toward speakers of German, French, or Scandinavian languages.

California's first state constitution in 1849 recognized a range of rights for Spanish-speakers -- for example, the translation of public documents and legislative proceedings -- but these were soon eroded as the Gold Rush swelled the state's English-speaking population. In 1855 California's legislature ordered public schools to hold classes exclusively in English. And when the constitution was rewritten in 1879 at a time of intense nativism -- especially toward the Chinese -- all minority language rights were stricken (Macias, 1984).

Meanwhile, Native American languages were targeted for extinction as part of a federal policy of cultural genocide. The 1868 Indian Peace Commission made a number of recommendations on how to subjugate Western tribes. It concluded: "In the difference of language today lies two-thirds of our trouble. ... Schools should be established which children would be required to attend; their barbarous dialects would be blotted out and the English language substituted. ... Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are moulded and assimilated in the same way" (Atkins, 1887). The English Only policy was resisted strongly by the missionary schools, which had long operated bilingually. President Ulysses S. Grant condemned the missionaries for insisting on teaching in native languages, and the federal government threatened to cut off their funding (Leibowitz, 1971).

And so, the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs school system originated, with its emphasis on coercive English instruction. Beginning in 1879, Indian children were placed in boarding schools far from their reservations, with

the goal of eradicating their ancestral cultures. Students were forced to adopt white styles of dress, to practice Christian religions and to use English at all times. Typically, the first word of English these children learned was "soap," because that's what was used to wash out their mouths when they were caught speaking their native languages (Campbell, 1988). By 1886, federal Indian education funds were reserved exclusively for English-language instruction.

At the turn of the century, the U.S. government imposed English as the language of instruction in its new colonies of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico (Leibowitz, 1969). Again, the idea was to pacify the natives and bestow on them the blessings of Anglo-American culture and language -- whether they wanted them or not. This policy was a dismal failure in cultivating English proficiency, but it succeeded in making a shambles out of the schools. In Puerto Rico it set off decades of social strife, in which lives were lost, lasting until Spanish was finally restored as the language of instruction in the late 1940's (Language Policy Task Force, 1978). Soon this colonial mentality began to turn inward, and for the first time, the languages of immigrants were targeted for repression on a large scale.

5. It was in the first two decades of the Twentieth Century, the "Americanization" era, that an ideological link was forged between English-speaking ability and American patriotism -- and conversely, between speaking other languages and disloyalty to this country. By 1900 there were growing complaints about both the quantity and quality of immigrants -- particularly fears that newcomers from Eastern and Southern Europe were unable or unwilling to assimilate into American culture. In 1911 a massive federal report on immigration by the Dillingham Commission accused these so-called "new immigrants" -- Italians, Jews, and Slavs -- of failing to learn English as quickly as the Germans and Scandinavians of the Nineteenth Century (Hartmann, 1948).

Meanwhile, big industrialists were fearful of the influence of foreign labor agitators. In the militant Lawrence textile strike of 1912, the Industrial Workers of the World conducted strike meetings in up to twenty languages (Boyer &

Morais, 1955). And so, the Americanization campaign was born, first as a way to offer adult English instruction, but increasingly as a coercive effort to indoctrinate immigrants with "free enterprise" values and "100 per cent Americanism." Factory owners like Henry Ford, along with several state legislatures, made attendance at Americanization classes a condition of employment for foreign-born workers. Learning English became an emblem of the immigrant's new loyalties (Higham, 1988).

The Americanization campaign would probably have gained limited influence had it not been for a historical coincidence: the United States entered World War I in 1917, at a time when German Americans remained visible as a distinct group, proud of their heritage and their native language. Fears about the disloyalty of these so-called "hyphenated Americans" were fanned by ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, among others. Speaking German came to be regarded as giving symbolic aid and comfort to the enemy, if not engaging in outright subversion (Wittke, 1936). Several states enacted statutes or issued emergency orders that savaged the First Amendment -- banning the German language on the street, in religious services, on the telephone, and of course, in the schools. By 1921, nearly 18,000 Midwesterners had been charged under these laws abridging free speech (Rippley, 1976).

The assault was not confined to German. A "patriotic" society headed by Roosevelt declared in 1917: "We must have but one flag. We must also have but one language... We cannot tolerate any attempt to oppose or supplant the language and culture that has come down to us from the builders of this Republic with the language and culture of any European country... We call upon all loyal and unadulterated Americans to man the trenches against the enemy within our gates" (Roosevelt, 1917).

In the year following the war, fifteen states passed laws mandating English as the language of instruction; several went so far as to prohibit the teaching of foreign languages in the elementary grades. The most extreme of these statutes were struck down in 1923 by the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Meyer v. Nebraska* case. Robert Meyer, a parochial school

teacher, was charged with the crime of teaching a Bible story in German to a 10-year-old child (Leibowitz, 1969). While the law was ruled unconstitutional, the *Meyer* decision[1] came too late to save bilingual education, which virtually disappeared for half a century -- until it was resurrected in Dade County, Florida, in the early 1960's.

About the same time, the Americanization campaign expired, not because of the Supreme Court's action, but because in 1924 Congress enacted the strictest immigration quotas in U.S. history. This legislation, which was justified explicitly on the basis of excluding ethnic and racial groups deemed to be genetically inferior, sharply restricted the flow of Eastern and Southern Europeans and totally excluded Asians (Higham, 1988). With the demographic threat gone, there was no longer a perceived language threat; accordingly, coercive efforts to teach English also disappeared.

Of course, immigrants did learn English -- not because of any laws, but because they saw it in their interest to do so. And that process continues today. Despite the claims of English Only proponents, research shows that newcomers are learning English faster than ever before. For example, Calvin Veltman (1988) concludes that Hispanic immigrants to the U.S. are now approaching a two-generation model of language shift -- that is, of becoming dominant in English -- as compared with the three-generation model typical of immigrants at the turn of the century.

To summarize:

-The United States has always been marked by considerable language diversity, as reflected in the

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[1] A similar case struck down Hawaii's attempt to ban Japanese-language schools. Echoing *Meyer*, the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals reasoned that "no doubt the Japanese will be slow to give up their customs and their ideals; but we took the Islands *cum onere* and extended the Constitution of the United States there, and every American citizen has the right to invoke its protection. You cannot make good citizens by oppression, or by a denial of constitutional rights" (Leibowitz, 1969).

long tradition of bilingual education, while English maintained its dominant position. Clearly, our national language is no more threatened today than it was in 1776 or 1917.

-For much of U.S. history, language laws were rejected as a threat to individual liberties. The ability to speak English was regarded as less crucial to American identity than agreement with the democratic principles on which the country was founded, including freedom of speech.

-When language restrictions were enacted, they trampled basic constitutional rights, produced ethnic strife, and sabotaged educational programs.

-Fundamentally, language conflicts were never about language per se. Denial of language rights served variously as an instrument of anti-Catholic prejudice in the Midwest, land theft in the Southwest, cultural genocide against Indians, colonial domination in Puerto Rico, the exploitation of labor on the mainland, wartime jingoism, and the campaign for immigration restrictions.

This list makes it especially absurd to claim that English has been a great unifying force in American history. A good case could be made for the opposite conclusion – which would be equally absurd. Language has served as a tool, not a cause, of social conflict.

It is no accident that today's attempts to restrict languages other than English occur at a time of rising immigration and empowerment by racial minorities.[1] While

[1]Dr. John Tanton, the founder and former chairman of U.S. English, warns of a Hispanic political takeover in the United States through immigration and high birthrates: "Perhaps this is the first instance in which those with their pants up are going to get caught by those with their pants down. ...As whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night? Or will there be an explosion? ... We are building a deadly disunity" (Crawford, 1989).

explicit racial politics are no longer acceptable in American life, language politics remain legitimate. For many supporters of Official English, there is no sinister, hidden agenda. But for others, the campaign for Anglo-conformity functions as a surrogate: a way to vent racial hostilities, to limit immigration from the Third World, to preserve the supremacy of white Americans, and to do all these things while wrapping themselves in the flag.

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3

The Dene Standardization Project

Elizabeth Biscaye
Mary Pepper

In the fall of 1985, the Government of the Northwest Territories (NWT) instituted the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages which completed its report in 1986. This commission recommended that the writing systems used for the northern Dene languages be standardized within ten years. The government response to this recommendation was favorable, and the Dene Standardization Project was initiated in 1987. The mandate for the project was to make recommendations on orthography standardization as the first step in the process of encouraging widespread native language literacy, the publication of native language materials, and ultimately the preservation of the Dene languages in a technological era which places high demands for literacy and depends on the print media for the retention and transmission of information.

The project was made up of a planning committee which comprised five linguists and one fluent and literate speaker from each language group. The planning committee representatives selected five members from each language group, including elders, to sit on working committees. The purpose of the working committees was to hold community level discussions to evaluate and revise the writing systems in current use. Recommendations on standardization were submitted to the planning committee, and through discussion, consensus on standardization was generally attained.

The Dene languages and writing systems

The five Dene languages spoken in the NWT are Gwich'in (formerly known as Loucheux), South Slavey, North Slavey, Chipewyan, and Dogrib. There are speakers of South Slavey in British Columbia, the Yukon, and Alberta, of Gwich'in in the Yukon and Alaska, and of Chipewyan in Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. These five languages are related to other Dene languages in North America such as Chilcotin spoken in British Columbia, Sarsi spoken in Alberta, and Navajo spoken in the southwestern United States.

A syllabic writing system based on the system developed for Cree and Ojibwe was introduced to the Dene people of the North by missionaries in the 19th century. There are still older people living who can read and write in syllabics and many archival materials have been written using this script. This system is, however, incomplete since many distinctive sounds are not represented.

Over the last twenty years, educators, translators, and fluent Dene speakers used reasonably accurate alphabetic writing systems successfully. Because of this fact it seemed feasible to concentrate on refining and standardizing the alphabetic writing system. In addition, the majority of native language speakers in North America use alphabetic writing systems. Even language groups using syllabics in some regions use an alphabetic system in other regions. This is the case for the Ojibwe who use syllabics in the Lake of the Woods area and Roman orthography in other parts of Ontario.

The Dene alphabetic system

The basic principle underlying an alphabetic writing system is that there is a one-to-one symbol to sound correspondence. The alphabetic writing systems developed for the Dene languages are based on this principle and use basically the same letters of the Roman or Latin alphabet as are used to write English. The Dene writing systems are more systematic than English because one sound is always represented by the same symbol. Students learning to write in Dene have little difficulty spelling correctly provided they

learn the alphabet symbols, correctly match up what sounds are heard with the appropriate symbol, and learn a small set of simple writing rules.

Although it is very easy to learn and to teach Dene literacy because the writing system reflects spoken Dene closely, there are still problem areas with respect to the practical orthographies in current use. Literate speakers often have difficulty deciding where to make word breaks, how to write compound words and which forms to use in dictionaries. A further problem with the Dene writing systems is that variation in speech between individuals and between communities is encoded in the writing system. For some Dene language groups there are at present competing writing systems and different spelling practices. Yet another area of concern is how to represent the difference in speech between younger and older speakers.

The challenge for the Dene Standardization Project has been to decide between varying systems for each language and, within each language group, to decide between the varying systems for each dialect. A further challenge has been to make sure that the systems have symbols for all of the sounds which are recognized as distinct sounds by speakers of that language. For example, whether a vowel has high or low tone makes a difference in meaning for a word in Chipewyan. If you say *sela*, with low tone, it means *my cousin*, but if you say *selá* with high tone, it means *my hand*. Because tone is recognized as meaningful by native speakers, it must be written. Furthermore, the writing system must not represent information which is not meaningful to speakers. In Dogrib for example, it does not make a difference whether a speaker pronounces the word for *fire* with an [o] vowel or with a [u] vowel. Whether you say *kǫ̀* or *kų̀*, your listener will understand that you mean *fire*. For this reason only the vowel [o] is written. The final and major challenge to the Dene Standardization Project has been to resolve the problem of choosing alphabets and writing conventions for each language which conform to a standard across the five Dene languages.

What is standardization?

There are differences in the speech of all speakers of a language. These differences are owing to geography, to social groupings, and to social context. The task of the Dene Standardization Project was to select writing systems and rules for writing that could accommodate these differences for each language group, and yet could bring about greater unity and promote literacy and language retention within the Dene communities.

Four types of standardization were discussed by the Dene Standardization Project. The first, community standardization involved selecting a writing system uniform for all speakers within a community but not reflecting individual differences in pronunciation between speakers in that community. The second, regional standardization involved choosing a writing system uniform for all speakers within a region but not reflecting differences in pronunciation between different communities. The third, territorial standardization meant choosing a system leading to uniform alphabets and writing conventions across all five northern Dene languages. The fourth, pan-Dene standardization involved selecting a system which would lead to uniformity with respect to alphabets and writing practices across all North American Dene languages.

In general, most of the recommendations of the Dene Standardization Project reflect the decision to strive toward community standardization and, where practicable, toward regional standardization of the orthographies for each language group. This decision was based on criteria such as keeping the writing system as phonetic as possible (writing exactly what one hears) and limiting the extent to which already literate speakers would have to revise their writing habits.

The general consensus of the Dene Standardization Project was that in all cases the speech of elders should be chosen as the standard for writing. The motivating factor in this case was that the speech of elders retains greater morphological information than the contracted or shortened

forms which are found in the speech of younger speakers. Another important factor in this decision was the cultural importance of Dene elders. It was further agreed that formal rather than colloquial forms of speech should be chosen as the basis upon which a written standard would be founded.

Why standardize?

There are many benefits which accrue from standardizing the writing systems. First, a standard writing system which is adapted and utilized by native speakers will over time preserve conservative forms of speech, the speech of the elders. Second, if speakers of one language use only one standard writing system it is easier to both teach and learn literacy in the language. Third, if similar materials are no longer duplicated by being printed in several different writing systems for one language, curriculum materials can be published more cost-effectively leading to more materials being printed. Fourth, standardizing the writing systems used by NWT Dene speakers could ideally bring about conformity with the writing systems already in use by other Dene speakers such as the Gwich'in of Alaska and the Chipewyan of Saskatchewan. Uniform standard orthographies will facilitate the production of printed materials in the Dene languages. The availability of a greater quantity and variety of published materials will promote Dene literacy and literature and facilitate the use of Dene languages in both the public and private sectors.

The five Dene languages of the NWT are recognized as official languages under the Official Languages Act (1984, rev. 1986). The Government of the Northwest Territories has committed support to promote, develop, and enhance the indigenous languages of the North. The standardization of the writing systems of the Dene languages will assist in this task since it will unify speakers of each language and reflect the similarities across all languages. It will contribute to the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness and, since literacy promotes personal and social development, will contribute to

the retention of aboriginal culture while enabling the individual to take part in an advanced industrial society.

Recommendations

The Dene Standardization Project spent many hours discussing and documenting a large number of complex problems related to the various writing systems in use. For each language group a set of standard alphabet symbols was defined.

The recommendations dealt with five broad orthographic issues: alternate pronunciations, alphabet symbols, use of symbols, word divisions, and punctuation. Extralinguistic issues such as literacy training, publication of reference materials, second language teaching, linguistic research, place names, and promotion of Dene literature were also the subject of a number of recommendations.

A timeframe for the Dene Standardization Project was approved by the planning committee in 1988. This timeframe involves five phases over a ten year period, retroactive to 1987 when the project was initiated. The first phase, the review of existing orthographies and conventions and recommendations of standards was completed in 1988. The second phase, soliciting feedback and support from northern interest groups has recently been completed. The next phase of the project involves the institution of a permanent committee which will make final decisions regarding the writing systems. It is expected that the permanent committee will have a mandate from the Legislative Assembly to make final decisions on orthographic and language-related matters. Following this phase, the standard writing systems will be introduced to the public, reference and teaching materials will be developed and published, and literacy training will be carried out. The final phase involves a review of the standard orthographies by the standing committees, revision of writing systems, and a continuation of the public awareness and literacy campaigns.

Conclusion

The Dene Standardization Project is a model for other language groups undertaking orthographic standardization. All issues relating to the practical orthographies were discussed at the community level and language specific recommendations were submitted to a committee of native language specialists as an outgrowth of the community meetings. The committee of specialists discussed each recommendation and attempted in all cases to abide by the governing principle of regional standardization where practicable.

The project broadened its scope after the initial recommendations were accepted by all language groups. It became clear that the implementation of the recommendations was critical in order to increase native language literacy and that literacy is part of wider goal of native language and culture retention. The project therefore has determined that a permanent committee which has political power must be set in place to determine the direction of native language research, education, and legislation. The Dene people of the Northwest Territories have through the Dene Standardization Project voiced their desire for self-determination in the field of native language development.

4

The Stoney Indian Language Project

John W. Friesen
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Duane Mark

The recent surge of interest in the teaching of heritage languages may be linked to a new understanding of and appreciation for Canada's multicultural policy, namely that cultural diversity is to be encouraged. As a result the ethnocultural communities -- other than English and French whose lifestyles and languages are protected by the Canadian Constitution -- have risen to the occasion and emphasized heritage language teaching as a means by which to encourage the perpetuation of traditional cultural lifestyles.

Classic ways to accomplish this goal have included 1) ecological separation, such as the Hutterites have always practiced; 2) endogamy, which implies that the selection of marriage partners be limited to the ranks of the ethnocultural group in question; 3) education, usually through the establishment of a parochial school system; 4) institutional completeness, implying that children are predominantly socialized through agencies managed by the respective ethnic group; and 5) language teaching (Anderson & Frideres, 1981; Backeland & Frideres, 1977; Breton, 1979). In addition, the factors of ingroup "opening" and "closing" must be considered, namely, the ways and means by which an ethnocultural group allows, limits or encourages integration with the dominant monoculture. For example, complete opening is not desirable because it leads to total assimilation and loss of identity. Good closing has to do with the maintenance of group boundaries and subsystems which help

members reinforce strong ethnic values (Comeau & Driedger, 1978).

The situation of the Aboriginal peoples is in many ways quite different from that of either the Charter nations or Canada or the immigrant peoples. Historically, they possess the right of first occupancy. Geographically, they have occupied a different continent from that of the invaders who have manufactured the nation's multicultural policies. Culturally, they have maintained a unique stance of respecting the balance of nature with technological advance being assigned a subordinate or corollary status. In economic terms, they occupy the lower levels of income groups in Canada making it difficult for them to wield a significant power base. Legally, they are the object of special laws which identify them as a group and set them apart from the larger society (Berry, 1981).

Aboriginal peoples hold in common with other Canadians the concept that language and culture are inextricably bound together. However, the process of achieving or maintaining a functional level of language useage is complex. This is particularly true of cultures that have traditionally relied on oral tradition for there is no traditional "body of literature" to build on. This also makes any attempt to "get back to the basics" for language identification difficult, even though that procedure should be possible at any given point. Language is, after all, a living phenomenon. In Native cultures, where the role of Elders has been significant, it has also become necessary to identify parallel and supportive means by which to enhance language useage (Medicine, 1987).

Native languages have been rapidly changing over the last two decades. Where once the Native language was the vehicle by which to transmit Indian values and respect, it has at least been partially replaced by English. It is important to learn English in order to attain the language skills and concepts essential to surviving in the dominant monoculture. However, many Indian leaders believe that the traditional Indian culture can only survive if Native languages are perpetuated (Manitoba, 1985).

Background to the Stoney Project

The Stoney community is centered at Morley, Alberta. The population of the three bands, Bear's Paw, Chiniki, and Goodstoney, is nearly twenty-seven hundred. The tribe is a member of the Assiniboine branch of the Siouan language family, and its major sources of income are cattle ranching, lumber, tourism, and oil and gas leasing. A new K-12 grade school costing 6.6 million dollars was opened in the fall of 1985 with an enrollment of just over three hundred children.

In 1965, the Stoney Tribal Council entered into an agreement with the Summer Institute of Linguistics to develop a writing system for the Stoney language. After several experiments, a standard alphabet was devised following the Roman orthography tradition (Harbeck, 1973).

In December, 1968, the Stoney Band opted for self-government. The members of the three bands of the Stoney tribe gathered solemnly to select a fifteen member group of councilors and chiefs who would steer their people to self-government. They faced the challenge with mixed feelings except for unanimity in the realization that the Stonies must restore their shattered society to its once proud status (Snow, 1977). One of the means to accomplish this restoration was an oral history program started in 1970. Using tape recorders, program workers interviewed tribal Elders and collected hundreds of hours of information about Stoney history, philosophy, and moral teaching. In 1972 the program was reorganized as the Stoney Cultural Education Program (S.C.E.P.). It was planned, implemented, and operated under the direction of the Stoney Tribal Council and concentrated on people development, that is, to encourage Stoney youth to enhance their individual abilities (Harbeck, 1973). The materials produced by the program would replace harmful school curricula that omitted any reference to the Indian heritage. It would also help the Stoney children to learn history from an Indian point of view and assist in passing on the traditions of Stoney culture.

S.C.E.P. began with a surge of enthusiasm and publications, but after a few years the budget cuts familiar to all Native educators and leaders began. The present project

was initiated as a means of reviving aspects of S.C.E.P., and the first publications are new editions of those works.

