HB
352

ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE

Representative Georgianna Lincoln

HESS Committee, Co-Chair
Resources Committee, Vice-Chair

Budget Subcommittees
Health and Social Services
Revenue

P.O. Box V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Phone: (907) 465-3732
FAX: (907) 465-2652

Alatna
Allakaket
Aniak
Anvik
Arctic Village
Beaver
Bettles
Birch Creek
Chalkyitsik
Chuathbaluk
Crooked Creek
Evansville
Fort Yukon
Galena
Grayling
Holy Cross
Hughes
Huslia
Kalskag
Kaltag
Koyukuk
Lake Minchumina
Lime Village
Lower Kalskag
Manley Hot Springs
Marshall
McGrath
Minto
Mountain Village
Nikolai
Nulato
Pilot Station
Pitkas Point
Rampart
Red Devil
Ruby
Russian Mission
Shageluk
Sleetmute
St. Mary's
Stevens Village
Stony River
Takotna
Tanana
Telida
Tuluksak
Tyonek
Venetie
Wiseman

MEMORANDUM

TO: House Health, Education and Social Services Committee

FROM: Representative Georgianna Lincoln *geo*

DATE: February 13, 1992

RE: Sponsor Substitute for House Bill 352
Native Language Education Act

Alaska's Native languages are rich and varied in their spiritual, cultural and communication styles. **They are also at the brink of extinction.** Native Alaskans speak twenty distinct languages. Today we are on the threshold of seeing the first to go. Eyak, the Athabascan language of a people who thrived for 3,500 years along the Gulf of Alaska, has one remaining Native speaker! She is 73 years old. Linguists predict that "short of a miracle or radical social change" we will lose 15, and possibly 18, of our 20 Native languages by the year 2055.

Sadly, the loss of Alaska Native languages is rooted in anti-Native language educational policies promoted by American missionaries and educators around the turn of the century. Schools played a critical role in efforts to assimilate Alaska Natives into the Western/Anglo religion, language and culture; in fact, children were punished for speaking their Native language.

Today, bilingual experts around the world are beginning to understand the relationship of the individual's indigenous language to his or her sense of well-being and self-esteem, as well as to academic success. What has been lost is a generation of parents who are unable to pass on their Native language to their children within the homes.

SSHB 352 asks schools where a majority of the students are Alaska Natives, to teach the language that is traditional within the community. It elevates the status of Native language by incorporating it into the school curriculum and asking that it be taught by certified or trained instructors. It allows for the

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delivery of language instruction by existing satellite instruction or other distance delivery technology, including computer programs and audio distance delivery.

Schools cannot, nor should they, carry the burden of Native language preservation alone. Parents, extended family members, and communities have important roles as well. In many villages, however, many of those tools are lost. We must have our schools involved and commited to teaching and preserving our Native languages. Presently, our schools are teaching Spanish, Russian, and Japanese to our children. Many who have the capability to extent their programs to include Native languages have not..

As a complement to this bill, Senator Murkowski is working with Congress to secure federal funding to help preserve Alaska's Native languages. S. 1595, the "Alaska Native Languages Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991" has passed the Senate and is awaiting House action. It will provide $2.5 million per year for five years, to assist in Native language preservation and education efforts in Alaska.

I encourage you to review some of the attached literature on the importance of Native language to academic outcomes, as well as the letters and resolutions of support from regional and statewide organizations, a few of which are the Alaska Federation of Natives, the White House Conference on Indian Education, the Denakkanaaga Elders Conference, the Tanana Chiefs Conference, Bristol Bay Area Health Corporation, and the Association of Village Council Presidents, the Village Participation Conference, and the Interior Education Council.

Thank you for your consideration. I welcome your support of SSHB 352.

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
P.O. Box 69
Barrow, Alaska 99723

Phone: 907-852-2611

Jeslie Kaleak, Sr., Mayor

November 14, 1991

RECE...

Patsy Aamodt, Superintendent
North Slope Borough School District
P.O. Box 169
Barrow, Alaska 99723

RE: AFN YOUTH RESOLUTION 91-015

Dear Mrs. Aamodt:

I have reviewed your letter dated November 8, 1991 on the subject captioned above and I want you to know that I fully support this resolution passed by the AFN Youth Convention.

The North Slope Borough is concerned about the youth learning our Native culture. It is good to know that our younger generation is thinking about preserving our culture and language. I recently forwarded favorable comments on S. 1595; a bill introduced in the U.S. Senate that would establish a grant program to promote the preservation of Alaska Native languages. This bill is expected to go to the floor of the Senate for a vote before the end of the year. A copy of the letter has been attached.

Sincerely,

Jeslie Kaleak, Sr.
Mayor

c:\misc\afn_91-0.15

Alaska State Legislature

Please enter into the record my testimony to the House HESS
committee name

committee on HB 326/352, dated Feb. 14, 1992.
bill/subject

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

MY NAME IS WILLIAM C. THOMAS SR. WHICH AT THIS TIME, I AM PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHEAST NATIVE EDUCATION COMMISSION. I APPLAUD THE OPPORTUNITY THAT IS BEING PROVIDED YOU IN ADDRESSING THIS ISSUE.

AT OUR MOST RECENT MEETING, THIS CONCEPT WAS PRESENTED AND THE POSITION OF THE COMMISSION IS TO ISSUE ITS FULL SUPPORT. I MUST EMPHASIZE HOWEVER, THAT IT IS LONG OVER DUE. IN THESE TRYING TIMES WHEN THE WORLD OF EDUCATION IS TRYING TO BE MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF SOCIETY IN ENSURING THAT THE OPORTUNITY OF QUALITY EDUCATION IS AFFORDED. I'M CONVINCED THAT THIS BILL CAN BE ADOPTED WITHOUT TAKING AWAY FROM TRADITIONAL REWARDS OF CERTIFICATION FOLLOWING HAVING SATISFIED THE LEARNING PROCESS AND DEMONSTRATING VIA A SERIES OF TESTS TO PROVE QUALIFICATION TO BE A TEACHER. I FEEL THAT ALASKA IN PARTICULAR HAS BEEN NEGLECTED THE FORUM OR OPPORTUNITY TO TEACH THE LANGUAGES AND CULTURES WHILE OBSERVING TRADITIONALLY SECOND LANGUAGES AND CULTURES THAT ARE FOREIGN TO THIS COUNTRY.

Signed: William C. Thomas Sr.
Testifier

SouthEast Native Education Commission
Representing (Optional)

2610 Fourth Ave. Ketchikan, Alaska
Address

225-1408
Phone No.

PAGE TWO
WILLIAM C. THOMAS SR.
TESTIMONY ON HB 326 AND 352

LANGUAGES AND CULTURES OF ALASKA WILL REMAIN FORIEGN SO LONG AS WE DO NOT INITIATE A CHANGE. I THINK THAT HOUSE BILL NO. 326 AND HB 352 INITIATES SUCH A CHANGE. IT IS THE INTENT OF THE SOUTHEAST NATIVE EDUCATION COMMISSION TO EXPAND THE INTENT OF THE BILL TO INCLUDE SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICTS ACKNOWLEDGING THE FACT THAT ALTHOUGH THE NATIVE ENROLLMENT IS NOT THE MAJORITY, NUMBERS WISE, TOTALS A GREATER NUMBER THAN THOSE DISTRICTS OF SMALLER COMMUNITIES. WE ALSO FEEL THAT THE LEGISLATURE HAS A RESPONSIBILITY IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WHILE SUPPORTING THIS LEGISLATION, TO PROVIDE A FORUM AND FACILTATE THE MECHANICS TO EXPEDITE THE INCLUSION OF ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE TO EXISTING CURRICULUM.

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH SCHOOL DISTRICT

Pouch 169 • Barrow, Alaska 99723 (907) 852-5311 • FAX (907) 852-5984

Office of the Superintendent

Patsy Aamodt, *Superintendent*

November 27, 1991

Nunamiut Wolves
Nunamiut School
Box 21029
Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska 99721
(907) 661-3226
FAX (907) 661-3402

Atqasuk Eagles
Meade River School
Atqasuk, Alaska 99791
(907) 633-6315
FAX (907) 633-6215

Barrow Whalers
Barrow High School
Pouch 8930
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-8930

BMS Wolves
Barrow Middle School
Pouch 8930
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-8930

...elle Fox
Fred Ipalook Elementary School
Box 450
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-4711

Kaveolook Rams
Harold Kaveolook School
Box 10
Kaktovik, Alaska 99747
(907) 640-6626
FAX (907) 640-6717

Nuiqsut Trappers
Trapper School
Nuiqsut, Alaska 99789
(907) 480-6712
FAX (907) 480-6621

Tikigaq Harpooners
Tikigaq School
Box 148
Point Hope, Alaska 99766
(907) 368-2662 or 2663
FAX (907) 368-2770

Cully Qarrilat
Cully School
Point Lay, Alaska 99759
(907) 833-2312
(907) 833-2123

Alak Huskies
Alak School
Box 10
Wainwright, Alaska 99782

Alaska State Board of Education
Mr. Joe Montgomery, President
1048 Beech Lane
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

Dear President Montgomery:

The North Slope Borough School District Board of Education has long recognized the importance that our Inupiaq language has for the strength and continuity of our Inupiaq culture.

It is with pride that we support the enclosed Resolution #91-015, which our young people presented at the ~~American~~ Alaska Federation of Natives Youth Convention. It is very gratifying to us that our young people express so strongly their wish to maintain their heritage.

We, the Board of Education, fully endorse the attached Resolution #91-015 and are determined to support our students in their desire to maintain our native language.

We request your support for any current or future native language/culture legislation that would achieve our goals.

Roy Nageak, President, Board of Education
North Slope Borough School District

Patsy A. Aamodt, Superintendent
North Slope Borough School District

ALASKA FEDERATION OF NATIVES, INC.

1991 YOUTH CONVENTION

RESOLUTION NO. 91-015

TITLE: PRESERVATION OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGE

WHEREAS: The Native Language is one of the most important possessions for any culture; and

WHEREAS: The loss of a language is the loss of the most important aspect of a culture; and

WHEREAS: Local Native languages are deteriorating and are practically lost; and

WHEREAS: Our elders and adults know the Native language, the younger generation is less familiar with sentences and know very little about their original culture, although they are familiar with their Native language and cultural background; and

WHEREAS: We must take action to make a difference to change this problem, also to preserve our cultural background, and to have our future generation familiar with their native language so we do not lose our language completely, and

WHEREAS: If we work together we can have excellent results which would save the past, make a difference in the present, and to think about the future;

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That effort be made to provide the opportunity to learn their Native Language, ECE through 12th grade; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That each tribe or village be allowed the right to declare the local native language as the official language in which business will be conducted and records kept, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the school monitor the achievements that the Native language classes attain; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the district have a solid curriculum for native language teachers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: The school district invest more money and time into the Native language classes so that it will arouse the interest of students and the students will want to attend native language classes.

FEB 18 REC'D

KAKE TRIBAL CORPORATION

P.O. Box 263 • Kake, AK 99830 • (907) 785-3221 • Fax: (907) 785-6407

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
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February 12, 1992

Georgianna Lincoln, State Representative
State of Alaska
Pouch V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Representative Lincoln:

I wanted to write and let you know that Kake Tribal Corporation supports House Bill #352, an act designed to target a program to specifically address our dying Alaska Native Languages. We believe this activity to be important, particularly in our school system. No other bill will enable our cultural Heritage to survive than this bill as we are convinced the survival of our language is critical.

Thank You and Best Wishes.

Sincerely,

Gordon Jackson
President

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS

Interior Campus-Tok Center
College of Rural Alaska
Box 464 • Tok, Alaska • 99780 • (907) 883-5613

Representative Georgianna Lincoln
P.O. Box V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

November 4, 1991

Dear Representative Lincoln:

I would like to take this opportunity to give affirmative testimony on behalf of HB 352. I am also attaching a copy of my recent letter to Senator Murkowski which is supportive of his SB 1595. Because much of my reasoning for supporting HB 352 and SB 1595 is the same, I will try to expand on some key focal points which your bill and ultimately your position might have more immediate impact.

First, I concur with the strong language of the bill which would legislate "must" compliance throughout the REAA school systems. The stronger the language, the better.

Second, the issue of requiring native language in REAA's points out a greater weakness in our schools. Specifically, regional schoolboards **now** have the authority to demand such programs, but for the most part they have not. It is my growing opinion that the majority of REAA school boards are "progammed" by their respective administrators. Subsequent training by most statewide and regional organizations reinforce the limitations of boardmembers' powers rather than the potential impact they may make (especially as individuals) if taught the strategies for doing so. Whether by design or by default, well-meaning school board members eventually become passive members in their respective education systems. Because boardmembers are consistently being "trained" away from independent thought and action, new attempts at changes such as a required native language curriculum are thwarted by entrenched administration and their influence over unwary boards.

It would be much too easy to imply that only non-native board members have not supported initiatives aimed at requiring native language and cultural programs in their schools. Having attended statewide school board meetings and having talked with numerous boardmembers throughout the state including members of my own regional board, I am sadly surprised repeatedly at the lack of "active" support by native boardmembers to get language in their own schools. Much too often, boardmembers have accepted their administration's explanations and reasons against such changes. Programs are acknowledged as being "nice", but not viable ("We don't have the money", "There are no qualified teachers", "The state does not recognize such curriculums", or simply, "We will look into it"). One of many important issues for rural Alaska and our native cultures, language curriculum has been within the reach of our school districts all along.

This is not meant to be a simple criticism of regional school boards because the implications are much greater. Local control of schools perhaps is not truly local control in an applied sense. Is it possible that some of our boardmembers have been "trained" too well to take a risk or go against the grains of outdated or artificially limiting policy, procedure, or administrative manipulation?

Without going into a longer expository of examples and rationale, suffice it to say that it is all the more important that your bill be passed and implemented as soon as is possible. If native language is to come to REAA schools, it will do so only by direct legislation and subsequent enforcement.

Lastly, thanks to the requests from several of our elders over the past couple of years and with more recent growing interest from our younger people, we have developed a new UAF two year degree which will prepare local Athabascan teachers at a certification level that should qualify for professional recognition by DOE and local school districts. It is modeled after and coordinated with the Yukon Native Language Centre (YNLC) in Whitehorse. As you may already know, the Yukon and Northwest Territories have certified native language teachers in 17 of their school systems. Each of their instructors was trained and certified by YNLC. Their certification process is comparable to 30 UAF credits and is the core of the new UAF Associate of Applied Science degree. YNLC graduates are recognized as professional teachers in Canada. Their teacher's pay scale

plans include a new column for these teachers which though not at the same level as bachelor level teachers, is never-the-less a salaried professional position in the range of $30,000/yr.

The new UAF AAS degree is designed to remove the obstacle that so many school districts tell us keeps them from offering native languages as part of the regular curriculum. They say that there are no certified teachers. So, along with your continued efforts with HB 352, I would encourage you to help us influence the statewide education system to recognize future graduates of this new degree.

In closing, I want to take this opportunity to thank you for considering the letter of support and in doing so, recognizing the positive spirit from which it was generated. I certainly trust that HB 352 and subsequent legislation will be passed and in place in the very near future.

Sincerely,

Larry Roberts

ATTACHMENT

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA FAIRBANKS

Interior Campus-Tok Center
College of Rural Alaska
Box 464 • Tok, Alaska • 99780 • (907) 883-5613

October 28, 1991

Honorable Frank H. Murskowski
United States Senator
Select Committee on Indian Affairs
222 West 7th Avenue, Box 1
Anchorage, Alaska 99513-3735

Dear Senator Murskowski:

I want to thank you for the invitation to testify at your hearing during the AFN convention recently. Because I was unable to be away from my office at that time, I am sending you this written testimony which I understand will be added to the record.

Unlike many who have already testified, I am not an Alaskan Native. As such, I don't have the direct cultural linkage from which to deliver first hand knowledge from a First Nation's people. However, I have lived, worked or traveled throughout rural Alaska for my 10 years as an Alaskan citizen. During this time, my contact with Alaskan Natives has been both in my role as a social service provider and as an educator.

As Coordinator for Tanana Chiefs Conference alcohol program centered in Tok, I had first hand opportunity to work with individuals, families, and entire communities in our region. As you know, substance abuse, suicide, domestic violence and a number of other social maladies are of crisis proportions in most of our village communities. I am sure you also know that such social ills were not historically a part of Alaska Native culture or lifestyles. These problems have only be around for the past 75 years or so and most dramatically for the past 25 years.

From my experience working as a social service provider and now as an

Coordinator/educator under the University of Alaska Fairbanks in this same region, it is clear to me that the further away Alaska Natives are from their culture and heritage, the greater the social dysfunction and tragedy.

When I and others have taken the time to listen to various native elders in our state, they warn of the loss of their culture and language. Though recognizing that changes are taking place more rapidly for the generations of today in comparison to the generations up to their own parents and grandparents, they explain that leaving their culture behind means only death to their culture and people. Our recently deceased chief, Andrew Isaac, repeatedly preached of the need to "walk in both worlds" rather than leaving one world behind.

Coupling the wisdom of our native elders to my own direct observations, it is obvious that a people without it's traditions and language, is a people of lost identity. There is no greater test of self esteem than that of a lost identity. Truly, many of the social problems of our native people are the result of low self esteem and the surgical separation from their roots.

Throughout the history of the world, the greatest web connecting people of all nationalities has been a common language. Besides being a social convenience, language unifies nations and guarantees a history. The spirit of a people is housed in it's language.

If the Native people of Alaska are to survive, their language must be preserved in the "active population". Museums and archives are but storehouses necessary only to fill in the voids of a lost or waning history. Were the information passed along from generation to generation, the need for such institutions or warehouses would be minimal. It is imperative that the Alaska Native languages be kept alive and that the primary "warehouses" be in the minds and hearts of today's native youth.

In my other capacity as a regional school boardmember, it is clear to me that public schools will not fill the void. Suffice it to say, the present education system is not meeting the needs of "western" education much less the needs of native cultures. It will take outside initiative such as that being proposed in Senate Bill #1595 to begin bridging the vast canyon separating the cultural needs of native children from the public and higher education institutions as presently available.

Besides additional resources, there need to be programs and people identified which can fulfill objectives of legislations such as SB 1595. Simple turning earmarked money over to the existing education institutions will not insure progress. It is very important that the resources be controlled by groups who are accountable to their constituencies. It is also important the Alaskan programs be developed by those with proven success.

One model which is enhancing natural teachers training is a certification process found in Whitehorse, Yukon. The Yukon Native Language Centre has a 3 year program with First Nation's people now in 17 different schools as professional teachers. Canadians recognize the importance of preserving their languages by recognizing these teachers as "professionals" along with the gratuities and honors of a professional. Alaska has some bilingual programs in a few districts, but certainly nothing as serious as that of our Canadian neighbors. Therefore, in researching further for your bill, I would recommend that you contact John Ritter, Director of YNLC, to learn of their success with hopes of directing the resources of SB 1595 down similar pathways.

Thank you for SB 1595 and for considering this and other supportive testimony.

Sincerely,

Larry Roberts, M.Ed.
Coordinator

Raymond Collins
Board Member
Iditarod Area School District
P.O. Box 75
McGrath, Alaska 99627

November 4, 1991

Georgianna Lincoln
Hess Committee, Co Chair
P.O. Box V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Dear Georgianna,

I am writing in response to your HB 352. I am very much interested in the subject of language retention as I have spent much of my adult life studying the Upper Kuskokwim Athabaskan language. My wife and I moved to Nikolai, Alaska in 1963 and began the initial study of a then unwritten Athabaskan language. At that time there were still a few children in the village who spoke very little English. The only non Athabaskans in the village in addition to my family were a teaching couple at the school.

It should have been an ideal learning situation but already the forces of change were at work. All of the adults were bilingual to some extent although the older people preferred Athabaskan. The younger couples who were just starting to raise families were the first generation who had been to school which started in 1948. The had faced the difficulty of being instructed in a language they did not understand. They were not punished in Nikolai as far as I can determine but the pressure was on to learn English and they succeeded. Their parents had learned English through contact with whites as they grew up mostly through work and commerce. They had not used English with their children.

The generation who went to school seem to have made a conscious or unconscious decision to help their children by using English with them as a first language and it worked all too well. The preschoolers except those who had older parents were mostly bilingual. My daughter who was four at the time began learning Athabaskan from her peers and did quite well until they entered school. Once in school her peers began using English most of the day. My two younger children never did master much Athabaskan as their peers were using mostly English by the time they started playing outside.

By the 1970's when the bilingual education movement started. My study was far enough along and there were enough materials to support a literacy program. In 1973 I trained three people to read and write Upper Kuskokwim Athabaskan and two of them went to work in the school that fall. As most of the children were bilingual especially those in the upper grades the program went well and they learned to read but the instructors were really under a lot of

pressure to both teach and produce materials as they soon exhausted those that we had already developed.

I was hoping that getting a language program in the school and providing a positive atmosphere would stabilize or encourage language retention. It did not, and the younger children continued their shift to English. Since they were now bilingual and their parents were bilingual they could choose which language to speak and even when addressed by adults in Athapaskan they would often respond in English. There were many factors influencing their choice. By this time headstart and preschool programs were beginning and these used English. The radio was on most of the time both at home and in camp. People were avid readers and except for a few books in the school everything available was in English. And then television came along and took up even more of the home time which could have been conducive to using Athapaskan.

Currently the preschoolers are learning little if any Athabaskan and the school program has shifted from literacy to teaching Athabaskan as a second language. This has required the remaining bilingual instructor to learn new methods for which she was not trained and for which no curriculum exists.

In other villages in the IASD the languages are in much more precarious situation with only older speakers remaining and most of them lacking training and materials. Three additional Athabaskan languages are spoken in this district. Tanaina in Lime Village, Deg Hit'an (Ingalik) in Holy Cross, Anvik and Shageluk, and Holikachuk in Grayling. There have been limited programs in these villages with limited success. They generate very little bilingual money because Athabaskan is not even used in the homes of most of the students. The district do not have money for training or materials production. ANLC is providing a critical role in language documentation. As we need to record the language and wisdom of the elders before they are gone taking their knowledge with them but this is only resource material not the kind of curriculum needed to support a second language program.

If the languages are to be saved as spoken languages several things have got to happen. Instructors must be trained and a curriculum and supporting materials developed for a second language program. It may require producing audio tapes and even video tapes. This could be one way of capturing cultural content and bringing it in to the classroom. A video of elders butchering game or cutting fish accompanied by appropriate dialogue. A trip through the country naming features, collecting plants, berries etc. with dialogue in Athabaskan. Communities need to be creative in setting up situations were the language can be learned and used. Story telling sessions, outings etc. I do not think the language can only be learned and used in the school. If we are serious about saving the languages we will have to be creative and make a real commitment of both time and money. A program in the school were vocabulary is learned followed by summer cultural camps were there is total language emersion in a traditional setting. We might

consider the New Zealand model where they set up "language nests" where elders took care of children in a day care, preschool type situation and children were emorsed in the language.

If the legislation passes as is I do not think it will accomplish what you want. Schools may adopt a program and put teachers in the schools to comply but if they are not trained and provided with appropriate material they may not accomplish much and may even discourage the students and parents. If the bilingual educations legislation was also changed so that Native Alaskan second language programs could generate as much money as people who move in to the state and do not speak English it would help.

It also does not address the many Native students who now reside in Anchorage and Fairbanks or attend Mt. Edgecombe. If the rural districts are the only ones who must comply and it puts additional strains on their limited resources will they not fall even further behind in their regular instruction programs?

I would like to see this legislation succeed and hope you get the support you need. We must also convince the communities and the students to get behind it. The Grayling parents through the advisory school board were requiring a course in Holikachuk for the students to graduate but this was not supported by all the students and we (the IASD) board were requested to drop this requirement. It is young adults and parents who do not speak the language who seem to feel the loss the most rather than older people and the students. We need instructional programs for this group as well.

In my other hat I run the McGrath Center for the Rural College of UAF. I have request for a class for adults for instruction in Deg Hit'an that I hope to comply with. Lack of appropriate materials and instructors are the problem.

I understand there is federal legislation proposed that may provide money for research and development of language materials. If this passes it could greatly assist you legislation.

Sincerely

Raymond L. Collins

Raymond L. Collins

phone: 524-3074 or 524-3512

Honorable Rep Georgianna Lincoln
P.O. Box V
Juneau, Ak 99811

Oct. 31, 1991
P.O. Box 187
Mt Village Ak 99632
phone - 591 - 2735

Dear Rep. Lincoln;

I am writing this letter in support of HB 352 this bill is very import. First Time somebody is Concerned about our language and it is good hopefully someday it will be part of the curriculum in our schools. How sad it was one Time when somebody make a Comment, we don't need yupik language since it is not written. That Comment was made by one of the B.I.A. Teachers, when, I was in school. U.S. Senator Murkowski is introducing the similiar bill in Washington by doing these both in Juneau and Washington there is possibility it will succeed. I am supporting Your bill HB 352 with all my heart. You know that lot of times we, us Native people are always helpless people from lower 48 and from Urban areas always dominate our lives how we live. Even our administrators in our schools oppose the yupik language in our schools. I mention that already people from lower 48 always begin to our

lives. please do all You can to make this a reality, This is a God given bill. I have been a member of the Lower Yukon School District for eight years and am starting another three years since I was reelected again this month. It is my sincere hope that our children and their children will live with our Tradition and talk our language expertly just like I am. Eskimo words are much fewer words then English language, even one Yupik word could be interpreted to 10 or 15 English words if You really know the language. Therefore that is my second subject I want to bring to Your attention, when somebody start working on our language make sure somebody really knows our Yupik language. Money is getting tight the money that is spent better be used wisely and accomplish what it is intended for. again Thank You very much for Your concern in our behalf.

Sincerely
Andrew Brown Sr.
Board member
Lower Yukon School District

P.S. [illegible]

01/21/92

January 17, 1992

Representative Georgianna Lincoln
Alaska State House of Representatives
State Capital
Juneau, Alaska 99801-1182

RE: House Bill #352

Dear Representative Lincoln,

I am writing to you in reference to HB 352, which you introduced during the last Legislative Session. I want to tell you I fully support your efforts and endeavers in passing HB 352.

You are to be commended for making this linguistic part of the curriculum in the high schools. It took a long time to realize that here we are teaching French, Russian, or Spanish in our school systems and not any efforts made in teaching our state's original languages.

It is also good to know that you are there to watch and do what's the best for not only the Native people but also the non-Natives. I can guarantee you that as long as you are there, they won't be trying to ram some legislation down our throats.

I am a very proud man to see legislation like this, as in 1976 when I was a member of the school board in Eagle, I tried unsuccessfully to get "cultural hertiage" into the curriculum. Please be aware that I am proud of you and look forward to talk to you when you're in Fairbanks.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Isaac Juneby

Isaac Juneby
2123 Hilton Avenue
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

LOWER KUSKOKWIM SCHOOL DISTRICT

CURRICULUM/BILINGUAL DEPARTMENT

P.O. BOX 305 * BETHEL, ALASKA 99559

(907) 543-4850

In response to: "An Act Relating to a Curriculum for Native Language Education," or House Bill 352. Sponsored by Representative Georgianna Lincoln

The Lower Kuskokwim School District provides educational services to approximately 2600 students in 23 villages. Of all the students enrolled in the spring of 1990, over 1200 students are primary Yup'ik speakers, an additional 600 students speak English but require English as A Second Language and Yup'ik as a Second Language instruction. The total student enrollment requiring special attention in the area of Second Language instruction comprises over 1800 students.

As a result, the district has given significant time, funding, and committment to developing first language instructional programs that are appropriate to the special language needs of the students in this area. Several models of instruction are implemented in order to accommodate varied student needs ranging from complete instruction in Yup'ik in grades k-2, Yup'ik language maintainance in grades 3-12, to required Yup'ik As A Second Language for students in villages who no longer speak their native languages.

The committment of the District Board of Education to the usage of the native language in our instructional programs is unique and singular in the state of Alaska.

Compelling reasons for implementing the programs which utilize the native language include:

1. Children have the inherent right to enter school and speak and learn in the language which they speak and understand.

2. If a child is to grow with self respect, and a strong self esteem, schools must convey the message that his/her native language is an important and valid tool for learning.

3. There is research evidence that a sound base in the native first language is required for the acquisition of a second language.

4. We need to work collectively as educators to promote and encourage the indigeneous language.....unless we would like to live and work in a region 10 years from now that only remembers the language that once was, through the use of an occasional song, dance or feast.

The passage of a bill which supports the development of curriculum for native languages traditionally spoken in a school district and which encourages the utilization of instructors with the knowledge, training, skills and curriculum materials necessary to teach the language is totally appropriate and long overdue.

Respectfully submitted by:

Phyllis Williams

Phyllis Williams,
Director, Curriculum/BilingualEducation

Koyukon Krafts
"Specializing in Alaska
Native Arts & Crafts"

February 8, 1992

Dear Georgianna,

I am in support of the proposed House Bill 352, "An Act Relating to a Curriculum for Native Language Education". In light of the studies indicating that our Native Language may soon be lost and gone forever I think the bill is a very crucial step in preventing this from happening.

Culture, with language being a part of that is very important to a group of people. I think the language expresses who we are from the very depth of our soul and that teaching the language is key for us as a people to continue to express ourselves as a distinct people.

I think by teaching the language in the schools our children will be confirmed in who they are; henceforth, they will develop a strong cultural identity which will ultimately lead to a strong and healthy society.

I think the State should only see this proposal as a means to reversing the many traumatic experiences that our people has succumbed to since the introduction of Western Society to our homeland.

Respectfully,

Sonia Vent, PA-C

P.O. Box 123 • Galena, AK 99741 • (907) 656-1375

1991 Village Participation Conference

RESOLUTION # 91 - 5

ENTITLED: IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIVE LANGUAGES, CULTURES AND HISTORY INSTRUCTION AS A REQUIREMENT IN ALL VILLAGE SCHOOLS

WHEREAS, budget constraints have caused cultural programs to be dropped; and

WHEREAS, our Native students don't know how to speak their languages and have lost cultural understanding; and

WHEREAS, some areas do not have cultural, language and history programs; and

WHEREAS, our children have lost the ability to understnad their heritage; and

WHEREAS, not educating our children in their Native languages, culture and history will cause our Native heritage to be lost.

Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: that the 1991 VPC hereby urges the Alaska Department of Education to set aside funding to implement the teaching of Alaska Native languages, culture, and history in rural communities as a requirement; and

be it further

RESOLVED: that the 1991 VPC hereby urges the Governor of the State of Alaska to fully fund these programs.

ADOPTED this 29th day of March, 1991 at the Village Participation Conference in Juneau, Alaska.

Dewey Skan, Chairperson
1991 Village Participation Conference

RESOLUTION

TITLE: SUPPORTING NATIVE LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

WHEREAS: Native languages are central and essential to the spirituality, culture, and heritage of Native people in Alaska; and

WHEREAS: With the passing of elders, our younger generations are increasingly becoming less knowledgeable about their Native language and culture; and

WHEREAS: The Alaska educational system, historically, contributed to the diminution of Native languages; and

WHEREAS: Our schools have not appreciated that Native language acquisition is crucial for functioning within a multicultural world, and subsequently, have not been incorporating the teaching of the Native languages into their whole curricula; and

WHEREAS: House Bill 352, an act relating to a curriculum for Native language education, which is presently before the Alaska State Legislature, would be a critical step in reviving our Native language by providing the opportunity for Alaska Natives, from the kindergarten through the secondary levels, to learn and maintain their Native languages; and

WHEREAS: House Bill 352 is complimented on the national level through US Senate Bill 1595 entitled, "The Alaska Native Language Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991", sponsored by Alaska's Senator Frank Murkowski.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the members of the Fairbanks Subregional Advisory Board support the efforts of Representative Georgianna Lincoln, and urge for the immediate passage of House Bill 352.

RESOLUTION

TITLE: SUPPORTING NATIVE LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

WHEREAS: Native languages are central to the spirituality, culture and heritage of Native people in Alaska; and

WHEREAS: With the passing of elders our younger generations are increasingly less knowledgeable about their Native language and culture; and

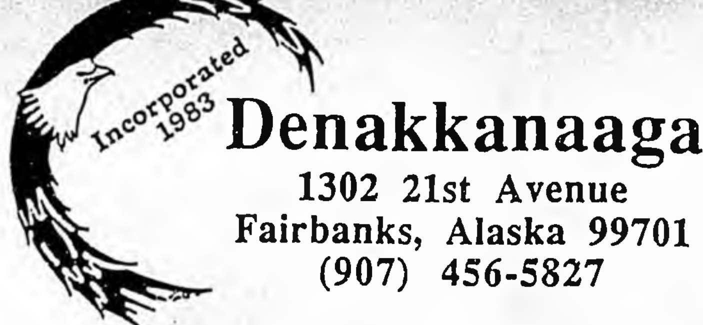
WHEREAS: The Alaska educational system played a major role in diminishing Native languages; and

WHEREAS: our schools are not teaching Native language as part of the language curriculum which is impacting the preservation of Native languages; and

WHEREAS: House Bill 352, an act relating to a curriculm for Native language education, which is presently before the Alaska State Legislature, would be a critical step in reviving our Native language by providing the opportunity for Alaska Natives to learn and maintain their Native language; and

WHEREAS: S 1595 "The Alaska Native Language Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991" sponsered by Senator Frank Murkowski compliments HB 352.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Fairbanks Subregional Advisory Board Members endorse and urges passage of House Bill 352.



Denakkanaaga

1302 21st Avenue
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701
(907) 456-5827

Resolution No. 91-05

Promotion of Native Language Education in Homes, Schools, and Communities

Whereas the elders of Denakkanaaga have long wanted to continue the use of their Native language and to pass their language on to younger generations; and

Whereas the dominant language, English, is used, almost exclusively in communities, state, and schools,

Therefore be it resolved that the elders of Denakkanaaga will assume the responsibility to promote, preserve, and use their Native language in their own homes and communities and at their organizational meetings; and

Be it further resolved that Denakkanaaga will encourage village councils to support Representative Georgianna Lincoln's House Bill #352, entitled "An Act Relating to a Curriculum for Native Language Education," to require each rural school district to have the local village dialect (language) be taught as a "language" in grades K-12 with elders as teachers or supplemental bilingual instructors; and

Be it further resolved that Denakkanaaga will urge Doyon and Tanana Chiefs Conference to include Native language in their meetings, workshops, radio programs, announcements, and the like.

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this resolution was passed on June 6, 1991 by the Denakkanaaga Board of Directors and the elder voting delegates at the Tenth Annual Denakkanaaga Conference in Tanacross, Alaska.

John Starr, Second Chief

Submitted by: John Starr, Second Chief

TANANA CHIEFS CONFERENCE, INC.
Board of Directors
Resolution No. 91-71

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES

WHEREAS, the language of any culture is essential to the continued strength of that culture; and

WHEREAS, the number of people to whom the Athabascan language is their first language is dwindling and the number of people who understand but do not speak the language are mostly in their late 40's; and

WHEREAS, we are soon to have two generations who neither speak nor understand the Athabascan language; and

WHEREAS, unless this is quickly reversed, the language will no longer be a living language.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Tanana Chiefs Conference Board of Directors directs TCC staff to work with Alaska State legislators to make the teaching of Alaska Native Languages mandatory in all Alaska Public School systems whose enrollment is primarily Alaska Native.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Department of Education make Alaska Native languages an accredited language curriculum.

CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this resolution was duly passed by the Tanana Chief's Conference, Inc. Board of Directors on March 14, 1991 at Fairbanks, Alaska and a quorum was duly established.

Mitch Demientieff
Secretary/Treasurer

Submitted by: Resolutions Committee for
Tanana Tribal Council
Yukon Tanana Subregional Advisory Board
Venetie Youth Delegate
Koyukuk Village Council

ALASKA FEDERATION OF NATIVES, INC.

1991 ANNUAL CONVENTION

RESOLUTION 91-08

TITLE: A RESOLUTION REGARDING EDUCATION

WHEREAS: over the years Native elders in conference have passed a number of resolutions regarding the need for increased incorporation of Native culture, language and values into the school systems; and

WHEREAS: Native culture, practice and lifestyle are still minimally incorporated into the high school curriculum of public schools, virtually ignoring the cultural background of students; and

WHEREAS: Native Youth Olympics and Native dancing could be incorporated into the physical education curriculum but are not and are organized as after school activities; and

WHEREAS: skin sewing and other traditional skills could be incorporated into the Home Economics curriculum but are not; and

WHEREAS: the Home Economics area at the school is large and would be an ideal location to teach skin sewing and other traditional skills; and

WHEREAS: the individual who teaches skin sewing is placed upstairs in the library resource area; and

WHEREAS: Native languages could be granted foreign language credit within a school system, but are not; and

WHEREAS: in certain districts Native children account for only 3 of 36 children enrolled in public school Gifted and Talented Program, even though they comprise 71% of the student population within the public school district; and

WHEREAS: all of the above demonstrates that Native culture and lifestyle could be more fully incorporated into the basic educational curriculum of public schools; and

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED the delegates of the 1991 Annual Convention of the Alaska Federation of Natives, Inc. call upon public schools to explain what steps they plan to take to more fully incorporate Native culture, history and lifestyle into the basic curriculum offered to our children; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a request be made for a written explanation as to why our children are excluded from the gifted and talented program and what steps are being taken to ensure this situation will be rectified; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that increased funding be provided to construct and expand libraries in the villages.

SUBMITTED BY: AFN Elders Conference

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS: Do Pass

CONVENTION ACTION: Passed

ALASKA FEDERATION OF NATIVES, INC.

1991 ANNUAL CONVENTION

RESOLUTION 91- 86

TITLE: ENDORSING HB 352 "AN ACT RELATING TO CURRICULUM FOR NATIVE LANGUAGE EDUCATION."

WHEREAS, Representative Georgianna Lincoln has submitted HB 352, entitled "An Act relating to curriculum for Native language education: and providing for an effective date;" and

WHEREAS, HB 352 advocates the revitalization of Native languages by incorporating them into the curriculum of schools;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, by the delegates to the 1991 Annual Convention of the Alaska Federation of Natives, Inc. that the Alaska Federation of Natives endorses and urges the passage of HB 352.

SUBMITTED BY: AFN Education Workshop

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS: Do Pass

CONVENTION ACTION: Passed

ALASKA FEDERATION OF NATIVES, INC.

1991 ANNUAL CONVENTION

RESOLUTION 91-102

TITLE: PRESERVATION OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGE

WHEREAS: the Native language is one of the most important possessions for any culture; and

WHEREAS: the loss of a language is the loss of the most important aspects of a culture; and

WHEREAS: local Native languages are deteriorating and are practically lost; and

WHEREAS: our elders and adults know the Native language, the younger generation is less familiar with sentences and know very little about their original culture, although there are few younger generation who are familiar with their Native language and cultural background; and

IEREAS: we must take action to make a difference to change this problem, also to preserve our cultural background, and to have our future generation familiar with their Native language so we do not lose our language completely; and

WHEREAS: if we work together we can have excellent results which would save the past, make a difference in the present, and to think about the future; and

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that delegates to the 1991 Annual Convention of the Alaska Federation of Natives, Inc. provide the opportunity for all Alaska Natives to learn and maintain their Native language; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that each tribe or village be allowed the right to declare the local Native language as their official language in which business will be conducted and records kept; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the school monitor for the achievements that the Native language classes attain; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that school districts have a solid curriculum for Native language teachers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that school districts invest more money and time into the Native language classes so that it will arouse the interest of students, and the students will want to attend Native language classes.

SUBMITTED BY: AFN Youth Convention

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS: Do Pass

CONVENTION ACTION: Passed

BRISTOL BAY AREA HEALTH CORPORATION
P.O. BOX 130 • DILLINGHAM, ALASKA 99576
(907) 842-5201 or (907) 842-5202

RESOLUTION 91-03

TO SUPPORT AND REQUEST BILINGUAL BICULTURAL (CROSS-CULTURAL) PROGRAMS IN ALL SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE BRISTOL BAY REGION.

WHEREAS: The people of Bristol Bay villages come from a diverse Alaskan Native bilingual/bicultural background; and

WHEREAS: it is known fact that people who know who they are, know where they come from and are proud of their cultural heritage area healthier, stronger group of people physically, mentally, and socially; and

WHEREAS: the schools in each of our villages play a large part in educating our children in addition to that of the family and community; and

WHEREAS: not all school district are providing cross-cultural programs in their district respective schools; and

WHEREAS: we feel it is important that the school districts do their part in helping older people feel good and proud of their heritage and provide an opportunity to share their knowledge which we feel will help to alleviate problems of alcohol, mental health, suicides, drugs and the many symptoms we see as health care providers; and

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the 32 member BBAHC Board of Directors duly assembled in the Full Board session of 12/1/90 that we notify all school districts that we fully support bilingual/bicultural (cross-cultural) programs in each of our member villages and that we encourage each village government to do their part to encourage their schools to implement such programs.

DATED THIS 1ST DAY OF DECEMBER, 1990 AT DILLINGHAM, ALASKA, AT THE FULL BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING.

SIGNED: Ida Apokedak
BBAHC PRESIDENT, IDA APOKEDAK

ATTEST: Elizabeth Angaiak
RECORDING SECRETARY, ELIZABETH ANGAIAK

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

Adopted January 24, 1992

TOPIC 7 - NATIVE LANGUAGES AND CULTURE

7-1

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that: The White House Conference on Indian Education hereby requests the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress to strengthen and increase support for; the language and culture of American Indians and Alaskan Natives by the following actions:

Amend S.2044 by adding a new chapter amending Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 3001) to include a new chapter for American Indian and Alaska Native bilingual education.

A. Ensure the strengthening, preservation, and revival of native languages and cultures to permit students to learn their tribal language as a first or second language.

B. Encourage opportunities to develop partnerships (in programs funded or amended by S.2044) between schools, parents, universities, and tribes.

C. Provide for long term assessment and evaluation of programs funded under this new chapter.

The purpose of this part will be to evaluate the effectiveness of programs, conduct research (including huristic, anthropological, ethnographic, qualitative, quantitative research), that would lead to a better understanding of language development and to identify exemplary models for other groups.

D. Native language teacher competence must meet competency requirements established by tribes. These standards may be developed in cooperation with the advice of language experts of the tribes and universities that are responsible for teacher training programs.

E. Allow for program development based on successful education programs as well as new models that are innovative and explore new theories on bilingual education and language development including emersion programs.

ACTION PLAN INCLUDED.

***

7-2 NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that: The White House Conference on Indian Education hereby requests the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress to strengthen and increase support for the language and culture of American Indians and Alaskan Natives by the following actions:

1. Amend Senate Bill 2044 to provide for the:

   A. Inclusion of "Language, Literacy, and Culture" in the Title; and use of the terminology "Language/Culture" throughout the Act.

   B. Development of curricula for Language/Culture, together with appropriation levels which enable the restoration of lost languages; and an overall appropriation of $200 million for language, literacy, and culture including model programs.

   C. Development of language literacy and culture certification standards by tribal governments, recognition of such certification by SEAs and accrediting institutions; and, appropriation levels which enable full implementation of the standards.

   D. Establishment of course credit for Native Language classes at institutions of higher education, by students who demonstrate literacy and proficiency in Native languages.

   E. Inclusion of American Indian history and culture as a requirements for teacher certification of all teachers.

F. Accountability and availability of appropriated funds to Indian tribes and organizations including urban Indian organizations, for Indian language and culture.

G. Allow American Indian and Alaska Native Tribes to assume total responsibility for their education programs.

H. Require state and local education agencies that receive federal funds to include American Indian and Alaska Native language, culture, and history into core curriculum.

2. Require the U.S. Office of Indian Education to collaborate with the Senate on S.2044 to include the recommendations heretofore set forth.

ACTION PLAN INCLUDED.

***

7-3 NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that: the White House Conference on Indian Education hereby requests the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress to strengthen and increase support for the language and culture of American Indians and Alaska Natives by the following actions:

1. Whereas a special relationship exists between the federal government and American Indians and Alaska Natives; and

2. Whereas there is a national crisis in Indian education exempting all Indian education monies from the requirements of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act.

ACTION PLAN INCLUDED.

7-4 NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that: The White House Conference on Indian Education hereby requests the President of the United States and the U.S. Congress to strengthen and increase support for the language and culture of American Indians and Alaska Natives by the following actions:

1. Require that the Office of Indian Education and the Bureau of Indian enforce legislative requirements for parental participation in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of programs under Title V, Subpart 1, P.L. 81-874 and Johnson-O'Malley Act.

2. That sign off parent committee authority be required and be limited to the authorized chairpersons of the parent committee in Title V, Subpart 1, P.L. 81-874 and Johnson-O'Malley programs.

3. That the Office of Indian Education establish grievance procedures for grantees and parent committees.

4. That local education agencies be accountable to the parent committee.

A[illegible]ON PLAN INCLUDED.

***

7-5 THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Federal Government establish and provide adequate funding for Native languages, literacy and cultural programs for American Indians and Alaska Natives as one of the Nation's highest priorities.

NO ACTION PLAN INCLUDED.

***

7-8 **THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED**, that:

1. The White House Conference on Indian Education Native Language and Culture delegates hereby approve this resolution requesting the President of the United States, Honorable George A. Bush and Congress of both the Senate and the House of Representatives recognize, acknowledge and support the need for Native language and culture as a significant instrument to the improvement of American Indian education.

2. The White House Conference on Indian Education Native Language and Culture delegates also request that the federal, public, parochial and community school systems receiving federal funding for American Indian learners to immediately develop a dress code policies/regulations that reflect the traditional language, culture and religious expressions practiced by these students.

3. In this recognition and acknowledgment, the White House Conference on Native Languages and Culture delegates further requests that the U.S. Department of Education recognize, acknowledge and support the importance to carry out the intent of this resolution.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the above recommendation is agreed to, with the stipulation that further review and, where necessary, modifications be made prior to its implementation.

AVCP

Association of Village Council Presidents
P.O. Box 219 • Bethel, Alaska 99559 • Phone 543-3521

25TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
KALSKAG, ALASKA
CONVENTION RESOLUTION NO. 89-31

RELATING TO: Preservation of Native Language and Culture.

Committee Recommendation: DO PASS

WHEREAS, The Association of Village Council Presidents is the regional tribal organization and non-profit Alaska Native Corporation for the 56 Yup'ik Native communities of the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta Region of Western Alaska, and

WHEREAS, The Federal and State Governments mandated the education of all our children, and

WHEREAS, The unique Alaskan Cultures and Languages have originated in Alaska, and have existed since time immemorial, and

WHEREAS, There are no existing programs that support the efforts of the Native Communities to revive or preserve Culture and Native Language in schools, and

WHEREAS, In Native Communities today there are many Bilingual and Cultural Heritage teachers that are calling for "Help", and

WHEREAS, We, the Native Leaders are fully supportive of these Bilingual and Bi-cultural Programs, and

WHEREAS, The students have documented that teaching in our Native language can increase the proficiency in English as well as teaching our children our traditional method of high level of cognitive education, and

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that new legislation be passed to redefine the Bilingual Programs in the State of Alaska, especially in Native villages. Since the State and Federal Governments main concern is to teach all Native children the English language.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the State and Federal Government will mandate the reviving and preserving of the Alaskan Native Language and Cultures of Native communities.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that AVCP encourages the State Board of Education to pass a policy on bilingual education.

Resolution No. 89-31
-Page 2-

ADOPTED this 14th day of October 1989, by the Full Board of Directors of the Association of Village Council Presidents assembled in its 25th Annual convention at Kalskag, Alaska in a duly constituted meeting with a quorum of members present.

CERTIFICATION:

Willie Kasayulie, Chairman

Gene Peltola, President

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH SCHOOL DISTRICT

Pouch 169 • Barrow, Alaska 99723 • (907) 852-5311 • FAX (907) 852-5984

Patsy Aamodt, *Superintendent*

STRIVING FOR EXCELLENCE • NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH SCHOOL DISTRICT

Nunamiut Wolves
Nunamiut School
Box 21029
Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska 99721
(907) 661-3226
FAX (907) 661-3402

Atqasuk Eagles
Meade River School
Atqasuk, Alaska 99791
(907) 633-6315
FAX (907) 633-6215

Barrow Whalers
Barrow High School
Pouch 8950
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-8950

BMS Wolves
Barrow Middle School
Pouch 8950
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-8950

Arctic Fox
Fred Ipalook Elementry School
Box 450
Barrow, Alaska 99723
(907) 852-4711

Kaveolook Rams
Harold Kaveolook School
Box 10
Kaktovik, Alaska 99747
(907) 640-6626
FAX (907) 640-6717

Nuiqsut Trappers
Trapper School
Nuiqsut, Alaska 99789
(907) 480-6712
FAX (907) 480-6621

Tikigaq Harpooners
Tikigaq School
Box 148
Point Hope, Alaska 99766
(907) 368-2662 or 2663
FAX (907) 368-2770

Cully Qavvika
Cully School
Point Lay, Alaska 99759
(907) 833-2312
FAX (907) 833-2123

Alak Huskies
Alak School
Box 10
Wainwright, Alaska 99782
(907) 763-2541
FAX (907) 763-2550

RESOLUTION 92-07
SUPPORTING HB 326
WHICH PROVIDES CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS IN CERTAIN LIMITED FIELDS

WHEREAS the North Slope Borough Board of Education supports the preservation of our Inupiaq Language; and

WHEREAS the North Slope Borough Board of Education knows that the teaching of our Inupiaq Language is important in preserving our Inupiaq Culture; and

WHEREAS the North Slope Borough Board of Education recognizes that we have many excellent Inupiaq Language Teachers; and

WHEREAS the North Slope Borough Board of Education is aware that it is not possible to obtain a baccalaureate degree in Inupiaq Language;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the North Slope Borough Board of Education support and approve House Bill 326 which provides Teacher Certification for certain limited fields; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the North Slope Borough Board of Education desires passage of House Bill 326 by the State Legislature at the earliest opportunity.