Laying the ground-work

The initiation of new programs in any community involves community approval and some kind of needs assessment. The fact that the Stoney language is rapidly changing to incorporate many dominant monocultural concepts has been a concern for more than a decade. Even though the Stoney tribe has been successful in warding off many outside influences over the generations, it is not possible to maintain complete isolation. In fact, the Stoney people have faced a very severe challenge from outside influences, Morley particularly, since the reserve is so close to the City of Calgary.

The mandate of the original S.C.E.P. Program was carried over into the first phase of the new endeavor since an updating and reprinting of the earlier materials was the first goal. The project team has also kept in close contact with members of the Stoney Education Authority, a body which has responsibility for all educational activities on the reserve. In addition, an informal list of Elders has been made, and different Elders are sought out for information and advice with regard to identifying and recording Indian legends and practice. One working document, produced by an Elder, is titled, "How to Behave in Stoney Country," and it will be published as an accompanying guide to the new curriculum materials.

It is envisaged that the future stages of the current project may follow the plan devise ' by the Blackfoot people east of Calgary. Their program has included a formal community survey of needs. the development and utilization of a Blackfoot language proficiency test, the formulation of a three-level language curriculum program, and the start of a language teacher inservice course. Blackfoot educators have also concluded that language teacher qualifications do not necessarily imply the attainment of a university degree. Familiarity with the language is the basic criterion, and

respectable methodological procedures may be attained via inservicing.

The first stage of the Stoney Language Project has seen the preparation of six books (completed or ready for production) in both English and Stoney. The books include:

1. *Ceremonial Indian Costumes* (A Stoney Coloring Book).
2. *Little Bear Goes on Summer Holidays* (A light-hearted children's book about a cute bear who engages in a variety of Stoney outdoor activities).
3. *The Blind Man and the Loon* (A teaching legend with a lesson about the behavior of a hard-hearted wife towards her blind husband).
4. *The Trickster (iktomni) and the Bear* (A humorous story about a legendary supernatural creature in Stoney tradition).
5. *Origin of the Winter Season* (The story of winter's beginning).
6. *Sandhill Crane and Mr. Winter* (The day when the Sandhill Crane chased away Mr. Winter and brought spring).

The project team has also produced an eight minute videotape version of *The Blind Man and the Loon* which has been piloted in the local Morley Community School. The book of the same title has been used with the videotape in third grade. They were piloted by the late Darren Poucette, a Stoney teacher and a graduate of the University of Calgary. It is hoped that additional videotapes of other legends will be produced during the second stage of the project.

Each of the Stoney legends in the published booklets was told by an Elder, and the accompanying illustrations are by Stoney artists. As the project moves into its second stage, care is being taken to identify new or "rare" legends and to search for new artists. The initial publication of the legend books in a plastic, spiral-bound form was limited to a sufficient number for the pilot teaching project. Future editions in a more

permanent form are planned. Naturally, there will always be a few errors to correct in future editions.

As the end of the Twentieth Century nears, it becomes more and more obvious that our Globe is shrinking in size. This makes it more essential that cultural learnings be shared between peoples. The reasoning of the project team in this regard is to make Stoney materials available in both English and Stoney so that outsiders may learn about Stoney ways. Also, with the intensity of prejudice and discrimination that still lingers in Alberta, it is also felt that the availability of reliable information about the Stoney way of life can only serve to alleviate misunderstandings and promote understanding and acceptance.

Vicissitudes and learnings

The accumulation and publication of Indian legends is a rich learning experience, and this project has been no exception. In the first instance, there are a number of things to be learned about legends in Stoney culture. For example, there are two kinds of legends, those employed for the purpose of teaching moral or historical lessons and those told purely for amusement. The trickster or îktomnî stories are usually told for enjoyment. At present, the team is working on another Trickster story about a mouse pow-wow discovered by the Trickster as it is celebrated in the skull of a dead animal. It is really quite intriguing. The Blind Man and the Loon, on the other hand, is a teaching legend. It has a moral to the story. It deals with the relations between a husband and wife and their regard for each other. (It is interesting to note that most Indian tribes have a similar story).

While the team was producing the videotape for the legend, some concern arose about releasing an English language version. It was feared that the story might be misunderstood by non-Natives. After all, the legend contains what might be viewed as a violent scene where the woman's breasts are cut off as punishment for her cruelty to her blind husband. Would outsiders view this scene as standard behavior among the Stoneys? Was cruelty an acceptable form

of punishment? One way out of the dilemma is to remind ourselves that every culture has an element of cruelty in its folklore. Bible stories, Aesop's fables, and a host of fairy tales relate endless accounts of people being put to death with never a worry. With this consideration, the videotape was completed.

Another very sensitive matter that came to light during the project pertains to the ownership of legends. In Stoney tradition, any particular version of a legend belongs to the storyteller. Thus the editors of these legends regard their role as recorders and translators only. They have been careful not to change the intent or meaning of any of the legends. However, in the oral tradition, changes in the story-line were accepted and expected. In this project that time-honored tradition was avoided since the process here was to print, not to tell, legends. Added to this is the importance of recognizing that probing into the content of legends is a very sensitive activity. After all, the legends represent the arena of sacred teachings among the Stoneys. This fact requires that the various dimensions of the project be conducted with appropriate respect.

Another of the challenging features of this project had to do with the nature of the language itself In the Stoney community, expressions and syllabic emphases vary from one band to another, and even from one family to another. Because of this the translators sometimes found it necessary to "talk out" an apparent difference with a view to settling for one of the available options of writing a particular word or expression. Thus the process of "cooperative compromise" was much adhered to by project team members.

In conclusion, the challenge and privilege of working in the language domain offers many advantages. Not the least of these are a greater familiarity with those who know the language best (Elders) and the gleaning of insights into Stoney culture. It may be presumptuous at this point, but it is possible that this project may also assist the goal of preserving and enhancing the Stoney way of life. That possibility adds a special dimension of importance to the undertaking.

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5

Written Ute English: Texture, Construction, and Point of View

William Leap

A central element of effective language education for American Indian students is the development of effective skills and basic competencies in written English. I have been concerned about this topic for some time, largely as an outgrowth of my continuing study of the use of oral English in various tribes and as a response to needs of Ute students not adequately being met by the public school system on the Northern Ute reservation and the needs of adult Ute learners seeking GED (high school equivalency) certificates.[1]

Earlier, I approached the study of written Ute by searching for parallels to the features of pronunciation and grammar found in the writers' spoken English. For example, did the rule governing vowel devoicing in oral Ute English have any effects on written Ute English spelling patterns? Did oral Ute English use of multiple tense-marking to mark references to speculative or hypothetical situations also govern the arrangement of tense-sequences within written Ute English? My research uncovered numerous instances of

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[1]This paper is a revision of sections of a longer essay, "Pathways and Barriers to Literacy-building on the Northern Ute Reservation," presented at the November, 1987, meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Chicago, Illinois, and at the April, 1988 Conference on Linguistics and Literacy at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. I want to thank Dan McLaughlin, Sonia Manuel-Dupont, Judy Lewis, Ellen Berner, Donna Budani, the staff of the Ute Family English Literacy Program, and participants in the 1989 Summer Ute Language Institute -- all of whom provided useful comments on this analysis.

such parallels, and these findings helped the Northern Ute tribe's family literacy program identify more clearly the educational issues which needed to be addressed.

However, there was a lot more going on in written Ute English remaining to be accounted for. In order to develop satisfactory explanations, I broadened the focus of analysis to assess the Ute students' assumptions about written language and their use of those assumptions when doing different writing tasks. Hence my work with written Ute English, while still concerned with details of word structure and the order of underlying phrases and clauses, also pays attention to the following issues:

1. What connections do Ute students draw between the "body" of their written work and the title? What differences will there be if the title is included in the teacher's assignment in contrast to the student choosing their own title?
2. To what extent do Ute student English essays comply with the terms of the assignment? To what extent do these essays emphasize the writer's own concerns, regardless of the assignment's expectations?
3. What strategies do Ute students use to organize and arrange ideas on paper? Do they use formal outline, chronological description, arbitrary, random inventory, stream-of-consciousness display and the like? What factors lead individual students to favor one strategy over another?
4. What are the criteria which help students decide how much detail to include in (or exclude from) their compositions? Is there any consistency among Ute students as a whole in the use of such criteria, or are these decisions made on individual grounds?
5. To what extent do Ute students' writing strategies and their written work resemble the strategies and work of their non-Indian classmates?

These are student-centered concerns. Working in terms of a student-centered perspective proved very helpful in exploring student uses of English within a variety of

classroom related language situations, for example in oral English question asking and answering (Leap, 1989), story telling and even narration (Berner, 1988, 1989; Manuel-Dupont, 1990); mathematics word problem-solving (Leap, 1988), paper-and-pencil test-taking (Leap, in press). The perspective also offers important insights into the cultural and social barriers preventing fuller acceptance of a written Ute language and Ute language literacy (Leap, in press).

Preliminary comparisons of these findings show that, while the details of the task may differ, Ute student assumptions about appropriate and effective language use are actually quite similar across individual tasks. This suggests the possibility of creating a data-based, culturally sensitive description of Ute student "knowledge of language" (and ultimately, perhaps, "knowledge of knowledge"), and then tracing the implications of that perspective on Ute student school performance and school success. Work toward that goal is well underway (Leap, in press).

Illustrations from Ute English compositions

A selection of Ute English compositions from samples collected from Northern Ute fourth graders in 1984 illustrate insights which can come from a student-centered analysis of written Indian English.[1] All these compositions were written in classroom settings either in response to scheduled writing assignments or as activities undertaken at my request during "free-time" periods.

Example A powerfully reflects one of the most visually significant elements of the autumn season in northeastern Utah. The high Unitahs, a mountain chain reaching 11,000 feet or higher, dominates the northern boundary of the

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[1]The three compositions discussed here suggest some of the approaches guiding Ute students as they create written English texts. There are other approaches, some which show up in the written English of these students' non-Indian classmates. Others occur, as in the examples discussed here, almost exclusively in Ute English texts. Whether these features occur in the writing of Indian students in other schools needs to be explored.

reservation. Pinon, other conifers, cottonwoods, aspens, Russian olive, and other varieties of trees grow in abundance in these mountains. During the fall, the leaves on these trees blend into bands of red, yellow, gold, and brown which weave back and forth across the landscape, exactly in the sense of the writer's description --"millions of colors floating in the air."

Example A[1]: Autumn in the Mountains

Autumn is like a million of colors
floating in the air

For some readers -- especially those with school-related concerns in mind, the use of imagery here is overshadowed by other, more technical dimensions of the text. Particularly important in that regard is its shortness. The teacher asked the students to prepare a one-page composition on the topic, "Autumn in the Mountains;" the two line paragraph does not meet the basic expectations of this assignment.

However, brevity in this case does not necessarily result from any shortcoming on the writer's part. This writer has not prepared an exhaustive inventory of the features to be found on a trip into the mountains in fall. Instead, the writer has constructed an open-ended, image-rich scenario on the assigned theme, leaving readers ample room to fill in the outline with details and images of their own choosing. For the reading process to be successful in this instance, the reader has to supply that information and, thereby, become an active participant -- in effect, a co-author, in creation of text-meaning. Readers who are willing to work with the writer in this fashion will probably be quite pleased with the composition, whatever mechanical faults they may otherwise find in it. Readers unwilling to work in those terms -- who expect the

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[1]Except when otherwise noted, the examples cited in this paper retain the spelling, capitalization, punctuation and line-by-line word arrangement of the original composition.

writer to hold exclusive responsibility for message-making and intend only to respond after the fact to the terms of that message, will quite likely feel shortchanged by their reading of this text.

Example B elicits a similar range of responses from readers, depending on their willingness (or reluctance) to be co-participants in message-making. This is an event-oriented text, not a descriptive/impressionistic one as was Example A. The detail of the story-line extends only to a certain point, then stops abruptly without bringing events to an expected closure. Papa Smurf falls into a cave, it becomes dark, other Smurfs are nearby, Papa Smurf hears the other Smurfs -- that much is clear. But is he rescued and does he get home safely? The text has no answer for these questions.

Example B: Smurfs in the Mountains

Papa smurph was in the forest.
He came to a cliff he didn't know what was
in front of him then he fell in a cave in the ground
It became dark when he herd the smurphs they were hoping
through the trees they were singing they were singing
lalalalala - lalalalala

While in residence at the elementary school, I discussed this situation with the author and with several other fourth grade Ute students. I was interested in determining if they saw any gaps in the narrative. Their responses were almost identical. They said, "This is a story about Smurfs." It did not take much discussion to show me that, in my haste to assess the story content, I had looked only at the words and word-choices and had ignored the assumptions which lay under them. Anyone who knows anything about the values system of Smurf-dom knows that Papa Smurf has to be rescued. A tragedy is simply not permitted within this domain.

The form of Example B anticipates the likelihood of a happy ending, even though the wording of the text appears to

have little to say on the matter. By recasting the organization of the narrative (see Example C) to show each event individually, the likelihood of a happy ending is made more apparent by studying the structural form of the text.

Example C: Smurfs in the Mountains

1. Papa Smurph was in the forest
2. he came to a cliff
3. he didn't know what was in front of him
4. then he fell into a cave in the ground
5. it became dark
6. then he herd the smurphs
7. they were hoping through the trees
8. they were singing
9. they were singing lalalalala - lalalalala

The title identifies for the reader the actors, Smurfs, of the narrative. The first four lines introduces Papa Smurf and tells how he fell into danger. Lines 7-9 point out that other Smurfs are in the area. Line 5 completes the description of Papa Smurf's predicament, and line 6 provides the transition between segments, by linking references to Papa Smurf and "the smurphs."

The story is told from Papa Smurf's point of view, and an expectation is created that the Smurfs will come to Papa Smurf's aid. However, it remains the responsibility of readers to draw on the clues presented within the text and reach this conclusion on their own. Once again, written Ute English calls on the reader as well as the writer to be active participants in the message-making process.

Conclusions from Examples A and B

Three principles of written Ute English central to Examples A and B are:

1. non-exhaustive presentation of meaning

   Ute English writers can be selective in their use of description and narration, suggesting the full detail, without being obligated to present all of it within their compositions.

2. active engagement of the reader

   A non-exhaustive presentation of meaning has to involve the reader as well as the writer as co-particpants in the message-making process. The writer outlines the message, leaving the reader to fill in the gaps, construct necessary relationships between isolated details, and otherwise formalize the connections between segments of the narrative.

3. communicative value of text form

   How the writer organizes information within the narrative and arranges it on the page can be as important to the communication of message to the reader as are the factual details of that message.

These three principles are key to the design of the final composition discussed here, a fourth grade Ute student's response to her teacher's request for a one-page discussion of "My Favorite Animal" (see Example D). Unlike the instructions leading to examples A and B, in this assignment the teacher expected the student to take a position on the given topic and defend it. Example D meets the basic expectations of the assignment on first reading, which is not always the case with Ute English writers. But even here, the reader has to become an active participant in the creation of meaning. The writer never says directly "the eagle is my favorite animal." Very little of the student's personal opinion shows up in the wording of the essay. Many members of the Northern Ute tribe hold the eagle in special regard for much the same reasons as depicted in Example D. In addition, traditional Ute etiquette makes it inappropriate for speakers to assert individual opinions on some issues, especially when

other parties in the discussion hold different opinions. A more successful and valued approach focuses the discussion on the assumptions which all parties have in common with individual opinion being introduced only as it relates directly to one or more common themes.

Example D: The bold Eagle

Is pourt of the
indian nation. It is
an indian spirit. in Inain.
ways it brings messages
to all kinds like
a fire in the wood
and if. One of ther
people were in danger
or if someone ways
on. thre secret moound.

The effects of this custom show up frequently in oral Ute English contexts, and help explain non-standard uses of language. For example, a Ute adult asked "What do you want to do about this?" often answers, "I do not know." or avoids giving an opinion through silence. Recasting the question to inquire "What can we do....?" yields much more satisfactory, though more inclusive and not-personally focused responses (Leap, 1989).

In example D, the eagle is the writer's favorite animal because eagles are a favorite animal of Indian people as a whole. She values the eagle because its actions benefit all Indian people, not because of any outcomes which favor her individually. In other words, the statement of "personal opinion" presented through this essay is really an assertion of membership within her Tribe and of "place" within its traditions and teaching. The essay is not a *pro forma* response to a classroom assignment, and cannot be evaluated correctly in classroom-centered terms.

Unfortunately, most assessments of Ute student writing within school settings focus on technical and mechanical details rather than a broader socio-cultural context. The classroom-centered approach leads to comments such as the text contains no title (the caption in the original format is really the first three words of the first sentence). There is no topic sentence identifying the intended focus of the discussion. Instead, the text builds towards its central theme comment by comment, forcing the reader to infer the purpose of the composition from the **whole** text, not from the meaning of any single segment. Spelling errors and mistakes in punctuation distract the reader's attention from the text content and further weaken the effectiveness of the statement according to this line of reasoning.

However, to consider Example D merely a set of randomly or haphazardly arranged ideas, presented without regard to the conventions of standard written English greatly underestimates the craft which the writer invested in the construction of this essay. The writer's choice of content and use of point of view closely mirrors the expectations of "good etiquette" within Ute tradition. Similarly, the presentation of content is tightly organized, even if the organizing principles which the writer followed do not necessarily adhere to the "main topic/supporting topic" hierarchy which writers of English are expected to employ.

To explore the issue of organization further, Example E arranges the text so that each of its main ideas occurs on a separate line and normalizes spelling and punctuation to make it easier to follow the meaning of the text. The essay now appears to be composed of two segments, lines 1-3 and lines 4-6. From the point of view of text meaning, the relationship between the two segments is more than sequential. Lines 4-6 do not introduce new information so much as elaborate on information already presented in the preceding segment.

The repetition and elaboration is marked directly in the syntactic forms of these statements. Lines 4, 5, and 6 are composed of grammatically incomplete, therefore dependent, clause constructions in contrast to the complete, independent,

clauses found in lines 1, 2, and 3. Lines 4, 5, and 6 begin with conjunctions which link the statement it governs to the other statements which surround it. For these reasons, lines 4-6 can be said to be bound to the lines which precede them and can only be understood in relation to the first three lines.

Example E:

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1. The bald eagle is part of the Indian nation
2. it is an Indian spirit
3. in Indian ways it brings messages to all kinds
4. like a fire in the woods
5. and if one of the people were in danger
6. or if someone was on their secret mound.

The third line plays a key role as the main clause governing the subordinate, dependent grammatical constructions in lines 4-6. The pronoun in line three links it to line 2 which is similarly linked by a pronoun-referent chain to line 1. The overall relationship between the ideas of this essay is displayed in Example F. This relationship bears little resemblance to the ways in which standard English outlines organize meanings on the printed page. Rather than moving the reader through a series of linked ideas, each with its own set of supporting documentation, the organization of the essay "The Bold Eagle" in Example D reiterates a basic kernel of information, further refining and enriching the commentary each time the point is represented.

According to the display in Example F, the central theme of the essay is stated in line 1; here lies the kernel of information which is restated and refined in each of the following statements. However, the meaning of line 1 for the text as a whole can only be determined by reading the rest of the text. Considered by itself, line 1 anticipates very little of the discussion to come. This is why, central as it may be to the meaning of the text, in no sense can line 1 be considered the topic sentence.

Example F:

Line by line sequence	Idea by idea sequence
1	1
2	1a
3	1b
4	1b(1)
5	1b(2)
6	1b(3)

If any sentence is to be singled out in that regard, it would be line 3 which occupies a key position in the presentation of the message of the text. Line 3 links together the ideas of section 1, of which it is a part, and section 2, over which the line is dominant. The pivotal, transitional status of this line explains its irregular punctuation -- the use of the mid-sentence period, also found in lines 5 and 6 but not lines 1 or 2. Here is another instance where the form of a Ute English essay literally represents, and calls the readers attention to, the essay's message.

Summary

The intention of this paper was to explore the "writing needs" of Ute Indian students. Rather than assuming that these students had writing problems, I focused on the students' assumptions about writing and appropriate use of language in written contexts, traced the effects of these assumptions on particular writing tasks, and then reflected on what this showed me about these students' writing skills. This analysis has the following broader implications:

1. **Contrary to what may be the impression upon initial reading, written Ute English compositions contain a high degree of structure, form, and organization.** Though non-standard spelling, sentence forms, and the like occur

throughout these essays, choosing Ute English as the language of written discourse does not automatically result in texts which are haphazard descriptions or characterized by the writer's lack of writing skills. Written Ute English, like oral Ute English and all other forms of human language use, is rule governed. The rules in the examples discussed here include:

- non-exaustive presentation of meaning
- active engagement of the reader
- communicative value of text form
- shared points of view, not personal one, as the source for each essay's central theme.

Use of such rules may not be consistent with the principles governing standard English literature usage or consistent with the expectations which standard English speakers bring to the reading process, but there is structure and coherence in written Ute English all the same.