INTRODUCED: February 11, 1992

ADOPTED: February 11, 1992

[signature]

Roy Nageak, President
North Slope Borough Board of Education

[signature]

Patsy A. Aamodt, Superintendent
North Slope Borough School District

PLEASE ENTER INTO THE RECORD MY TESTIMONY TO THE HESS COMMITTEE ON HB352/326.

I would like to voice my support for H.B. 352/ 326, bills that would mandate the teaching of Alaska Native Languages in our schools.

It is imperative that this bill have strong language built into it because we have a lot of school districts in rural Alaska that fight the incorporation of languages and culture in our curriculum. It is essential to include this in our core curriculum rather than giving it mere "lip service", because if it is left o regional and local school boards any service that trickles down to the students will be watered down, ESPECIALLY if there is even a hint of emphasis on the native language or culture. The emphasis should be to enhance and preserve what is left of our native heritage, not chop it up into little pieces, or ignore it altogether! For instance, one school district that I am familiar with is the Yukon Koyukuk School District, whose bilingual program emphasizes English profeciency rather than teaching native language programs. This school district has received many grants to develop and train their native language instructors, but have chosen to opt for steering our childrens bilingual education instruction in a direction that emphasizes standard English profeciency. The students rich native culture is not recognized or celebrated in any way shape or form, and they are still wondering today why they have so many students who are floundering?!

Research done by Linguists on the impact of knowing your own native language strongly reinforce the positive aspects of knowing where you come from, learning the rich history of our culture that is passed on in legends and folklore, and the self-esteem that is felt when you master a language that ties you close to the land and the people.

The establishment of this Alaska Native Language program would create a stable basis for funding native languages, and hopefully once again close the circle that was broken in the early 1900's when federal policy forbade the use of native languages.

I would like to close by stressing that this bill should not be watered down. Our students have to be given the opportunity to be exposed to our native languages. Every day that we stall in getting the languages into the classroom means that another resource is lost--an Elder who has the knowledge that NO TEXTBOOK would ever come close to competing with.

Thank you.

Shirley M. Moses

Shirley M. Moses
23 A Eureka Ave.
Fairbanks, Alaska
452-4647

Native Parent of Four (4) Children, Native Teacher

Post-it™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671	# of pages ▸ 4
To Pat Jackson	From Reva Shircel
Co. Rep. Lincoln	Co. TCC
Dept.	Phone # 452-8251
Fax # 465-2652	Fax #

TANANA CHIEFS CONFERENCE, INC.
122 FIRST AVENUE
FAIRBANKS, ALASKA 99701-4897
PHONE (907) 452-8251 FAX (907) 451-8936

TESTIMONY
TCC SUPPORT
HB352 AND HB326
February 13, 1992

My name is Reva Shircel, and I am here at the direction of the President of the Tanana Chiefs Conference, Inc. (TCC) to testify on behalf of TCC in support of Representative Lincoln's House Bill 352 and Representative MacLean's House Bill 326.

The TCC is in support of HB352 and HB326 because they not only complement each other but complement the intent of Senator Frank Murkowski's legislation (S. 1595) entitled the "Enhancement and Preservation of the Alaska Native Language Act of 1991". We have also been supportive of the efforts of the Interior Campus and the Alaska Native Language Center staff to institute a Native Language Degree and Certificate for the delivery of the Athabascan languages to the villages through the distance delivery system of the College Rural Alaska, and plan to closely monitor the progress of that proposal until approval can be obtained from the University of Alaska's Board of Regents. We have been encouraged and thankful for the many bills and initiatives that have been introduced this past year on behalf of the preservation and enhancement of the Alaska Native languages. The delegates to the White House Conference on Indian Education also asked the President of the U.S. and the U.S. Congress to strengthen and increase support for the language and culture of American Indians and Alaska Natives by requiring state and local education agencies that receive federal funds to include American Indian and Alaska Native language, culture, and history into core curriculums.

Where Senator Murkowski's bill will accommodate the language needs of the communities and parents, Representative Lincoln's bill will afford local school boards the authority and the responsibility to provide students within their communities, instruction in their language through new and more meaningful methods. Historically, the instruction of our Athabascan languages have been conducted by our schools in a piece meal fashion and largely on an elective basis depending on the availability of Johnson O'Malley and Indian Education monies. Subsequently, the school districts have not demonstrated the deep commitment needed to institute comprehensive long range plans in their individual schools to provide meaningful instruction of the Athabascan languages to their students. School districts personnel unless they are residents of the Interior - come and go - but local school board members normally are life long members of the village or community that they represent.

Two days ago, we became aware of the latest chilling statistic that only two (2) out of the twenty (20) Alaska Native languages will survive by the year 2055. Those two languages predicated to survive are Yupik and Inupiaq.

With the possible extinction of our Athabascan languages within 63 years, we must take radical and meaningful steps today to incorporate our indigenous languages and culture into our academic systems. We must recognize our language and cultural experts in our communities who have spent their lives teaching our children what they know, sometimes through difficult circumstances, and many times, with little compensation for their efforts. We support the intent of Representative MacLean's bill because her bill supports the efforts of many local Native and non-Native people who have given so much to our children. In view of the possible extinction of our languages, we recognize the crucial importance of Representative Lincoln's bill, and Representative

MacLean's bill and we encourage everyone, whether or not they have children in the school, to support HB352 and HB326.

Thank you for listening. The TCC appreciates this opportunity to testify.

Sectional Analysis
Sponsor Substitute House Bill 352
Native Language Education Act

Sec. 1 Title: Native Language Education Act

Sec. 2 Findings.

Sec. 3 Amends school district report card statute to require summary and evaluation of Native language education curriculum if it is provided in the district.

Sec. 4(a) Requires school districts where a majority of students are Alaska Native to include Native language education as a part of the school curriculum, grades K-12. Native language is to be that traditionally spoken in the community.

Further directs school boards to utilize certified instructors or individuals with knowledge and training in teaching the language, and to the extent possible, instructors and materials available through the University and distance delivery technologies.

Sec. 4(b) Defines "Native" Alaskan for the purposes of this bill, to be a person with one-fourth degree or more Alaska Indian, Eskimo or Aleut blood.

7-LS0287\G.1
Ford
02/13/92

AMENDMENT

OFFERED IN THE HOUSE BY REPRESENTATIVE LINCOLN

TO: SSHB 352

Page 3, line 8, after "(a)":

Delete "A"

Insert "A school board in a district in which a majority of the students are Alaska Natives shall establish a local Native language curriculum advisory board. If the local advisory board recommends the establishment of a Native language education curriculum, the"

Anchorage Daily News Monday, February 10, 1992

Last Eyak understands true meaning of eulogy

By CHARLES WOHLFORTH
Daily News reporter

Only one person at Sophie Borodkin's funeral potlatch could understand the eulogy that was spoken in her native language. That was Borodkin's 73-year-old sister, Marie Smith, the only full-blooded Eyak left living, and the last Native speaker of the unique Eyak language since her sister died a week ago in Cordova.

Smith asked Michael Krauss, the University of Alaska linguist who has learned her language and read the Eyak eulogy, to translate for the rest of the people at the potlatch Thursday.

"There is one other person who speaks Eyak, but he is not an Eyak," Smith said Sunday. "It was a wonderful eulogy."

Borodkin, 80, died after a long illness, leaving a sense of disappearing history along with the grief felt by her friends. She was one of the last links remaining to a culture that was already dying when she was a little girl.

"She was always talking about the way things used to be," said Agnes Nichols, an old friend. "She made the best seal oil I ever tasted."

"I can tell you she was a very wonderful person, and whenever we wanted to find out what we had to do for a special occasion in the church, or even cooking something, she would always tell you," said Barbara Olsen. "She wanted to pass on the traditional ways.

"We lost a lot of history when she died. A lot. She sure had a lot of stories to tell."

The Eyaks, people of the Gulf of Alaska coast from Prince William Sound east to Yakutat, apparently broke from the Interior's Athabascans around 1500 B.C., the Alaska Native Language Center's Krauss has written. They may never have numbered more than hundreds, but the Eyaks' language and culture evolved in isolation for thousands of years until it became sharply different from Athabascan, Tlingit and Aleut — the more numerous peoples living on

AP file photo
Sophie Borodkin

Please see Back Page, EYAK

EYAK LANGUAGE: Lone Native speaker works to keep tongue from disappearing

Continued from Page A-1

each side.

But with the arrival of Russian invaders in the 18th century, and possibly with incursions by Aleuts and Tlingits before that, the Eyaks went into decline, said James Kari, also of the language center. Disease and alcohol brought by whites at the end of the 19th century killed off many more Eyaks, and intermarriage with other peoples diluted their culture further.

By 1905, only 50 Eyaks remained, according to a reference. And their children went to white schools where speaking the language was forbidden, Nichols said.

"They were punished if they did," she said. "So when they came home they weren't interested in it anymore."

But Borodkin and Smith grew up in a family where the language never died.

"She only went to school three years, and then she said she was too busy for it and she came home and married young and raised her family," Nichols said. "The race was diluted, and the language wasn't spoken anymore. But these two kept it alive."

"We weren't allowed to speak it in school, or near school," Smith said. "My mother and dad were alive, and we always spoke it at home."

Smith has lived in Anchorage the last 19 years, but she didn't stop speaking her native tongue.

"We talked on the phone a lot together," she said.

In recent years, interest in the disappearing language and culture renewed, partly owing to Borodkin's warm and expansive personality. Friends said she was so popular in Cordova that when her age and illness with cancer made it too difficult for her to gather subsistence foods, her freezer always stayed full with gifts from others.

"She always had a pot of tea. Her home was always warm and welcoming," Nichols said. "She was almost blind — she could just see shadows — but she loved to go to rummage sales. Somebody would go and pick her up and describe what was on the table, and she'd buy."

Krauss wrote a typescript Eyak dictionary, which Borodkin kept by her side, and he learned to speak the language fluently, although at the potlatch last week he was occasionally corrected by Smith. His work is part of the center's efforts to record Alaska's disappearing languages.

"Right there in Anchorage, the upper Cook Inlet Dena'ina is in the same shape," Kari said.

"It's just like Aleut," said Olsen. "If people don't start to speak it, it's going to die out, too, even though there are a lot of Aleuts around here. I understand it but I don't speak it. My grandchildren don't understand it."

But the last full-blooded Eyak hasn't given up. Smith said she recently started teaching Eyak to her granddaughter.

"It's going good," she said. "We only had a two-day session. I'm going word for word now. I had her write the words she wanted to learn. Simple things, like 'fire.' And she learned 20 words in just two days. It's a wonderful thing.

"I'm trying my darndest not to let it die. My granddaughter is going to carry it on."

FISCAL NOTE

STATE OF ALASKA
1992 LEGISLATIVE SESSION

BILL NO. HB 352

Revision Date: 2-11-92
Title: A Curriculum for Native Language Education

Sponsor: Representative Lincoln
Requestor: (H) HESS

Department Affected: Education
BRU: K-12 Support
Component: Data Management

COMPONENT SERIAL NO. 1 2 4 1

Expenditures/Revenues: (Thousands of Dollars)

OPERATING	FY 93	FY 94	FY 95	FY 96	FY 97	FY 98
PERSONAL SERVICES						
TRAVEL						
CONTRACTUAL	22,500	0	0	0	0	0
SUPPLIES						
EQUIPMENT						
LAND & STRUCTURES						
GRANTS, CLAIMS						
MISCELLANEOUS						
TOTAL OPERATING	22,500	0	0	0	0	0
CAPITAL						
REVENUE FUND SOURCE:						

FUNDING: (Thousands of Dollars)

	FY 93	FY 94	FY 95	FY 96	FY 97	FY 98
GENERAL FUND	22,500	0	0	0	0	0
FEDERAL FUNDS						
OTHER FUND SOURCE:						
TOTAL	22,500	0	0	0	0	0

POSITIONS:

	FY 93	FY 94	FY 95	FY 96	FY 97	FY 98
FULL-TIME						
PART-TIME						
TEMPORARY						

Estimate of current year impact:

ANALYSIS: (Attach a separate page if necessary.)

See attachment

Prepared by: Mike Maher
Division: Commissioner's Office
Phone: 465-2800
Date: 2-11-92

Approved by Commissioner: Jerry Covey
Agency: Education
Date: 2-11-92

Distribution (by preparer): Leg. Fin., Legislative Sponsor, Requestor, OMB/DBR, Gov. Legis. Ofc., & Impacted Agency(ies).
Rev 10/07/91

FISCAL NOTE FOR HB 352

Cost to the Department:

The Department estimates a contractual cost of $22,500. This cost will cover two items required in Section 3. AS 14.03.120 (e) (7).

$20,000. is to develop an evaluation model, and $2,500. is to redo the Implementation Guide for District Report Cards to accommodate changes.

Costs to School Districts:

Although HB 352 poses no significant increased cost to the Department of Education, it will pose a cost to each school district which conducts a Native language education program for grades K-12. The Department staff estimates a cost of $60,000. per school site not currently served, to implement a Native Language curriculum. Of this amount, we assume that 1/3 would cover the staff salary, 1/3 would cover staff development and 1/3 would cover the cost of curriculum and materials development.

Many districts and sites currently have Native language instruction programs as described in their approved Bilingual Plans of Service. Based on our review of schools where more than 50% of the student population is Alaska Native, we have determined that at least 63 such school sites do not provide any kind of Native language program at this time. At the cost of $60,000 per site, total cost, statewide, would come to $3,780,000.

147150IIE

HOUSE COMMITTEE REPORT

(7)

Date Referred: February 10, 1992 FURTHER REFERRALS: Finance

Date of Committee Action: 2/13/92

The HEALTH, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES Committee considered: SSHB 352

SPONSOR SUBSTITUTE FOR HOUSE BILL NO. 352 NATIVE LANGUAGE EDUCATION

"An Act relating to a curriculum for Native language education; and providing for an effective date."

RECOMMENDATIONS:
be replaced with ______ [ ] the same title / [ ] a new title

[ ] have attached amendments(s)
[ ] do pass
[ ] do not pass
[ ] no recommendations
[✓] individual recommendations
[ ] additional referral to the ______ Committee

ADOPTS: ______ letter of Intent

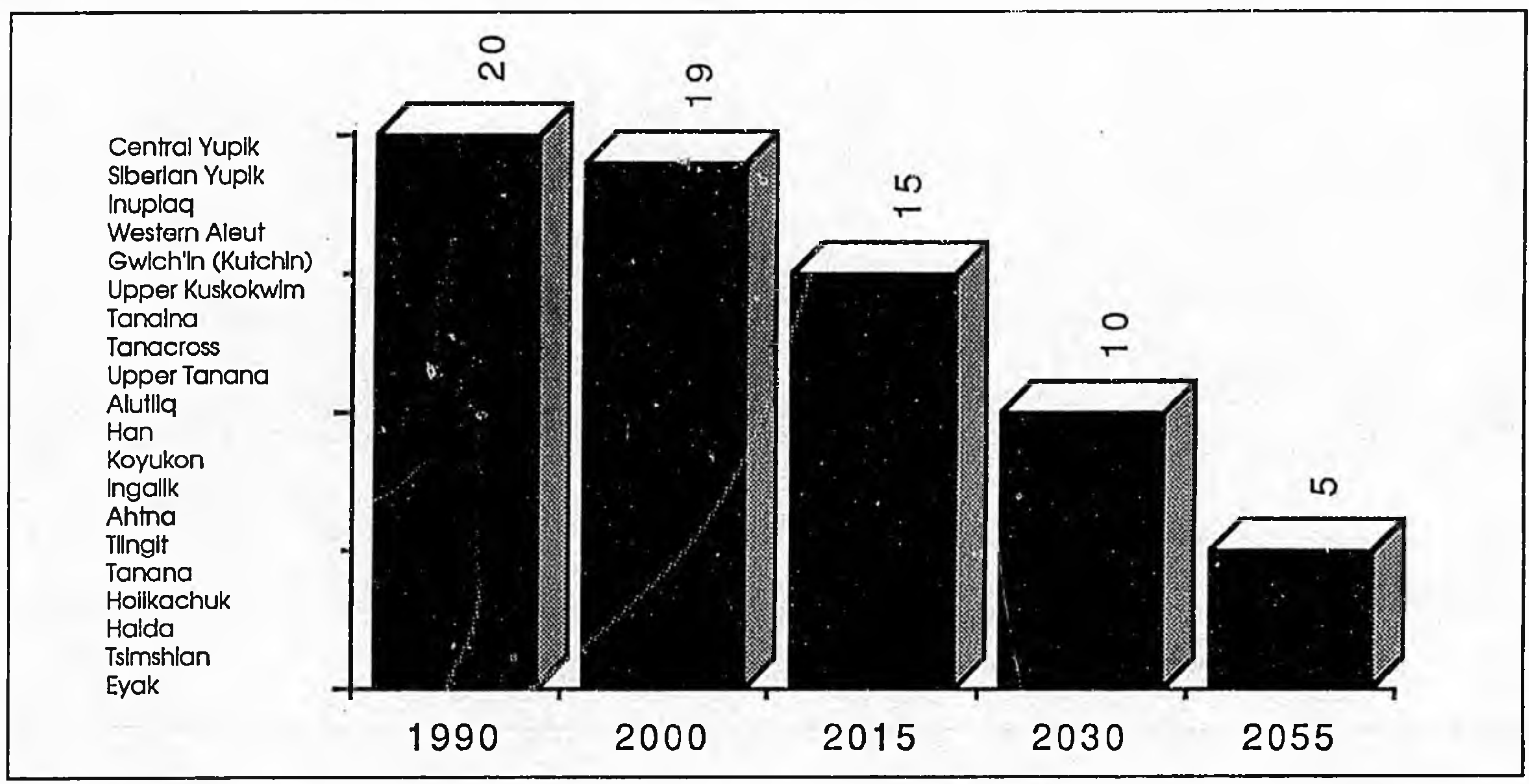
ATTACHES NEW FISCAL NOTE(s): (Dept)
[✓] fiscal impact DOE 2-11-92
[ ] zero fiscal note ______

APPROVES PREVIOUS: (Dept/Date)
[ ] fiscal note(s) ______
[ ] zero fiscal note(s) ______

SIGNING DO PASS	DP	OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS	DNP	NR	AM
Bettye Davis	✓	Cheri Davis		✓	
[signature]	✓				
[signature]	✓				

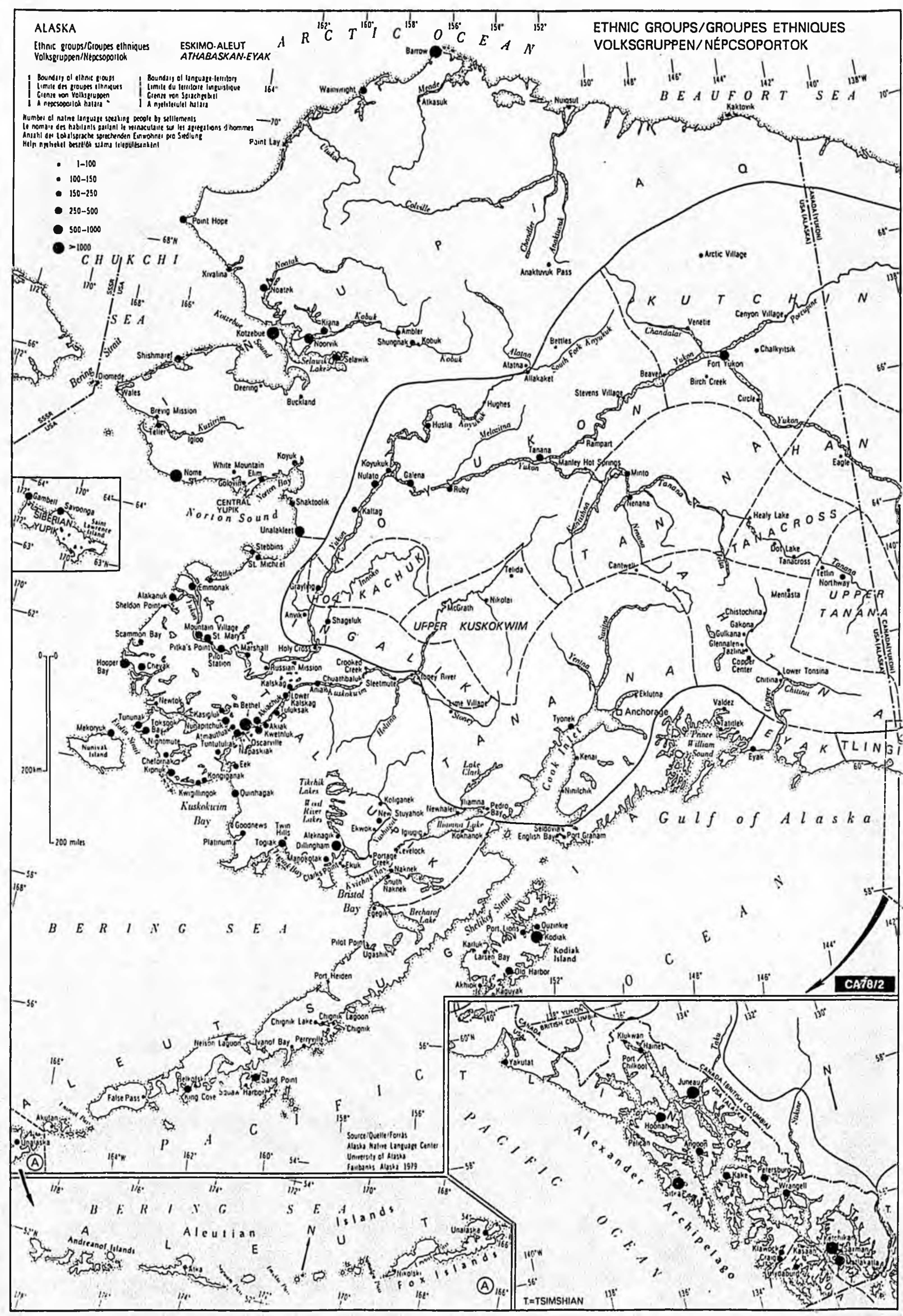
[signature]
Co – CHAIRMAN'S SIGNATURE

Languages in Peril



Not allowing for miracles, Eyak will probably not survive this century; Alaska Tsimshian, Alaska Haida, Holikachuk, and Tanana will probably be extinct by 2015; and Tlingit, Ahtna, Ingalik, Koyukon and Han will probably be extinct by 2030. Furthermore, Alutiiq, Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Tanaina and Upper Kuskokwim have an extremely doubtful future . . . not allowing for miracles or other radical changes, they will proably be extinct within a lifetime, by about 2055. By that year, then, probably only five of the twenty Alaska languages will still be spoken . . . Western Aleut . . . Kutchin . . . Inupiaq . . . Central Alaska Yupik and Siberian Yupik . . ."

Dr. Michael Krauss
Alaska Native Languages: Past, Present and Future
Alaska Native Language Center Research Papers - 1980
University of Alaska Fairbanks



ALASKA
Ethnic groups/Groupes ethniques
Volksgruppen/Népcsoportok
ESKIMO-ALEUT
ATHABASKAN-EYAK
ETHNIC GROUPS/GROUPES ETHNIQUES
VOLKSGRUPPEN/NÉPCSOPORTOK
Boundary of ethnic groups
Limite des groupes ethniques
Grenze von Volksgruppen
Boundary of language-territory
Limite du territoire linguistique
Grenze von Sprachgebiet
Number of native language speaking people by settlements
1-100
100-150
150-250
250-500
500-1000
>1000
ARCTIC OCEAN
BEAUFORT SEA
CHUKCHI SEA
BERING SEA
Gulf of Alaska
PACIFIC OCEAN
Norton Sound
Bristol Bay
Kuskokwim Bay
Bering Strait
Kotzebue Sound
Prince William Sound
Cook Inlet
Shelikof Strait
Kodiak Island
Alexander Archipelago
Aleutian Islands
Andreanof Islands
Fox Islands
SIBERIAN YUPIK
CENTRAL YUPIK
HOLIKACHUK
INGALIK
UPPER KUSKOKWIM
KUTCHIN
TANACROSS
UPPER TANANA
EYAK
TLINGIT
Barrow
Wainwright
Atkasuk
Nuiqsut
Kaktovik
Point Lay
Point Hope
Kivalina
Noatak
Kiana
Kotzebue
Noorvik
Ambler
Shungnak
Kobuk
Selawik
Shishmaref
Diomede
Wales
Deering
Buckland
Brevig Mission
Teller
Igloo
Nome
White Mountain
Elim
Golovin
Koyuk
Shaktoolik
Unalakleet
Stebbins
St. Michael
Kotlik
Emmonak
Alakanuk
Sheldon Point
Mountain Village
St. Mary's
Scammon Bay
Pitka's Point
Pilot Station
Marshall
Hooper Bay
Chevak
Holy Cross
Russian Mission
Kalskag
Lower Kalskag
Bethel
Akiak
Kwethluk
Oscarville
Napaskiak
Tuluksak
Newtok
Tununak
Toksook Bay
Nightmute
Mekoryuk
Nunivak Island
Chefornak
Kipnuk
Kongiganak
Kwigillingok
Quinhagak
Goodnews
Platinum
Togiak
Twin Hills
Aleknagik
Dillingham
Manokotak
Ekwok
New Stuyahok
Koliganek
Igiugig
Levelock
Portage Creek
Ekuk
Clarks Point
Naknek
South Naknek
Egegik
Pilot Point
Ugashik
Port Heiden
Chignik Lake
Chignik Lagoon
Chignik
Perryville
Ivanof Bay
Nelson Lagoon
Sand Point
Belkofski
King Cove
False Pass
Akutan
Unalaska
Atka
Nikolski
Port Lions
Ouzinkie
Kodiak
Karluk
Larsen Bay
Old Harbor
Akhiok
Kaguyak
Newhalen
Iliamna
Pedro Bay
Kokhanok
Seldovia
English Bay
Port Graham
Ninilchik
Kenai
Tyonek
Anchorage
Eklutna
Tatitlek
Valdez
Eyak
Chitina
Lower Tonsina
Copper Center
Tazlina
Glennallen
Gulkana
Gakona
Chistochina
Mentasta
Tetlin
Northway
Tanacross
Dot Lake
Healy Lake
Cantwell
Telida
Nikolai
McGrath
Minto
Nenana
Manley Hot Springs
Tanana
Rampart
Stevens Village
Beaver
Fort Yukon
Birch Creek
Circle
Eagle
Chalkyitsik
Venetie
Canyon Village
Arctic Village
Anaktuvuk Pass
Bettles
Alatna
Allakaket
Hughes
Huslia
Koyukuk
Nulato
Galena
Ruby
Kaltag
Grayling
Anvik
Shageluk
Crooked Creek
Chuathbaluk
Sleetmute
Aniak
Stoney River
Lime Village
Yukon
Kobuk
Colville
Tanana
Kuskokwim
Yakutat
Klukwan
Haines
Port Chilkoot
Juneau
Hoonah
Pelican
Angoon
Sitka
Kake
Petersburg
Wrangell
Klawock
Craig
Kasaan
Hydaburg
Ketchikan
Saxman
Metlakatla
T=TSIMSHIAN
Source/Quelle/Forrás
Alaska Native Language Center
University of Alaska
Fairbanks Alaska 1979
CA78/2

Teacher plays key role in life skills, explaining nature

Editor's note: John Active gave this speech for the 1992 Bilingual Multicultural Education Equity Conference banquet Friday night in Anchorage. It has been shortened somewhat.

John Active
GUEST COLUMNIST

When I was asked to make a commentary I also was asked what my comments would be about.

I blurted out "funny words" because I wanted to show how hard your jobs as bilingual teachers are when translating English into your Native languages when teaching your students.

We all know how to translate into our Native tongues the English word "vegetarian." One whose diet consists of plants, who eats no meat. How then do we translate "humanitarian"? One who eats only human beings?

What about the word "light bulb"? In Yupik, we call a light bulb "nakacuguaq," literally in English, "imitation bladders."

It was so dark this morning I had to turn my "imitation bladder" on.

So much for "funny words." What I really wanted to talk about was the importance of teachers.

I, myself, was raised by a wonderful teacher, my grandmother Maggie Lind.

She was a genuine Yupik Eskimo, and she was raised in the ancient, traditional Yupik lifestyle. She knew the agony of being married off to someone she did not love and later married another she did love.

She knew all the old Yupik fables and legends as told to her by her own grandmother and the lessons at the end of such stories.

She knew stories which taught life skills and stories of how nature came to be as it is today. How the crane came to have blue eyes. Why the beaver has no fat on its belly and why the porcupine has no quills on its back. Why the raven is black.

She taught me to be helpful and its rewards with her story about the girl who always swept the floor of an elder's house. The day came when the girl was going home and the ice from a stream she had crossed earlier had broken up and floated away.

The girl cried and cried. As she did, things began float down the stream, stopping at the bank were she was and forming a path across it.

The girl was curious, so she stepped down on it and discovered it to be solid as ice. The path spoke to her and said it was the dust and dirt she had swept out of the elder's house. They had come to repay her. She walked across on them to her safety.

My gram — I liked to call her "Gram" — taught me to share. When someone came and asked for a little seal oil she always gave them more than what they had asked for.

My gram taught me religion — Yupik style — by example. Spirituality.

Gram taught me the virtue of being quiet, especially when we were out in the wilderness, spring camping.

Oh, the vision is so clear, just as if it happened last night.

I can even hear the birds calling, see the sun setting in the west, yellow, purple-orange and blue green painting the evening sky.

There is no breeze, the water in the slough is like glass reflecting the glorious evening sky. I hear the snipe "who-who-whoing" as it dives and rises, dives and rises, announcing that its mate has laid her eggs.

My paddle dips silently into the glass-like surface of the water, and my kayak slides quietly through the water.

I was out hunting muskrat and returning back to our spring camp. I see everyone is still out hunting, and there's no one around camp. Then I see her, all alone, sitting quietly on a hill on the bank of the slough, facing the beautiful sunset.

My God, she looks so pretty in her qaspeq, and she looks lonely, too.

"Gram.".

She turns and sees me and waves. I paddle over to her, climb the hill and sit next to her.

"It's a joy to be here," she says quietly.

I thought she was sad, unhappy.

"Long time ago, when I was growing up, they used to tell us to be quiet in the evening. To listen."

"Why?" I ask.

"Because we might hear someone calling for help. We might hear someone who turned over in his kayak."

Then she turned to me.

"I was listening for you because you were out hunting."

I shall never forget that special day when the teaching of our people came into focus: That we are all here on "Nuna" to keep watch, listen and care for one another.

All you teachers remind me of my gram. Always teaching. Always listening. Always learning.

Gram, thank you for speaking to me always in your Native language because it means so much more when we hear things in our own tongue. We tend to remember them much more.

Gram, you're one of the ancient ones now. You're one of our ancestors. See how even your words, teaching, live on. Look how many people have heard them tonight.

Quyana.

John Active, a Yupik who lives in Bethel, is the Yupik news reporter for KYUK Radio, the public station serving the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta region.

Alaska State Legislature

Legislative Research Agency

130 Seward Street, Suite 218
Juneau, Alaska 99801-2196

Phone: (907) 465-3991
Fax: (907) 463-3351

January 22, 1992

MEMORANDUM

TO: Representative Georgianna Lincoln

FROM: Carol R. Vandor
Legislative Analyst

RE: Languages Taught in Alaska's Schools
Research Request 92.060

You asked about the purpose of the state bilingual education program. You also asked about the number of schools that provide Native language instruction and those that teach foreign languages. This information is presented below. It is followed by a discussion of the Indian Studies program and the Johnson O'Malley program which may also offer some Native language instruction.

STATE BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Alaska has a responsibility to ensure that the education programs offered in all school districts meet common standards. School districts retain the flexibility to design education programs that meet local needs but students' rights for equitable opportunities to learn are protected by the state. Within the Department of Education is the bilingual-bicultural education office. It is the responsibility of this office to promote effective education for bilingual and multicultural students.

Purpose of Bilingual Education

Under 4 AAC 34.010, the purpose of the bilingual-bicultural education program is to encourage and assist school districts, in cooperation with local communities, to meet the special needs of children of limited English-speaking ability. The Department of Education believes that providing equal educational opportunity to these children through the establishment of bilingual-bicultural programs of education will provide more effective use of both English and the student's language; foster more successful secondary and higher education careers; facilitate the obtaining of employment; tend to bring about an end to the depreciation of local culture elements and values by the schools; stimulate better communication between the community and the schools in solving educational problems; effect a positive student self-image; allow genuine options for all students in choosing a way of life; and facilitate more harmonious relationships between the student's culture and the mainstream of society.

Legislative Research

Native Languages

Mike Travis, program manager for bilingual-bicultural education/foreign languages in the Department of Education provided attachments A through C. Attachment A lists schools providing Native language instruction. According to this information, there are currently a minimum of 115 schools in 23 school districts providing Native language instruction. There are a minimum of 16 Native languages taught which range from Inupiaq and Yup'ik in the northern regions of Alaska to Tlingit in southeast Alaska.

Foreign Languages

Attachment B lists the foreign languages taught in each school district, by school and grade level. According to this information, during the 1989/1990 school year, 1,726 elementary students, 1,382 junior high students, and 7,980 high school students were studying a foreign language. The number of students who received instruction in a foreign language is as follows: 74 received instruction in Chinese; 2,944 in French; 1,165 in German; 994 in Japanese; 76 in Latin; 4,612 in Spanish; 420 in Russian; and 803 participated in a FLEX program where they received instruction in Japanese language and culture.

Attachment C lists the school districts which participate in the STEP (Satellite Telecommunications Educational Programming) and the Distance Learning Program. During the 1990-1991 school year there were 239 students in 14 school districts participating in the STEP Program. The number of students who received instruction in a foreign language is as follows: 107 in Japanese; 67 in Spanish; and 65 in Russian.

In the fall of 1991 there were 458 students in 20 school districts participating in the Distance Learning Program. The number of students who received instruction in a foreign language is as follows: 206 in Japanese; 73 in Spanish; and 179 in Russian.

OTHER PROGRAMS

In addition to the bilingual instruction programs discussed above, Alaska Native/American Indian students may participate in two other programs which provide services to meet their education needs: the Indian Studies program and the Johnson O'Malley program.

Indian Studies Program

Title V part A Indian Education funds are applied for yearly through the United State Department of Education by school districts to provide Indian Studies services. According to an administrator with the Juneau office of Indian

Studies, there is no office in Alaska which compiles information from all schools participating in this program.

The primary goals of the Indian Studies programs are to: increase pride in culture, heritage and self among Native students; provide middle school and high school students with academic success by providing tutoring and counseling; teach awareness of education and vocation opportunities; promote respect and understanding of Native culture by non-Native students; and teach knowledge and appreciation of their Alaska Native cultures for all district students both Native and non-Native. While the administrator in Juneau is not aware of any Indian Studies programs that formally teach a Native language, there may be some Indian Studies programs which assist students in their Native tongue on a needs basis.

Following is a brief discussion of the Indian studies program in Juneau which may help in understanding the goals of the program. Instructors at the elementary level provide all students with cultural-relevant curriculum which aids students to fully understand, respect and appreciate cultural differences and similarities. Middle school and high school students are assisted by instructors who provide academic tutoring and counseling. Students who are having a difficult time academically are assisted during regular class time. The instructors also provide culturally appropriate curriculum upon request. The high school instructor provides each student with an academic credit plan, homework assistance and assists students on post high school goals. The Indian Studies high school teacher teaches three classes of Alaska Studies and one course on Native American Literature.

Johnson O'Malley Program

Federal funds, under Title V, are also available for the Johnson O'Malley program. The objective of the Johnson O'Malley program is to provide supplemental programs for eligible Indian and Native students. Supplemental programs are those programs designed to meet the specialized and unique educational needs of eligible Indian students which may have resulted from socio-economic conditions of the parents or from cultural or language differences.

Following are some of the types of supplemental programs offered by the Johnson O'Malley program: native culture; pre-school classroom instruction and/or supplies, equipment, nutrition, facilities rental, tuition and transportation; athletics and recreation/survival skills which may be offered in the evenings or during the summer; educational field trips to explore career possibilities; tutoring offered during or after school or in the summer; education aides for the classroom, bilingual, library or evening study; counseling for career exploration, college orientation and for drug and alcohol abuse; leadership skills; collecting and taping legends, history and stories and compiling new letters, annuals and biographies and videotaping village events and conferences for use in schools; and assistance with music, reading and computers.

An administrator with the Johnson O'Malley program in Anchorage identified five communities in which Native language instruction is offered. They are as follows:

Hydaburg: Haida language
Kotzebue: Inupiaq language
Klawock: Tlingit language
Kodiak Native Association: Alutiiq language
Ketchikan Indian Corporation: Tlingit language

I hope this information is useful to you. If we may be of further assistance, please contact this office.

Attachments

ATTACHMENT A

Schools Providing Native Language Instruction
1991 - 1992

State of Alaska
Bilingual-Bicultural Education Programs
Schools Providing Native Language Instruction
1991-1992

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	LANGUAGE
Alaska Gateway S.D.	Northway	Upper Tanana
	Tetlin	Upper Tanana
Aleutian Region S.D.	Atka	Aleut
Anchorage S.D.	Not Available	Not Available
Annette Island S.D.	Metlakatla	Tsimshian
Bering Strait S.D.	Bervig Mission	Inupiaq
	Diomede	Inupiaq
	Elim	Yup'ik
	Gambell	St. Lawrence Is. Yupik
	Golovin	Inupiaq
	Koyuk	Inupiaq
	Savoonga	St. Lawrence Is. Yupik
	Shaktoolik	Inupiaq
	Shishmaref	Inupiaq
	St Michael	Yup'ik
	Stebbins	Yup'ik
	Teller	Inupiaq
	Unalakleet	Inupiaq
	Wales	Inupiaq
	White Mountain	Inupiaq
Chugach S.D.	Chenega Bay	Alutiiq
	Tatitlek	Alutiiq
Galena City Schools	Galena	Koyukon
Iditarod Area S.D.	Anvik	Deg Hit'an
	Grayling	Holikachuk
	Holy Cross	Yup'ik
	Lime Village	Dena'ina
	Nikoli	Upper Kuskokwim
	Shageluk	Deg Hit'an
	Telida	Upper Kuskokwim
Kashunmiut S.D.	Chevak	Cup'ik
Kenai Pen. Bor. S.D.	English Bay	Sugcestun (Alutiiq)
	Port Graham	Sugcestun (Alutiiq)
	Tyonek	Dena'ina

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	LANGUAGE
Kuspuk S.D.	Lower Kalskag	Yup'ik
	Upper Kalskag	Yup'ik
	Aniak	Yup'ik
	Sleetmute	Yup'ik
Lower Kuskokwim S.D.	Atmautluak	Yup'ik
	Bethel	Yup'ik
	Chefornak	Yup'ik
	Eek	Yup'ik
	Goodnews Bay	Yup'ik
	Kasigluk	Yup'ik
	Kipnuk	Yup'ik
	Kongiganak	Yup'ik
	Kwethluk	Yup'ik
	Kwigillingok	Yup'ik
	Mekoryuk	Yup'ik
	Napakiak	Yup'ik
	Napaskiak	Yup'ik
	Newtok	Yup'ik
	Nightmute	Yup'ik
	Nunapitchuk	Yup'ik
	Oscarville	Yup'ik
	Platinum	Yup'ik
	Quinhagak	Yup'ik
	Tuntutuliak	Yup'ik
	Toksook Bay	Yup'ik
	Tununak	Yup'ik
Lower Yukon S.D.	Alakanak	Yup'ik
	Emmonak	Yup'ik
	Hooper Bay	Yup'ik
	Kotlik	Yup'ik
	Marshall	Yup'ik
	Mt. Village	Yup'ik
	Pilot Station	Yup'ik
	Pitka's Point	Yup'ik
	Russian Mission	Yup'ik
	Scammon Bay	Yup'ik
	Sheldon Point	Yup'ik
Nome City Schools	Nome	Inupiaq St. Lawrence Is. Yupik

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	LANGUAGE
North Slope Bor. S.D.	Barrow	Inupiaq
	Anaktuvuk Pass	Inupiaq
	Atqasuk	Inupiaq
	Kaktovik	Inupiaq
	Nuiqsut	Inupaiq
	Point Hope	Inupiaq
	Point Lay	Inupiaq
	Wainwright	Inupaiq
Northwest Arctic Bor.	Ambler	Inupiaq
	Buckland	Inupiaq
	Deering	Inupiaq
	Kiana	Inupaiq
	Kivalina	Inupiaq
	Kotzebue	Inupiaq
	Kobuk	Inupiaq
	Noatak	Inupiaq
	Noorvik	Inupiaq
	Selawik	Inupiaq
	Shungnak	Inupiaq
Pribilof Islands	St. George	Aleut
	St. Paul	Aleut
Southwest Region S.D.	Aleknagik N. Shore	Yup'ik
	Aleknagik S. Shore	Yup'ik
	Clark's Point	Yup'ik
	Koliganek	Yup'ik
	Manokotak	Yup'ik
	New Stuyahok	Yup'ik
	Togiak	Yup'ik
	Twin Hills	Yup'ik
St. Mary's S.D.	St. Mary's	Yup'ik
Tanana City Schools	Tanana	Koyukon (Tanana?)
Yakutat City Schools	Yakutat	Tlingit

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	LANGUAGE
Yukon Flats S.D	Arctic Village	Gwich'in
	Beaver	Gwich'in
	Birch Creek	Gwich'in
	Chalkyitsik	Gwich'in
	Circle	Gwich'in
	Ft. Yukon	Gwich'in
	Stevens Village	Koyukon
	Venetie	Gwich'in
Yupiit S.D.	Akiachak	Yup'ik
	Akiak	Yup'ik
	Tuluksak	Yup'ik

ATTACHMENT B

Foreign Language Enrollments
1989 - 1990

Elementary School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

STRICT/SCHOOL	FRENCH						JAPANESE						SPANISH						RUSSIAN						FLEX
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
LEUTIANS EAST BOROUGH																									
Sand Point	18	12	15	16	8	7																			
NCHORAGE																									
Sand Lake							57																		
Steller													18	21	13	18	2								
FAIRBANKS																									
Nordale Elementary																									60
North Pole Elem.															10	3	3								
Pearl Creek Elem.													3	12	12	11	5								
Weller Elementary										107															
Woodriver Elementary													22	22	22	22	22								
IDITAROD AREA SCHOOL																									
Blackwell School																									5
JUNEAU																									
Gastineau Elementary							71	71	60	61	42														
Harborview Elem.																									585*
KENAI																									
Mt. View Elementary			3	5	6																5	5	5	3	
Nikiski Elementary												17													
Nikolaevsk Elem.													19	12	14	12	11	11							
Razdolna Elementary													7		3	3	6	4							
KODIAK																									
Chiniak Elementary																									
KUSPUK																									
Aniak Elementary																									
LAKE & PENINSULA																									
Newhalen School													2												

STATE OF ALASKA

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ENROLLMENTS
1989-90

Level	Chinese	French	German	Japanese	Latin	Russian	Spanish	FLEX	TOTAL
Elementary	0	92	0	486			480	650	1726
Jr. High	16	371	66	69		55	652	153	1382
H.S. I	44	1279	501	260	59	244	1824		4211
H.S. II	14	795	377	131	14	59	1228		2618
H.S. III		262	132	48	3	28	302		775
H.S. IV & V		145	89	0		16	126		376
TOTAL	74	2944	1165	994	76	420	4612	803	11088

108850IIE

Elementary School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	FRENCH						JAPANESE						SPANISH						RUSSIAN						FLEX
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
MAT-SU Finger Lake														25		30	5	51							
SITKA Verstovia Elementary				2																					
TANANA Tanana City													6	6	6	6									
TOTALS	18	12	18	23	14	7	128	71	60	168	42	17	77	98	80	105	54	66			5	5	5	3	650

*Students in this FLEX program study Japanese language & culture

Elementary School Enrollments:

French = 92
Japanese = 486
Spanish = 480
Russian = 18
FLEX = 650
Total =1,726

108850IIE

Junior High School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	CHINESE		FRENCH				GERMAN				JAPANESE			SPANISH				RUSSIAN				FLEX
	I	II	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV	
ADAK Adak Jr. High			8											1	2							
ALASKA GATEWAY Tok														2								
ANCHORAGE Central Jr. ABC High				8										34	10							
Clark Junior High			23											26								
Hanshew Jr. High	16		58	22			25	11						46	21			41	14			
Mears Jr. High			62	31																		
Romig Jr. High			25	22										60	17							
Wendler Junior High			42	24										32	9							
CHATHAM Gustavus School														8	3							
FAIRBANKS Ben Eielson Jr. High														17								
North Pole Jr. High														32								
Ryan Jr. High			29				20							80								
Tanana Jr. High														95								
JUNEAU CITY & BOROUGH Floyd Dryden			NA								NA			NA								
Marie Drake			9								4			45	27							135
KENAI PENINSULA BOROUGH Homer Jr. High														NA								
Nikolaevsk															22							
Soldotna															28							
LOWER KUSKOKWIM Kwigillingok																						5
LOWER YUKON Mt. Village											28											

10885OIIE

Junior High School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	CHINESE		FRENCH				GERMAN				JAPANESE			SPANISH				RUSSIAN				FLEX
	I	II	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV	
RAILBELT Anderson																						13
SITKA Blatchley Jr. High				8							37			20								
SOUTHEAST ISLAND Port Alexander														5								
VALDEZ Gilson Jr. High							10							10								
YUKON FLATS Northern Lights							NA							NA								
TOTALS	16		256	115			55	11			69			513	139			41	14			153

Junior High Enrollments:

Chinese = 16
French = 371
German = 66
Japanese = 69
Spanish = 652
Russian = 55
FLEX = 153
Total = 1,382

108850IIE

High School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	CHINESE		FRENCH				GERMAN				JAPANESE			SPANISH				RUSSIAN				LATIN		
	I	II	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
ADAK Bob Reeve High			4	2										18	9	1								
ALASKA GATEWAY Tok High														11	3									
ANCHORAGE Bartlett High			89	80	42	26	65	36	16	10				116	91	19	5	26	22	9	2			
Chugiak High			65	50	18	11	64	29	18	3				68	38	14	7	8						
Dimond High			184	138	46	66	92	92	46	46				184	138	46								
East High			100	53	18	3		20						147	76	28	18	57	18	5	4			
Robert Service High	22	7	183	109	38	9	107	82	28	24	126	96	20	346	249	77	30	45	15	8	6			
King Career Center											18			43	18	15	20							
Stellar High														18	21	13	20							
West High																								
ANNETTE ISLAND Metlakatla High														7	1									
BRISTOL BAY Bristol Bay High																								
CHATHAM Gustavus High															4									
CHUGACH Whittier Community			NA																					
COPPER RIVER Glennallen High							11	16	2															
CORDOVA Cordova Jr./Sr. High							10	9																
CRAIG Craig High														6	6	6	6							
DELTA/GREELY Delta Junction High																								

High School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	CHINESE		FRENCH				GERMAN				JAPANESE			SPANISH				RUSSIAN				LATIN		
	I	II	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
DILLINGHAM CITY Dillingham High														19	8									
FAIRBANKS Eielson High			40	21	2		1							25	8									
Lathrop High			111	65	9	9	57	26	11	3				123	87	11	5					59	14	3
Monroe High			17											19	28	2								
North Pole High			81	33			26	12						55	25									
West Valley High			56	48	24	8	31	26	8	3				62	57	14	9							
HAINES Haines High															11									
JUNEAU CITY & BOR Juneau-Douglas High			64	48	11						25	14	10	96	90	19								
KENAI PENINSULA																								
Susan B. English																								
Homer High			58	29	5						3	2		46	22	8								
Kenai Central High			31	15	7	3					4			53	46	1	1							
Nikolaevsk High																		8	4	6	4			
Ninilchik High			5	2														3						
Soldotna High											5							88						
Seward Jr./Sr. High											6			28	6									
KETCHIKAN Ketchikan High																								
KLAWOCK Klawock High														15										
LAKE & PENINSULA Newhalen																	1							
LOWER KUSKOKWIM Bethel High														25										
LOWER YUKON Mt. Village High											12													

High School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	CHINESE		FRENCH				GERMAN				JAPANESE			SPANISH				RUSSIAN				LATIN		
	I	II	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
MAT-SU Wasilla High			65	25	17	2								92	51	15	3							
Houston Jr./Sr. High			22	19																				
Palmer High			52	30	17																			
Mat-su Valley															13									
Mt. Edgecumbe	22	7									48	9	5					1						
NENANA CITY Nenana High														12	1									
NORTHSLOPE Barrow														21	4									
NORTHWEST ARCTIC Kotzebue			20	1																				
PETERSBURG Petersburg High							17	10																
RAILBELT Anderson High														15	1	2								
Tri-Valley High				8																				
SKAGWAY Skagway High														12	7									
SITKA BOROUGH Sitka High			18	19	8	8					11	10	13	82	44	9	1							
SOUTHEAST ISLAND Port Alexander														3										
TANANA Tanana High															6									
VALDEZ CITY Valdez High							20	19	3					24	19									
WRANGELL CITY Wrangell High														15	11	2								

High School Foreign Language Enrollments
1989-90

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	CHINESE		FRENCH				GERMAN				JAPANESE			SPANISH				RUSSIAN				LATIN		
	I	II	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV/V	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
YAKUTAT CITY Yakutat High																								
YUKON FLATS Fort Yukon High																								
Northern Lights High															2									
Private School: Monroe Catholic Sch.			14								2			18	27			8						
TOTALS	44	14	1279	795	262	145	501	377	132	89	260	131	48	1824	1228	302	126	244	59	28	16	59	14	3

High School Totals:

Chinese = 58
French = 2,481
German = 1,099
Japanese = 439
Spanish = 3,480
Russian = 347
Latin = 76
Total = ~~7,098~~
7,980

K-12 Totals:

Chinese = 74
French = 2,944
German = 1,165
Japanese = 994
Spanish = 4,612
Russian = 420
Latin = 76
FLEX = 803
Total = 11,016

108850IIE

ATTACHMENT C

STEP Program
1990 - 1991

Distance Learning Program
Fall 1991

DISTANCE LEARNING
A NEW APPROACH IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING IN ALASKA

Educational Service District 101 of Spokane, Washington, has been offering Japanese, Spanish and Russian language classes for two years in the Pacific Northwest, including Alaska. STEP (Satellite Telecommunications Educational Programming) classes are broadcast live with one-way video and two-way audio hookups. Telephones allow students to communicate during the class with the teacher. Students enrolled in each class may be from very small schools in Alaska, Washington, Oregon, Idaho or Montana.