2. **Ute students' use of this style of written English resembles the students' use of English in other classroom domains.** The consistency of these students' "knowledge of language" and use of language across situation and task needs to be stressed, specifically the consistence between strategies governing language use within oral as well as written English. This situation is different than that of the Rio Grande pueblos (Wolfram et al, 1979) or Tohono O'Odham (Goodman, 1984) where relationships between oral and written English have been found to be much less closely aligned. At those sites, Indian writing needs can be handled as separate, independent issues within the school's language arts curriculum. In the Northern Ute case, classroom strategies which hope to move Ute students' written English in the direction of standard English models need to pay attention to oral as well as written language development and attempts to deal with these students' writing needs strictly as writing-centered problems will have only a limited effectiveness.

3. **Written Ute English not only resembles oral Ute English usage, it also parallels in many ways the patterns of**

oral discourse found within the students' ancestral language tradition. Few of these students are fluent speakers of Ute, and even fewer are fluent writers of that language. Yet, there is a sense in which writing in Ute English and using rules of grammar and discourse drawn from the Ute language tradition when doing so, contributes to the retention of ancestral language skills within this speech community, and gives a stronger foundation for the Northern Ute tribe's efforts at ancestral language renewal.

4. **The tribal government, parents, and school authorities agree that improvement of written English skills needs to be a priority in the education of Ute Indian students.** Whether eliminating fluency in Ute English needs to be part of this process is not nearly so self-evident. There is a danger as discussed in point three above that an outright revision of community based English skills could weaken the already limited extent of current Ute language use and reduce even further the prospects for effective Ute language renewal. Moreover, as the example essays reviewed in this paper have shown, there is a new tradition of written English taking shape at Northern Ute, the first steps toward a Ute-oriented style of English literature similar to that now seen among Tohono O'Odham, Hualapai, Navajo, and elsewhere. Just as they will want to do nothing to undermine continuity in Ute language fluency on this reservation, responsible educators will want to do all they can do to see this literary tradition continue to take root. Making certain that classroom-based language instruction does not undo tribal efforts toward language self-determination, in Ute as well as English, seems a reasonable strategy for educators to follow under these circumstances.

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6

Narrative Literacy Patterns of Northern Ute Adolescent Students

Sonia Manuel-Dupont

The first purpose of this paper[1] is to discuss the relationship between oral language and academic success as a rationale for the study of narrative structures to determine Northern Ute children's acquisition of "school language" structures. The second purpose is to compare hypotheses concerning the expected linguistic behavior of Northern Ute children in retelling narratives with actual narrative-retelling skills of 41 children to determine if Ute children:

1. demonstrate the ability to retell narratives,
2. construct narratives in a manner predicted by research on mainstream (predominantly Anglo) children, and
3. construct narratives in a manner predicted by previous research on adult and adolescent Northern Utes.

The linguistic and educational heritage of modern Northern Ute English speakers is well documented in William Leap's article, "Pathways and barriers toward Ute language literacy development on the Northern Ute

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reservation" (in press). To briefly sum up his discussion, he outlines six different language traditions on the Northern Ute reservation: language traditions from three Northern Ute bands, Basin English, Standard English, and Ute English. The language varieties of the three Northern Ute bands represent the ancestral languages; Basin English represents the linguistic patterns found in the speech of the largely (though not solely) non-Indian population in the Unitah basin area; Standard English represents the form of English taught in the public schools; and Ute English represents the informal English used by most Northern Ute English speakers. It is important to note that these language traditions are not independent nor exclusive of each other. Indeed most adult Northern Ute (referred to hereafter as Ute) speakers are communicatively competent in two or more of these language traditions.

Yet, despite this rich and varied language background, Ute students do not achieve the same level of academic attainment as their Anglo counterparts. Leap (in press) notes that educational achievement on the Northern Ute reservation resembles that of other American Indian communities. "60% of all Ute adults have not completed high school, and overall, the median educational level attained by the on-reservation population is 10th grade." He also notes that, "the average academic achievement level for adults seeking to improve basic skills when they enter the tribe's Adult Education program is seventh grade, second month and their average level of reading and writing skills is even lower (sixth grade, fifth month and fifth grade, third month, respectively)".

It is for this reason and others that representatives from the Ute English Family Literacy program contacted researchers to determine what kinds of English literacy skills adolescent children were demonstrating in their school settings. In addition, it was hoped that the results of this research could be used to train local teachers to design more appropriate curriculum for Ute students which would allow them to achieve better academic success.

Oral Language and Academic Success

In the past decade numerous researchers have examined the relationship between verbal language proficiency and academic success (Heath, 1982; Wallach & Butler, 1984; Simon, 1985; Westby, 1985; Wallach & Miller, 1988; Ripich, 1989; Wallach, 1989). From research on minority, mainstream, and handicapped populations we have learned that the first step to academic success involves becoming literate. In turn, becoming literate involves learning how to learn within a clearly defined curriculum and acquiring a specialized dialect of language -- school language.

The former skill involves the ability to manage large amounts of information in efficient and effective ways, the ability to express what is known, and the ability to record information for future use (Wallach & Miller, 1988). Ripich (1989) adds that when we expect students to manage, express, and record information we expect that they will become knowledgeable of not only the lesson content but also the appropriate discourse rules for teacher-learner exchanges. In other words, in addition to math, spelling, and science, these students are expected to learn how and when to pay attention, how to take turns in conversational interactions, how to cohesively tie new and old information together for the benefit of the listener/reader, how to repair miscommunications, and how to adjust their discourse roles with teachers and classmates appropriately.

The ability to appropriately associate these socio-linguistic skills with the learning of content areas is intimately tied to the young adolescent's home language and early learning experiences before entering school. These experiences shape how the child perceives the task of learning and his/her role with that task. As can be seen in Table 1, the skills involved in learning to communicate (oral language) in the home environment are very different from the skills involved in learning to learn (literate language) in the school environment.

The language of the home, represented by the oral language portion of the continuum, is characterized by 1) concrete vocabulary, 2) familiar terms, 3) topics about objects,

people, and ideas in the immediate environment, and 4) genuine conversational roles. In other words, in the home environment children learn to use a style of oral language that will get their real needs met in an unambiguous and efficient manner. They understand that in the home questions generally arise from the immediate context, interaction with conversational partners is genuine and symmetrical, and that a great deal of information can be conveyed through the nonlinguistic cues of intonation, body posturing, and shared information. Most importantly, at home, large chunks of knowledge are assumed to be shared by the listener, thus the use of elaborate explanations and descriptions of shared events is usually unnecessary.

Table 1: Oral-Literate Continuum

Oral Language (Learning to Talk)	Literate Language (Learning to Learn)
Language Function	
Regulates social interaction	Regulates thinking/planning
Requesting & commanding	Reflecting & seeking information
Genuine questions	Many pseudo questions
Symmetrical interaction	Asymmetrical interaction
Language Topic	
Here and now	There and then
Talk topically	Talk to the topic
Meaning comes from context	Meaning comes from inference from text
Language Structure	
Familiar words	Unfamiliar words
Redundant syntax	Concise syntax
Deictics & formulaic expressions	Explicit vocabulary
Cohesion based on intonation	Cohesion based on explicit linguistic markers

(Based on Learning to talk--talking to learn: Oral-literate language differences by C. Westby, 1985, In C. Simon (Ed.) *Communication skills and classroom success: Therapy methodologies for language-learning disabled students* (pp. 182-213). San Diego, CA: College-Hill)

The language of the school, on the other hand, is characterized by unfamiliar vocabulary, text- or teacher-oriented topics, social interactions that involve extrapolating information from texts and unfamiliar environments for unfamiliar purposes, and many question-answer interactions designed to promote or display learning of curricular material. In the school environment children must learn to use oral language to demonstrate learning and to seek new information. These activities involve 1) learning to use less familiar, more concise vocabulary, 2) relying less on intonation and body posturing, and 3) being able to remove events from the immediate context for discussion over many communicative turns. In addition, in the school environment, it is unlikely that all conversational partners will share the same knowledge base as the child. Thus, more emphasis must be placed on understanding and displaying the appropriate amount of information to best meet the listener's/reader's needs.

This kind of school language is not learned with the same ease or strategies by all cultures. In seminal works by Tough (1977), Heath (1980, 1982a, 1982b), Scribner and Cole (1981), and Scollon and Scollon (1981) it was shown that not all cultures use language and literacy for the same purposes nor do they structure home language interactions with children in the same way. Those cultures which use a decontextualized language for reflecting, reasoning, and planning generally exhibit greater ease in acquiring and using school language than do those cultures that rely almost exclusively on a contextually dependent use of language. In addition, some cultures use oral language more than others with varying degrees of emphasis on the importance of children's use of language for planning, interpreting, reasoning, predicting, and so forth. While some parents feel that it is important to teach, stimulate, and model language for children, others feel that children "just learn" language on their own and intervention or teaching is unnecessary.

As an example of both points of view, in Heath's (1982b, 1983) study of three communities in the Carolina Piedmonts, she found that middle class mainstream parents tended to

highly structure their children's language development by providing models, feedback, corrections, elaborations, demonstrations, and overt explanations of words, their meanings and usages. In providing the "scaffolding" for emerging structures in their children's speech, these parents actually previewed many of the learning techniques and activities their children would encounter in their first years of school. Because these children had "practiced" learning and using language in decontextualized situations, they had fewer difficulties learning school language than did their counterparts in two other Carolina communities who had not experienced modeling and scaffolding as part of their home language experience. As Westby (1985, p. 185) stated, "The more a culture's use of language differs from that of the schools, the more likely it is that children in that culture will experience difficulty with the school tasks. Such children come to school having learned to talk, but not having talked to learn."

In order to understand how well children are learning and using school language Westby (1985) has suggested that the narrative structures of children be investigated. She argued that narratives provide the best data for understanding the transition from home language to school language for a number of reasons. First, they are the first language form that requires the speaker to produce an extended monologue wherein all information must be conveyed by the linguistic forms in the narrative without input from the listener/reader (as would be found in a typical dialogue situation). Secondly, oral narratives have a unique fluency and prosody not occurring in dialogues, because dialogues often consist of pauses, false starts, repetitions, and information carried by body posturing and affirmations of shared knowledge. Thirdly, oral narratives combine structural aspects of both home and school language because the original speaker's context and prosodic cues are not present. Of necessity the speaker is distanced from the actual event; therefore, he/she must be explicit regarding the setting, motivation, and characters of the story. Finally all cultures use language for narrative purposes, thus even children who have not had

extensive practice with school language and its usages will have used some type of narratives in their home environment.

This ability to use appropriate narrative structures in the home environment, but not the school environment, is borne out by Leap's research (1988, in press) on Northern Ute and Northern Ute English where speakers do not show hesitation in constructing appropriate home-language narratives while expressing hesitation and uncertainty in many school-language narrative tasks. In addition, Ute children's ease in constructing narratives, but not ones which comply with school-language requirements, is aptly demonstrated by Lewis (1988). She compared the narrative construction abilities of Anglo children and Ute children on descriptive and speculative tasks and clearly showed that Ute students do not successfully separate the narrative from the actual event, that they rely heavily on audience participation to supply meaning to the text, and they rely on the serial presentation of undistinguished details rather than decontextualized scaffolds of information to establish the story setting and character motivation. In contrast, Anglo children demonstrated the ability to decontextualize the narrative from the actual event, to appropriately provide information to meet the listener's needs, and to provide appropriate setting and character motivation.

To better understand how these and other mainstream children learned to mold home-language narrative structures into school-language narrative structures, the developmental research of Karmiloff-Smith (1985) provides some interesting insights. The basic outline of her three phases of development are shown in Table 2. As can be seen from the examples in the table, when mainstream children first learn to tell narratives, they concentrate on getting the data correct without attempting to link units of the story together (Phase 1). As they gain more experience with narrative structure, the emphases change and they concentrate on the organizational properties of the story to the exclusion of details (Phase 2). Finally, they combine the two strategies using both detailed explanations and organizational links between sentences and

events in the story (Phase 3). For the groups of students studied (first, second, and fourth graders), it was at Phase 3 that Lewis (1988) found most of her Anglo subjects and Phase 2 for the Ute subjects, regardless of age or grade placement.

Table 2: Phases of narrative development

1. **Phase 1: data-driven**
   - -syntactically correct utterances
   - **-no organizational properties of a narrative**
   - -no attempts to link behavioral events

   There's a boy and a dog. He has a net and a bucket. The boy is looking at the frog. He is smiling. The boy is running down the hill. He trips over the tree. He falls in the water.

2. **Phase 2: top-down control**
   - -children recognize that events in the story are related
   - -make story form a single coherent unit
   - **-goal is to tell gist of story**
   - **-details are sacrificed to structure of story**

   The boy and the dog are going fishing. The boy sees a frog. He picks up his bucket and tries to catch the frog. He misses and the frog gets away.

3. **Phase 3: data-driven combined with top-down control**
   - -dynamic interaction between data-driven and top-down processes
   - **-story details fuller**
   - **-higher order story organization patterns**

   Once there was a boy who wanted to go fishing with his dog. He took his fishing net and his bucket. When he got to the pond, he saw a frog. He decided to try and catch the frog, so he ran down the hill, but he tripped over the tree and fell in the water. . .

(Based on Language and cognitive processes from a developmental perspective by A. Karmiloff-Smith, 1985, *Language and Cognitive Processes, 1*, 61-85.)

While it is interesting to look at phases of narrative development from a holistic point of view, some children's narratives do not fall neatly into the three categories listed above while other children's narratives are in transition between one phase and the next. In addition, some non-mainstream children do not clearly demonstrate that they follow the sequential phases of this narrative development model. Therefore a more detailed analysis is needed to understand what structures are involved in each phase and how a child manipulates these structures to move between phases. Stein and Glenn (1979) proposed such an analysis by separating narratives into seven discrete story grammar categories which are used to construct narratives. Table 3 gives a complete listing of these categories and their meanings.

Table 3: Story grammar categories

1. **Setting (S)** statements introduce the main character(s) and describe the story content.
2. **Initiating Events (IE)** are occurrences that cause the protagonist to act.
3. **Attempts (A)** indicate the protagonist's overt action(s) to obtain the goal(s).
4. **Plans (P)** indicate the intended action of the protagonist.
5. **Internal Responses (IR)** refer to the goals, thoughts, and feelings of the protagonist
6. **Direct Consequences (C)**indicate the success or failure of the protagonist in attaining the goal(s).
7. **Reactions (R)** indicate the protagonist's feelings about attaining or not attaining the goals.

(Based on "An analysis of story comprehension in elementary school children" by N. Stein and C. Glenn, 1979, in R. Freedle (Ed.) *New directions in discourse processing* (Vol. 2, pp. 53-120). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.)

Previous research on narrative skills

Previous research on mainstream and Ute children's narratives was examined to predict how Northern Ute children would structure their oral narratives.

Mainstream children: Developmental aspects of story-telling grammars have been studied mostly through story-retelling tasks. This occurs when the child is presented with a story in some form and is asked to retell the story in their own words. From these studies it has been found that children by age 5 or 6 already demonstrate knowledge of narrative structure (that is, they can use all seven story grammar categories), but that the amount of information recalled from the stories increases with age. In addition, Stein and Glenn (1979) found that setting statements, initiating events and consequences were the story categories most likely to be recalled.

Excluding these three categories, which all age groups are most likely to recall, Page and Stewart (1985) found that younger children, older children, and adults differ in terms of the *specific* categories they recall. Younger children focus on consequences (Stein & Glenn, 1979); older children focus on goals (internal responses), attempts and endings (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Stein & Glenn, 1979); and adults focus on reactions and endings (Mandler & Johnson, 1977). In developmental terms, primary plots (those proceeding from initiating events to the direct consequence) emerge earlier than secondary plots (those which contain responses, plans, and attempts). From the different focus in plot construction, it is clear why there are differences between younger and older children's narratives (Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977).

The story-teller's remembrance of these categories does not seem to be affected by category saliency. Younger children continue to focus on consequences and older children on goals, attempts, and endings despite the number of times these categories occur in each episode. In addition, the order of story events or episodes is generally preserved with a high rate of accuracy by all age groups (Mandler & Johnson, 1977) even though information, not present in but related to the original

story, is frequently added during recall (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Stein & Glenn, 1979).

Learning disabled children also show an understanding of story structure but are more likely to produce shorter stories with an "impoverished" story line than are normal language children. This "impoverishment" comes from the use of fewer details and propositions to generate the text and in leaving out information about characters' responses, plans, and attempts. Roth and Spekman (1986) theorized that one reason for this "impoverishment" may be an impaired recognition of the need to share this knowledge with others. This result of this omission is an increased burden on the listener to make inferences regarding the character's thoughts, feelings, attitudes, goals, motivations, and behaviors.

What is interesting about this tendency is its similarity to the structure of oral conversations where these same categories are often left unspecified or negotiated through turn-taking. Thus it appears that learning disabled students model narratives very closely on a dyadic conversational model. They either assume that the listener will actively interpret and participate in the discourse event, or they are unable to convey information even though they know its needed by the listener. In contrast, normal-language children are able to structure stories to meet the needs of the listener even at a young age.

Ute children: While an abundance of specific information on the story grammars of Ute children and adults is not available, there are numerous ethnographic and linguistic descriptions of both Northern Ute and Ute English narratives. Leap (1988, 1989 , 1990, in press) and Lewis (1988) have argued convincingly that both traditional oral Northern Ute texts and written narratives of adolescent Ute English speaking children have the following shared characteristics:

1. Speakers establish narrative ownership of the oral text. That is, speakers take the narrative and fit it into the immediate context. In doing so, each speaker adds, subtracts or modifies the story to make it "his/her story" as best fits the situation.

2. Narratives rarely begin with elaborate introductory/orientation details to provide scene-setting unless the speaker/writer feels that this elaboration is necessary for the setting.
3. Narratives rarely offer preliminary comment on character attitude or motivation unless the speaker/writer feels that this commentary is necessary for the setting.
4. Narratives cut right to the heart of the plot, eliminating details which the speaker/writer deems unnecessary to the story or already understood by the audience. Details and elaboration may be added if the speaker/writer feels the time allotment for the task will allow this.
5. Retold narratives maintain the basic parameters set up by the target version of the text but are based on central themes, which are built up comment by comment, forcing listeners/readers to infer the purpose of the text from the whole of the text, not from the meaning of any single segment, i.e. an introductory statement.
6. Narrative performance relies upon frequent appeal to inference and frequent involvement of the listener/reader as a participant in the discourse process.

In Leap's paper in this volume, "Written Ute English: Texture, Construction, and Point of View," he reiterates the importance of understanding the non-exhaustive presentation of meaning and the active engagement required of the listener/reader for this type of text interpretation. A text which clearly follows these characteristics will require that the listener/reader contribute meaning to the text by filling in setting and character motivation information, by supplying pertinent details which are not stated but are predictable from the plot, by distinguishing importance among the details supplied, and by assuming responsibility for text purpose interpretation at the end of the narrative. Lewis (1988) also notes that readers/listeners will have to infer reference from exhaustive use of distanced pronouns and enormous amounts of undistinguished story detail.

Neither Leap nor Lewis have specifically investigated developmental trends in narrative structure, thus it is unknown whether younger children and older children will display the same kinds of narrative strategies. In addition there is no available information on the text constructing abilities of language-disabled Ute children.

Predictions: Based on these descriptions, we would then expect Ute children's English story-retelling narratives to have an amalgamation of characteristics from both linguistic perspectives, as these children have access to many varieties of English in addition to many varieties of Northern Ute. From a standard English developmental point of view we would expect Ute children 1) to have fully developed story grammars, 2) to tell the events in the same order as the target story, 3) to remember settings, initiating events, and consequences, 4) to focus the narrative on attempts, internal responses, and consequences, and 5) to understand the difference between an oral narrative and a dyadic conversation so that the listener is provided with enough details to understand the story.

From a Northern Ute and Ute English language point of view we would expect these adolescent children 1) to maintain the basic story line, 2) to shorten the story by leaving out peripheral events and unnecessary detail, not to mention character motivation and attitude or personal evaluation of the story content (internal responses and reactions), 3) to minimize details about the setting, and 4) to expect that the listener will share the same world of knowledge, thus will assume an active role in interpreting the text.

From these two areas of research it can be seen that several of the predictions are similar. Others, however are in direct contradiction. Therefore, the unknown areas of these children's stories will be the way in which they handle:

1. Length of text
2. Usage of detail and explanation vs. brevity of text
3. Usage of story grammar categories
   a. Settings and orientations to characters and plots

   b. Use of internal responses, initiating events, and consequences
4. Use of narrative ownership (to change, add, delete material) vs. addition of material to the text not in the original text

Method

Subjects: Forty-one children, 19 males and 22 females from the third through the fifth grades, were selected from a pool of students at Todd and Lapoint Elementary Schools in the Unitah Basin in Utah. In considering subjects for this study, children were chosen to meet these criteria:

1. an equal number of males and females at each grade level
2. an equal number of children at each grade level
3. normal hearing, vision, and range of intelligence as indicated on school records
4. no evidence of organic disorders
5. a good attendance record (since subjects would be required to meet with the researcher for 5 separate sessions over a two-week period of time)
6. parental permission for testing granted in writing

The children selected to participate in the study had an age range from eight years, one month to eleven years, six months. The average age was nine years, six months. 27% of the subjects were eight-year olds, 34% of the subjects were nine-year olds, 36% were ten-year olds, and 2% were eleven-year olds. Thirteen were in the third grade, 15 were in the fourth grade, and 13 were in the fifth grade. Owing to absenteeism, it was not possible to evenly match subjects for sex or grade level.