Tests, quizzes and homework are sent to the students through the mail. These materials are returned to STEP for grading, but school districts assign a final letter grade and credit for the classes. The use of FAXes for sending and receiving homework will be used next school year.

Tutors are available at night, via phone (800) numbers, for students to practice their oral language skills and to get help with homework.

A classroom monitor is an important part of the management of these classes. The monitor ideally is a language instructor who not only serves as the classroom facilitator but also learns the language with the students. However, most monitors do not have these specific skills. It is important for the monitor to be a motivator, someone who can spend time trying to locate native speakers or cultural presenters and one who can find additional materials to help maintain interest.

After school contact by the students with STEP tutors is important. Many schools and monitors make this contact a requirement of the course.

In 1990 - 1991 districts offered Japanese I & II, Spanish I & II and Russian I. Enrollments for these classes are on the follwing page.

In the fall of 1991 districts offered Japanese I & II, Spanish I & II and Russian I & II. Enrollments for these classes also follow.

STEP Programs
1990-1991
Foreign Language Enrollments

District/School	Japanese I	Japanese II	Japanese III	Spanish I	Spanish II	Spanish III	Russian I	Russian II	Russian III	Total
Alaska Gateway										
Eagle							2			2
Aleutians East Bor.										
False Pass				7						7
Sand Point				1						1
Copper River										
Glennallen High	1			1						2
Kenny Lake High				8						8
Fairbanks North Star										
Ben Eielson High	6									6
Galena City Schools	4			2			2			8
Iditarod Area										
Blackwell							4			4
Juneau Borough										
Juneau High							7			7
Kenai Pen Bor										
Homer High	5	3								8
Kenai Central High					1		1			2
Nikiski High										
Ninilchik							1			1
Seward High	10	5					6			21
Skyview High	8									8
Soldotna High ?										
Susan B. English	1						4			5
Klawock City Schools				5	4					9
Kodiak Port Lions	14									14
Lake & Peninsula										
Port Heiden				2						2
Port Alsworth				4						4
Mat-Su Borough SD										
Colony Middle	14						15			29
Palmer Middle	8									8
Palmer High	4									4
Wasilla Middle	14						14			28
Nenana City High	6			5	8		8			27
Skagway High				6	6					12
Southeast Island										
Hobart Bay				7						7
Thorne Bay	4									4
Unalaska High							1			1
TOTALS	99	8	0	48	19	0	65	0	0	239

Distance Learning Program
Fall '91
Foreign Language Enrollment

DISTRICT/SCHOOL	SPANISH		JAPANESE		RUSSIAN		TOTAL
	I	II	I	II	I	II	
Alaska Gateway							
Eagle Community School	1					1	2
Tok					1		1
Aleutians East							
Cold Bay	7						7
Fase Pass (STEP)	2	3					5
King Cove					5		5
Sand Point (STEP)		1	3				4
Copper River							
Chisochina			5	2			7
Glennallen	3	1	3				7
Kenny Lake (STEP)	2	7			5		14
Dillingham Schools							
Dillingham			4		7		11
Fairbanks North Star Borough							
Ben Eielson (CCS STEP)				2			2
Galena Schools							
Galena (STEP)			4	1			5
Hoonah Schools							
Hoonah Secondary	1						1
Kake City Schools							
Kake High School	2				5		7
Kenai							
Skyview High School			15	4			19
Soldotna High School			11	1			12
Susan B. English (STEP)	5		3			2	10
Kodiak							
Ouzinkie			1		1		2
Port Lions (STEP)						7	7
Kuspuk							
Aniak High School					2		2
George Willis		1					1
Lake and Peninsula							
Levelock					6		6
Newhalen			6				6
Pilot Point	1						1
Port Heiden (STEP)					2		2
Lower Kuskokwim							
Akula Elitnaurvik			1	1			2
Bethel High School			8				8

District/School	Spanish		Japanese		Russian		Total
Mat-Su							
Colony High School			21	7	17	7	52
Colony Middle			8		11		19
Glacier View			19	13			32
Houston (Big Lake)	16	2	10	3			31
Palmer High (STEP)			38				38
Palmer Junior Middle					10		10
Susitna Valley		6					6
Wasilla High (STEP)					64		64
Wasilla Middle(STEP)			3		10		13
Nenana City Schools							
Nenana High School	2	2	1		1		6
Northwest Arctic							
McQueen (Kivalina)					3		3
Southeast Island							
Howard Valentine					3		3
Port Alexander			3				3
Unalaska Schools							
Unalaska			5			1	6
Wrangell							
Wrangell Middle/High	8				7		15
Yakutat							
Yakutat Jr/Sr High School					1		1
TOTALS	**50**	**23**	**172**	**34**	**161**	**18**	~~418~~ 458

During a panel discussion at the 1991 AFLA Conference in Anchorage, a four person panel composed of Akira Yoshida, Japanese language instructor from STEP, Annette MacDonald, STEP project facilitator from Nenana City Schools, Yasuko Lehtinen, Japanese language facilitator from Soldotna High School and Linda Soriano, director of curriculum, Mat-Su Borough Schools, gave personal testimony about distance learning in their schools.

Annette MacDonald of Nenana spoke highly of the program. She indicated that Spanish and Russian classes would not be available at her school if it were not for STEP. As a facilitator, she stressed the importance of making a contract with the students, providing motivation and requiring students to contact the tutors after hours. She indicated that the STEP program provided unique opportunities for the students as they are able to meet other students from the Pacific Northwest. In addition, the program provides access to cultural activities that even a regular classroom teacher seldom has time to develop.

Yasuko Lehtinen tutors her students each day. She also provides an additional thirty minutes of activities each week. She is beginning a sister-city program with Japan in November.

Linda Suriano has found the STEP program to fill an important need for foreign language classes in her district. Facilitators in the Japanese and Russian classes speak the language. Classes are offered at both the middle school and high school levels. Although the classes are college level work, most of the students handle the classes well, especially with supportive facilitators.

Dr. Suriano is considering distance learning for elementary classes as the ideal way to have language programs at this level, provide a way for the classroom teacher to learn the target language, and deliver a good program for about 65% of the cost of regular foreign language classes.

During a visit to both middle school and high school Japanese language programs in the Mat-Su Borough School District in February, 1991, I found students to be highly motivated and able to understand and use Japanese to an extent I didn't think possible after such a short time of instruction.

In 1991 the National Council of State Supervisors of Foreign Languages developed a position paper with guidelines for Distance Learning in Foreign Languages. Following is a Position Statement, guidelines for programs and characteristics of effective programs.

NCSSFL

POSITION STATEMENT ON DISTANCE LEARNING IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Foreign language educators recognize the rapid growth and contributions of foreign language distance learning programs. Their concerns are:

* *The need for distance learning*
* *Involvement of foreign language specialists in program design and implementation*
* *Qualifications of the distance learning teachers and on-site facilitators*
* *Appropriate use of technology*

In this position statement, distance learning refers to instruction that relies on the use of telecommunications, rather than an on-site teacher, as the major delivery system for foreign language instruction.

This statement briefly outlines guidelines from specialists in foreign language education who work for state education agencies in the United States. The accompanying documents *(Guidelines for Foreign Language Distance Learning Programs* and *Characteristics of Effective Foreign Language Distance Learning Programs)* may be useful to anyone responsible for selecting and implementing distance learning programs.

* *The need for distance learning*

  Distance learning classes should be used only when qualified teachers who are proficient in the target language(s) are not available or when qualified teachers want to enrich their programs. For example, distance learning might be a way to offer foreign language instruction in areas of population sparsity or when there are small numbers of potential students.

* *Involvement of foreign language specialists in program design and implementation*

  The expertise of the specialist is needed when considering curriculum, methodology, policies, and mandates. For distance learning to be a viable alternative to conventional classroom instruction, it must be consistent with current research and practice which focuses on developing the learner's language proficiency. Proficiency, what the learner can do with the language rather than what he or she knows about it, is the major principle around which today's foreign language teaching and curricula are organized. Distance learning programs must, therefore, provide a mechanism for a major portion of class time to be devoted to meaningful language use and practice and to authentic communication.

* *Qualifications of the distance learning teachers and on-site facilitators*

  The distance learning teacher should be an experienced master teacher with proven proficiency in the target language. The classroom facilitator should participate in appropriate in-service and should have a working knowledge of the target language or should be committed to learning the language.

* *Appropriate use of technology*

  It is essential that technology be at the service of communication (i.e., acquisition of skills) and not an end in itself. The electronic technology in foreign language distance learning programs should allow for interactive instructional activities (i.e., one-way video and two-way audio or two-way audio-video). Live interaction is essential to quality foreign language teaching and learning.

The National Council of State Supervisors of Foreign Languages (NCSSFL) recognizes the potential of distance learning to overcome obstacles of distance, time, and human and material resources that limit access to foreign language learning opportunities. However, if the purpose of a distance learning program is to teach foreign language, then the program must provide instruction that fosters creative interaction both among and between learners and with a native or near-native speaker of the language. This interaction should occur in a range of contexts likely to be encountered in the target culture. In summary, when school districts choose distance learning programs due to the limited resources as described above, NCSSFL encourages selection of materials and opportunities which are designed to meet the goals of quality foreign language education.

NCSSFL GUIDELINES FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE DISTANCE LEARNING PROGRAMS

1. Foreign language distance learning programs shall be approved by and under the supervision of the state education agency (instruction and curriculum section) or other program-approval authority.

2. The state education agency foreign language specialist (or designated foreign language educator, if there is no state agency specialist) shall be involved in the approval process.

3. An annual approved application will be required of all elementary schools with mandated foreign language programs and secondary schools that utilize foreign language distance learning programs as part of the course offering for which students may earn high school credits.

4. Application forms must include attachments documenting the need for a foreign language distance learning program.

5. Application forms must include a local education agency plan for use of available resource persons (native speakers and others proficient in the target language and/or knowledgeable of target cultures) and a local education agency plan for involving students in extracurricular foreign language festivals, competitions, cultural events, and other activities.

6. All foreign language distance learning program sources must provide to the state education agency foreign language specialist the following:

   * program schedule
   * program goals and objectives
   * curriculum guide
   * samples of daily lesson plans
   * sample copies of tests, quizzes, instructional games, drill and practice sheets, and other printed materials
   * list of textbooks and supplementary materials to be used by classroom facilitator and students
   * newsletter

7. See list of *Characteristics of Effective Foreign Language Distance Learning Programs* for additional recommended guidelines.

CHARACTERISTICS OF EFFECTIVE FOREIGN LANGUAGE DISTANCE LEARNING PROGRAMS

1. Foreign language distance learning programs offer at least two levels of each foreign language.

2. Foreign language distance learning programs are interactive (two-way audio and video or two-way audio and fax or computer terminal for interactivity) in the foreign language.

3. Foreign language distance learning classes are limited to no more than 10-15 students or interaction with groups of students is with groups of 12 or fewer students.

4. The program offers a variety of instructional activities to include listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills, as well as social and cultural information.

5. The program provides frequent (daily, if possible, but at least 2-3 times each week) oral interactions between each student and an adult proficient in the target language (i.e., a certified foreign language teacher, a native speaker, or other individual with training in interactive teaching/learning techniques).

6. There is immediate feedback on student oral performance. Program source grades and returns student work (tests, assignments, projects, etc.) within 7-10 school days.

7. Program source is extremely well-organized so that classroom facilitators and students are informed of scheduled activities well in advance. A calendar of lesson objectives, test dates, activities, etc., is printed prior to each semester.

8. Text and printed materials correlated with the distance learning class are used for review, drill, practice, and homework to strengthen the concepts being taught.

9. In addition to all program printed materials, program source provides classroom facilitators recent research on foreign language learning and foreign language teaching methodology.

10. Program source directly involves all schools and students by providing a vehicle for networking with each other and with program source.

11. Each distance learning class is formally evaluated each year. Program source provides data on program effectiveness.

12. The distance learning teacher is an experienced master teacher with proven proficiency in the target language.

13. The program source provides in-service training in course organization, classroom management, and technical aspects of the program for classroom facilitators.

14. Each distance learning class has a classroom facilitator who is a certified teacher (preferably in another foreign language or a related field).

15. Classroom facilitators have a working knowledge of the foreign language or are committed to learning the language (with students and/or through college/university classes).

16. School schedule coincides with program schedule.

17. Local education agencies have the facility and permission to tape programs for repetition and reinforcement of instruction.

ISSUES FACING DISTANCE LEARNING:

Although many schools are finding this delivery system for foreign language teaching to be very beneficial, there are some major issues facing the field. These include:

Teacher certification across state boundaries is a problem that can be complex. For example, does the Japanese I language teacher for the ED101 STEP program need to be certified in Alaska? If so, how can he or she become certified? How can we assure that teachers have the skills and proficiency to be language teachers and be able to use this medium well?

Program facilitators are a critical part of the delivery system. Should the facilitators be certified teachers or can any adult school employee be used as the facilitator?

Will school districts utilize this delivery system in the long-run? Presently, many school use the STEP program because they receive funds from the STAR SCHOOLS project or have gotten up-front money from other state grant programs. Will districts allocate general fund resources to continue these programs?

Procedures to accredit distance-learning programs need to be developed and adopted. Small rural schools in Alaska are using STEP language programs to fulfill a accreditation requirements. Can these programs be approved by the Northwest Association for Accreditation of High Schools?

Although the **costs of the programs** may decrease over the next several years because of increased student enrollments, districts must also pick up the costs of programs from general fund money. Will they opt to do so?

Scheduling is also an issue as there are two time zones in the area served by ED 101, STEP programs. Schedules are most often made for the convenience of large groups of students in Washington, Oregon or Idaho or Montana rather than Alaska. Alaskan schools must often attempt "to fit" the live classes into their schedules or use tapes of the broadcasts.

For additional information regarding distance learning in foreign languages, please contact Mike Travis at 465-2970.

ALASKA STATE LEGISLATURE

Representative Georgianna Lincoln

HESS Committee, Co-Chair
Resources Committee, Vice-Chair

Budget Subcommittees
Health and Social Services
Revenue

P.O. Box V
Juneau, Alaska 99811

Phone: (907) 465-3732
FAX: (907) 465-2652

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Pilot Station
Pitkas Point
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Shageluk
Sleetmute
St. Mary's
Stevens Village
Stony River
Takotna
Tanana
Telida
Tuluksak
Tyonek
Venetie
Wiseman

MEMORANDUM

TO: Gordon Harrison, Director
Legislative Research Agency

FROM: Representative Georgianna Lincoln *Rep. Lincoln/pj*

DATE: September 20, 1991

RE: Research Request - Languages Taught in Alaska's Schools

I would like to know which foreign languages are being taught in schools in Alaska, at what grade levels they are offered, and if data exists which shows the numbers or percentages of students who enroll in the foreign language classes, preferably broken out by school district. Also, to what extent are elementary schools in Alaska incorporating foreign language instruction as part of their curriculum?

As a parallel issue, I am looking for information about school districts that are making an effort to teach Native language to their students, as a language, as distinguished from bilingual education.

Concerning bilingual education, are there specific, stated goals and objectives of the program and any data that measures outcomes?

If you have questions concerning this request, please call Pat Jackson in my Juneau office, 465-3732.

Thank you.

L :-SLATE Report for the 102nd Congress   Wed, November 20, 1991   6:03pm (EST)

BILL TEXT Report for S.1595
As reported by Senate committee, November 13, 1991, Senate Report No. 102-213 (Revised printing)

KEY: << ... >> indicates struck-through text in printed version
{{ ... }} indicates bold parenthesis (usually numbered Senate amendments)
[[...]] indicates bold brackets in printed version

II
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102d CONGRESS
1st Session

S. 1595
[Report No. 102-213]

To preserve and enhance the ability of Alaska Natives to speak and understand their native languages.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
July 31 (legislative day, July 8), 1991

Mr. Murkowski introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs

November 13, 1991
Reported by Mr. Inouye, with an amendment

[Strike out all after the enacting clause and continue with the text that follows]

A BILL

To preserve and enhance the ability of Alaska Natives to speak and understand their native languages.

===

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

<<SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.>>

<<This Act may be cited as the "Alaska Native Languages Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991".>>

<<SEC. 2. GRANT PROGRAM.>>

<<The Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2991) is amended by

Murkowski Legislation

adding after section 803A the following new section:>>

<<"SEC. 803B. GRANT PROGRAM TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES.>>

<<"(a)>> In general.--The Secretary shall award grants to any--

<<"(1) Alaska Native village;>>

<<"(2) consortium of Alaska Native villages; or>>

<<"(3) regional corporation established by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.),>>

<<that is selected pursuant to subsection (c), for the purposes of enhancing, encouraging, preserving, and facilitating the ability of Alaska Natives to speak their native languages, and to preserve and expand knowledge about such languages.>>

<<"(b)>> In Particular.--The specific purposes for which grants awarded under subsection (a) may be used include, but are not limited to--

<<"(1) the construction of new facilities or the conversion of existing facilities into centers for the preservation and enhancement of Alaska Native languages;>>

<<"(2) the establishment of community language programs to bring older and younger Alaska Natives together to facilitate the transfer of language skills from one generation to another;>>

<<"(3) the establishment of training programs to train speakers of Alaska Native languages to teach such languages to others;>>

<<"(4) the drafting and printing of materials to be used for the teaching and enhancement of Alaska Native languages;>>

<<"(5) the establishment or support of training programs to train Alaska Natives to produce or participate in television or radio programs to be broadcast in their native languages; and>>

<<"(6) the compilation of oral testimony to record or preserve Alaska Native languages.>>

<<"(c)>> Applications.--Grants shall be awarded on the basis of applications that are submitted by any of the entities described in subsection (a) to the Secretary in such form as the Secretary shall prescribe, but the applications shall, at a minimum, include--

<<"(1) a detailed description of the project for which a grant is sought; and>>

<<"(2) a statement demonstrating that a principal objective of the project is to preserve or enhance the knowledge or use of Alaska Native languages.>>

<<"(d)>> Amount of Funding.--Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the costs of programs that are awarded grants pursuant to this section shall be paid in accordance with the following paragraphs:

<<"(1) 90>> percent of costs.--The grants awarded pursuant to this section shall provide funding for not more than 90 percent of the costs of the programs that are recipients of such grants.

<<"(2)>> Remaining 10 percent of costs.--The remaining 10 percent of the costs of programs that are awarded grants under this section shall be paid by the grant recipient either in cash or through the provision of property or services.

<<"(3)>> Limitation on funds to pay the remaining 10 percent of costs.--The amount referred to in paragraph (2) may originate from any source (including any Federal agency) other than a program, contract, or grant authorized under this Act.

<<"(e)>> Administration.--The Secretary shall administer grants under this section through the Administration for Native Americans.".

<<SEC. 3. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.>>

<<Section 816 of the Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2992d) is amended-->>

<<(1) by striking out "sections 803(d) and 803A" each place it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "sections 803(d), 803A, and 803B"; and>>

<<(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:>>

<<"(e) There are authorized to be appropriated $2,500,000 for each of the fiscal years 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 803(B) of this Act.".>>

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Alaska Native Languages Preservation and Enhancement Act of 1991".

SEC. 2. GRANT PROGRAM.

The Native American Programs Act of 1974 (42 U.S.C. 2991) is amended by adding after section 803A the following new section:

"SEC. 803B. GRANT PROGRAM TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES.

"(a) In General.--The Secretary shall award grants to any--

"(1) Alaska Native village;

"(2) consortium of Alaska Native villages;

"(3) regional corporation established by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.); or

"(4) urban Alaska Native organization;

that is selected pursuant to subsection (c), for the purposes of enhancing, encouraging, preserving, and facilitating the ability of Alaska Natives to speak their native languages, and to preserve and expand knowledge about such languages.

"(b) In Particular.--The specific purposes for which grants awarded under subsection (a) may be used include, but are not limited to--

"(1) the construction of new facilities or the conversion of existing facilities into centers for the preservation and enhancement of Alaska Native languages;

"(2) the establishment of community language programs to bring older and younger Alaska Natives together to facilitate the transfer of language skills from one generation to another;

"(3) the establishment of training programs to train speakers of Alaska Native languages to teach such languages to others;

"(4) the drafting and printing of materials to be used for the teaching and enhancement of Alaska Native languages;

"(5) the establishment or support of training programs to train Alaska Natives to produce or participate in television or radio programs to be broadcast in their native languages; and

"(6) the compilation of oral testimony to record or preserve Alaska Native languages.

"(c) Applications.--Grants shall be awarded on the basis of applications that are submitted by any of the entities described in subsection (a) to the Secretary in such form as the Secretary shall prescribe, but the applications shall, at a minimum, include--

"(1) a detailed description of the project for which a grant is sought;

"(2) a statement demonstrating that a principle objective of the project is to preserve or enhance the knowledge or use of Alaska Native languages; and

"(3) a plan to preserve the results of the project (such as tapes, textbooks, or transcripts) in a central location for the benefit of future generations of Alaska Natives and other interested persons.

"(d) Amount of Funding.--Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the costs of programs that are awarded grants pursuant to this section shall be paid in accordance with the following paragraphs:

"(1) 90 percent of costs.--The grants awarded pursuant to this section shall provide funding for not more than 90 percent of the costs of the programs that are recipients of such grants.

"(2) Remaining 10 percent of costs.--The remaining 10 percent of the costs of programs that are awarded grants under this section shall be paid by the grant recipient either in cash or through the provision of property or services.

"(3) Limitation on funds to pay the remaining 10 percent of costs.--The amount referred to in paragraph (2) may originate from any source (including any Federal agency) other than a program, contract, or grant authorized under this Act.

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(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) There are authorized to be appropriated $2,500,000 for each of the fiscal years 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 803B of this Act.".

STATE OF ALASKA
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Mary Van Nimwegen

2/13/92 House Health, Education & Social Services

10/16/92 House Health, Education & Social Services

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE CENTER
RESEARCH PAPERS

Number 4

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES:
PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

by

Michael E. Krauss

1980

The World's Languages in Crisis

Michael Krauss, University of Alaska Fairbanks
for Symposium: Endangered Languages and their Preservation,
Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Chicago, Jan. 3, 1991

The Eyak language of Alaska now has two aged speakers; Mandan has 6, Osage 5, Abenaki-Penobscot 20, and Iowa has 5 fluent speakers. According to counts in 1977, already 13 years ago, Coeur d'Alene had fewer than 20, Tuscarora fewer than 30, Menomini fewer than 50, Yokuts fewer than 10. On and on this sad litany goes, and by no means only for Native North America. Sirenikski Eskimo has 2 speakers, Ainu is perhaps extinct. Ubykh, the Northwest Caucasian language with the most consonants, 80-some, might be considered extinct with the death of Mr. Tevfik Esenç. Here we might be accused of jumping the gun again, prematurely announcing the extinction of a language, since -- as I heard somewhere -- two or three more speakers of Ubykh had reportedly been found.[1] But what difference does it make in human history that a language became extinct in 1999 instead of 1989? What difference does it make if the youngest speaker is 90 or in fact 9? Only 81 years in the date of the inevitable extinction of the language, a mere moment in human history (though a crucial moment for linguists today -- a subject to which I'll return).

Speaking of language endangerment properly calls for comparison with endangered or threatened species in biology -- to this I shall also return. For language we need our own definition of terms. Languages no longer being learned as a mother-tongue by children are beyond mere endangerment, for, unless the course is somehow dramatically reversed, they are already doomed to extinction; let us say technically to be defined as "moribund." (There is an important difference here from biological extinction, because language is potentially revivable, as shown by the case of Hebrew, under certain conditions, to which we shall return.) Not counting the languages already known to have become extinct -- that is yet another question, which we shall *not* get into -- the question for us here is how many languages still spoken today are no longer being learned by children, are no longer viable, so definable as moribund, thus to become extinct during the century nearly upon us?

[1]Except for the case of Eyak, which I can personally confirm, many of the statistics, large and small, in this presentation are but reports or estimates; I trust it will be obvious that any imprecision in the present figures should in no way detract from the basic point of their shocking significance.

Statistics on language viability are very hard to come by. This is partly because in some parts of the world we hardly know what languages are spoken, let alone how viable each is, and partly because governments generally favor one language over another and have reason not to provide figures for non-favored languages; or, if they do at all, for various reasons they may provide inaccurate or distorted figures. For some viability statistics I shall begin in the areas most familiar to me personally. In Alaska now only 2 of the 20 Native languages -- Central Yupik Eskimo and Siberian Yupik Eskimo of St. Lawrence Island -- are still being learned by children. For the languages of the small Soviet northern minorities it is much the same: only 3 of about 30 are generally being learned by children. Thus in Alaska and the Soviet North together, about 45 of the 50 indigenous languages, 90%, are moribund. For the whole USA and Canada together, a similar count is only a little less alarming: of 187 languages, I calculate that 149 are no longer being learned by children; that is, of the Native North American languages still spoken, 80% are moribund. These North American numbers are relatively well known to us.[2] The situation in Central and South America, though less well known, is apparently much better. It would seem, so far, that only about 50 of 300 or 17% of Central American indigenous languages (including Mexico) and 110 of 400 or 27% of South American languages are likely to be moribund. So for all the Americas the total is 300 of 900, or one-third.