Materials: Each subject was shown four equivalent slide-tape presentations prepared by Strong (1989) based on the wordless picture books by Mercer Mayer: 1) *A boy, a dog and a frog*, 2) *Frog, where are you?*, 3) *Frog goes to dinner*, and 4) *One frog too many*. The picture books were made into slides, and scripts were written for each slide to be balanced for number of sentences, words, average words per sentence,

number of complex sentences, number of major episodes, number of main characters, and gender of main characters. The slides were then narrated by a professional narrator in a recording studio (For a complete description of the production of these materials, see Strong, 1989). In addition each child was tested using the Goldman-Fristoe Test of Articulation (Goldman & Fristoe, 1986) and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-R (Dunn & Dunn, 1981).

Procedures: Each child was seen five times. In the first session the child was administered the Goldman-Fristoe Test of Articulation and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-R according to the protocol manual procedures. All responses were tape-recorded. He/She was then told about the study and requested to come back for a second session in two days in which he/she and one or two other children from his/her grade would watch a slide-tape presentation then tell the examiner the story they had just seen.

In the second session, children from each grade were randomly placed in groups of two or three and brought into the examination room to view the practice slide-tape. They were again briefed on the study, familiarized with the equipment, and allowed to ask questions. They were then instructed that they would watch a practice story together and when it was over they were to tell the examiner the whole story from beginning to end in their own words. They were encouraged to tell the story as a group or individually, whichever they preferred, into the tape recorder. After each group had practiced telling the story, the groups were told they would come back, one child at a time, for three more visits over the next two weeks.

The practice session was held as a group rather than an individual activity to allow each child to function at their own level as a participant in a group rather than as an individual child being examined. This procedure was felt to be more culturally appropriate for these children's learning styles (Manuel-Dupont, 1987, 1989). While the examiner remained in the room with the child, the examiner did not view the slide-tape presentation with the child. Strong (1989) has an excellent review of literature which suggests that children tell

more complete stories when they believe their listener to be a naive listener.

In the third through fifth sessions, each child viewed the slide-tape presentation alone and told the story he/she had just seen to the examiner in the same manner as they had told the practice story. All stories were tape-recorded. In each session they were verbally rewarded for their story-telling ability and in the final session they were allowed to choose a toy for participating in the study.

Coding: Following the taping each tape was transcribed alphabetically following Strong's (1989) protocol. The transcribed tapes were then segmented into T-units. A T-unit is an independent clause with all of its dependent clauses attached [see Strong (1989) for a more detailed explanation]. Each T-unit was coded for number of words and number of clauses. The total T-units, total words, total clauses, words per story, words per T-unit, and words per clause were calculated. Each T-unit was then assigned a story grammar category and all stories were divided into episodes. Inter-coder agreement checks were completed for each of the following: 1) transcription, 2) T-unit segmentation, 3) all T-unit, word and clause counts, 4) story grammar categorization and, 5) episode identification. The level of inter-coder agreement was at least 90% for on each procedure.

Results

Goldman-Fristoe Test of Articulation: All subjects scored within normal ranges on the Goldman-Fristoe Test of Articulation. No child had significant articulation errors or deviances from Standard American English on this picture-identification task.

Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-R: The scores on the PPVT-R ranged from Extremely Lo · to Moderately High. These scores are lower than would be expected of an Anglo mainstream population; however, test bias against minority populations is well-do umented (Manuel-Dupont, 1987, 1988) and may account for .e lower ranges of scores. A complete listing of the data is given in Table 4. As a whole, 51% of the

children tested received low scores, 44% received average scores, and 5% received high scores.

Length of text: This study is a replication of an earlier similar study done by Strong (1989) in which 78 children from Cache County, Utah, schools were shown the same Mercer Mayer slide-tape presentations with the same protocol. Of the 78 children, 39 were language-impaired and 39 were normally

Table 4: Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-R Scores

Rating	Number of children	Percent
Extremely Low	6	14.6
Moderately Low	15	36.6
Low	0	0
Low Average	14	34.2
Average	0	0
High Average	4	9.8
Moderately High	2	2.9
High	0	0
Extremely High	0	0

developing. All were enrolled in the third, fourth, or fifth grades. Table 5 compares Ute children to normally developing (N) Anglo children and language-impaired (LI) Anglo children with respect to total number of T-units used to retell the story, the range of T-units from the minimum to the maximum for each sample, the total number of words used to tell each story, and the range of words for each sample.

In looking at each of the four categories of comparison, it is clear that for our first criteria, the Ute English speaking children did not produce stories that were significantly shorter than those of their Anglo counterparts. Indeed in every category the Ute children performed more like the Anglo normally developing children (N) than the language-impaired children (LI). Thus if the Ute English speaking child is producing "impoverished" narratives, the impoverishment

must come from content area rather than number of T-units or number of words used to tell a story.

Detail and explanation vs. intactness of text: One content measurement involving the use of detail and explanation is the number of complete episodes in each story. Every narrative is composed of at least one episode, thus episodes can be viewed as the building blocks of narratives. For a group of T-units to be considered an episode there must be at least one direct consequence and two of the following three story grammar categories: initiating event, attempt, and internal response (Roth & Spekman, 1986). If these elements

Table 5: Mean number of t-units, ranges and total words used by Ute, normal-language Anglo, and language-impaired Anglo children

Group	Story 1	Story 2	Story 3
Mean number of T-units used to create the story			
T-units-Ute	25 (7.33)	31 (8.51)	25 (7.40)
T-units-Anglo (N)	26 (6.32)	29 (9.88)	27 (7.39)
T-units-Anglo (LI)	18 (7.48)	21 (9.99)	19 (7.20)
Range of mean number of T-units used to create each story			
Range-Ute	5-39	15-52	9-45
Range-Anglo (N)	9-43	10-47	10-40
Range-Anglo (LI)	4-40	4-41	5-31
Mean number of words used to create each story			
Tot. words-Ute	194 (64.82)	237 (76.29)	192 (61.91)
Tot. words-Anglo (N)	223 (61.23)	248 (80.48)	218 (58.92)
Tot. words-Anglo (LI)	139 (66.02)	160 (81.03)	148 (83.62)
Range of mean number of words used to create each story			
Range-Ute	38-344	81-469	67-331
Range-Anglo (N)	68-357	78-382	110-333
Range-Anglo (LI)	23-287	16-321	31-25

(The mean is presented first, followed by the standard deviation in parentheses.)

are not present in the child's retelling of each episode, the episode is considered incomplete.

Each of the stories consisted of four episodes of varying length and complexity. Table 6 shows the frequency of the 7 story grammar categories within episodes of each story. From Table 6 it can be seen that the frequency with which each story grammar category occurred in each episode varied widely. In some cases categories did not occur at all in an episode (noted with "0" above) or were found at such a low level of occurrence that the child had few opportunities to adjust the text without losing that category completely. It should also be noted that some categories such as reaction (R) occur only in

Table 6: Number of story grammar categories in each episode of each target story

	Story Grammar Categories						
Story	**S**	**IE**	**A**	**P**	**IR**	**C**	**R**
				Story 1			
Episode 1	3	1	2	0	1	2	0
Episode 2	2	0	1	0	1	2	0
Episode 3	0	0	3	1	1	3	0
Episode 4	5	1	3	2	8	1	1
Total	**10**	**2**	**9**	**3**	**11**	**8**	**1**
				Story 2			
Episode 1	5	2	4	0	0	3	0
Episode 2	1	0	4	0	3	4	0
Episode 3	4	1	1	1	0	3	0
Episode 4	3	2	2	0	3	1	1
Total	**13**	**5**	**11**	**1**	**6**	**11**	**1**
				Story 3			
Episode 1	3	2	0	0	6	1	0
Episode 2	1	1	1	0	2	2	0
Episode 3	1	2	2	0	5	1	0
Episode 4	4	2	3	0	4	2	2
Total	**9**	**7**	**6**	**0**	**17**	**6**	**2**

the final episode thus a child did not have much opportunity to display knowledge of that category. Despite the varying occurrences of these categories across episodes, it is interesting to note that Ute children on the whole gave complete episodes for each of the four episodes of each story. In Table 7, it can be seen that only Episode 3 of the first story (noted with an "a") and Episode 1 of the third story (noted with a "b") had very low levels of completion.

Table 7: Percentage of Ute sample producing a complete episode

	Story		
Episode	**1**	**2**	**3**
1	83%	73%	37%b
2	51%	61%	68%
3	10%a	68%	66%
4	90%	80%	78%

Thus in response to the second area of measurement, Ute children tended to give narratives with intact episodic structures. If texts were shortened in an attempt to get to the point of the text, episodes were not eliminated entirely, the basic story structure was kept intact.

Usage of story grammar categories: In order to understand how Ute children used the story categories available in the target texts to create complete episodes, it is first necessary to see how they handled low-frequency vs. high-frequency story grammar categories. From the total indicated in Table 6 it is clear that the number of occurrences for plans and reactions were quite low across all three stories. In addition, the category of initiating event was low for the first story. In such low-frequency situations, if the child opted to change the one T-unit in which that category occurred, it would have had substantially more impact on the child's overall story grammar usage profile than in a high-frequency

situation. While this may seem to be unnecessarily unbalanced, it reflects the natural occurrence of these categories in narrative speech. Therefore it would have been unnatural to have "loaded" the target stories with more occurrences of these categories just to ensure that the child has the opportunity to use them.

Table 8: Percentage of Ute sample producing correct usage of each story grammar category

	Story		
Category	1	2	3
S	33	60	48
IE	65	67	61
A	64	5	61
P	32	17	--*
IR	31	38	32
C	73	61	60
R	32	44	50

*category does not occur in the target text.

To see how well Ute children handled the tasks of low- vs. high-frequency categories in the texts, Table 8 gives the percentage of correct usage of each category for the Ute sample as a whole. Table 8 clearly shows that Ute children did not utilize the low-frequency categories as often as they did the high-frequency categories, although they used the low-frequency category of initiating event in the first story to a much higher degree than plans or reactions. In fact, there was very little utilization of plans and reactions across all three stories. The most used categories were initiating event, attempts, and consequences. The low occurrence of settings in stories one and three and the overall low usage of internal response is predictable from the Northern Ute and Ute English literature which indicates that Ute English speakers do not spend a lot of time casting a story or talking about character's emotions and motivations. This is somewhat at

odds with the mainstream literature which says that older children should place emphasis on internal responses, attempts, and endings. The Ute English speaking children do use the attempt and direct consequence categories, but do not utilize the internal response and reaction categories to a high degree.

Table 9: Percentage of correct usage for Ute sample of each story grammar category by episodes

Category	Episode 1	2	3	4
		Story 1		
S	45	32	–	26
IE	70	–	–	59
A	60	55	55	76
P	–	–	73	10
IR	17	34	7	34
C	85	84	54	90
R	–	–	–	32
		Story 2		
S	69	34	47	78
IE	70	–	63	67
A	51	64	76	52
P	–	–	17	–
IR	–	39	–	37
C	73	49	55	95
R	–	–	–	44
		Story 3		
S	69	68	2	38
IE	38	78	62	73
A	–	88	84	37
P	–	–	–	–
IR	29	61	13	48
C	46	65	63	61
R	–	–	–	50

While it is interesting to note that certain categories are used frequently by Ute children and others are not, it is more informative to look at these categories across episodes in each story to determine if children "load up" certain episodes with certain categories or if the categories occur at a similar rate across episodes. Table 9 gives the percentage of correct usage of each category by episodes and shows several interesting trends. For the category of setting, the highest numbers are found in the first episode of each story and in episodes where new characters are introduced. Thus even though this category is not as highly used as others, it appears to have a clear function in the overall text. Settings are used to establish new characters in the story rather than setting up descriptive explanations of events. For a fuller understanding of the introduction of new characters see the texts of each story in the appendix.

The initiating event category, when it occurred in the target story, was repeated to a high degree of accuracy in nearly every episode of every story. The one exception is the first episode of the third story where there were initiating events separated by several internal responses. For example:

Original:
IE **He opened the box and looked in.**
S There was a baby frog.
IR Mike was happy to have a baby frog.
S But he had a big frog already.
IR And the big frog was not happy to see a new frog.
IR He was jealous of him.
IE **Mike put the baby frog down next to the big frog.**
IR The big frog said hello to the baby frog in a mean voice.

Ute:
S There was a this boy Mike that had a present and had a frog.
S And he already had a big frog.
IR The big frog was mad at the little frog.
IR Then a big one says hello in a mean voice.
(Initiating events deleted as episode is compressed.)

Where attempts occurred. they tended to be used frequently. In fact, many episodes seemed to be built around an initiating event - attempt - consequence sequence. One exception to the frequent use of attempts occured in episode 4 of story 3, where several actions of the main character occured in repetitive sentences. Ute children as a whole tended to collapse the similar syntactic patterns into a different sentence which conveyed the meaning of most of the target verbs. For example:

Original: **A They looked everywhere**
A They looked behind logs and in logs.
A Mike called for the baby frog.

Ute: **A They were looking all over for that frog.**

The plan category occurred infrequently across episodes and stories and, as a consequence, was not often used. The one exception to this tendency occurred in the third episode of the first story. One possible explanation for this high usage is that there were no target T-units containing initiating events, thus children used plans to complete the attempt-consequence triad.

Despite the high-frequency occurrence of the internal-response category in the target story, Ute children used it quite infrequently across most episodes of all stories. Where higher percentages did occur, it was consistently in the second and fourth episodes. It is not clear why those particular episodes would be favored.

The consequence category is the third member of the frequently utilized triad. Since this category is intimately tied with the measurement of episode completion (it must occur for an episode to be complete), it is not surprising, given the previous discussion of the high number of complete episodes, that this category is also frequently used. In addition, it becomes clearer why episode 3 of story 1 and episode 1 of story 3 were incomplete for this group of Ute subjects. In the first case, there were no initiating events available to complete the second half of the episodic completeness criteria (consequence

plus two of the three: initiating event, attempt, internal response). In addition the internal response category was rarely used.

In the second case (episode 1 of story 3) there were no attempts available, and the internal response category was infrequently used. From these examples, it becomes clear that Ute children created complete episodes with initiating events-attempts-consequences, and when these categories were limited in the target story, it was likely that the episode would be incomplete.

The final category, reaction, occured only in the last episode of each story and was used relatively infrequently, although a larger number of children did utilize this category in story 3 where there were twice the opportunities in the target story for its usage.

In summary, the most frequently used categories were initiating events, attempts, and consequences, which also were critical categories in episodic completion. The least frequently occurring categories seem to have had episode-specific uses. Settings were used most frequently in the first episode or whenever new characters were introduced, internal responses were used in the second and fourth episodes, and reactions were found in the fourth episodes only. Plans did not appear to be frequently used in Ute children's texts or for that matter, in the target texts. Thus Ute children performed as would be predicted from both mainstream and Northern Ute literature on initiating events, attempts, and consequences. They performed as predicted by Northern Ute literature on settings, plans, internal responses, and reactions.

Use of narrative ownership: The final category of analysis is the usage of narrative ownership (see Leap's article in this volume for a fuller discussion of this concept). One measurement of narrative ownership is the number of times Ute children delete, add, or change material in the text to create a text that is personalized. The deletion of material is clear from the previous discussions (settings, internal responses, plans, and reactions were low occurence categories for Ute children).

Since deletion was discussed in the previous sections, narrative ownership was measured by looking at the number and kinds of additions and substitutions Ute children made to the texts. Table 10 gives the number of additions, the most commonly added categories, and the percentage of the total that these common categories comprise for each episode of each story. For example, for story 1, episode 1, there were 31 total additions made by Ute children to this episode. The most common additions were S, A, and C (settings, attempts, and consequences), and these three categories comprised 77% of all the additions made. The other 23 % of additions were of very low frequency and are not listed individually in this table.

Table 10: Number and kinds of additions made to each episode of each story. The total number of additions is given first, followed by the most common categories added and the percentage of the total that the common categories comprise.

	Story		
Episode	**1**	**2**	**3**
1	n=31 S, A, C (77%)	n=62 S, A, C (85%)	n= 36 S, C, A (86%)
2	n=18 S,C (72%)	n=51 A, C, S (86%)	n=28 A, S, C (79%)
3	n= 72 A, C, P (90%)	n=33 S, A, C (76%)	n=34 IE, S, C (74%)
4	n=83 A, S, C, IR (96%)	n=40 S, C, A (88%)	n=51 S, IR, A (76%)

In looking at the concept of narrative ownership, it is interesting to note that Ute children in general "personalized"

their stories by adding similar kinds of information. The most frequent kinds of information added were settings, attempts, and consequences. The addition of settings is particularly interesting since Ute children tended to use very few of the target stories' original settings. Thus in using settings as additions, Ute children achieved narrative ownership by casting characters and physical environments in a manner that each child felt best fit the narrative situation. For example:

Original:	S	One day a boy named Joe decided he wanted a pet frog.
	S	He got a net and a bucket to put the frog in.
Ute:	S	A boy wanted a pet frog.
	S	An' he had a bucket an' a net to catch it.
	+S	**The bucket was for him to put the frog in.**

In this example, the child achieved narrative ownership by adding further explanation of the function of the bucket. The additional information may indicate that the child did not view the listener as being knowledgeable in the art of frog-catching, and therefore the child supplied details to explain the event more fully. It is interesting to note that another very low-frequency category, internal response, was often used as an addition to the final episodes of two of the three stories. Again, where Ute students did not utilize the target categories from the stories, they added character motivations from a more personalized experience or perhaps from more intense scrutiny of the facial expressions of characters in the slides. For example:

Original:	S	So Mike went home and laid on his bed to cry.
	IE	But then they heard something wonderful.
	S	It was the sound of a baby frog.
	IE	And then the baby frog leaped through the window to join them.

Ute: S And Mike was cryin' on his bed.
IE And then they heard a frog sound.
+IR and then they were surprised
IE The baby frog jumped through the window.

In this example, the child chose to add emphasis to the emotions of the other characters in the story as a possible way of explaining their subsequent actions of greeting the frog. This use of narrative ownership is surprising, given the fact that internal responses are not often used.

A final area of interest in the analysis of additions is the use of repetition. Often a Ute child would give the target story grammar category and then would repeat the utterance either verbatim or with minimal lexical and/or syntactic differences immediately following the target.

Original: S One night when he and his dog were sleeping,
IE The frog climbed out of the jar.
IE He left through an open window.

Ute: S And when it came night
IE and the frog jumped out of his jar
+S Then when they were asleep
+IE the frog went out of his jar
IE and he jumped out of a open window

The use of repetition has been documented in the literature (Leap, 1989 , 1990) and may indicate emphasis on ideas being repeated or a stylistic means of signaling the importance of one or more ideas over adjacent ideas.

Another area of analysis for the concept of narrative ownership is that of substitutions. Substitution was carried out in two different ways. The first method involved substituting one story grammar category for another. For example a common substitution for Ute children was to change IR (internal response) categories into A (attempts). This would be noted "A/IR" -- attempts have replaced the original internal response.

Original IR: The frog sat on a rock and felt sad to see them go.
Ute A: **They left.**

Original IR: Joe and his dog walked home feeling very angry that they didn't catch a frog.
Ute A: **And then he went home with no frog, him and his dog.**

The other method of substitution was to substitute one story grammar category for the same story grammar category. This occurred most often when Ute children decided to change the verb of a sentence. In the example below, one attempt has been substituted for a different attempt. This would be noted as "A/A". For example:

Original A: All day long Tom **called** for the frog.
Ute A: Tom **looked** for his frog all day.

In Table 11 the most frequent substitutions made by Ute children have been noted. The "X/Y" notation refers to one story grammar category being substituted for another, such as A/IR. The "X/X" category refers to one story grammar category being substituted for the same category. The first line "n=" refers to the total number of occurrences of that type of substitution. The second line shows overall percentages of this type of substitution. Examples of substitutions have been given on the third line only when a large number of children used the same substitution strategy. Finally the percentage for that particular substitution has been listed next to it.

In Table 11 it is also interesting to note that there were some substitutions made for each episode of each story. However, as a group, Ute children did not seem to favor the X/Y strategy or the X/X strategy. Each was used with about the same frequency--X/Y=53%, X/X=47%. The most frequent types of X/Y substitutions were initiating events replacing settings (IE/S), attempts replacing plans (A/P), and attempts replacing internal responses (A/IR). These substitutions may help to explain why Ute children used the plan and internal response categories so infrequently -- they were being replaced with attempts. Examples of each of these substitutions include:

Table 11: Number, kind, and percentage of substitutions made to each episode. The total number of substitutions is given first, followed by percentage of substitutions from that category (X/Y or X/X), then the most common substitutions used are given followed by the percentage of usage for that particular substitution pattern.

	Story		
Substitution	**1**	**2**	**3**
		Episode 1	
X/Y	n=0	n=26	n=5
	0	53%	26%
	–	IE/S (22%)	
X/X	n=6	n=23	n=14
	100%	47%	74%
		A/A (29%)	IR/IR (53%)
		Episode 2	
X/Y	n=6	n=36	n=1
	67%	32%	4%
X/X	n=3	n=77	n=23
	33%	68%	96%
		A/A (48%)	IR/IR (54%)
		Episode 3	
X/Y	n=5	n=51	n=7
	36%	78%	47%
		A/P (40%)	
X/X	n=9	n=14	n=8
	64%	22%	53%
		Episode 4	
X/Y	n=72	n=11	n=19
	91%	55%	54%
	A/IR (53%)	A/IR (34%)	
X/X	n=7	n=9	n=16
	9%	45%	46%
			IR/IR (20%)

Original: S: It was getting late.
P So Joe decided to go home without a pet frog.
IR He shook his fist and yelled good-bye.

Ute: **IE So they said it was too late. (IE/S)**
A Joe went home. (A/P)
A He was waving good-bye to the frog. (A/IR)

The most frequent type of X/X substitution was one attempt replacing another attempt (A/A), and one internal response replacing another internal response (IR/IR). Again it it interesting to note that one of the low-frequency categories for Ute children, internal response, was modified by substitution as well as addition as we saw from Tables 10 and 11. Examples of these types of substitutions include:

Original: R Mike was sad and started to cry.
IR So they all went home feeling very bad.

Ute: IR And Mike was sad and cryin.
IR And the animals were all mad at him. (IR/IR)

Original: A They called down holes.
Ute: **A They went and look in a holes. (A/A)**

In sum, it would appear that Ute children achieve some degree of narrative ownership over these retold stories by adding and modifying (substituting) story grammar categories. It is of further interest to note that whereas earlier in this discussion it appeared that Ute children did not favor or use certain low-frequency categories such as settings and internal responses, it is clear from the addition/substitution data that they understand these categories and are able to use them.

Conclusion

The literature on Northern Utes indicated that Ute children come from a richly varied linguistic background with at least six different language influences (Leap, in press). In addition it is likely that the oral language traditions of the Northern Ute community, like many other minority

communities, may not reflect the beliefs of mainstream society that language skills must be taught, rehearsed, corrected, and practiced (Manuel-Dupont, 1989; Leap, in press). Thus while Ute children come to school with intact and multipurpose oral "home" language skills, these skills do not appear to correlate well with literate "school" language requirements. In fact, as research on other minority groups has predicted (Heath, 1983), these adolescent children seem to demonstrate difficulty in using some of the narrative forms that are predicted to have been acquired by their age.

Literature on mainstream, mostly Anglo, adolescent children documents that they should 1) be able to tell detailed narratives, 2) use settings, initiating events, and consequences, 3) be concentrating on internal responses, attempts, and endings of narratives that are typically found in secondary (as opposed to primary) story plots, and 4) be aware of the needs of the listening audience, adjusting their narratives to appropriately fit the audience's needs.

Literature on Northern Ute and Ute English children documents that Ute children should 1) understand and utilize the concept of narrative ownership, 2) not elaborate on settings, internal responses, or reactions, 3) tell the story efficiently by getting to the point but not to the detriment of the story line in general, and 4) expect that the audience will share a knowledge base and belief system and thus will actively participate in supplying details and meanings to the narrative.

Several findings arose from the four areas of predicted conflict between these two literature bases: 1) length of text, 2) usage of detail and explanation, 3) usage of settings, character orientations, internal responses, initiating events, and consequences, and 4) establishment of narrative ownership.

For length of text Ute children produced narratives of similar length to Anglo children with mostly complete episodic structures within each narrative. While length could be separated somewhat independently from the other three factors, the remaining areas were highly inter-related. In incorporating detail and explanation, it appeared that Ute children used an initiating event-attempt-consequence triad to

put together narratives. While this was predicted by mainstream literature, this format (primary plot construction) is generally thought to be more characteristic of younger children. In putting together these narratives, Ute children demonstrated a more top-down rather than data-driven approach to the use of detail. That is, their stories did not show great evidence of emergence into Karmiloff-Smith's (1985) Phase 3 where details of data and relationships between ideas are both expressed. Yet, despite the brevity of detail, Ute children produced complete stories with personalized added details.

In producing these personalized stories, Ute children tended to avoid the target categories of setting, internal response, plan, and reaction from the target stories, yet they often used these categories as additions or substitutions. In fact the most common additions were settings, attempts, and consequences. The most common substitutions were attempts for internal responses and internal responses for other internal responses. The only infrequently used categories were plans and reactions, both of which had highly limited occurrences in the target text.

In all, adolescent Ute English discourse appears to be very home-language driven, perhaps best reflecting the structures of everyday conversations where discourse partners freely contribute to the flow and meaning of the conversation. In addition some culture-specific discourse strategies such as repetition seem to perform functions not codable under the current story grammar category profile. Despite these differences, there still remain elements which show emergence into literate "school" language patterns such as the usage of internal responses and settings as additions, even though these categories do not appear where mainstream literature predicts they will occur.

Implications

While it would certainly be simpler and more efficient for teachers to target Ute students as weak in narrative development, it would be a grave error to assume that extensive work needs to be done on teaching the concepts of

narrative development (for example, the story grammar categories). Ute students demonstrate quite adequately that they understand how narratives are put together and can use all of the grammar categories to construct their own narratives. However, Ute students' contructions are different from what teachers expect from them because the teachers' expectations are based on textbooks developed from research on mainstream students who speak Standard English.

This difference may be due to differences in audience analysis. These children may assume that the audience shares more knowledge with them than is actually the case. This affirms findings from Northern Ute narrative traditions which show much reliance on audience participation in narrative meaning construction. Or it may be that these constructions are closely aligned with similar constructions found in traditional Northern Ute, thus Ute children believe them to be the *socially appropriate* forms, above and beyond what they believe the role of the audience to be. Whatever the cause for these differences, drills and seat work are unlikely to facilitate changes, as it is highly unlikely that Ute students have conscious knowledge of these influences.

If teachers want to see differences in the the kind of language the Ute child uses in the classroom, for example -- school-language vs. home-language, the teacher must make an effort to understand the home-language of the Ute student, including its development and its socio-political purpose for existing. Secondly they must be careful to clearly design assignments that call for the usage of school-language over home-language if that is their purpose. For example, a composition assignment to write about the person they admire the most or the animal they like the best would most likely trigger a personalized home-language usage as the appropriate mode for reflecting and conveying information. A composition assignment about the impact of the Constitution on democracy in the United States would most likely trigger the need for school-language calling for analyzing, reflecting, and exemplifying. Finally, teachers must learn to work individually with students through conferencing, questioning, and working to understand what

the student believes the narrative to accomplish and why, so that it becomes clear to the student and the teacher what the differences are between these two modes of communication and why each is correctly and uniquely appropriate for different occasions.

Success in teaching school language will only be accomplished when both students and teachers recognize the existence, importance, and functions of the home- and school-language traditions and do not try to learn or teach one to the exclusion of the other. Past experience alone should indicate to both groups that extermination of one communication system in favor of another, no matter which is selected as the target, leads to an overall diminishment of communicative skills. Thus, just as Northern Ute children have demonstrated the ability to use context-controlled story grammar categories, so should they be given the opportunity to expand this skill into context-controlled language traditions.

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Appendix

Target texts

1. Alphabetic letters refer to the story grammar categories:

S= setting
IE=initiating event
A= attempt
P= plan
IR=internal response
C= consequence
R= reaction

2. The percentages after each story grammar letter indicate the number of Ute children in the population who recited that line of the story correctly.

3. Dashed lines (——) separate episodes in the stories.

Story 1

S–59%	One day a boy named Joe decided he wanted a pet frog.
S–24%	He got a net and a bucket to put the frog in.
IE-70%	Then he and his dog started off to find one.
A–37%	Joe looked everywhere for a frog.
IR–78%	Then he saw one down in a little pond.
S–51%	It was sitting on a lily pad.
IR–17%	Joe and the dog were excited.
A–83%	And they went racing down the hill to catch the frog.
C–80%	But then they tripped over a branch!
C–85%	And they fell right into the pond!
S–41%	When they sat up in the water, they were looking right at the frog.
IR–34%	He looked at Joe and didn't move from his lily pad.
IR–34%	And he tried not to laugh.
S–22%	Joe looked very silly.
A–76%	Then Joe grabbed at the frog.
C–83%	But the frog leaped out of the way.

C--85% And he landed on a dead tree.

IR--7% "No · what should I do?" thought Joe.
P--73% So he told the dog to go to one end of the tree.
A--63% And then he climbed on the other end.
A--59% The dog ran straight at the frog.
A--44% And Joe raised his net.
C--85% But he dropped it right on the dog, not the frog.
C--63% The frog had already jumped away.
C--15% There sat Joe with his dog in the net.

IR--44% Now the frog was getting angry, because Joe was making him mad by trying to catch him.
S--29% It was getting late.
P--5% So Joe decided to go home without a pet frog.
IR--24% He shook his fist and yelled good-bye.
S--15% The frog sat on a rock
IR--66% and felt sad to see them go.
S--42% He had no friends in the pond to play with.
IR--27% Joe and his dog walked home feeling very angry that they didn't catch a frog.
S--10% And the frog sat alone on his rock.
IR--37% He was feeling very lonely.
P--17% So he decided to follow Joe and the dog.
A--85% He hopped up on the path and followed their tracks.
A--85% And he followed them right into a house.
A--56% He followed them right into a bathroom
S--34% where they were taking a bath.
IR--15% He stood in the doorway and smiled at them.
IE--59% Then he said "Here I am." "I want to play with you."
IR--46% Joe and the dog were very surprised to see him.
IR--27% And they were even more surprised
C--90% when he leaped into the bathtub to play with them.
R--32% And the three of them felt good to be together

Story 2

S--68% There once was a boy named Tom who had a pet frog.
S--51% He kept it in a large jar.
S--63% One night while he and his dog were sleeping
IE--76 the frog climbed out of the jar.

1E--63%	He left through an open window.
S--88%	When Tom woke up, he leaned over his bed to say good morning to the frog.
S--76%	But the frog was gone!
A--90%	Tom looked everywhere for the frog.
A--27%	And the dog looked for him too.
A--46%	Tom called out the window.
A--41%	When the dog looked in the jar
C--76%	he got his head caught.
C--80%	And so, when he leaned out the window
C--63%	The heavy jar made him fall.

A--61%	Tom picked him up to see if he was okay.
1R--51%	And the dog licked him for being so nice.
A--76%	All day long Tim called for the frog.
A--61%	He called down holes.
1R--37%	A gopher got angry at Tom for disturbing him.
S--34%	And while Tom was calling for the frog in a tree hole, the dog was getting into more trouble.
A--59%	He barked at some bees and jumped at a tree where their bees' nest was hanging.
C--61%	And the bees' nest fell down.
C--68%	The angry bees chased the dog.
C--39%	And an angry owl came out of the tree hole to scold Tom.
1R--29%	It scared him.
C--27%	The owl screeched at him to stay away from his home.

A--76%	Next, Tom climbed a big rock and called again.
P--17%	He leaned on some branches to see better.
C--27%	But the branches began to move and carry him into the air.
S--37%	They weren't branches.
S--66%	They were a deer's antlers.
S--59%	And the deer ran with Tom on his head.
S--27%	The dog ran along too, barking at the deer.
1E--63%	The deer stopped quickly at the edge of a cliff.
C--49%	He threw Tom over the edge.
C--90%	And he and the dog fell into a pond.

1E--80%	Suddenly, they both heard something.
S--61%	It was a croaking sound.
1R--12%	And they smiled.

A–34% Tom told the dog to be quiet.
A–71% And they both crept up and looked behind a dead tree.
S–76% There was his frog sitting proudly with a mother frog.
S–98% And they had eight babies.
IE–54 One of the baby frogs leaped forward to greet him.
IR–61% He liked Tom.
IR–37% And Tom liked him.
C–95% So Tom took the baby frog home to be his new pet.
R–44% And he waved good-bye to his old frog who now had a family to take care of.

Story 3

S–93% One day there was a boy named Mike who got a surprise package.
IE–49% He opened a box and looked in.
S–83% There was a baby frog.
IR–15% Mike was happy to have a baby frog.
S–32% But he had a big frog already.
IR–41% And the big frog was not happy to see a new frog.
IR–61% He was jealous of him.
IE–27% Mike put the baby frog down next to the big frog.
IR–27% The big frog sad hello to the baby frog in a mean voice.
C–46% Then the big frog reached down and bit him on the leg.
IR–29% Mike told the big frog that he was very naughty.
IR–2% And he told him to be nice to the baby frog.

IE–78% Then Mike took his pets out to play.
S–68% The two frogs rode on the back of a turtle.
IR–46% But the big frog didn't like sharing the ride.
A–88% And soon the big frog kicked the baby frog off.
C–61% And the baby frog laid in the dirt crying.
IR–61% And again Mike told the big frog that he was naughty.
C–68% He told him to go home since he couldn't be nice.

IE–68% Then Mike took off on a raft with his pets.
IE–56% But the big frog didn't go home like he was told to do.
A–68% He jumped onto the raft.
IR–10% And he glared angrily at the baby frog for getting him into trouble.
A–100% Then he kicked the baby frog off the raft into the water.

IR--5%	"Take that!" he said.
S--10%	Then the big frog sat on the raft
IR--2%	happy that the baby frog was gone.
C--63%	But one of the other pets told Mike what happened.
IR--15%	"Oh no!" said Mike.
IR--24%	"Where's the baby frog?"

S--2%	The baby frog was gone.
S--5%	And they couldn't find him.
A--80%	They looked everywhere.
A--24%	They looked behind logs and in logs.
A--5%	Mike called for the baby frog.
C--56%	But they couldn't find him.
IR--68%	Mike was sad and started to cry.
IR--59%	So they all went home feeling very bad.
IR--51%	Even the big frog felt sad.
IR--12%	He didn't mean to make him cry.
S--85%	Mike went home and laid on his bed to cry.
IE--71%	But then they heard something wonderful.
S--61%	It was the sound of a baby frog.
IE--76%	And then the baby frog leaped through the window to join them!
C--66%	He jumped right on the big frog's head.
R--51%	The big frog was happy to see the baby frog back.
R--49%	And he promised to be nice to him from now on.

7

A Description of the Rock Point Community School Bilingual Education Program

Jon Reyhner

Rock Point Community School is located in the middle of the Navajo Nation in Northeast Arizona. English-as-a-second-language (ESL) instruction was started at Rock Point in 1960 and bilingual instruction in 1967. In 1972, in order to provide "quality Navajo education through local community control," the community elected a school board which contracted with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, to operate it as a K-6 elementary school so they could have more control over hiring and curriculum. In 1976, one grade a year was added so that in 1982 the first high school seniors were graduated. Today the community continues to contract to operate the school under Public Law 638, the Indian Self-determination and Assistance Act.[1]

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[1]I would like to thank the Rock Point Community School Board and the school's director, Jimmie C. Begay, for giving me the opportunity to work as the assistant director for academic programs at Rock Point during the 1988-89 school year while I was on leave from Eastern Montana College. In addition, I would like to thank the principals -- Johnson Dennison, Stella Tsinajinnie, and Dan McLaughlin -- and the teachers and support staff at Rock Point Community School for their commitment to Navajo bilingual education. Parts of this paper are based on the author's chapter on bilingual education in *Teaching the Indian Child: A Bilingual/ Multicultural Approach* published by Eastern Montana College in 1986.

Forty-three per cent of Rock Point students in 1988 were dominant Navajo speakers while only five per cent were dominant English speakers. Under the Rock Point bilingual curriculum instituted in 1967, kindergarten students are taught reading in Navajo. Students add English reading instruction starting in second grade.

In order to get enough Navajo language teachers, most of the Rock Point elementary school teachers were hired locally without college degrees, but an on-site training program brought college level courses to Rock Point and has led to many earning degrees. The school board and administration concluded that the only way an isolated Navajo community could get a stable teaching staff would be to hire and train local people (Rosier & Holm, 1980). The years have proven this conclusion right. In 1989, twenty-one teachers out of a teaching staff of fifty had worked ten years or more at Rock Point, and only one non-Navajo teacher was employed in the elementary school. Teachers without four year college degrees are required to take twelve semester credits each year leading towards an appropriate education degree. Over the past twenty-five years, the school has also had exceptional school board and administrative stability. The principal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs School, Wayne Holm, became the director of the new contract school and remained working at the school until 1986.

In addition to Navajo teaching staff, another important aspect of the Rock Point Bilingual Program is the fact that the Navajo portion of the curriculum does not depend on supplemental funding, although Title VII bilingual funding was first received in 1971 and other funding has helped out. Navajo language teachers in grades K-12 are paid from the same main contract funds that most English language teachers are paid from.

The bilingual program at Rock Point has been described as being both a *coordinate* and a *maintenance* bilingual program. Instruction in the two languages is kept separate but complementary. Instruction is not repeated in each language, but concepts introduced in Navajo are reviewed in English. Some teachers teach only in English and

others only in Navajo. In kindergarten, two-thirds of the instruction is in Navajo with the rest of the time spent teaching students oral English. By second grade students are receiving half their instruction in English and half in Navajo. In the upper grades from fifteen to thirty per cent of the instruction is in Navajo with the rest in English. The amount of time spent teaching in Navajo and in English in grades K-6 at Rock Point is outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Navajo and English Curriculum for Grades K-6

Grade	Percentage of School Day	
	0 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%	
	NAVAJO CURRICULUM	ENGLISH CURRICULUM
K	Reading Readiness, Math, Science, Social Studies, and Language Arts	ESL, Math, Social Studies, Health
1	Reading, Math, Science Social Studies, Language Arts, Science	Same as kindergarten
2	Same as 1st grade	English Reading, ESL, Math Social Studies, Health
3	Same as 2nd grade plus Navajo Writing	Same as 2nd grade
4	Navajo Literacy: a. Lang. Arts b. Nav. SS	Same as 2nd grade plus writing and communication activities
5	c. Culture Inst. d. Science e. Consumer	
6	Math	

In the early grades, mathematics is taught first in Navajo and then the specialized English vocabulary is taught later (Rosier & Holm, 1980). By teaching content area subjects in the early grades in Navajo, Rock Point students are not held back in those subjects until they learn English. Concepts learned by students in Navajo are transferable and usable later in either language, and almost all basic reading skills learned in the Navajo reading program transfer into the English reading program [see Thonis (1981) for evidence of the transfer of reading skills from Spanish to English].

In 7th and 8th grade, students have one period of Navajo studies plus a quarter of Navajo writing each year. In grades 9-12 students have a half year of Navajo studies plus a quarter of Navajo writing each year. Eighth graders and seniors must give graduation speeches in Navajo and/or English.

Research Support for the Rock Point Program

The Rock Point curriculum fits well with what Jim Cummins (1986; 1988; 1989) found in examining the research on bilingual education. He concluded that *subtractive* educational programs that seek to replace native language and culture with the English language and culture cause minority students to fail while *additive* educational programs which teach English language and culture in addition to the native language and culture create the conditions for students to succeed in their schoolwork. Cummins lists four educational areas that need to be addressed to empower Indian students:

1. Incorporation of the cultural and linguistic background of the student into the school and its curriculum
2. Participation of the community in school activities
3. Use of interactionist teaching methods which emphasize an active role for students
4. School testing programs that recognize linguistic and cultural differences and that search out student strengths rather than being used to track minority students into special education programs. (for

> further elaboration of these areas see Cummins, 1986; 1988; 1989).

Cummins (1981) found that exposure to television, schooling, and English-speaking children can get Indian students speaking English fairly well in about two years as can transitional bilingual programs which usually are found in the first three or four grades. However, such speaking skills are "context-embedded," meaning that the situation that is being talked about is familiar to the student. Many classroom situations after grade four, especially those involved with reading textbooks, are "context-reduced," meaning that all the information must be gained from lectures or textbooks. The academic competence to understand English in a "context-reduced" situation takes an average of five or six years to learn (Cummins, 1989). Under the old submersion or new transitional bilingual approaches, Indian students often experience so much failure in school that they tend to give up and drop out, never catching up to their white peers. In maintenance bilingual programs such as Rock Point's, ESL instruction is spread over the entire elementary grades and students are given the time needed to gain cor text-reduced English language skills.

Cummins also found many studies reporting "that bilingual children are more cognitively flexible in certain respects and better able to analyze linguistic meaning than monolingual children" and that bilingual education can reinforce students' cultural identity and reduce their mixed feelings about the dominant society (1981, p. 37). A frequent criticism of maintenance bilingual programs is that they delay the learning of English. However, Krashen (1985) has found the reverse to be true:

> The proper use of the first language can help the acquisition of English a great deal; well-organized bilingual programs are very effective in teaching English as a second language, often more effective, in fact, than all-day English programs that 'submerse' the child in English. (p. 69)

Older grammar-based ESL-only programs were also found by students and teachers to be boring (Spolsky, 1978). ESL-only instruction has been seen as a quick fix to the shortage of bilingual teachers. However, ESL teachers need extensive training which involves knowledge of the structure of the native language of their students and a background in the students' culture. No generic ESL training can provide competent teachers for all minority language groups (Schaffer, 1988).