For the rest of the world, the worst continent by far is Australia, with 90% of 250[3] aboriginal languages still spoken now moribund, most of those *very* near extinction. It would seem that English language dominance in the "English-speaking world" has achieved and continues to achieve the highest documented rate of destruction, approaching now 90%. In comparison, Russian domination has reached 90% only among the small peoples of the North; in the RSFSR, 45 of 65 indigenous languages, or 70%, are moribund, while for the USSR as a whole the total is more like 50%.

For the world as a whole it is, as implied above, much easier to estimate the number of languages still spoken than to estimate the number of those

[2]Note however that 187 languages is only a very small proportion of the world's languages, about 3%. For this and much of the following I am most indebted to Barbara and Joseph Grimes and their *Ethnologue*, SIL, 1988 edition, and some late 1990 updates, personal communication. This work provides by far the most detailed worldwide survey of languages yet available, and is also a project continuously being updated. In keeping with the estimated nature of the statistics, I have generally rounded the Grimeses' figures.

[3]The Grimeses' updated figures now include over 100 more very nearly extinct Australian languages listed in Wurm and Hattori 1981 but not in the 1988 *Ethnologue*.

still spoken by children. Voegelin and Voegelin 1977 were able to list 4,500 languages (living and dead), Ruhlen 1987 estimates 5,000 living languages for the world, while the Grimeses in 1988 list 6,000 and now have 6,500, a difference partly in language-vs.-dialect definition. Most linguists I have consulted who have contemplated this question on a worldwide scale have agreed that 6,000 is not an unreasonable round estimate, and that will do nicely as a base figure for our purposes.

The distribution though is very uneven. All the Americas together have only 900, as noted, or 15%. Europe and the Middle East together have only 275, or 4%. The other 81% of the world's languages are in Africa (1,900) and in Asia and the Pacific (3,000). For some figures from which we may derive some sense of their viability, we are again most indebted to the Grimeses, who provide relevant information largely in terms of Bible translation, already done, ongoing, or stated to be needed, altogether for a total of about 50% of the world's languages, implying for at least most of these sufficient viability to warrant the work. For the rest, the condition of about 40% is inadequately known, and 10% are classed as "nearly extinct" or "highly bilingual," not warranting translation work. Allowing that a good majority of the unknown 40% may still be viable, the Grimeses themselves might agree that as many as 20% of the world's languages are already moribund. However, other linguists with wide experience, such as Steve Wurm in Australia, E.M. Uhlenbeck in Holland, and our LSA President Robert Austerlitz, all independently guessed, along with me, that the total may be more like 50%,[4] or at least that the number of languages which, at the rate things are going, will become extinct during the coming century is 3,000 of 6,000.

For us to guess whether the mortality is already more like 50% or more like 20%, it will help to consider the conditions under which these languages now exist, by country. The nine countries which each have over 200 languages account for 3,500 of the 6,000. The big two are Papua New Guinea with 850 and Indonesia with 670; then Nigeria with 410 and India with 380; then Cameroon 270, Australia 250, Mexico 240, Zaire 210, and Brazil 210. Another 13 countries have 160 to 100 languages each. In roughly descending order they are Philippines, USSR, USA, Malaysia, PRC, Sudan, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Chad, New Hebrides, Central African Republic, Burma, and Nepal. These top 22, including overlap, may account for 5,000 languages. If we consider what has led to the present mortality we know, ranging from outright genocide, social or economic or habitat destruction, displacement, demographic submersion, language suppression in forced assimilation or assimilatory education, to electronic media

[4]Our organizer, Ken Hale, guesses more than 50%. Others, such as Joshua Fishman and Joseph Greenberg, also consulted, defer more to the Grimeses.

bombardment, especially television, an incalculably lethal new weapon (which I have called "cultural nerve gas") -- if we consider what has gone on and is now going on in these 22 countries, we can more readily predict how many languages will die during the coming century. We need only to think of present conditions in Indonesia (reportedly genocidal in West Irian, 250 languages), Brazil, Chad, Ethiopia -- to mention only those I've heard a little something about -- to draw some grimly pessimistic conclusions about the number of languages which, if not already so, soon will be no longer learned by children.

Soon will be -- this brings us to the subject of those languages which, if present conditions continue, though now still being learned by children, will during the coming century cease to be learned by children. These are the languages that I term merely "endangered." The number of these is even more difficult to calculate, of course; let us instead take the approach of calculating the number of languages that are neither "moribund" nor "endangered" but "safe." For these we may identify two obvious positive factors: official state support and very large numbers of speakers. The first does not account for much, as there are only about 170 sovereign states, and the official language of the majority of these is either English (45 cases), French (30), Spanish or Arabic (20 each) or Portuguese (6), leaving only about 70 others. The total could be raised to something over 100 by including regional official languages of the USSR or India, for example. Considering now sheer numbers of speakers, there are 200 to 250 languages spoken by a million or more, but these of course greatly overlap with those of the official languages category. By including languages with down to half a million we might raise the total by 50, and by going down to 100,000 as a safety-in-numbers limit, we might perhaps double the total to 600 "safe" languages. Remember though the case of Breton, with perhaps a million speakers in living memory, now with very few children speakers, or Navajo with well over 100,000 speakers a generation ago, now also with a very uncertain future. Moreover, the recent decline of both of these has taken place under steady pressure, but not under genocidal or cataclysmic conditions. If this can happen in Europe and North America, then in Indonesia or Brazil or Africa -- with urbanization, deforestation, desertification, and AIDS, to mention only a few newer trends on top of those already mentioned -- will conditions be *better* for minority language survival? Bear in mind moreover that the *median* number of speakers for the languages of the world is nowhere near 100,000, but 5,000 or 6,000. Therefore I consider it a plausible calculation that -- at the rate things are going -- the coming century will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind's languages. What are we linguists doing to prepare for this or to prevent this catastrophic destruction of the linguistic world?

Now let us compare the biological world situation. For this we have nicely comparable numbers, also well known.[5] The most endangered category is mammals. Of 4,400 mammal species, 326 are currently on the "endangered" plus "threatened" list, "endangered" being "species that are in imminent danger of extinction" and "threatened" being "species that in the foreseeable future will be in imminent danger of extinction." The next most endangered category and also the next most visible to us is birds, with 231 of 8,600 species endangered or threatened. Thus 7.4% of mammals and 2.7% of birds are endangered or threatened. I should add that in both cases the majority are only "threatened," not "endangered." Interestingly, however, for political and economic reasons it is difficult to get an animal officially listed, and the biologists I've talked to concur that in view of this underlisting, especially for birds, the total of endangered or threatened mammals may be 10%, and birds 5%.

Why is there so much more concern over this relatively mild threat to the world's biological diversity than to the far worse threat to its linguistic diversity, and why are we linguists so much quieter about it than biologists? For the animals we have, at the international level, the UN's International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the private World Wildlife Fund, and about 40 others; nationally, we have federal agencies such as the US Fish and Wildlife Service, the National Parks Service, US Forest Service, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Bureau of Land Management, all of which have responsibilities for the protection of wildlife, and privately we have organizations such as the National Wildlife Fund, National Audubon Society, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, Greenpeace, and at least 300 more, engaged in education, publicity, research, lobbying and monitoring, and in activism for the survival of animal species. What do we have for languages?

Surely, just as the extinction of any animal species diminishes our world, so does the extinction of any language. Surely we linguists know, and some of the general public can sense, that any language is a supreme achievement of a uniquely human collective genius, as divine and endless a mystery as a living organism. Should we mourn the loss of Eyak or Ubykh any less than the loss of the panda or California condor, or, for that matter, the demolition of the Parthenon? We could -- and should -- ponder this all night, but let me just cap this philosophical thought with one spiritual question, to those who would argue that mankind is better off with fewer languages: Is the diversification of our languages simply a punishment for

[5] For this information I am especially indebted to David R. Klein of the Biology and Wildlife Department of the University of Alaska Fairbanks, and Ronald Garrett, Endangered Species Coordinator, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Anchorage.

the presumptuous Tower of Babel, for which penance has now been paid, or is it our Maker's design for how we should live?

I think that at the very least it behooves us as scientists and human beings, seeing the present situation, to work responsibly both for the future of our science and for the future of our languages, not so much for reward according to the fashion of the day, but for the sake of posterity. I think it hardly a feat of foresight, but rather it now stares us in the face, what we need to do. Else we should be cursed by future generations for Neronically fiddling while Rome burned.

We must obtain adequate information on the condition of the languages of the world, better than we have now, and use it to plan priorities for linguistic work in a rational and coordinated way. SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators), which has come closest to doing this, still has insufficient information even for its own purposes in 40% of the languages, as noted.

Obviously for scientific purposes it is most urgent to document languages before they disappear, the closer to extinction the more urgent, and, within that framework, the more isolated genetically or typologically, the more urgent yet. By documentation I mean grammar, lexicon, and corpus of texts, a traditional task well proven in the history of linguistics, to which we can now add documentation on audio- and videotape. There must also be a network of repositories and centers for safeguarding and using this documentation, of which our Alaska Native Language Center is an example.

This work is potentially of equal or even greater importance for social purposes; the documentation is not only valuable for science, but a national treasure for those peoples whose languages are thus preserved. The very existence of a book on a shelf or an archive of manuscripts can be of crucial symbolic value. Moreover, without such documentation the language must irrevocably disappear into oblivion, and very likely so also the national identity in the long run. With such documentation, however, it remains always possible to maintain or establish a limited but crucial role for the language institutionalized within the society, e.g. in schools, or ceremonial life. From that position, even after the last native speaker has died, it is possible -- as shown by the case of Hebrew, and perhaps others, such as Cornish -- for that limited role to expand back to first-language use, where the *will* of the people is strong enough. For this purpose, adequate documentation is most certainly feasible. For Hebrew we had no tapes, no grammar, no dictionary, not even most vowels, but just the consonants of one important text scratched on parchment!

For those languages still being learned by children, those merely "endangered," there is an equal need for us to support and promote their survival. Here, too, similar criteria would apply, the smaller the number,

or especially proportion, of speakers, and/or the more adverse the conditions, the more such involvement is needed. We should not only be documenting these languages, but also working educationally, culturally, and politically to increase their chances of survival, working with members of the communities in educational systems to help produce pedagogical materials, establish literature and language development in the necessary domains, including television, and working with communities, agencies, and, where possible, governments, for supportive language planning. Where necessary, and this may be most often the case, we must learn from biologists and conservationists the techniques of organization, monitoring and lobbying, publicity and activism. This we must do on local, regional, national, and international scales.

We have a number of terms, from language planning, support, and promotion for those merely endangered languages, to "revival" as in the case of Hebrew or Cornish for those extinct. Let this include also terms such as "revitalization" or "restoration," which remain to be defined, for the range of moribund and partly moribund languages in between. Here we should mention more complex cases like Maori and Hawaiian, and the encouraging development of "Language Nests" for these; or the Diwan schools for Breton, or the Irish situation. Assessment of such movements as a potential force in limiting the impending holocaust is an important priority, as well as the urgently needed documentation.

Who is going to do all this work and what is the role of linguistics and the LSA in it? Nowadays SIL is doing more of it than any other group. Their current capacity is 850 languages, cumulatively so far 1,200 -- within their own agenda. Besides SIL we have a few regional centers, such as our Alaskan one, or groups dedicated to specific languages such as Hualapai or Rama; or for Native American languages in educational or scientific roles, such as NALI (Native American Language Institute), or SSILA (Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas), and the plan for centers for speakers of Native American languages, which we are to hear about this evening.[6] Internationally we have the Permanent International Committee of Linguists and UNESCO; significantly, language endangerment has been chosen by that Committee as a main theme for the next International Congress, Quebec 1992. So a movement is finally beginning within linguistics itself.

[6]Politically we even have the 1990 Federal Native American Languages Act (Public Law 101-477, Oct. 30, 1990), which may help neutralize the U.S. English lobby in this regard, but appropriates no funds (and to which the BIA has responded, in true form, "any legislation of this kind must ensure that the Native American language does not supplant English as the main language. After they receive their education, these Indian students must be able to compete outside the reservation if economic development is to occur in Indian country. This bill should emphasize this priority." Calendar No. 476, 101st Congress, Second Session, U.S. Senate, Report 100-250, letter dated Nov. 8, 1989).

To this forum, I end with the question what will be the role of the LSA? This organization may have more influence on the orientation, training, and priorities for linguistics than any other organization in the world. In American linguistics which languages of the world receive the most attention? Are graduate students encouraged to document moribund or endangered languages for their dissertations? How much encouragement is there to compile a dictionary of one? If these languages are studied at all, is theory used to enhance the quality and quantity of the coverage, or instead are the linguistic data mainly used for the testing and development of theory? How many academic departments encourage applied linguistics in communities for the support of endangered languages? How many departments provide appropriate training for speakers of these languages most ideally suited to do the most needed work? Obviously we must do some serious rethinking of our priorities, lest linguistics go down in history as the only science that presided obliviously over the disappearance of 90% of the very field to which it is dedicated.

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ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE CENTER RESEARCH PAPERS

Number 4

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PAST, PRES[illegible]

This series of working papers is published at irregular intervals. The papers deal with advances and problems in linguistic research in Alaskan and related Native American languages: Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, Eskimo-Aleut, Haida, and Tsimshian. The papers will often be of greater length than are normally published in journals. Many have been circulated informally among specialists in their fields before publication here, and are now made generally available for the first time.

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ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGE CENTER
RESEARCH PAPERS

Number 4

ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES:

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

by

Michael E. Krauss

1980

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INTRODUCTION

This volume presents together three recent (1978-1980) papers written for the non-linguistic public on Alaska Native languages generally. The first is a major paper which I prepared as a brief introduction to the entire subject, prehistory, history, present status, and future, of all Alaska Native languages. The first of the two shorter papers here presented as appendices to the major paper is an outgrowth of the last part of the major paper, on the future of Alaska Native languages. The second shorter paper deals with the past, present, and future specifically of the Alaskan Eskimo languages.

The major paper, "Alaska Native Languages: Past, present, and future" was first presented in Leningrad, May 29, 1979, at a symposium held jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy of Sciences, to be published in 1980 under the title "Yazyki korennogo naseleniya Alyaski: Proshloe, nastoyashchee i budushchee." A modified version of it was presented at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, October 16, 1979, under the auspices of the Harvey Lectureship. This further revision was written in March 1980 for publication in this series.

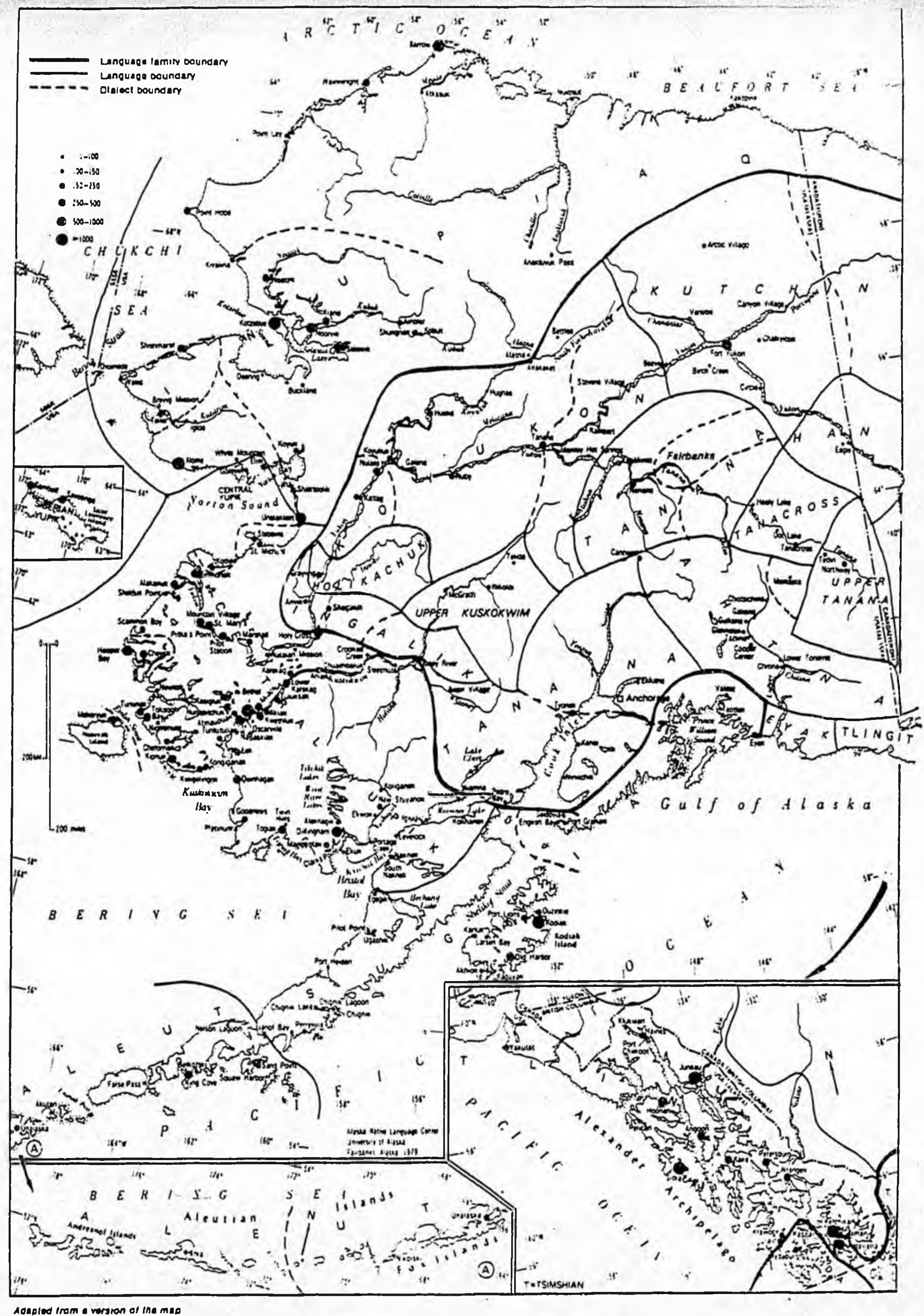
Appendix I, "The Future of Alaska Native Languages," was first published in the Tundra Times (Anchorage; vol. 17, nos. 15:1,4, 16:1,4, 17:1,6-7, 18:1,6) April 9, 16, 23, and 30, 1980, and reprinted as a supplement to the newsletter of the Bilingual

Education Technical Assistance Center, Tacoma Public Schools.

Appendix II, "Eskimo Languages of Alaska, Yesterday and Today," was first presented at Aarhus University, Denmark, in October, 1978, at a symposium on "Majority Language Influence on Eskimo Minority Languages." It was published in both the English and Danish volumes of the proceedings of that conference (Eskimo Languages: Their Present-day Conditions, pp. 37-50, and Eskimosprogenes vilkår i dag, pp. 37-50, ed. by Bjarne Basse and Kirsten Jensen; Aarhus: Arkona, 1979). It is here reprinted with the kind permission of Forlaget Arkona, Aarhus.

I consider it most important that these papers become available to the Alaskan public; I present them here in the hope they may be helpful to those who care about Alaska Native languages, a subject with which I have been concerned for the past twenty years.

For more detailed history, discussion, and full bibliography I refer to earlier reports I have published (Krauss 1973a, 1973b, 1979a, 1979b); to the Bibliography of Educational Publications (McGary 1979), and to the catalogue of the Alaska Native Language Center library (Krauss and McGary 1980), a massive annotated bibliography of the Indian languages. The references given in the major paper include only selected works, especially more recent ones. In these papers I also imply reference to the map Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska (Krauss 1974a), most useful for a graphic visual understanding of much of the discussion. The map and this volume are in an important sense companion pieces.



Adapted from a version of the map
Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska
(Alaska Native Language Center, 1974),
as published in Cartactual No. 78 (1979),
No.4, map I.

1. Introduction: Continental Perspective

Alaska is the homeland or birthplace, better perhaps the "cradle of civilization," of two great North American language families: the Eskimo-Aleut and the Na-Dene. Both of these language groups have spread far beyond Alaska, especially the Inupiaq Eskimo to Canada and Greenland, and the Athabaskan Na-Dene to Canada and the southwestern United States. These groups are now flourishing, both with larger populations than ever before in history, and with ever greater numbers of speakers at the extremes, particularly in the form of Greenlandic for Eskimo and Navajo for Athabaskan.

A most salient characteristic of these distributions is that in both these language families by far the greatest diversity (and therefore the greatest historical depth, even if we had no other type of evidence) is to be found in Alaska. In Alaska alone we find both Aleut and Eskimo, and within Eskimo, both Yupik and Inupiaq; and in the case of Na-Dene, we find Tlingit and Eyak and about ten of the thirty Athabaskan languages. However, Alaska, large as it is, constitutes only a small proportion of the territory now occupied by these languages, and an even smaller proportion of their population. The number of Eskimo-Aleut people is now over 100,000, of whom about one-third live in Alaska. The number of Athabaskans is now 200,000, with only about 8,000 in Alaska, 22,000 in Canada, and in the southwestern United States 20,000 Apaches and 150,000 Navajos. This type

of proportion is even more dramatic in the case of number of speakers as opposed to the population, since very many Native Americans now speak only English, having lost their ancestral language. In the case of Inupiaq, the populations are 12,000 for Alaska, perhaps 20,000 for Canada, and 42,000 for Greenland (to which might be added 6,000 in Denmark itself), totaling 80,000. Of these, almost all Greenlanders speak the language; most Canadian Inuit also do; but only 5,000 of the 12,000 Alaskan Inupiat speak it. In the case of Athabaskan, most Apacheans, including Navajos, still speak Athabaskan, as do most Canadian Athabaskans, but in Alaska only 2,500 of 8,000 still speak Athabaskan. At least in the case of Inupiaq Eskimo and Athabaskan, then, both language families successfully competing for survival in the modern world, their fate is far less fortunate in their birthplace than in their "new worlds." Not all Alaskan Native languages are in a state of decline today, however. Their present status merits systematic examination, which I will treat in the second part of this paper after discussing their pre-contact history. In the third part of this paper I shall even endeavor to predict something of their future, and make recommendations to improve it.

2. Haida and Tsimshian

There are two other Native American language families represented in Alaska, but unlike Eskimo-Aleut and Na-Dene

(Athabaskan, Eyak, and Tlingit), they are only marginally part of the Alaskan scene as relatively recent introductions from Canada, and even that only because of the particular shape of the territory now known politically as Alaska. These are Tsimshian and Haida.

Note that I have included Tlingit with Athabaskan-Eyak in the grouping named "Na-Dene" and that I do not include Haida. The omission is certainly intentional. Recent research in Alaska has yielded increasing evidence of a genetic relationship between the lexicon of Tlingit and that of Athabaskan-Eyak, although this relationship remains a very problematic one, with a relatively small number of cognates buried within a large mass of apparently non-cognate lexicon; it is a relationship not at all congruent with the much closer grammatical relationships, probably pointing to some type of hybridization especially in the case of Tlingit. Recent research in Haida, on the other hand, done in Canada by Robert Levine (1977, 1979) and by us in Alaska, most starkly contradicts the claims made by Sapir (1915) and others that Haida is genetically related to Athabaskan-Eyak and Tlingit, which I have here called Na-Dene. I should probably always say simply Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, and abolish the term Na-Dene as a mistake. Haida is certainly not a part of it; as far as we can tell, Haida is therefore a linguistic isolate.

Haida expanded into Alaska about the same time as or shortly before Europeans began to arrive there. Haida came to Alaska from the northern dialect area of the Queen Charlotte Islands and took over the southern half of Prince of Wales Island, then Tlingit territory, probably in the latter half of the 18th century. The total Haida population, once perhaps 10,000, is now only about 1,700, 70 per cent of it remaining in Canada.

The Tsimshians arrived in Alaska still later, in 1887, under the leadership of the remarkable and autocratic missionary William Duncan. Because of disputes within the Anglican Church, Duncan resettled his Tsimshian followers from their colony of Old Metlakatla in British Columbia to New Metlakatla in Tlingit territory on Annette Island, where they now number about 1,000. Eight thousand Tsimshians remain in Canada. Tsimshian is, of course, not genetically related to any Alaska Native language. Sapir and others have claimed a genetic relationship between Tsimshian and the Penutian language family to the south, but I consider the evidence for this very slim.

We thus have two numerically minor and marginal recent introductions to Alaska of two language families, the Haida and Tsimshian, both of which I consider genetic isolates. The main Alaskan picture and the concentration of this presentation remain on the Eskimo-Aleut and Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit families.