The soundness of the Rock Point Bilingual Program is further supported by its close resemblance to the successful California Spanish-English programs described by Krashen and Biber (1988). They found that successful bilingual programs shared the following characteristics:

1. High quality subject matter teaching in the first language, without translation.
2. Development of literacy in the first language.
3. Comprehensible input in English. Ideally, comprehensible input in English is provided directly by high quality English as a Second language classes, supplemented by comprehensible, or "sheltered" subject matter teaching in English. (p. 25)

Bernard Spolsky of the University of New Mexico summed up the results of the Rock Point Community School's educational program:

> In a community that respects its own language but wishes its children to learn another, a good bilingual program that starts with the bulk of instruction in the child's native language and moves systematically toward the standard language will achieve better results in standard language competence than a program that refuses to recognize the existence of the native language. (in introduction to Rosier & Holm, 1980, p. vi)

Developing Navajo Curriculum Materials

Teachers at Rock Point have to produce many of their own materials to teach in Navajo. Bernard Spolsky's (1973) detailed survey found a "good bit" of Navajo language material around, but not enough "to fill out a first grade year of reading" (p. 31). Although there is now considerably more material, schools still must also rely on student and teacher made materials. The Navajo Reading Studies Project, which produced a considerable amount of Navajo material, ceased operation, and funding for similar projects is no longer available. At present a Title VII (bilingual education) funded Junior Research Program (JRP) in the elementary school and a Title V, before 1989 known as Title IV, (Indian education) funded Applied Literacy Program (ALP) in the secondary school at Rock Point develop student writing skills in Navajo and English. Students write for newspapers and booklets that then become reading material for other students.

ALP and JRP are integral to the Rock Point bilingual program. These programs provide literacy instruction with a purpose for Rock Point students and encourage students to develop communication skills in Navajo and English. In the ALP program in grades 7-12, students spend a quarter each year in Navajo writing, English writing, computers, and performance. Each quarter, an award winning bilingual school newspaper is produced by the ALP program (see Figure 1). Students learn to type both Navajo and English in the computer class and the newspaper is now typeset and laid out with Macintosh computers. In the performance class students learn to use video equipment, and they give speeches and act in both Navajo and English. Their productions are broadcast on the school's low wattage television station.

In the JRP program students in grades 2-6 have Navajo writing, English writing, computers, and drama. Like the secondary school, the elementary students produce a school newspaper using Macintosh computers. In the drama class they produce public service skits which have been broadcast on the tribal 50,000 watt AM radio station.

In addition to the above programs, hands-on instructional approaches -- such as *Stern Mathematics* that emphasizes the use of manipulatives and *Science: A Process Approach* that emphasizes hands-on, experimental activities --

are used in the elementary school because they lend themselves to adaptation by teacher for Navajo language instruction more readily than exclusively textbook approaches. They also provide the "realia" that Hoffman (1988) and the "context" that Cummins (1989) feel are essential for second language instruction.

Figure 1: Front page of the October, 1988, edition of the Rock Point Community School's high school newspaper. The Navajo title translates "Recognizing the things happening around us."

BAA AKONINIZIN

Officials voice position on English-only bill

Hóyahdi Ólta'íjí JRP wolyéego aa'áalyaa

Ólta' Alą́ąjįʼ Yá Dah Sidáhígíí Naabeehó bizaad bił nilį

Bilingual Program Evaluation

The community, teachers, and administrators at Rock Point were very concerned that the bilingual program lead to greater academic achievement in English as well as reading and writing skills in Navajo. In evaluating the program, the decision was made to use standardized tests to evaluate how well Rock Point students did in comparison to students in surrounding schools, in the state, and in the nation (Rosier & Holm, 1980). In 1983, Rock Point students by eighth grade outperformed Navajo students in neighboring public schools, other Navajo speaking students throughout the reservation, and other Arizona Indian students in reading on the California Achievement Test. On the grammar (written English) portion of the test, the results were much the same. In mathematics, the Rock Point students did even better, outperforming the comparison groups and approaching and sometimes exceeding national averages (Holm, 1985).

The 1987-88 school year California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) test results show that Rock Point students continue to do equally well as or better than other Chinle Agency students at almost all grade levels in reading, language arts, and math, while criterion referenced testing shows they continue to improve their Navajo language skills (Rock Point, 1988). A Navajo language evaluator and an English language evaluator are employed in the elementary school to periodically test students on criterion referenced tests for both English and Navajo educational objectives to insure they are learning. Students who do not achieve mastery on these tests are referred to itinerant teachers who are employed for the exclusive purpose of providing remedial instruction. Remedial instruction is usually temporary, and students continue to attend their regular classes.

The excellent test results obtained by Rock Point students were not achieved overnight. They are the result of students attending for twelve years a community-based, community-supported comprehensive K-12 maintenance bilingual program which has undergone continuous development and refinement since the first bilingual program was started at Rock Point in 1967.

Community Involvement

In addition to test scores, the success of bilingual education at Rock Point is indicated by student attendance rates above 94% for the last eight years and parent conference attendance rates above 80%. Parent involvement at Rock Point is a high priority. Parent activities include quarterly parent-teacher conferences, a yearly general public meeting held in November, an eight-member elected parent advisory committee that formally observes the school several times a year, school sponsored cultural events, and community dinners (Rock Point, 1988).

Unlike surrounding public school districts which have arbitrary straight-line boundaries and schools that draw students from multiple communities, Rock Point Community School draws it students from a single community represented by the Rock Point Chapter, a division of the tribal government. The Rock Point Chapter house and the Rock Point Trading Post are all centrally located within the Chapter near the school. The fact that the school is relatively small with about 300 elementary students and 150 secondary students and draws from a relatively homogeneous community reduces some of the social problems such as drugs and alcohol that are serious in many reservation schools (for the advantages of small community-based schools see Holm, 1989; Kleinfeld, et. al., 1985).

In the elementary school's Navajo social studies curriculum, in addition to teaching tribal history, geography, and government, time is spent on Navajo clanship where students learn how they are related to other Navajos and the duties they owe to their clan relatives. During clanship week students wear slips of paper showing the clans of their mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather, and they greet each other with traditional kinship greetings. Thus, through the school's curriculum, community cohesiveness is reinforced.

New Directions for Rock Point

The Rock Point bilingual program continues to develop. As gradually an increasing number of students come to school

dominant in English, a two-way program is being developed in which students who do not know how to speak Navajo are tutored in Navajo until they can participate fully in the Navajo part of the curriculum. Older programmed approaches to reading and ESL are being gradually replaced. More *Whole Language* activities are being introduced in reading including emphasizing reading for pleasure in and out of school. *Big Books* in English have been introduced into first and second grade and students are read to on a daily basis. Classroom libraries have been established in grades K-6 and students participate in a variety of literacy activities including *Sustained Silent Reading* (SSR). In ESL instruction, an activity oriented approach is being experimented with that emphasizes a project approach to science and other subjects.

Funding is being sought for further development of Navajo reading material, since such material is necessary for the Navajo reading program, but at this date no such funding has been found and students are the only ones producing new material through their Navajo writing activities.

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8

Maori Total Immersion Courses for Adults in *Aotearoa*/New Zealand: A Personal Perspective

Rangi Nicholson

He kororia ki te Atua i runga rawa
He maunga-a-rongo ki runga i te mata o te whenua
He whakaaro pai ki nga tangata katoa

Glory to God on high
Peace on earth
Good will to all people

Tena koutou katoa. This brief introductory paper is dedicated to God, the creator of the Maori language, and to all those members of our tribal confederation -- *Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toarangatira* and *Te Atiawa* -- as well as members of other tribes in *Aotearoa*/New Zealand who over the last ten years have contributed in any way to the development of Maori language total immersion courses for adults. *Kia maturuturu te tomairangi o Tona atawhai ki runga ki a koutou katoa.*

Introduction

In the 1970's there was a survey made among *Ngati Raukawa ki te Au-o-te Tonga,* a Maori tribe situated in the southwest of the North Island, *Aotearoa*/New Zealand, to determine how our tribe rated in terms of their tribalness, language, and economic position. That survey made it clear that the Maori language was fast disappearing. There were less than one hundred fluent speakers of Maori. To turn the situation around, total immersion courses were established as part of the Maori mission under the *Whakatupuranga Rua*

Mano-Generation 2000 tribal program. This program supports members of our people who can *karanga* (do a high pitched call by senior women or elders), *whaikorero* (do formal speechmaking) and who can make a real contribution in terms of the Maori language and our Maori cultural centres, our *maraes*.[1] These courses were designed as *kohanga reo* or **language nests** for adults.

A group of speakers was gathered together in 1979, from inside and outside our district, sympathetic people who were working in our region, not necessarily of our tribe, but interested in what we were planning and happy to help with the experiment. I initially thought that a total immersion program where only Maori was going to be spoken and English banned was "a bloody stupid idea." I was unsure as to whether it was going to work, and I did not know how I could survive in an all Maori environment. I remember that a lot of other people shared my uncertainty about the idea.

Some people found total immersion very stressful. When you are placed in a situation for the first time where you can speak only Maori, you can actually be too petrified to say anything. You are in the situation where you have to throw your nets out and haul them in hoping that something is there that can keep you going. It was a new experience for people. During the first courses, you had to survive as best you could taking along your dictionaries and other material you thought would help. It was hard going and it took two or three courses before I could commit myself to staying the full time.

The first course was ten days, but now courses are seven days long. They begin on Sunday afternoon with a time when the course philosophy and organization is explained in English so that people know what is going to happen during the week. Then, on Sunday night a self-imposed ban is put on English. Only Maori is spoken. The ban is lifted on the following Saturday night, and the next morning is spent

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[1] A *marae* is a Maori cultural center which includes a meeting house and a dining hall usually situated on Maori reserve land.

cleaning up and having a session where the students say how they felt about the course. Then we have lunch and say farewells. So it is really Sunday afternoon to Sunday afternoon for the full course, but there is flexibility. We have finished courses earlier when it has suited us.

At first the courses were held only once a year, but now they are held during the January, May, and August school holidays. Each course builds on the previous one. The May course builds on the January one and the August course builds on the previous two in a sequential fashion. The early courses were of a survival type, but today they are more tightly organized with a greater variety of situations for learning. The resource people are mainly *kaumatua* (elders) with some trained teachers of Maori and fluent course graduates. The elders have been pretty accepting right from the start as long as we spoke Maori. There are one or two *kaumatua* who certainly would not accept hearing English.

The first time I managed to maintain the ban and stay from start to finish, there was really a great feeling of satisfaction that I had been able to survive speaking only the language of my ancestors. We survived with sign language and pantomime. We didn't say much. There was no chit-chat. We spent our time listening to tutors. There was not much interaction between tutor and student, and there was listening for long periods of time. It was very tiring with a lot of lecture-type presentations. People felt that if you listened a lot to the language you would somehow benefit.

My memories of the early courses are summed up in what happened at mealtimes. I can remember people sort of just sitting there. It was a bit like monks in a monastery. What you could mainly hear was the scraping of knives and forks on plates. People were looking at each other and wondering what on earth they could say. And I think one of the big changes, if you go to an immersion course today, is that you can hear a buzz of conversation. At those first *hui*, there was quite a bit of miscommunication. The messages people were sending were not always the messages being received. Miscommunication is always a danger in a total immersion course. In certain critical situations, such as when a pot is

boiling over and the power needs to be switched off in a hurry, there is a need to get a response from someone quickly. This is not always possible for new speakers of Maori using only Maori.

The courses were long and the hours were long. There was such a lot of listening and that is tiring, especially when you do not know the language well. Sometimes an elder could be speaking at three in the morning. Many people left feeling mental and physical wrecks. The first students were mainly older people in their forties or fifties.

Developments

While the first courses were fairly unstructured, they have become more organized, in the sense that people now come expecting a variety of different teaching approaches. We now have a much more structured program as a result of an elder saying that we must have a well thought out program to make the best use of limited time. As a result of his comments, we produced a course outline and timetable. Every hour or so we have a change of activity. Usually three classes operate at the same time. We plan to stop our program at about ten o'clock, so that people can get at least 7-8 hours sleep. Living on a *marae* and coping with learning the language can be exhausting. In fact, I am thinking of stopping the evening programs at nine o'clock for this reason.

Also, these days, the course is part of the degree program at *Te Wananga o Raukawa* -- the private Maori university at *Otaki*. *Wananga* students are credited with a certain number of hours for attending the courses, so we have to be a lot more organized. We have new people coming all the time, but because we are spending such a long time on the *marae*, it tends to suit younger learners now. The majority are in their twenties and thirties.

The immersion courses are open to people outside our tribal area. There are now three groups accepted for courses. First, the *Te Wananga o Raukawa* students are taken as they are the group the courses are mainly designed for, so they get priority. Second priority is *Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa*, and *Te Atiawa*, who are supporting their *marae* or who are Grade 11

or 12 students studying Maori. The third group are those people we think would really benefit. They are sometimes students from other universities or just other interested learners.

Our courses have become well-known and accepted in our own tribal area. More people are wanting to come along, so the number of places for people outside our region is now very limited which, I think, is a good sign for us. Unfortunately, we just cannot meet all the needs now being expressed. We just do not have the resources to open the door to every person who would like to spend a week listening and speaking Maori, so we are beginning to invite mainly those from other tribes who are likely to take away some of the organizational ideas and set up their own immersion courses. We have about 30 to 35 students in each course. We try to limit participants as we find the optimum number for each class is about 12, but we sometimes end up with larger classes.

The Program

One of the big changes started a few years ago when we got our elders, tutors, and students together at *Te Wananga* in Otaki. By the end of that day, we decided on a list of tasks that our students should be able to do after three years. These jobs ranged from being able to answer questions on tribal customs to taking part in debates, from learning tribal sung poetry to doing some teaching in our primary and secondary schools.

My job was to decide what we expected from students at the end of each year. One of the main aims was that at the end of the three years -- after nine immersion courses -- the students should be able to organize their own course for their *hapu* (sub-tribe). The main practical aim of the immersion courses is actually to produce teachers and organizers so that others can learn.

One of the good things that has happened is that we now have a number of students at *Te Wananga* who have become tutors at the immersion courses. We have been really fortunate so far to have elders that turn up at course after course. These elders have given us so much. For these people to spend six or seven days or indeed anytime at all with young

people is a very good thing. It is a promising sign to have these younger people coming through -- people who will end up handing on the treasures that these elders have given us.

Before each course there is about ten to twelve hours preparation. Students are sent a range of tasks to do. These can be preparing their five minute talk, getting arguments for a debate, collecting survival phrases, and so forth. In this way they begin to tune in.

For each course we have a variety of levels of students, activities, and teaching styles. The program needs to be interesting for the students and at their levels, so it is good to have a range of activities. For instance, we might have students grouped around having readings from the Bible and discussions on these. After an hour of that, they might move into an hour of practising singing traditional poetry. From there they might move into small discussion groups or pair activities, which I think are important.

We use *Te Karere*, the nightly ten minute national news in Maori, on television in two ways. Firstly, to tune into the outside world (that was a bit difficult in the days of three minute *Te Karere* programs!). The other has been with video tapes. One of the exercises has been to show people how the *Te Karere* news bulletin is put together. You have the announcer, the reporter, and the person being interviewed and the language style each uses. We get the students to look for clues which help the listener to get more out of *Te Karere*.

In our courses we always aim to have a balance of listening, talking, and doing. Students also help with the work on the *marae*. We divide all the students into *whanau* which are really support groups made up of people at all levels. Each *whanau* is given a job to do each day -- working in the kitchen, clearing and setting tables, cleaning out the shower and toilet block, and generally tidying the *marae*. This gives a chance for another sort of language. If necessary, students can refer to charts on the walls and write down new vocabulary. The older ones who have more language obviously take more leadership in this situation.

In addition, every student has to stand up in front of the whole class and give a short talk. That is quite a challenge!

We try to help each person get to the stage where their talk is alright so that they can stand up and give it confidently. The talk forms quite a focus for all the other learning and involves skill in reading and writing as well as memorizing and speaking.

Year One students can talk about a tribal or Maori gathering they have been to recently. Year Two students tell a story or they talk about an issue they feel strongly about. Year Three is more on issues -- even international ones. The aim is to stretch their language. But even so, they have to observe strict time limits. That forces them not to be long-winded and to search for proverbs and short, witty sayings.

Organization

We place students based on the information they give in their applications. Most new students go into Year One or Year Two classes. For most students who come the first time, the language is the most important thing to them -- getting used to speaking Maori. But I notice that once the student feels comfortable speaking Maori, then they become more concerned with the messages that people are trying to give them. The messages become more important than the medium. This happens as the students move up the levels and is very encouraging.

Also, I have noticed that the more senior students can feel frustrated by the bell at the end of the session. They say they are not able to finish something they are very interested in. So that is where you need to have flexibility in your timetabling. The timetable really supports the first year students. It provides a secure environment, but as they become more competent they can be too limited by it. However, some timetabling is necessary for senior students. Variety is the spice of life, and students need to be given direction. At the beginning of the week classes are structured, but as they move towards the end of the week, they become less so.

We have been fortunate to have elders who have been prepared to go along with one-hour sessions. They have been happy to have changing groups of students. In the morning,

they might spend an hour with each of three different groups. I am sure that makes it interesting for them also. We need flexibility all the time. There have been times when sessions can be longer than an hour if necessary. Often we combined the three groups for a lecture-type presentation. But that is usually towards the end of the week, when people are a lot more comfortable with the whole situation. If it is genealogy, it is much better to have all the students together, especially if an elder is going to be present only a limited time. And they do not always want to be repeating themselves. Even if all the students do not understand everything the elder is saying, they do not miss out on the chance to hear them.

The person directing the immersion course knows that when they ring the bell, the classes can be at three possible stages. They might be just started, in the middle of things, or finished. One of the things I say to students during the orientation at the beginning is that "during the week you will not always have time to ask all the questions you want to, and you won't have time to get all the answers." We have to be fair so that all students have a chance to be exposed to each of the tutors.

In the future, as we get bigger, we might have to have total immersion courses just for Year One students, and shorter courses for them. Having three levels just gets too complex sometimes. It means we could have courses just for Year Two and Three for intermediate and advanced students which would be much easier. With only two levels there is more flexibility and the quality of interaction could be increased because the knowledge of the language is higher. You would be able to schedule longer sessions so that the students could really get to some depth in certain subjects.

Recreation

To allow people to relax and keep fit, we sometimes have exercises at the start of the day, at about seven o'clock in the morning, and after church services. We also have students move around. With three classes we have three different venues. So every hour the students and tutors have

to get up and walk to the next place. They can stretch their legs and get a breath of fresh air as well.

Also, everyone has their jobs to do in their work groups. So there is physical activity involved in clearing and setting tables, cleaning out the showers, etc. Right after lunch we usually have half an hour of fairly vigorous *waiata-a-ringa* or modern action songs so that students can shake the food down because if they go straight back to classes after lunch they tend to go off to sleep.

Towards the end of the day, between 3:30 pm and 5:30 pm, the students are free to do their own thing. This time is very important because students have had fairly intensive sessions. They need to take time out to relax or perhaps quietly look at dictionaries and mull over what has happened during the day. They might prepare for their presentations or debates, which are usually held in the evening sessions.

We often have some sports equipment, and this is a time when students get a chance to do physical exercise and play games -- all in Maori, of course! Actually, at one course, we invented language for playing softball. It was hilarious! The physical side is very important if at the end of the week people are to feel refreshed spiritually, mentally, and physically.

Speaking only Maori

In the program, it used to say, "*Ka whakatapua te reo Pakeha.*" Now it says, "Church service -- self-imposed ban on the English language." This came about because of concern by some elders and students about the use of '*tapu*' – in particular what happens if a *tapu* is broken. Usually it is the local people or hosts who take the *karakia* to seal the contract. This is often a Christian service. Sometimes there are some traditional prayers. The home people, themselves, put the ban on because they have agreed that English will not be spoken on their *marae* for a week. Whenever the course finishes, they say the prayers which lift the English ban on all those there. That is a good thing, because let us face it, the hosts can speak whatever language they please on their own

marae. It is only through the support of the local people that we are able to have this ban on English.

There is usually a concert on Saturday night when the self-imposed ban on English is taken off. That is a good way of letting off steam in a positive and entertaining way. People need a way of winding down, of relaxing from what has been a very disciplined situation. The concert is great. It gives the students a chance to thank people who have cooked for them and looked after them all week. Sometimes the concert is in English, sometimes in Maori, and often it is a mix of both. Especially the first-time students feel they want to keep speaking Maori. I know that was my feeling in the early days. You grow to love your language and you do not want to give it up -- to emerge from the immersion -- to come out of the water. You want to stay in it. We do not have any alcohol. We do not need it to enjoy ourselves.

One of the real signs of progress in language revival for us has been the composition of new songs by a group of students who have now formed themselves into a Maori language pop band. Music and songs are a great way to promote Maori among the young. The concerts have proven to be a good training ground for composers and musicians.

We encourage students to stay on the *marae* for the whole course and not leave unless, of course, there are exceptional circumstances. Often they leave to go to a local school gymnasium, but if we have sport facilities on the *marae* it is better. We have had a funeral in the middle of a total immersion course. What happened was that the local people asked that the ban on English remain. We shifted ourselves to a local primary school and then returned, still speaking Maori, to help the local people of the *marae* in the kitchen. Even when people on the course have had to travel some distance to a Maori funeral they have maintained the ban. There is a certain shopkeeper in the town of Bulls who will never forget these strange people who came into the shop speaking only Maori. One of the things I think is important is that every student have a slip of paper on them to explain that they are attending an immersion course that week, that they

are not to speak English, and that they thank the non-Maori speaking person for their tolerance and cooperation.