3.1 General Prehistory

From the distribution of the most important language and dialect boundaries within Eskimo-Aleut, the area of oldest Eskimo-Aleut habitation would seem to be Beringia, that is the western parts of Alaska (a point which I believe is corroborated by the archaeological evidence). Although Athabaskan now occupies nearly all the rest of the main part of Alaska, it is probable that it has not been in close contact with Eskimo for very long, because we see no profound influence or diffusion in great quantity between Eskimo and Athabaskan, and practically no trace of any such contacts or influence at the extremes of the expansion. If for instance Proto-Eskimo, perhaps less than 2,000 years old, and Proto-Athabaskan, not much older, had been in close contact, we might expect to find at least some Athabaskan loans in Greenlandic and Eskimo in Navajo.[1] Furthermore, judging from the relationship and location of Eskimo and Aleut on the one hand and those of Tlingit, Eyak, and Athabaskan on the other, it would appear that the latter family originated well to the east of the former. It also follows that there may have been for a long time considerable space in between the proto-languages of these two language families. What languages were spoken in that space we can never know much about. Perhaps they were (now extinct) languages related to

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[1]At the most we have found one of each. We are still gathering evidence that the Alaskan Athabaskan and Labrador Inuit words for 'frog' are related, and also that the Navajo term for 'pot' may be related to a diffused term in Yupik and Aleut.

these two families, and/or (now) extinct branches of them, and/or languages of other families now entirely extinct or represented only elsewhere. We must not forget that all the languages we find today, even moribund relics like Eyak, are themselves the relatively few victors in the constant struggle for linguistic survival, surviving long enough to be at least documented, as compared with the many more languages which have disappeared forever without a recognizable trace. We can only reconstruct fragments of linguistic prehistory, never the whole picture--I daresay the same must be true of other disciplines.

I shall venture here only briefly into speculations on the prehistoric geographical configurations within Eskimo-Aleut and Tlingit-Athabaskan-Eyak before proceeding into the historical period.

3.2 A Note on the Term "Aleut"

There is widespread misunderstanding concerning the term "Aleut" and what people are designated by it. The Russians called "Aleuts" not only the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands they first encountered, but also the Yupik Eskimo-speaking peoples of the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak Island, Kenai Peninsula, and Prince William Sound. However, they recognized the language of the latter as different, and called it "Kadyakski" Aleut. All these peoples, the Aleutian Aleuts, the Pacific Gulf Yupiks, and also some of the Central

Yupiks of the Bristol Bay area, who were all profoundly influenced by the Russians, still retain their Russian Orthodox religion and Russian names, call themselves Aleuts, and are so considered by Alaskans generally and by the census. Thus popularly the term "Aleut" includes speakers of three languages, one of them the Aleut of the Aleutian Islands and Pribilofs, also considered Aleut in linguistics and anthropology, and two Yupik Eskimo languages: some Central Yupik in Bristol Bay, and the Yupik language of the Pacific Gulf. Pacific Gulf Yupik was called "Sugpiaq" on the 1974 map *Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska*, but is perhaps better called "Alutiiq," the version in this language of the term "Aleut."

3.3 Eskimo-Aleut Prehistory

The split between Eskimo and Aleut is linguistically rather profound, the equivalent of at least 4,000 years of linguistic separation. By "equivalent" I mean literally "as if" there were 4,000 years of separation, since probably there has been no separation, and the two language groups are still neighbors.[2] A plausible theory is that there was

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[2] Here and elsewhere by giving approximate dates I am of course indulging in a kind of glottochronology, to which I attach very little objective value. However, I do here imply subjective value to these estimates, based vaguely on linguists' experience with other datable language families, rough relative quantification of vocabulary similarity by lexicostatistical lists, and by some consideration of summaries of archaeological and ethnological research.

at one time along the coast of Western Alaska a continuum of Proto-Eskimo-Aleut dialects, albeit probably as usual an uneven or "lumpy" continuum, and that only Proto-Eskimo and Proto-Aleut and some of their descendants survived. The dialects which developed on the Aleutians expanded toward the mainland and the dialects of Proto-Eskimo nearer Bering Strait expanded north and also south, assimilating or exterminating all dialects intermediate between Eskimo and Aleut, so the two now meet abruptly near Stepovac Bay on the Alaska Peninsula. It remains a remarkable fact that (aside from obvious and fairly superficial diffusions) the language of Greenland is just as close to the language of the Aleutians as the language of Kodiak Island is to the language of the Aleutians, and of course, Kodiak and Greenlandic Eskimo are much closer to each other than either is to Aleut.

The Eskimo language group is in turn rather clearly divided between Yupik and Inupiaq. Greenland and Nome are linguistically closer to each other than either is to any form of Yupik. The Yupik-Inupiaq boundary has shifted southward along the coast of Norton Sound, an area which does not form a geographical boundary, but is simply where Proto-Yupik and Proto-Inupiaq have finally met, having eliminated all intermediate dialects.

Inupiaq has spread dramatically across the Arctic into Canada and Greenland in relatively recent times, not much over 1,000 years. This of course does not imply that no

other forms of Eskimo were ever spoken before in Canada or Greenland, but only that Inupiaq is the latest wave, which has certainly replaced any earlier forms of Eskimo-Aleut in those areas.

Yupik probably spread from southwestern Alaska across the Alaska Peninsula into the Kodiak and Chugach regions in fairly recent times also, since although there would be rather low mutual intelligibility at the Alaskan Yupik extremes of Chugach and Norton Sound, there is a fair amount at the border near Bristol Bay. We have called Alaskan Yupik two languages (Central Yupik and Sugpiaq or Alutiiq), but they are closer together than Alaskan and Siberian Yupik, which are certainly different languages with very little mutual intelligibility. However, I suspect that Central Alaskan and Siberian Yupik were at one time connected by a continuous chain of Yupik dialects along Seward Peninsula and across Bering Strait, thence along the coasts of Chukotka and thence to St. Lawrence Island. In relatively recent times whatever Yupik dialects remained on Seward Peninsula, probably intermediate between Alaskan and Siberian Yupik, were eliminated by Inupiaq expansion, thereby increasing the isolation of Siberian and Alaskan Yupik.[3] On

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[3] Some startling support for this theory of connection via East Cape (Naukanski) between Alaskan and Siberian Yupik came in 1978 when I played to a group of St. Lawrence Islanders and Central Alaskan Yupiks a tape recording of the famous Naukanski Nututein telling a Raven and Wolf story. None of these young Alaskans had of course heard Naukanski

the Siberian side also in recent times, the continuum of Siberian Yupik dialects was interrupted by Chukchi expansion or reclamation of territory, leaving three separated groups of Eskimos speaking three varieties of Yupik. These are East Cape (the Naukanski), Indian Point (the Chaplinski), and Sirenikski, a divergent and extremely important relic of dialects spoken perhaps much farther west along the southern coast of Chukotka.[4] St. Lawrence Island once supported a population of perhaps 2,000, but that was reduced in the famine and plague of 1878-79 to about 300, which wiped out

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3 (cont.)
before. To our surprise the Central Yupiks understood the story as well as or even better than the St. Lawrence Islanders. This does in fact confirm what can already be seen in Menovshchikov's recent grammar (1975) of Naukanski, that Naukanski does indeed have certain traits more similar to Central Yupik than to Chaplinski. One striking example is the first person singular verbal ending, St. Lawrence Island *-unga* with the *ng* dropped in both Central Alaskan and Naukanski Yupik, *-ua*.

Furthermore, the intervening dialects of Inupiaq, Qawiaraq and especially Wales, show certain phonological innovations (consonant weakenings) which are related to prosodic (accentual) phenomena in Yupik. Though these are clearly Inupiaq dialects, they thus show important influence from Yupik, which according to this hypothesis very probably was a linguistic substrate. However, the prosodic pattern underlying these Inupiaq developments is that of Alaskan Yupik, different in certain points from that of both Naukanski and Chaplinski Siberian Yupik. This indicates that the Yupik on the Seward Peninsula replaced by Inupiaq was an Alaskan rather than a Siberian type.

[4]The Yupik language of Sireniki Collective is now Chaplinski, and Old Sirenikski is nearly extinct, now spoken by only two elderly women. There is a sketchy Soviet description of this language by Menovshchikov (1964).

most of the villages, except for Sivuqaq (Gambell). Undocumented dialects may also have been wiped out. Gambell (i.e., now all St. Lawrence Island, including Savoonga) dialect is nearly identical with Chaplinski, perhaps more so than one might expect with over 40 miles of difficult ocean separating the two points. I do not know if the near identity is partly explainable by resettlement of Gambell by mainlanders since the famine.

3.4 Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit Prehistory

Concerning prehistoric Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit geography, I shall discuss first Athabaskan, then Eyak, then Tlingit. The limits of diversity within Athabaskan indicate that Proto-Athabaskan was probably still some kind of linguistic unity until about 2,000 to 2,500 years ago. The areas of heaviest differentiation are in the interior of what is now Alaska, the Yukon and perhaps northern British Columbia. One can only guess where within this territory the homeland of Proto-Athabaskan was. Since the Eskimo and Athabaskan contact in Alaska does not seem very old or intense, and since both Eyak and Tlingit are in southeastern Alaska, it would seem likely that the location of Proto-Athabaskan was in eastern Alaska, and probably also northwestern Canada, especially in southern Yukon and perhaps also northern British Columbia. From here Athabaskan territory must have expanded farther west into Alaska, and also south and east

into Canada. Pacific Coast Athabaskan, consisting of about five languages in northern California and southern Oregon, all now extinct or nearly so, appears to be an offshoot of western British Columbia Athabaskan, perhaps the Babine area. Pacific Coast Athabaskan may have arrived at its present location more than 1,000 years ago. Apachean, including Navajo, appears to be a separate later offshoot from northern Athabaskan which arrived in its present territory less than 1,000 years ago and from a different area of the north, with closest linguistic affinities toward Sarcee. Eastward expansion in the direction of Chipewyan and Hudson's Bay also appears to be relatively late, considering the decreasing density of language and dialect differentiation toward the east.

Eyak is a mystery. It appears to be the result of a clean split of Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak into Proto-Athabaskan and Eyak. Its earlier distribution was somewhat more southeasterly than it is now, from Yakutat to Controller Bay. Amazingly, Eyak is linguistically no closer to its modern neighbor Ahtna than it is to Navajo. It appears to be separated by an additional 1,000 years from Proto-Athabaskan.[5]

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[5]The lowest scores for percentage of cognates on a 100-word list within Athabaskan are now about 59%, whereas the scores between Eyak and any Athabaskan language range narrowly from 28% to 36%, with Navajo and Ahtna, for example, each at 32.5%. The Tlingit-Athabaskan and Tlingit-Eyak percentages are far lower, strongly incongruent with the relatively close grammatical similarities between Tlingit and Athabaskan-Eyak.

The Eyaks were very probably of interior origin with a land-based economy. They never became sea mammal hunters like the Eskimos or Tlingits. It is very hard to understand where the Eyaks could have been located to remain completely isolated, as they must certainly have been, from Athabaskans for 3,500 years, given the present geography.

Tlingit is a single language with easy mutual intelligibility from one end of its area to the other. It is in fact remarkable that the great geographical distance between Yakutat and Ketchikan should be occupied by a single language, on the rich Northwest Coast otherwise crowded by so many small language areas. Within this Tlingit area the greatest dialectal divergence is clearly at the southern end, implying more recent expansion northward. Indeed, Tlingit expansion into Eyak territory toward Yakutat and beyond was still taking place in historic times. Given these geographical considerations, I am beginning to believe that the homeland of Proto-Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, which was perhaps contemporary with the homeland of Proto-Eskimo-Aleut, was at an even greater remove southeast of it, perhaps not even in Alaska at all.

4.1 History: The Russian period

I shall now treat the history of Alaska Native languages during historical times. This history can obviously be divided into the Russian period, 1741-1867, and the American,

1867 to the present. The Russian period, lasting roughly 120 years, can for our purposes be rather meaningfully divided into three forty-year periods: 1745 to 1785, 1785 to 1825, and 1825 to 1865. The first period affected only the Aleuts profoundly; it was essentially the conquest of the Aleutians by Russian fur hunters under very little government control, who came as near as they could to exterminating both the Aleuts and the sea otter. The Aleut population was in fact reduced from about 16,000 to about 1,600.

The second period began with the permanent settlement of the Russian-America Company under Shelikov at Kodiak, and increased government control. During this period, in addition to the Aleuts, the Pacific Gulf Yupik people in particular were profoundly affected; their population too was reduced, though somewhat less severely than that of the Aleuts, from 10,000 to 3,000. During this period the Alutiiqs (and some Tanainas) along with the Aleuts were deployed widely along the whole Pacific Rim from the Kuriles to Ross Colony in California, in the still expanding quest for sea otter skins. The treatment of the people improved from outright atrocity and massacre to mere enslavement and exploitation. To a much lesser extent, this period also affected the Central Yupiks and Tanaina Athabaskans. It also affected the Tlingits, as the Russians expanded their

activity farther southeastward, finally concentrated at Sitka, but the Tlingits were especially resistant to Russian domination.

The last forty years began with the arrival in 1824 of Ioann Veniaminov in the Aleutians. This very capable and humane missionary brought with him a period of enlightenment and benign Russian influence in the colony. I would go so far as to say that the third Russian period in Alaska was not only more beneficial in the history of Alaska Native languages and cultures than the earlier Russian periods, but also more beneficial than any of the following American periods. The Russian Orthodox Church and its educational system brought a type of culture change to the Native peoples whom it most affected which greatly strengthened the status of the Native languages. Veniaminov, working with the Aleut chief Ivan Pan'kov, had by 1826 already adapted the Slavonic alphabet to Aleut and had translated a catechism. Their revised Aleut catechism, published in 1834, was the first book printed in any Alaska Native language. Several more were to follow in Aleut between 1840 and 1903. In 1847, Tyzhnov, Zyrianov, and Uchilishchev published the first catechism in Alutiiq. A primer and the Gospel of Matthew followed in 1848. In the 1840s and 1850s religious works were also translated into Tlingit and Central Yupik; some were published, but not until the 1890s. Veniaminov's

orthography for Aleut and its adaptations to Alutiiq and Central Yupik were quite remarkable for their time.[6] More important even than the publications in Aleut and the two Alaskan Yupik languages were the manuscript traditions and above all the widespread literacy that developed, at first in connection with the Church and church school activity, which in the case of Aleut finally developed into a general tradition of literacy including even considerable secular writing. These traditions were beginning to flourish at the time of the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

As of 1867 a large number of Natives, especially of the groups mentioned, naturally knew Russian, but probably all Alaska Natives still at least spoke their native languages, and some could even write them. Not all language areas were affected, of course. The Russian influence on Native languages may in fact be nicely measured by the number of Russian loan words still in use in them today, most of them nouns for new material culture items. In Aleut there are about 400 Russian loans; in Alutiiq over 350; in Tanaina over 350; in

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[6]Because of the nature of the Tlingit sound system, far more different from European languages than even Eskimo-Aleut, the Tlingit orthography was much less successful. For instance, Veniaminov and Pan'kov recognized and provided nicely for the difference in Aleut between k and q, x and x̣, γ and γ̣, also valid for Eskimo. However, Tlingit g and G, k and q̇, k' and q', x and x̣, and x' and x̣' must have been overwhelming indeed.

Central Yupik, about 190; in the Athabaskan languages other than Tanaina, far fewer (Koyukon, about 85; Upper Kuskokwim, about 65; Ingalik, Tanana, and Ahtna, about 50); in Eyak there are about 30, mostly through Alutiiq. In Tlingit, however, there are only nine, a linguistic reflection of Tlingit resistance to the Russians, which was matched by their better known military resistance. In Inupiaq there are about 15 Russian loans, but mostly in the Seward Peninsula area, and in Siberian Yupik on St. Lawrence Island there are apparently only three.[7] All known Alaska Native languages thus survived the Russian period, although in the areas of strongest Russian influence their traditional cultures were profoundly affected by trade and especially by the Orthodox religion. In surviving the Russian period, several Alaskan languages were in fact strengthened by the development of literature and literacy.[8]

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[7]In fact, we have the ironic situation that European trade loanwords are generally American in Siberian Yupik, including the USSR (from American traders and whalers), whereas they are Russian in Alaskan Yupik. Thus for example, Alaskan Yupik *maass'laq*, Siberian Yupik *para* 'butter'; Alaskan Yupik *miilaq*, Siberian Yupik *suupa* 'soap'.

[8]The structure or grammar of the languages themselves remained intact and pure, as the influence of the Russian language was limited to the loanwords. It is entirely wrong to speak of Aleut or Alutiiq, for example, as any kind of mixed Native-Russian jargon. The Russian element in even these languages is much smaller than the foreign element in any European language. Even Alutiiq and Aleut are thus far "purer" than European languages, and incomparably more so than English, which has many thousands of loanwords.

4.2 The American period, 1867-1960

During the first twenty years of the American period, 1867-1887, very little occurred to affect the status of Alaska Native languages or even Native cultures. The American administration did little more than begin to explore the vast territory. There were no American schools for Native people or even American churches. A kind of uninvited exception was the case of Fort Yukon in Kutchin Athabaskan territory, founded in 1847 by the Hudson's Bay Company, well beyond the Canadian border. The Anglican Church, which had a missionary policy favoring written translation of religious material into Native languages, began publishing in Kutchin in 1873. This was the work of Archdeacon Robert MacDonald, whose Kutchin publications numbered over thirty printings between 1873 and 1912, including the entire Bible (1898). This established another Native religious literary language in Alaska.

During the first 20 years of American administration, then, there was at least no interference with the maintenance or cultivation of Alaska Native languages, and relatively little disturbance of Native culture. Moreover, literature in Aleut and Alaskan Yupik continued to flourish and develop, especially in manuscript tradition. The Russian Church maintained its influence unchallenged in those areas. For this reason, apparently, it did not feel a strong need to publish any more of the literature.

This initial 20-year quiet period of "neglect" was the least harmful period of American rule for Alaska Native languages, but the situation was to change drastically during the second American period, 1887-1910. During this time there was intense development in the canning and mining industries which suddenly discovered riches in Alaska: salmon and gold. During this time many thousands of adventurers from outside invaded Alaska, bringing with them alcohol and disease along with severe social and economic disruption. The canning industry affected the entire Pacific Coast and Bristol Bay area, and the gold rushes the entire Seward Peninsula and much of the Interior. Furthermore, whaling had started earlier, in the Bering Sea region, but now began to affect the Inupiaq North Coast intensively.

Even more significantly for the languages, however, the American church missions and schools began in Alaska during this period. As under the Russian administration, the only schools at first were church schools. The first Commissioner of Education for Alaska (1885-1908) was the Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson. Jackson, like Veniaminov, was a very capable and energetic man with many interests--it was he, for example, who introduced the reindeer herding industry to Alaska. Unlike Veniaminov, however, Jackson was adamantly opposed to the use of Native languages in education or religion.

It is important at this point to distinguish two missionary groups (in addition to the Anglican and Russian Orthodox) whose language policy was somewhat independent of Jackson's, basically favorable toward Native languages. These are the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Moravian churches, which both arrived in Central Yupik territory in the late 1880s. The Roman Catholics were Jesuit priests who established several missions especially in the Yukon delta area of Central Yupik, and to a lesser extent in the lower Yukon regions of Ingalik and Koyukon, and in parts of the Inupiaq Seward Peninsula. Many of the priests tried to learn the Native language and to use it in the liturgy. Prayer books in Koyukon and Ingalik were printed in 1904, and in Central Yupik in 1899. Some of the priests also did remarkable linguistic work, the most dramatic example being Jules Jetté's massive and priceless manuscript Koyukon dictionary (1915). The Catholics did not establish any strong literacy movement, however. The Moravians established themselves in the Kuskokwim delta area of Central Yupik. Some of them also began to learn the language and write it, and significant literacy did result from their work. Publication began in 1902 and continued to include a complete New Testament (Drebert 1956).[9]

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[9] This movement continued in spite of opposition by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its predecessors, who carried out throughout Alaska policies of heavy suppression of Native languages from 1910 to 1960. The work of the Moravians was thus quite exceptional during this time, and may be largely responsible for the relatively strong position of the Central Yupik language in this Kuskokwim heartland.

The arrival of the Catholic and Moravian competition in the Central Yupik area undoubtedly played a role in motivating the Russian Orthodox Church to begin publishing. Between 1893 and 1903 the Russian Orthodox Church printed 14 books in three languages; many of the books had existed in manuscript for many years already: two prayer books in Central Yupik, including work written forty years earlier by Veniaminov's Aleut assistant Jakov Netsvetov; three books of the New Testament and collections of prayers and sermons were published in Aleut in San Francisco and New York, along with a Tlingit liturgy, prayer book, and catechism; and the older Aleut materials (Veniaminov's Gospel of Matthew, *Guideroad to the Kingdom of Heaven*, Primer and Catechism) were reprinted in St. Petersburg; only the Kodiak Matthew, Primer, and Catechism were for some reason not reprinted.

Continuing extensive publication by the Anglican Church in Kutchin (MacDonald), 1873-1912, has already been mentioned. The Anglicans also printed considerable material in Haida (Harrison and Keen) and Tsimshian (Ridley) for their Canadian missions. During the same period the Episcopal Church, the American equivalent of the Anglican, extended its efforts in the Athabaskan interior and began to print liturgical materials and hymns in Upper Koyukon (Jules Prevost).

This period 1887-1910 was, however, ultimately a tragic turning point in the history of Alaska Native languages. At the same time that the earlier educational and religious

literature favoring the use of the Native languages continued in most places where it was established, there was an extremely powerful force in the opposite direction launched by Sheldon Jackson and most of the Protestant missionaries under his influence. Sheldon Jackson epitomized the Victorian-era American educational and social philosophy of the "melting pot" wherein all the diverse nationalities in American society were to assimilate to the Anglo-Saxon Protestant American ideal. What applied, for instance, to Italian immigrants, applied even more strongly now to the native races of North America. To complete the "winning of the West" and the white man's "manifest destiny," the American Indian was to be converted to the white man's religion, assimilated to his culture, and forced to abandon his native language. The older educational policy of the Russians, Moravians, and Catholics was during this period to give way to the anti-Native language policy of Jackson and the Protestant sects under his influence: Presbyterians at Sitka, Wrangell, Gambell (St. Lawrence Island), and Barrow; Methodists at Unalaska and Unga; Swedish Evangelical Lutherans in Yakutat and Unalakleet; Congregationalists at Wales; Quakers in the Kobuk area. These were among the earlier mission schools established by Sheldon Jackson in a kind of apportionment of the territory to the different sects.

One of the initiators of this anti-Native language policy, perhaps even before his colleague Sheldon Jackson,

was S. Hall Young. Writing in his autobiography,[10] for about 1880, Young makes the following very clear statement:

> One strong stand, which so far as I know I was the first to take, was the determination to do no translating into the Thlingit language or any other of the native dialects of that region. When I learned the inadequacy of these languages to express Christian thought, and when I realized that the whites were coming; that schools would come; that the task of making an English-speaking race of these natives was much easier than the task of making a civilized and Christian language out of the Thlingit, Hyda and Tsimpshean; I wrote to the mission Board that the duty to which they had assigned me of translating the Bible into Thlingit and of making a dictionary and grammar of that tongue was a useless and even harmful task; that we should let the old tongues with their superstition and sin die--the sooner the better--and replace these languages with that of Christian civilization, and compel the natives in all our schools to talk English and English only. Thus we would soon have an intelligent people who would be qualified to be Christian citizens.
>
> The Board moved, at first slowly and afterwards strongly, in the direction of this recommendation. They relieved me from finishing the task I had begun of translating the Bible. Our ideas were adopted in other missions. When the Sitka Training School, afterwards called the Sheldon Jackson Institute, was built, English was the only language used on the premises, and always at Fort Wrangell from the first we had made and enforced this rule. To our stand in this regard more than to any other one thing is due, I believe, the exceptional progress of the Southeastern Alaska natives in civilization.

Young voices very well here the thinking of these founders of the Alaskan educational system concerning a Native language policy for the Territory. He also reveals, incidentally, that the Presbyterian Church policy itself was originally pro-Native language, like that of the Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Moravians, and Anglicans-Episcopalians.

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[10] Young (1927) p.259-260. I am indebted to Michael Waggoner, University of Alaska, for calling my attention to this passage. For another clear statement on language policy see Appendix II, page 95.

The United States Bureau of Education, which by the end of this period administered most schools for Alaska Natives, continued a language policy which was predictably the same as that set by Jackson. From about 1910, the American schools and probably by then also most of the mission schools completely forbade the use of Native languages. Children were physically punished for speaking their own language at school. Great efforts were made to discourage the children from speaking the language under any circumstances. Parents were also urged to speak only English to their children insofar as they were able. In the already literate Aleut area, the last of the native Aleut religious schools, which taught both written Aleut and Russian, was forcibly closed in 1912.

From about 1910 to about 1960 a deathly silence descends over the Alaska Native language scene. This third period, half a century long, of complete suppression, was to prove fatal for many of the Native languages. During this time the school system was transferred from the U.S. Bureau of Education to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which together with most of the mission schools continued the active anti-Native language policy. Even some of the churches that had earlier used the Native languages in their services were now increasingly using only English.