Visitors to the *marae* should speak only in Maori. It is in our booklet, and we have a large notice near the entrance to the *marae* to remind people -- "Maori Language Zone." Transistors, tapes, and things like that are alright as long as they are playing Maori music -- that only Maori language is being listened to. A person can accidently speaks English without realising he or she has done so until others react. I point out that in such a case nothing dreadful is going to happen to a student. They will not get sick or anything. We just try to avoid these slips. But it is pointed out that learners are not allowed to say such things as "He *aha te kupu mo* table?" They are to use a dictionary instead.

It can take native speakers of Maori a whole week to adjust to speaking only Maori. Sometimes an elder can be tempted to speak English if he or she intuitively feels that the students are not understanding what is being said in Maori. However, I have often said to tutors and students that struggling to understand the message in Maori is an important strength of immersion. Perhaps the student might only understand this year fifty per cent of an elder's talk, next year it could be seventy per cent and so on. Constant exposure to the spoken language and struggling to understand are some of the real strengths of the immersion process.

Philosophy

It needs to be put across right at the start, to everyone involved, that the course is part of an experiment: a search for the most effective ways of reviving our language, of learning and teaching Maori. Everyone needs to realise that we are still learning how to organize these courses. Although I have now directed many courses, I still learn new things during each one, so we certainly have not arrived. We are still learning as we go along.

It is important to let students know that you need their support. Everyone involved in the course must work together as one big family: the tutors, the students, the local people, and the organizer. We also want students to know

that we want the course to be challenging and refreshing for them so that they can improve their language and their confidence. Students are expected to take full responsibility for their own learning. They have to get themselves organized, so that they can get the most out of their time, and not just rely on the formal sessions.

There are lots of opportunities on the *marae* when they can go up to an elder to ask about something they do not understand. A lot of learning can go on when students are with each other or with a tutor informally -- having a talk over a cup of tea, a conversation in the kitchen, or something like that. The other thing is that it really takes a lot of discipline. It is not easy. Let us face it. It is a lot easier to communicate in your first language (for us, English). And as an adult it can be really frustrating not being able to say in Maori something you know very well you can say in English.

It is very important that people overcome their feelings of embarrassment, of feeling bad about how they are speaking, over their mistakes and frustrations. This is a place where people can make mistakes and learn from them. No one will come down on them like a ton of bricks. To cope with all this it is important that students learn to pace themselves -- to make sure they get enough exercise and sleep. One thing that is a real "no-no" is falling asleep during classes. We are very fortunate to have the elders who come along to these courses, so we do not want students snoring in class!

We ask people to wear name-tags. "What! Our ancestors didn't have name-tags! That's a *Pakeha tikanga* (European custom)!" But the main reason is that the elders requested them. It is hard for older people to remember the names of all forty students. It is a lot more personal if they can read the names and quickly relate to a student. And the name-tags are a lot more than just a way of letting someone know a name. Wearing them is symbolic of the degree of alertness and commitment of the student.

The course is a kind of retreat. Besides the ban on English there are other restrictions. It is a very "dry" week in the sense that people are not allowed to drink alcohol. Cigarettes and food are not allowed in the meeting house

where the main sessions are held. It is really to maintain the level of *tapu*-ness. But it is also a time when students not only strengthen their language, but strengthen themselves so that they can go out into the world as stronger people.

One of the really important aspects of the immersion course is the *taha wairua* (spirituality). Each day starts and ends with prayers which are taken by students, tutors, or visiting clergy. It is very much a shared thing, but an optional activity. Not all students wish to lead a church service. The whole tone of the courses has improved with the strengthening of the *taha wairua*. The learners need to be at one with themselves. We have a lot of young people in these courses who are trying to work out their relationship to God both in terms of Christianity and in terms of Maori religious traditions. They need to be at peace with themselves and with others. Their hearts and minds need to be clear to gain as much as possible from the *hui*.

I think the immersion courses have given people hope. There is a lot more Maori spoken now in *Ngati Raukawa*, and a lot more confidence in spoken Maori. Young learners still make mistakes, but they know it is OK to do so. There is a whole group of younger people coming up who take immersion courses for granted, who expect to come and survive because a lot of people have been able to do it. There has also been a closer relationship developed between the elders and the young people. It is good for the elders because they enjoy seeing young people grow. And I find that is one of the real rewards for someone like myself in this program. The way the students look after and show concern for the elders and the elders do the same for the young people is so important. And the students look after the *marae* just as they find the *marae* looks after them.

The spin-offs from these courses are far more than just language growth. Relationships between old and young are strengthened. Relationships between students themselves are affected by spending a long time together on the *marae*. People become stronger in themselves and more hopeful about the tribal language situation. It is a big thing if you can

successfully stay on a *marae* for six to seven nights as one big family in harmony.

Aroha (loving empathy) is vital if our language is to be fully revived and developed. *Aroha* to God who gave us the gift of our language and who will strengthen us to protect, maintain, and develop this treasure to fulfill our dreams of Maori once again as a language of everyday life in *Aotearoa*/New Zealand. *Aroha* to our neighbors, our friends, our relations who are part of the language community and whose involvement and commitment is needed. And also *aroha* to the language. You need lots of it to spend six to seven days on a *marae* speaking only Maori.

....ko te mea nui, ko te aroha.

Love is a great thing.

9

A Reading Strategies Program for Native American Students

Barbara J. Walker

In classrooms across the nation students come from varying environments where beliefs, behaviors, and perspectives differ widely. Those students, including Native American students, whose cultural environments vary greatly from the cultural environment of the public school and its curriculum have difficulty learning to read. Because of their cultural and linquistic differences, Native American students find themselves at odds with the established curriculum. Often they speak and think in their native language or a non-standard "Indian English" more fluently than the English that is demanded in public school classrooms. Likewise, culture differences are not recognized in the textbooks or within the interaction patterns of the classroom.

Repeated failure to bridge the gap between the culture of the school and the culture of the family complicates these students' response to instruction; however, few instructional programs address these complications and the resultant needs of these students. This paper explains four aspects of the interactive reading process, the parallel compensatory behaviors of bilingual students, and an instructional approach that reflects the needs of these students.

Aspects of interactive reading

The interactive view of reading holds that readers interpret the author's meaning using their prior knowledge, purposes for reading, and the contextual constraints of the literacy event. The first aspect, then, is that readers combine what they know (reader-based inferencing) with information

from the text (text-based inferencing) to construct meaning (Pearson & Johnson, 1978). Readers use textual information such as pictures, the letters in words, headings, and the structure of sentences to figure out the author's meaning (Stanovich, 1986). They use this textual information in combination with their prior knowledge. As they read, they say "That looks like a word I know, and it fits in this story."

The second aspect is that readers elaborate what and how they read (McNeil, 1987). As they read they say "Hey, I can remember this because it is like..." They make connections that help them remember and interpret *what* and *how* they are reading. These new connections become part of what readers know.

The third aspect of the interactive view is that readers monitor their understanding to see if it makes sense (Baker & Brown, 1984). When their interpretation does not make sense, a buzzer goes off in their heads and they vary their strategies to remove difficulties in interpreting meaning. These readers actively monitor their understanding of text through self-questions that direct the use of fix-up strategies.

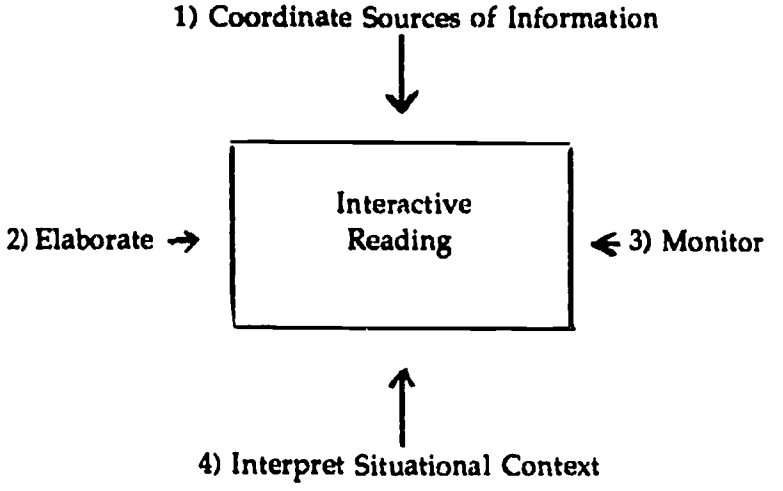
Likewise, the fourth aspect is that readers use the situational context to focus their purposes and frame their attitude toward the literacy event (Harste, Woodward, & Burke, 1984; Winograd & Smith, 1987). For example, one student said, "Let's see, this is a history class and I need to read the chapter carefully looking for the major causes of the Battle of the Little Bighorn." Later that day, the same student read a novel and thought "I know how that character is feeling." The different situations affected how information sources were combined, what was elaborated, and how the text was monitored.

The model in Table 1 shows these four aspects as they continuously interact while readers construct meaning. Effective readers 1) coordinate sources of information (text and personal knowledge), 2) elaborate meaning and strategies, 3) check (monitor) their understanding, revising when necessary, and 4) use the context to focus their reading. However, when any one of these aspects are excluded for a period of time readers become "at risk" for failure in reading.

Bilingual readers

When reading becomes difficult, bilingual readers shift away from a weakness and use compensatory strategies. However, sometimes these strategies inhibit rather than enhance meaning construction (Stanovich, 1986). When bilingual students habitually use compensatory behaviors that inhibit interactive reading they become "at risk" for reading failure. The interactive-compensatory theory suggests that reading difficulty occurs when students 1) over-rely on a single information source rather than combining sources, 2) frequently read difficult text limiting elaboration of content and strategies, 3) read without monitoring meaning resulting in passive reading and 4) define the context of reading as a failure situation.

Table 1: Interactive reading



Coordinate Sources of Information. At the onset of reading, students learn to coordinate sources of information. Often, however, bilingual students do not possess appropriate experiences with how English works, which limits their use of

background knowledge. They may understanding an experience in their own language but do not know how to represent this experience in English. Therefore, these student begin to rely on restating the text to answer the simple questions posed by the teacher. Initially, this strategy is certainly effective when the the teachers questions can be answered directly from the text. However, as these readers encounter more inconsiderate texts (texts that are not well organized and do not reveal question-answer relationships) and avoid using reader-based strategies, their text interpretations becomes increasingly sketchy. Thus, their overreliance on text-based inferencing becomes a weakness putting these readers "at risk."

Elaborate. If these students don't receive instruction that helps them integrate information sources, they rely on a single source and eventually read texts that are too difficult. In fact, bilingual readers are often placed in materials beyond their understanding; therefore they cease to elaborate the meaning relying exclusively on the words in the text. Likewise, studies indicate that readers from various cultural backgrounds interpret textual material differently. The inferences these students do make are influenced by their cultural experiences (Andersson & Gipe, 1983), but many of these inferences are considered incorrect by the teacher. This classroom situation heightens the students' task-definition that "When reading, this inferencing process doesn't work." When this happens, the gap between what readers know and what they are asked to read widens and they cannot elaborate either *what* or *how* they are learning. Instead, they increasingly rely on text-based information, seldom checking what they know.

The reciprocal relationships among cognitive skills that occur for effective readers are inhibited because these readers must allocate thinking solely to hazy meaning construction. They become unaware of the strategies they use and, in fact, do not elaborate vocabulary meaning which would, in turn, increase contextual knowledge and facilitate word identification (Stanovich, 1986). This failure to elaborate the information by tying it to their personal experiences results in

the inefficient strategy of trying to memorize lots of unfamiliar information in the hope that something will make sense. However, they become increasingly less active because nothing makes sense. By overrelying on text-based inferencing, the students rely on a single source of information limiting their interpretation which results in an increasingly passive stance to reading.

Monitor. When these students rely on the text and cease to elaborate their strategies, they develop a less active stance toward text. Their continual failure precludes the spontaneous use of reading strategies. Subsequently, the infrequent use of strategic reading results in a set of disorganized strategies and failure to check reading understanding (Bristow, 1985). When asked questions, they merely respond with "I don't know." They are not really lazy or defiant; they really don't know how to remedy the problem situation. They did read the text and a buzzer went off in their head telling them what they were reading was not making sense, but they didn't know how to remedy this situation. Instead, they "tend to reproduce inappropriate text segments or provide no response" (Davey, 1989, p. 696) and change their predictions less often relying on their initial prediction (Maria & MacGinitie, 1982). Since these readers have little experience constructing meaning, they passively read words without actively questioning their understanding.

Use Situational Context. This aspect of active reading permeates the bilingual students response to instruction. Studies of teacher-student interactions show that bilingual students respond differently in the traditional setting of teacher questioning from mainstream students who talk one at a time and respond with a right answer. Au and Kawakami (1985) found that bilingual children responded better when interaction between them and their teacher was cooperative letting children spontaneously talk though a story in order to understand it. Thus, "cultural compatibility in interactional patterns may be a necessary, and not just nice, aspect of effective reading instruction for culturally different minority students" (p. 411).

This difference between cultural interactions as well as the compensatory behavior of relying on the text while not elaborating or monitoring meaning complicates their reading problems. After an extended time, these students begin to attribute their failure to a lack of ability which "they believe is a fixed entity... and which they have little of" (Johnston & Winograd, 1985, p. 283). Because they haven't used inferencing when reading, they are generally unaware of the strategies they use when reading. They decide they will not try, because if they try and fail again, they are admitting they're "dumb." They are not really belligerent, but this presupposition leaves them no alternative but to define the context of reading as one of failure reducing their self-confidence (Johnston & Winograd, 1985). Repeated failure coupled with criticisms from parents and teachers contribute to the continued belief that "I'm not able to learn to read."

Instructional response

Bilingual students are "at risk" at every point in the model. They have overrelied on the text, ceased to elaborate the content and their strategies, become passive toward their own meaning construction, and finally, defined all literacy events as failure situations resulting in decreased effort. When reading failure becomes so complex, these students need to redefine reading as a problem-solving process where they can succeed. At the same time they need to identify effective strategies and see the relationship between the strategies they use and their text interpretation. Strategy instruction has been shown to enhance active, strategic reading for bilingual students (Hernandez, 1989). Furthermore, when strategy instruction is coupled with attributional retraining, these readers change not only their strategies, but also the attribution for their failure (Borkowski, Weyhing, & Carr, 1988; Schunk & Rice, 1987). In these programs, the teachers assume new roles: they explain, model, and coach strategies as they shift the control of strategy deployment to the students (Pearson, 1985). Initially, they explain what strategic reading is and how the targeted strategies fit into the reading process. In other words, they set

goals emphasizing a particular strategy like prediction. Second, teachers model the steps for performing the strategy and discuss when they would use this strategy. When modeling teachers think aloud about how they construct meaning (Davey, 1983); they make the internal thought process visible to the students. Third, teachers coach students as they "think aloud" during reading (Gaskins, 1989). Coaching this internal thought process helps students modify and elaborate their strategies. For bilingual students, coaching is most effective in a small group where they can share "how they got an answer" as well as "what they understood." Finally, teachers shift the control of meaning construction to the student. To do this, the teacher encourages students to talk about how successful their comprehension was and attribute that success to the strategies they use.

An instructional program was devised at the Eastern Montana College Reading Clinic for bilingual readers where teachers explained strategic reading (goal setting), modeled making predictions, coached the students with strategy-based questions, and shifted assessment to the student.

Goal setting. First, reading was defined as a problem-solving process where readers construct meaning using appropriate strategies. Stories were divided in natural occurring prediction points and put on overheads. After each section, the steps of strategic thinking were used interchangeably as the group of bilingual students shared their interpretations and strategies. I began by explaining that reading is basically a process of predicting what the author means (Goodman, 1967). The teacher explained that predictions are frequently used in our daily lives. For example, when I get dressed for school, I predict the weather (It is snowing, so it will be cold). If the prediction was incorrect because the temperature rises, we revise our prediction, take off our jacket, and continue our day. The goal of reading is similar: make predictions based on information in the text and what we know, revising that prediction when necessary.

Modeling. Using a short story, the teacher modeled the process by presenting reading as a bet with the author. The

teacher put "I bet ... " on a chart in the front of the room, read the title of a story from an overhead and made a bet. After this, the teacher put the phrase, "I already know that... " on the chart and explained that sometimes we make bets or guesses based on what we know. Then reader-based inferencing was modeled. Next, the teacher wrote on the chart "The text says..." and explained that sometimes we make bets or guesses because the text has hints about our bets. The teacher modeled text-based inferencing with the next line of the text. Thus, the prediction was made and the source of information used to make the bet explained.

When incongruencies occurred, the process of revising predictions was modeled. Self-statements like "Oops, that doesn't make sense, I better check the hints" were used to encourage rereading. The teacher then summarized important text clues and talked about what was known about these clues. A revised bet was made and reading continued. When this bet was confirmed, the teacher wrote "Yeah" on the chart and explained that when we are on the right track we reward ourselves.

Coaching. After the introduction of the chart and modeling the self-questions, a new story was read from the overhead. The betting was continued throughout the text as the strategies of prediction and revision were used alternately between the students and the teacher. To change the instructional context, these students discussed their predictions in small groups of three students. At the prediction points in the story, they summarized and reread the text and then discussed predictions and revisions. Then each group shared their divergent responses and the reasons for these responses with the teacher and other students.

As they shared their thinking, the teacher identified problem areas and modeled alternative ways to think through the story. By reinterpreting the students predictions and highlighting strategy use, the teacher phased in to coach thinking and phased out to let students independently use strategies. Sometimes the teacher used strategy-based questions to prompt students' reflections (See Table 2).

By participating in the group construction of meaning, the students learned to use the active-constructive process of reading. The small group sharing allowed time for these students to access their background knowledge in a comfortable setting. In fact, sometimes the students used their first language in the small group and then discussed in English with the teacher. This provided a tie between languages and ways to talk about inferences. During these discussion, the students learned to use their inferencing abilities when reading.

Table 2: Strategy-based questions

Does that fit with your previous prediction?
What source of information did you use in your thinking?
What can you tell yourself about the ... ?
Is that important information?
What can you say to yourself when you change your bet?

Shifting control. Self-assessment facilitated the shift of control from the teacher to the student. According to Johnston and Winograd, "self-assessment can force attention to the details of outcomes, and to the effects of the use of various strategies" (1985, p. 293). These students needed to graphically see the frequency of strategy use; therefore, we developed team charts that displayed the number of predictions made and sources of information used. During the story discussion, the number of predictions, text references, reader references, and checking references was recorded (See Table 3). The chart forced attention to the strategies they were using.

Table 3: Chart of reading strategies

I bet.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I know that.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
The text says.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Oops.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Yeah.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Following the story reading each student met individually with the teacher to discuss their reading behavior. After reviewing the data on their group participation, they completed an open-ended statement about their meaning construction: "Today my reading was (poor, fair, good, excellent) because I used (predictions, checked the text, checked what I knew, checked with my group, changed my bet when I got more information, gave myself credit when I was right)." Consequently, the students evaluated both their strategies and comprehension after each selection (Wilson, 1989).

Finally, to refocus their attributions we asked the students to evaluate their strategy deployment in relation to the effort they expended. At this point we discussed the relationships among strategies, effort, text, and task to establish effective attributions for reading.

It is important to remember in using this process that if the first stories used are from the native culture, the student will be better able to relate the stories to their prior knowledge, make predictions, and use other effective reading strategies.

Summary

Because of the years of reading failure for bilingual students, instruction needs to combine strategy training and attribution retraining in cooperative learning groups. We designed instruction that set the goal of interactive reading—strategically combining text and personal knowledge. With groups of bilingual students, the teacher modeled and coached an interchangeable sequence of self-questions (Walker &

Mohr, 1985). To change the strategies and negative attributions, the teacher and students charted strategy deployment for the groups, and then, the students assessed their comprehension attributing text interpretation to both effort and strategy use. In the cooperative learning groups, strategies were shared, valued, and rewarded which helped the bilingual readers develop a repertory of procedures for constructing meaning and the language to talk about this construction. Thus, these students did more than learn to read; they learned to control and talk about their own thinking.

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10

Cooperative Approaches to Language Learning

Lois A. Hirst
Christy Slavik

The American education system, like its European ancestor, emphasizes quantitative and verbal knowledge. This system values objective, scientific approaches to reality, verbal skills, mathematics, and symbol manipulation. It is based on competition and an individualistic goal structure. Most recently, student success in this system is measured by standardized tests that have been standardized in terms of white middle-class norms, and questions on the tests are selected from experiences that the white middle class typically have encountered. However, research indicates that not all cultures value this western world view of science and individualism and not all students learn the way the American education system expects them to learn. Students come to school from different cultures, with different experiences, and using different learning styles (Ogbu, 1988).

Native American students have not been as successful on standardized tests and in the American education system in general as students from the white middle class. We must look into cultural differences to find the answer for the Native American student's lack of success. The educational system of any society tries to transmit the prevailing culture in the most effective and efficient manner by selecting those characteristics that have the most value according to the imposed dictates of the society. Cultural differences can account for some major differences in learning styles. In addition to speaking different languages, in many Native American cultures more emphasis

is placed on a subjective, artistic view of the world interpreted through drawing and other visual and spatial skills.

Two very different ways of observing and interpreting the world meet the Native American student in the American school system. The majority of teachers come from the prevailing white middle class American culture and have been taught to accept the European model of education. Research on hemisphericity may give us some insight on learning style preferences of these different cultures.

Brain research

Brain research has led to an exploration of learning style preference. Teachers need to plan activities that stimulate both the left and right brain processes. However, research does indicate that Native American students may be culturally right-brain dominant. James Hand (1986) states that there are a number of characteristics that distinguish left and right brained functions:

Left hemisphere	Right hemisphere
verbal, linguistic	intonation, inflection
ideation (abstractions)	pictorial & pattern sense
conceptual similarities	visual similarities
sense of time	location in space
controls right side of body	controls left side of body
numerics, quantities	melodic perception
logic	poetic processing
outlook	insight
geometric configurations	

It should be noted that both hemispheres share in mental activities. Scientists have not discovered any one higher intellectual function controlled entirely by one hemisphere.

Teachers can increase learning and the use of brain capacity by determining what the dominant learning modality of each student is and supplying activities to stimulate that modality. However, multiple channelling (learning through a number of sensory factors: visual, auditory, and kinesthetic) is one of the most powerful methods for increasing

connections made in the human brain. Research indicates a higher learning rate and greater retention of learning when information is processed through multiple senses.

Instead of merely sitting and silently reading the names of the bones of the feet, the student can read them aloud and at the same time allow himself to touch various areas of his feet as he calls out the name. He can visualize a giant walking through a village. Using his imagination's x-ray vision, the student can see all the bones in the giant's feet as he storms through the village. When the student can name all the bones of the feet, the giant must leave the village. The student can proceed to play such a game for each set of bones in the body until he has memorized them all. When he wants to recall the names of the bones, he can go back to the village and reenact this game with the giant, he can recall the sounds of the names and the tactile sensations of having experiences corresponding to points of his own body, and he can recall the printed words in the book. This is a simple example of multiple channeling (Quina, 1989).

Cultural differences

Understanding the students' home culture is vital for understanding basic aspects of their behavior both in and out of the classroom, including language related behaviors. Different cultures have varying standards of what is and is not acceptable or respectful behavior. Silence versus talking, touching, smiling, eye contact, competition versus cooperation, leadership roles, and expectations of the teacher's role can all differ depending on standards of a culture. Differences between a teacher's culture and that of students' can create conflicts and misunderstandings.

Schaffer (1988) in her article, "English as a Second Language for the Indian Student," points out that group activities in public schools have been groups with one leader putting the student in competitive roles which is against Native American cultures. She gives two examples of traditional ways Native American students learn. Silent observation is one. An example would be when children are present at a storytelling session but do not speak, or when

children observe an adult performing a task such as weaving. Many of us have begun to learn how to cook, sew, ride a horse, and so forth through silent observation. Supervised participation is the second example. When children have observed a task long enough to feel capable of successfully performing it, they participate in some part of the task under adult supervision. Recent researchers such as Madeline Hunter would define this as guided practice. The teacher stands close by while the student tries the activity by himself for the first time.

Schaffer goes on to talk about conflicts that are created because of cultural differences. Calling on individual students to respond puts the student in an adversarial relationship with the teacher. The student is singled out and forced to respond instantly and on demand in front of other students. Traditionally children were often given as much time as they needed before being called upon to demonstrate ability to perform, were allowed to test their ability in private before performing publicly, and avoided competitive roles with others.

Teachers in classrooms have several ways to structure academic lessons so that students learning styles are taken into consideration and they can best achieve. A teacher may have them 1) in a win-lose struggle to see who is best; 2) learning individually on their own without interacting with classmates; or 3) learning in pairs or small groups, helping each other master the assigned material.

Cooperative learning

For the past forty-five to fifty years, since the demise of the one room schoolhouse, American education has been on a competitive and individualistic basis. In both learning situations, teachers try to keep students away from each other. "Don't copy," "Don't worry about your neighbor -- take care of yourself," and "Move your desks apart" are some common phrases heard in classrooms. There is another way. Cooperative learning allows students to work together to reach common goals. Cooperation means more than putting students in groups. It means group participation in a project

in which the outcome results from common effort, the goal is shared and each person's success is linked with every other person's success. In practice, this means that ideas and materials are shared, labor is divided, and everyone in the groups is rewarded for the successful completion of the task.

A cooperative group is defined as two to five students who are tied together by a common purpose -- to complete the task and to include every group member. Cooperative groups differ from typical classroom groups in the following ways:

1) In typical groups, one leader is chosen by the teacher; in a cooperative group, leadership is shared so that all students are responsible for completion of the task and all group members are included.
2) In typical groups, groups are homogeneous in nature; in cooperative groups, members are chosen randomly, or selected by the teacher on the basis of gender, ability, interests, behavior, etc. so that the groups are heterogeneous as possible.
3) In typical groups, members create their own product, have their own materials and have rewards based on individual accomplishment. In a cooperative group, the group creates one product and/or shares materials, and/or has a group reward based on the success as a group.
4) In typical groups, students are told to "cooperate" with no attempt to teach social skills. In a cooperative group, social skills are defined, discussed, observed and processed.
5) In typical groups, the teacher interrupts group work to solve problems, warn students and remind them. In a cooperative group, the teacher encourages group problem-solving. He is an interactor rather than an intervener.
6) In a typical group, the top priority is to accomplish the task -- get the job done. In a cooperative group, the top priority is to accomplish the task *and* to include every member through each person's use of social skills. (Johnson & Johnson, 1983)

Cooperative learning situations, compared to competitive or individualistic ones, promote greater achievement motivation, more intrinsic motivation, more persistence in completing the tasks, and greater continuing motivation to learn. Cooperative learning experiences also result in more positive attitudes toward the subject area and instructor than do the other two instructional approaches. Cooperative learning experiences also result in higher levels of self-esteem, healthier processes for deriving conclusions about one's self worth, and greater psychological health than do competitive and individualistic learning experiences (Johnson & Johnson, 1983).

Cooperative learning and reading

Reading instruction is usually not seen as a time to develop these cooperative and social skills. Ninety-eight per cent of reading instruction in the United States is focused on the use of the basal reading series, and its typical management system encourages division and competition. Children are typically grouped and placed at appropriate levels of instruction according to academic ability. Individual performance in groups is stressed, not cooperation. Rasinski and Nathenson-Mejia (1987) argue that school, and particularly reading instruction, should promote cooperative and socialization skills,

> Schools must help children see that they live in a world of others and bear a responsibility to others. Selflessness, not selfishness, is as important a determinant of the viability of a society as are the academic levels its citizens achieve. (p. 260)

They conclude, "the purpose of school is to teach children how to live together as well as how to know" (p. 265).

A growing body of research on effective literacy instruction and developmental learning confirms that programs which stress the cooperative and social nature of literacy are most appropriate (Goodman, 1980; Meek, 1982; Smith, 1978; Clay, 1980). Such programs are characterized by

shared literacy experiences, emphasis on the development of skills in the context of authentic literacy episodes and working and talking in groups to promote social and cooperative skills as the teacher adopts the role of a facilitator.

Hepler and Hickman (1982) refer to classrooms which exemplify these traits as "communities of readers." They feel that the establishment of such communities is essential to the successful development of literacy. The authors identify the ways in which classmates socialize and cooperate together as they find their way to reading. They observed children turning to each other: for information about what to read, to explore meanings together, as an audience for the sharing of extension activities, and as models for reading behavior. The teacher in these communities assumes the role of community planner. This notion of the social nature of reading is corroborated by researcher Margaret Meek who confirms that, "for all the reading research we have financed, we are certain only that good readers pick their own way to literacy in the company of friends who encourage and sustain them and that the enthusiasm of a trusted adult can make the difference" (1982, p. 60). This premise of learning literacy in the context of a cooperative community of learners best supports the Native American learning style because children use all their senses to make discoveries and are immersed in an environment where students and teachers work to support each other. This feeling of cooperation and community is reflected in the Native American family structure.

The Shared Book Experience Approach

One approach to beginning reading instruction which fosters these cooperative and social skills is the Shared Book Experience Approach developed by Don Holdaway. The materials and strategies provide equal opportunities for all students to share book experiences by de-emphasizing cultural and academic differences. Holdaway stresses that reading instruction should be non-competative and states,

> There is no greater source of inefficiency in school methods of teaching language than the dependence on

> competition as a motivator. The real business of learning is concerned with performing better than yesterday or last week: it has absolutely nothing to do with performing better than someone else. Children want to learn any developmental task in order to be *the same* as their peers, not better than them. (1980, p. 18)

He developed his approach in response to New Zealand educators' concerns that populations of Native Polynesian and Maori children were not succeeding in traditional reading and language programs. Two major goals for instruction were established:

1. children would not be segregated by ability
2. children of different cultural backgrounds would experience success.

The Shared Book Experience Approach is modeled upon the framework for the natural acquisition of oral language (Holdaway, 1982). Young children learn to speak in a supportive social context in which they seek to communicate meaning. Their purpose is to be understood and to have their needs met. Holdaway strives to replicate these dimensions in his literacy program. Texts used in the approach are selections from quality children's literature and are to be shared and enjoyed. These selections have been enlarged so that they can be shared with large groups and are called Big Books. The teacher's role is to induce rather than to directly teach a process. As the class enjoys books, active participation is encouraged as together, children respond in unison, discuss, and become involved in extension activities. The lessons are presented to involve children in using their visual, auditory, and kinesthetic senses. In these contexts, social and cooperative skills are promoted and developed. Each child's progress is monitored individually and there is no competition among peers.

The success of this approach has been thoroughly documented and the model has been adapted internationally (Holdaway, 1982). children from diverse backgrounds perform

at levels equal to or above their peers. In addition, all children seem to develop very positive attitudes about reading. Thus, children who participate in this program which emphasizes cooperative and social skills seem to become communities of readers as described by literacy experts such as Yetta Goodman and Frank Smith. They also are involved in opportunities to use all learning modalities and language learning is strengthened.

Cooperative learning and science

Testing hypotheses while conducting a science experiment can also offer groups of students opportunities to work cooperatively and use multiple functions of language. As participants work together to think critically about a science experiment, they use language to speculate about and develop conclusions. Social and cooperative skills are cultivated as the students listen critically to each other, work to involve all participants, and negotiate meaning together. Opportunities are also present to employ the visual, kinesthetic, and auditory senses to increase learning connections.

Conclusion

Educators must recognize the forceful ways in which both cultural differences and learning styles impact upon a child's ability to learn and use language. Research confirms that approaches to language learning which incorporate opportunities to use all learning modalities in cooperative contexts are optimal for all children. These strategies are particularly appropriate for Native American children who learn best by using all their senses in environments where cooperation is emphasized. The most powerful language curricula are those which maximize opportunities for multiple channeling and cooperative learning.

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11

An Ethnomathematics Approach to Teaching Language Minority Students

David M. Davison

Limited English proficient (LEP) students experience difficulties in learning mathematics that may have little to do with difficulties in processing mathematical ideas. When these LEP students are from different cultures, speak languages other than English as their primary language, and have preferred differences in cognitive processing, the typical approach to organized mathematics instruction observed in American classrooms today is not appropriate. An ethnomathematics approach to the curriculum is advocated in this paper as a means of addressing this concern.

D'Ambrosio (1985) defines 'ethnomathematics' as the mathematics needed by a particular subgroup of the population, be it an occupational group or a cultural group. Ethnomathematics includes curricular relevance, but is much more than building a curriculum around the local interests and culture of the learners. This local focus can become limited to the mathematics the students want to study, which they see related to either their traditional or emerging roles. While it is important not to ignore this local perspective, such an approach can overlook the organization of mathematical ideas and preclude the development of a structured mathematics curriculum. The goal is to provide students with mathematics content and approaches that will enable them to successfully master modern mathematics. An ethnomathematics approach to the curriculum can be a vehicle for achieving such a goal.

To illustrate this thesis, I will refer to work I have done with American Indians. Davison and Schindler (1988) identified three areas in which native students have difficulty

in learning mathematics: language, culture, and learning modality. It is too easy to attribute the minority students' difficulties in learning mathematics to any one factor alone. For example, minority students perform very poorly on standardized tests from the third or fourth grade on, while in the early years their performance is closer to average (see Leap, 1988; De Avila, 1988). Standardized tests, by their very nature, place great importance on language skill. A student who is an inadequate reader and has poor mastery of English language vocabulary is at a serious disadvantage.

Thus it is clear that a language deficit will automatically lead to a mathematics deficit. LEP students from the majority culture are subject to pressure to succeed by compensating for these deficiencies. Minority students typically do not receive such pressure because influences outside the school are unable to address the problem. Furthermore, minority students are not motivated by test taking. They find the questions irrelevant to their interests and, apparently, do not respond to them seriously. This problem signals the need for questions that students would be willing to treat seriously. Finally, the minority students perform poorly on the tests because they do not understand the mathematical processes. Such understanding is usually motivated through the use of manipulatives and visuals. In short, in competing with mainstream students on standardized tests, minority students are disadvantaged through an interplay of language deficiency, cultural dissonance, and inappropriate instruction.

We shall consider first the students' difficulties with the English language. Schindler and Davison (1985) surveyed dominant Crow language speakers, who viewed Crow as the language of the home and English as the language of the school. Such a dichotomy makes it very difficult for educators to fulfill the objectives of bilingual education. The intent is that the program should use the students' mastery of the native language to assist in acquiring mastery of the English language. This supposedly happens, for example, through the use of both languages in introducing primitive concepts in mathematics. Davison and Schindler (1986) found that the students' knowledge of mathematics terminology in the Crow

language was very limited. Clearly, in the beginning grades, mastery of concepts in the Crow language could not be used to facilitate the learning of the same concepts in the English language, because the concepts were not developed in the native language. The problem was exacerbated further by the students seeing little or no use for the mathematics they learned in school. An emphasis in school classrooms on textbook-dominated teaching only made the problem worse.

The problem of fluency in the English language has already been identified. When English is not spoken in the home, or when the English that is spoken lacks the sophistication of mainstream English, classroom English is not reinforced outside the school. In mathematics this means that English language mathematics vocabulary may not be used outside the classroom, and further means that confusion occurs when certain terms such as 'factor' and 'product' have specialized meanings in the mathematics classroom different from their regular English language meanings. Garbe (1985) suggested that deliberate efforts must be made to overcome problems associated with sound alikes as well as with the problems mentioned above. Students need more experience seeing, hearing, and using the English language mathematics terms in context. I would assert, from extensive classroom observation, that in predominantly native classrooms, it is critical that students hear, speak, and write much more English language mathematics.

The application of native culture situations to the mathematics classroom represents one way of helping native students see relevance of mathematics in their culture, and to use this connection as a means of teaching more mathematics. One project that is doing this is "Increasing The Participation of Native Americans in Higher Mathematics" in Oklahoma (Aichele & Downing, 1985). However, I find that most native students know very little about their traditional culture. Thus an initial premise that cultural background can be used to facilitate the teaching of mathematics is unfounded. But I have found that the interaction of native culture and mathematics ideas can be mutually reinforcing. For example, Rosalie Bearcrane, while bilingual teacher at Crow Agency

School, was teaching a sixth grade class about the Crow Indian reservation. She divided the map of the reservation into six equal rectangles and assigned each portion to a group within the class. Each group had to enlarge its portion of the map by a scale of 3:1 and then had to make a plaster relief model of the enlargement. The finished products were combined to form a table-sized relief map of the reservation. This task was motivating for the students, and taught them more about their native heritage while they learned more mathematics. In other situations, such culturally relevant phenomena as hand games, arrow throws, and bead loomwork have been used as a basis for stimulating classroom mathematics.

While these situations do engage student interest and represent a way of improving the teaching of mathematics to native students, it does represent only a limited aspect of the meaning of ethnomathematics. Ethnomathematics must be understood in terms, not only of the traditional native culture, but also of its emerging identity, one that lives side by side with the mainstream culture. In this sense, an ethnomathematics approach to the curriculum will draw on traditional culture while focusing attention on the mathematics needed by these students in an integrated society. A curriculum perceived as irrelevant by native students cannot fulfill that objective. Whether the illustrations are traditional or modern, they must engage the students' attention if the students are to be helped in understanding the important mathematical ideas.

The other factor affecting the native students' learning of mathematics is their preferred style of cognitive processing. There is strong informal evidence to suggest that minority learners, in particular, have a strong preference for a more tactile, visual approach to mathematics instruction. From extensive classroom observation, I can assert that manipulatives and visuals are not used significantly in elementary mathematics instruction, especially after the primary grades. While I maintain that this hampers the mathematics learning of all students, the effect on minority students appears little short of devastating. The apparent success in minority classrooms of programs such as

Mathematics Their Way (Baratta-Lorton, 1976) and "Math and the Mind's Eye" (Maier, 1985) attests to the importance of using varied instructional stimuli. It is clear that most minority students are not making the transition to mainstream symbolic mathematics. They need more experience at the concrete and semi-concrete levels and more assistance in bridging the gap to abstract mathematics.

In more recent work, the author provided seventh and eighth grade students with experiences to help overcome these deficiencies. These students were introduced to a manipulative approach to fractions and logic activities. The students also had to describe these tactile experiences in writing. In addition, assigned activities included creating related story problems and having them solved by their peers. Most of the students responded positively to this approach. One noteworthy exception was the student with the highest mathematics achievement; he disliked using manipulatives and would not take the writing activities seriously because they required careful thought. He was deficient in language skills, and his mathematics test scores were alleged to be a reflection of memory skill. Serious questions are raised whether this student and many others with satisfactory mathematics test scores possess the capabilities credited to them. Therefore, there may be many minority language students who mask deficiencies in mathematical understanding by performing adequately on mathematics tests.

In another classroom, seventh and eighth grade remedial mathematics students were assigned writing tasks in mathematics: journal writing, descriptions and explanations of procedures used, and creation of problems. Analysis of the observational data has indicated that the students benefit from this attention to language in the mathematics class (Davison & Pearce, in preparation).

The focus of attention in the continuation of these studies is to determine how familiar situations and tactile and visual approaches, integrated with systematic language activities, can be used to help students with below average language skills to improve their level of language functioning as well as their performance in a wider range of mathematics

objectives. An ethnomathematics solution to the problem calls for the use of the familiar to help these language minority students to accept the need to learn the mathematics needed for survival in our society and to be motivated to work to accomplish that goal.

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A

About NALI

The International Native American Language Issues (NALI) Institute is a non-profit organization established to examine Native language and cultural concerns and related educational and research issues. It sponsors an annual institute designed to bring together traditional language practitioners and language professionals with a focus on the need to balance the demands of modern education with the wisdom of traditional ways of teaching and the richness of the indigenous languages and cultures of the Americas.

NALI had its beginnings in 1980 when a group of concerned professional language educators met to discuss Native American language issues in Los Alamitos, California. The second meeting on native languages was held in Phoenix, Arizona, in 1981. In 1982, the group met in Palm Springs, California. Additional meetings were held in Seattle, Washington, in the spring of 1983 and in Tempe, Arizona, in 1984. Continued growth of the group occurred with the special Institute held in Billings, Montana, in 1985, adding indigenous language groups from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South America.

In 1986, the Oklahoma group formally organized into a non-profit organization with a board of executors (trustees) and put on an exciting Institute with continued international involvement and the added participation of Native Hawaiians. The 1987 Institute was held in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, with tremendous involvement and support from many Canadian Indian nations. Participation was seen from as far north as the Dene Nation of the Northwest Territories. Each year has brought about new growth and renewed commitment. This growth is witnessed by the 2200 or so NALI members, the majority of whom are North American Indians.

NALI functions as a language institute, offering training and university credit to participants. The 1988 Institute was held in Tempe, Arizona, with a theme of **"Strengthening Native Languages Through Unity and Commitment"**. This theme, combined with the fact that the Indian people of Arizona were in the process of trying to defeat the "English Only" movement, produced a unique atmosphere. The result was the creation of a resolution which has come to be known as SJ Resolution 379 of the 100th Congress.

SJ Resolution 379 sailed through the Senate without any dissension. However, the resolution failed to be introduced in the House and, therefore, failed in the 100th Congress. Fortunately, it has been re-introduced in the 101st Congress. Needless to say, this resolution will require the support of as many concerned Indian people and organizations as can be mustered.

During this time of constant pressure placed on all peoples to deal with the realities of the proponents of the "English Only" movement, NALI finds it an absolute necessity to reaffirm its position concerning the languages of indigenous Americans. We must move forward with great speed and urgency to protect, preserve, and promote our rights to use, practice, and develop Native American languages.

We, the NALI Executors, are certain that all indigenous peoples, having mutual respect, concerns, and interests, will be strengthened by our unity and collective efforts. The 1990 Institute will be held again in Oklahoma. Anyone interested in the survival of native languages is invited. For more information about the annual NALI language institutes or about the NALI organization contact the NALI office, P.O. Box 963, Choctaw, Oklahoma 73020 [Phone (405) 769 4650 or 6125].

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