4.3 History of linguistic research, 1805-1960

At this point it may be useful to summarize the earlier history of linguistics in Alaska. The Russians had done some admirable linguistic work in Alaska, e.g. Rezanov's six extensive vocabularies (1805), Veniaminov's sketches of Aleut (1846), Tlingit, and Pacific Gulf Yupik (1846), Netsvetov's Atkan dictionary (ca. 1860). In the American period Boas and Swanton worked extensively on Haida and Tlingit in the 1886-1910 period (Boas 1917; Swanton 1905, 1908, 1909), Jetté on Koyukon (1915), the Jesuit Barnum (1901) and the Moravian Hinz (1944) on Central Yupik, and Chapman (1914) on Ingalik. Particularly significant also was the Russo-American linguistic work of Bogoraz (1913) on Siberian Yupik (on the Jesup Expedition, 1901) and of Jochelson (1925) on Aleut (on the Ryabushinski Expedition, 1909-10). Between 1910 and about 1950, however, linguistic work on Alaska Native languages also declined. Some was carried on entirely outside Alaska by Edward Sapir (Kutchin and Ingalik, 1923), by Boas (Tlingit, 1917), and by Velten (Tlingit, 1939-1944). De Laguna rediscovered Eyak on a 1933 archaeological expedition and provided enough linguistic material (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938) to demonstrate the importance of the newly rediscovered language, already approaching extinction. Jay Ellis Ransom, a schoolteacher at Nikolski, did some work with Aleut (Ransom 1945). John P. Harrington

of the Smithsonian studied Aleut, Tlingit, and some Eyak, 1940-1942. In 1948-52 Gordon Marsh made some significant contributions to Aleut linguistics. In 1950 Knut Bergsland of the University of Oslo began his long and valuable commitment to Aleut, and published an important volume of texts in Western Aleut (1959). L. L. Hammerich of the University of Copenhagen also helped to define Alaskan Yupik dialects during the 1950s and documented that of Nunivak. An especially important event was the development of an Inupiaq orthography by Roy Ahmaogak, working with the linguist Eugene Nida in Oklahoma in 1946. This achievement will be mentioned again later because of its importance for modern Inupiaq literacy.

4.4 Recent History, 1960-1980

1960-1970 was a new transitional period of rebirth of interest in Alaska Native languages and a shift of developments in their favor. This is perhaps best understood in the larger context of American social philosophy. After World War II and with the decline of colonialism, particularly in Africa, the right to self-determination of smaller and especially of non-white peoples became better recognized in the United States. An important point in the development of human rights in the U.S. was the Supreme Court desegregation ruling of 1954. This began the civil rights movement which intensified dramatically during the 1960s. The rise of the

Black minority extended to other racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. These developments were felt in Alaska as well.

I arrived in Alaska in 1960 as a young man with an interest in Alaska Native languages both from a linguistic and a social point of view. I began at the University of Alaska the first academic courses in the Alaska Native languages, in early 1961, using the classroom setting to do fieldwork in Central Yupik with a view toward developing a practical writing system for it and writing a grammar of it. At the same time, I was successful in obtaining government support for research in the Alaska Native languages, particularly Athabaskan and Eyak, as it was urgent to document these languages before they disappeared forever. I spent a large part of my research effort those first years on surveying the Athabaskan languages to define them as they appear on the 1974 map, and from 1963 to 1969 worked with the last speakers of Eyak to document that as thoroughly as possible before its extinction. I found it much easier to get support to teach the languages in a University setting and to do scientific fieldwork than to gain any support for their use in the schools, however--to get the schools to relent in their pressure to complete the Anglicization of the Native children. Our work in preparation for the re-establishment of bilingual education in Alaska, therefore, had to stay basically behind the scenes during the 1960s.

Another important development during this decade was the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics or Wycliffe Bible Translators. This organization, whose purpose it is to translate the Bible into many of the world's languages, began operation in Alaska in 1959 and worked along with us at the University during the 1960s in the development of modern practical writing systems and basic literature in Tlingit (Constance Naish and Gillian Story), Siberian Yupik (David Shinen), North Slope Inupiaq (Donald Webster and Roy Ahmaogak), Kobuk Inupiaq (the late Wilfried Zibell), and four Athabaskan languages considered still viable: Kutchin (Richard Mueller), Koyukon (David Henry), Upper Kuskokwim (Raymond Collins), and Upper Tanana (Paul Milanowski).

In 1967 a Federal Bilingual Education Act was passed, permitting for the first time instruction in languages other than English to children in public-supported American schools. It must be noted, however, that this law only permitted but did not require that children whose primary language was other than English be provided with bilingual education. In 1968 my colleagues and I at the University submitted to the State Commissioner of Education a proposal to begin the use of Native languages in certain Alaskan schools where the children spoke Central Yupik. The Commissioner rejected the proposal on the grounds that this would, among other things, "undermine the authority of the teachers in the classroom." He was of course correct in a sense, since the teachers in those

classrooms at that time could not speak Yupik and were extremely unlikely to learn to do so. Having a teacher who could teach in Yupik would, without being a racial requirement, practically guarantee Yupik control of the classroom. By that time, however, social unrest was rapidly intensifying and the rise of ethnic minorities was gaining articulate support. In 1970 the Bureau of Indian Affairs, together with the State-Operated School System, was persuaded to experiment with bilingual education in four Central Yupik schools. A unified Central Yupik writing system had just been developed in our work at the University in the 1960s. For the first time in about sixty years, Alaskan Native children were to be taught in school in their native language, and would learn how to read first through it.

In December 1971 the self-assertion of Alaska Natives culminated in the passage of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act. Six months later, encouraged by the dramatic success of the bilingual education effort in the Central Yupik area, the Alaska State Legislature enacted, on June 9, 1972, a pair of bills on behalf of Alaska Native languages. The first bill made Alaska one of the first states to require that children be introduced to education in their native language. It stipulated that every school with 15 or more students[11] whose dominant language was other than English

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[11]Subsequently amended to 8 or more, the minimum number of students required for a school.

must have a teacher who is fluent in that language, a program and written materials in that language. However, the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in Alaska are not subject to Alaska State laws. Yet the majority of children who speak an Alaska Native language are in BIA schools, and are thus not legally protected by this law. BIA compliance is basically voluntary. Moreover, there are two opposing views of the purpose of bilingual education programs, "transitional" and "maintenance" programs. The "transitional" views bilingualism as temporary: as soon as the children know enough English, the Native language need no longer be used in the school and is abandoned; the "maintenance" view is that even as the children learn English, they should continue to cultivate their native language in school, to maintain rather than abandon it. Almost all of the bilingual programs for Native-speaking Alaskan children are unfortunately of the "transitional" type in principle and in practice, and have no positive interest in the survival of the Native language. Very few schools have any Native language curriculum beyond the third grade.

At the same time as the state legislature passed the Alaska Bilingual Education bill, it also established the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. The Center is responsible for scientific study of all the languages native to Alaska, for developing writing systems and literature for bilingual programs, and for

training writers and teachers in these languages. Limitations on budget and staff make it impossible for the Center alone to train all the teachers and produce all the schoolbooks; it has trained the "first generation" of teachers and writers of most of the languages, and produced the first books. Since then other educational agencies have undertaken the responsibility for the further development and maintenance of the Native language programs in the schools. For instance, very many of the school texts since 1976 have been published under the direction of Tupou Pulu by the National Bilingual Materials Development Center, University of Alaska, Anchorage, which has responsibility under ESEA Title VII to produce written materials for bilingual programs throughout Alaska. An excellent example of a local agency producing materials in one language is the Inupiat Materials Development Center at Barrow, which since 1975 has printed many Inupiaq texts, among them some of the best of Alaska school texts.

The staff of the Alaska Native Language Center now consists of eleven full-time linguists, some of them Alaskan Natives working on their own languages, and about as many Native language specialists who work with linguists on a part-time basis. Many of us travel frequently to Alaskan villages and towns, holding literacy workshops, working with school curricula, training teachers, and assisting Native writers. Another activity of the Center is the maintenance of an archival library whose holdings include almost every

printed document, and much of the unpublished material, that has been written in or on any Alaska Native language. This collection, now amounting to over 4,000 items, is both a record and a resource for language work in the state. The collection is currently being catalogued; the catalogue will constitute a comprehensive annotated bibliography of all Alaskan Native languages. In compiling the indexes for the bibliography of names of writers, informants, and linguists, even we were amazed to find that the known individuals who have contributed to the documentation of Alaska Native languages over the past 200 years number by now over 3,000.

All Center staff are active in basic research on Alaskan languages. Part of the research support comes from the state of Alaska, and part from federal sources; for instance, a major responsibility of ANLC for 1979-1982 has been the Alaska Native Language Dictionary Project, supported by the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. We are in the process of compiling more or less definitive dictionaries of ten languages (Alutiiq, Central Yupik, North Slope Inupiaq, Siberian Yupik, Alaskan Haida, Tlingit, Eyak, Ahtna, Tanaina, and Koyukon), further mentioned in the sections on the specific languages below. Because of the concentration of expertise in several languages of both major families, we are able to pursue this work in the context of close coordination and of considerable advances in the general and comparative study of both these language

groups, in which, I feel certain, the Alaska Native Language Center provides important scientific leadership.

5. Present Status of Alaska Native Languages

I shall now proceed with a description and assessment of the status of each of the Native languages in Alaska individually, its location, population, number and age of speakers, degree of viability of the language, together with some information about its use in education, literature in it, and linguistic work on it.

In the case of Tsimshian, at most 200 of the 1,000 Tsimshians at Metlakatla speak the language, almost all of these over 40 years of age, including certainly no children. Since about 1970 there have been occasional beginnings of language study in the school. The first new linguistic work on Coast Tsimshian in over 60 years (since Boas's extensive research) was that of John Dunn, who wrote a dissertation on the phonology (1970), a school dictionary (1978), and a grammar (1979) of the language. Since around 1977 a standard practical orthography has been adopted by the Metlakatlans and Canadian Coast Tsimshians, but thus far almost no new literature has been published in the language.

Of the 500 Alaskan Haidas, most of whom live at Hydaburg and Ketchikan, at most 100 speak Haida, the youngest of these in their forties. The first extensive research on northern Haida in the seventy years since Swanton's was

begun in 1972 with the development of a modern writing system, this first new literature and school programs and the formation of the Society for the Preservation of Haida Language and Literature being largely the work of Erma Lawrence. Lawrence and Jeff Leer published an important preliminary dictionary (1976), including a good grammatical sketch by Leer. Leer is now compiling a comprehensive Alaskan Haida dictionary.

The general Tlingit population is about 10,000 living throughout southeastern Alaska, with about 500 in Canada, where Tlingit territory expanded in the 19th century. Nowhere do children speak the language; the youngest speakers are in Angoon, where Tlingit was taught to children into the 1950s. The number of Tlingit speakers is now at most 2,000, the youngest in their thirties. In 1959 Constance Naish and Gillian Story of the Summer Institute of Linguistics began their work in Tlingit, which during the 1960s produced a practical writing system and the beginnings of a new literature. Some traditional texts have been edited and published by Nora and Richard Dauenhauer, who also wrote a useful learner's introduction to Tlingit (1976). A verb dictionary (1973) and revised noun dictionary (1976) by Naish and Story are available. Leer is now compiling a definitive dictionary of Tlingit. In the 1970s Leer also documented a relic Tlingit dialect at the southernmost end of Tlingit territory; the dialect, Tongass, was by then spoken only by Emma Williams

and the late Frank Williams. This important dialect has an archaic system of vowel modification which has partly merged into a simpler tone system in the rest of Tlingit. Leer reports on this dialect in his recent and important *Tongass Texts* (Williams, Williams and Leer 1978).

In about 1890, when canneries were first built in the Cordova and Copper River Delta area, there were still about 250 Eyaks. Fifteen years later there were hardly more than fifty. The Eyak language is an important heritage and also a tragic lesson for all Alaskans, for Eyak is now nearly extinct, with but three fluent speakers remaining. When I began my intensive research in this language there were four, Anna Nelson Harry, Sophie Borodkin, Marie Jones, and the late Lena Nacktan. (The late George Johnson and Mike Sewock also remembered some of it.) During the 1960s I spent a great deal of my time documenting all I could of the language from these people, whose cooperation and complementary abilities made it possible to piece together a rather comprehensive record of the language. I finished a preliminary edition of the *Eyak Texts* (Krauss 1970a), a reasonably extensive corpus including some remarkably fine texts especially by Anna Nelson Harry, supplemented somewhat during the 1970s; I also published a preliminary dictionary (1970b, with concordance of the entire corpus), about 4,000 pages, of which I am now editing a condensed version for wider publication.

Ahtna Athabaskan is a well defined language, not readily intelligible to any other Athabaskan; its closest relative is Tanaina. Of a total population of 500 in 11 villages in the Copper River region, there are no more than 200 speakers, the youngest in their twenties. The Mentasta dialect is somewhat divergent, showing influences from the Tanana River languages. The first extensive linguistic work on Ahtna was begun in 1973 by James Kari. In 1974 a practical alphabet was designed. Some school material has now been published in the language, especially under the direction of Mildred Buck, and also an extensive noun dictionary by Buck and Kari (1976). A comprehensive dictionary of Ahtna is now being compiled by Kari. Note also a bilingual volume of texts by John and Molly Billum and Mildred Buck (1979).

The Tanaina language, like Ahtna well defined and not intelligible to any other, but closest to Ahtna, is spoken in two major dialect groups around Cook Inlet. Note the distribution into Upper and Lower Inlet dialects, rather than eastern and western. The Kenai Peninsula dialect is nearly extinct with two speakers remaining. One of these, Peter Kalifornsky, has become a creative writer of his language, and recently published a sizeable anthology of his works (1977). The Upper Inlet dialect at Eklutna and Tyonek is also moribund, with perhaps 30 speakers. Most Tanaina speakers live at Nondalton and its far inland extension at Lime Village. There are no speakers under 30 even at Nondalton,

but at remote Lime Village (total population about 40) there are perhaps four or five young children who speak Tanaina. Of the total Tanaina population of about 900, at most 250 speak the language. A modern writing system for the language was established in 1972. There are occasional language classes at Nondalton and Tyonek, and about 30 booklets have been printed in Tanaina. In 1973-75 Joan Tenenbaum did fieldwork on Tanaina at Nondalton and published a series of texts (1976) and a grammar of the verb (1977). James Kari has done extensive fieldwork on the language since 1972; he has published several important texts by Peter Kalifornsky, Shem Pete, and others, a major noun dictionary (Kari 1977), and is now compiling a comprehensive dictionary. Kari and Albert Wassillie of Nondalton, author of many of the schoolbooks, also published a school dictionary (1979).

The name Ingalik is now reserved for the well defined language spoken at Anvik and Shageluk, by the Indian people at Holy Cross, and on the middle Kuskokwim. On the Kuskokwim it is nearly extinct, replaced by Yupik and English. There are no children speaking the language anywhere, the youngest speakers being people in their twenties at Shageluk. Of a total population of 300, at most 100 speak Ingalik. The Holikachuk language has only recently been defined; it is that of the Innoko River at the village of Holikachuk, moved during the 1960s to Grayling on the Yukon. This language is intermediate between Ingalik and Koyukon, partly intelligible

to both, a bit closer to Koyukon linguistically but closer to Ingalik socially. The total Holikachuk population is 160, but there are at most 25 speakers of the langugae, all over 40 years of age. Jeff Leer and I designed writing systems for Ingalik and Holikachuk in 1974. James Kari began extensive linguistic research on these languages in 1976 and has published a preliminary noun dictionary for each (Kari 1978a, 1978b). No sustained school programs or written literatures have yet developed for them.

Koyukon occupies the largest Athabaskan territory in Alaska and has the largest population, about 2,200, of whom, however, only about 700 can speak Koyukon, none of them children. The youngest speakers, probably at Allakaket, are in their twenties. The language is distributed in three dialects in a dozen villages along the Yukon and Koyukuk rivers. A modern orthography and literature were begun in the 1960s by David Henry of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Considerable documentation, writing, and transcription of traditional texts have been done, with over forty booklets published. Eliza Jones of ANLC, a native speaker of the language, has transcribed much as yet unpublished text material, has published a school dictionary (1979) and an important book of texts from Chief Henry of Huslia (1979). She is now compiling a comprehensive dictionary of Koyukon, incorporating also the remarkable work of Jules Jetté, already mentioned. Chad Thompson, also of ANLC, has

written a useful study of the Koyukon verb (1977).

The Upper Kuskokwim area was erroneously included by Osgood (1936) with Ingalik. The language is in fact sharply distinct from Ingalik and from any other of its immediate neighbors. However, it has so many similarities to Tanana that Upper Kuskokwim and Tanana might have been considered two rather different dialects of the same language, were it not for the 19th century intrusion of Upper Koyukon into the Minchumina area, now separating Upper Kuskokwim from Tanana. Though the intrusive group is itself now extinct, the social connections between Upper Kuskokwim and Tanana have been weakened for more than a century. Upper Kuskokwim is spoken at Nikolai, population 95, and at tiny Telida, population 15, and by some of the Athabaskan population at McGrath. Of a total population of 150, perhaps 140 still speak the language, including the children at Nikolai and Telida. Even there, however, the younger children are becoming increasingly dominant in English, so this language too will soon begin to die. Raymond Collins of the Summer Institute of Linguistics began work at Nikolai in 1964. He established a practical orthography and together with Betty Petruska has by now produced over 30 booklets in the language, especially for the school program there. This has been bilingual since 1972, but probably too late to halt the decline of the language. Collins and Petruska recently published a school dictionary of the language (1979).

The Tanana language is now defined as that formerly spoken along the Tanana from Minto to the Goodpaster River. Of a total population of about 350, there are at most 100 speakers. The Goodpaster dialect has one speaker, the Salcha dialect two; the Chena dialect at Fairbanks has been extinct since 1976. Most of the remaining speakers, all over 40, speak the Minto-Nenana dialect. I did the first major linguistic fieldwork on this language in 1961-62, including an unpublished collection of texts and a preliminary noun dictionary (Krauss 1974). There is a practical orthography but no language program in the schools. The first text in this language was published in 1979 (Titus and Titus 1979).

The Tanacross language is partly intelligible with both Tanana (especially the Salcha-Goodpaster dialects) and with Upper Tanana, but cannot reasonably be called the same language as either. I had formerly included it as a "transitional" dialect of Tanana, but there are as many important ways in which it differs from Tanana as ways in which it differs from Upper Tanana. Of a population of about 160 at Healy Lake, Dot Lake, and especially Tanacross, about 100 speak the language, including to some degree the older (but not the younger) children at Tanacross. A practical alphabet for this language was established in 1973 and about ten school booklets have been published in it, and most recently a book of traditional texts (Paul 1980).

The Upper Tanana language is spoken at Tetlin and Northway with a total population of about 300, of whom perhaps 250 still speak the language. Many of the children, especially the older ones, speak the language to some extent; however, it is doubtful, as in the case of Tanacross and Upper Kuskokwim, that the decline in use of the Native language can be halted. Upper Tanana is distinct from all its neighbors but closest to Tanacross. During the 1960s Paul Milanowski of the Summer Institute of Linguistics established a writing system; since then he and especially Alfred John have produced about 25 booklets in the language for the school programs, and most recently a school dictionary (Milanowski and John 1979).

Han is spoken in Alaska only at Eagle near the Alaska-Canada border. It is sharply distinct from all its neighbors, although it resembles Kutchin much more closely than any other. In Canada, where it had the burden of hosting the Klondike Gold Rush, Han is nearly extinct. In Eagle, native population about 50, there may be 20 speakers, some perhaps still in their twenties. A writing system has recently been established, and one of the younger speakers, Ruth Ridley, is now writing the first Han text transcriptions. A preliminary noun dictionary is being compiled by John Ritter.

The total population for Kutchin in Alaska and Canada is about 2,400, with 1,200 on each side of the border. There are about 500 speakers in Canada and 700 in Alaska,

more in Alaska because in the Canadian villages none of the children speak the language, whereas in a few of the Alaskan villages, particularly Venetie and Arctic Village, the children generally do speak Kutchin. Venetie and Arctic Village are in fact the only Athabaskan villages left in Alaska where the children still speak predominantly Athabaskan and where there is any strong chance that Athabaskan may survive indefinitely as a spoken language in Alaska. As already mentioned, Kutchin was the first Athabaskan language in Alaska to develop an extensive written literature, now over 100 years old, in the form of the religious works of MacDonald (1873-1912). This foundation of literacy may be responsible for some of the relative strength of the language. A modern writing system was designed in the 1960s by Richard Mueller of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and in this orthography nearly 90 booklets for the schools have been produced by Katherine Peter and others. There is also a large corpus of unpublished material, some transcribed in 1923 by Edward Sapir, and more recently a very large amount especially by Katherine Peter at ANLC. A school dictionary was recently published (Peter 1979). There is considerable current activity in Kutchin linguistics.

We now turn to the present situation of the other major language family of Alaska, the <u>Eskimo-Aleut</u> languages.

<u>Aleut</u> is a single language, with two distinct but

mutually intelligible dialects, Eastern and Western, the dividing line falling east of Atka Island. Of a total population of 2,000, about 700 speak the language. The youngest speakers of Eastern Aleut are people in their teens, at Nikolski; Western Aleut is now spoken only on Atka Island, since the few Attuans who survived World War II never returned to Attu, and the Attuan subdialect of Western Aleut is now practically extinct. The entire Aleut population was displaced during World War II and severely affected. Atkan Aleut is, however, still a viable language, with all the children in the village of Atka speaking it. Knut Bergsland of the University of Oslo, who has done outstanding linguistic work on Western Aleut since 1950, as mentioned above, designed a modern Roman writing system for the language, based on the Slavonic, and working especially with Moses Dirks of Atka assisted in the development of a bilingual curriculum which began in the school in 1972. More than 40 booklets have been produced for this program. Aleut is also taught as a second language at Unalaska in the Eastern dialect area, and about twenty books have been published for this program, mostly by Olga Mensoff. School dictionaries for both dialects were recently published (Bergsland and Dirks 1978, Bergsland et al. 1978), a dictionary of Atkan by Bergsland is forthcoming, and Bergsland continues to work on a comprehensive Aleut dictionary and grammar.

Alutiiq (Pacific Gulf Yupik, also known variously as

Suk, Sugpiaq, and Sugcestun) is closely related to Central Alaskan Yupik. Alutiiq is divided into two dialect groups, the Chugach dialects of English Bay and Port Graham on the Kenai Peninsula, and what is left of the Prince William Sound Chugach at Tatitlek, Valdez, and Cordova; and the Koniag dialects, spoken on Kodiak Island and most of the Alaska Peninsula. Of 3,000 Alutiiqs, about 1,000 still speak the language. The youngest speakers of the Koniag dialects are in their twenties, but the Chugach dialect is spoken by some children in English Bay (population 60) and to a lesser extent Port Graham. The youngest children of even these communities, however, are becoming dominant in English, so it is doubtful that the language will survive indefinitely. The first extensive modern linguistic work on the language was done by Irene Reed in the early 1960s, after nearly a century of linguistic neglect since the Russian period. In 1973 Jeff Leer began work on the language, solved certain intricate phonological problems and developed a practical orthography, recently published brief dictionaries for both dialects (Leer 1978a, 1978b), and continues at present compiling a comprehensive dictionary of it. More than 30 booklets for the schools, especially those of Port Graham and English Bay, have been published under Leer's editorship, working with Derenty Tabios and others. A second-language program is beginning to take shape on the Alaska Peninsula and Kodiak and a few booklets have recently been published in the Koniag dialect.

Central Yupik is numerically the most prominent of Alaska's Native languages both in terms of the size of its population and the number of its speakers. The Central Yupik population now numbers more than 17,000, of whom most, perhaps 14,000, speak the language. It is a single language with three general dialect areas, Bristol Bay, the Kuskokwim, and the Yukon. There are two especially divergent local dialects, Nunivak Island and Hooper Bay-Chevak, showing certain affinities with Alutiiq. The language is strongest in the Kuskokwim region, where it is the first language of entire communities. In many communities of the Bristol Bay and Yukon areas, Yupik is no longer spoken as a first language by some or any children. There seems to be no doubt, however, that at least in the Kuskokwim heartland, Central Yupik will continue to grow and flourish. Its future is further brightened by the widespread and successful bilingual education programs of the region. As mentioned above, it was here that modern bilingual education began in Alaska in 1970. Since then more than 200 schoolbooks have been developed in the practical orthography, covering entire areas of the primary curriculum, under the capable leadership of Irene Reed, who established the Eskimo Language Workshop at the University of Alaska, and since 1974 the Yupik Language Workshop at Kuskokwim Community College in Bethel. Reed, Osahito Miyaoka of Otaru University on Hokkaido, Steven Jacobson, Paschal Afcan, and I developed during the period

1967 through 1976 a teaching grammar of Central Yupik (Reed et al. 1977), the first such work published for an Alaska Native language. Jacobson's comprehensive dictionary of the language will be published in 1980. Courses in Central Yupik have been offered at the University of Alaska since 1961, first by Reed, later by Miyaoka, and since 1974 by Jacobson. More than 200 speakers of Central Yupik have had training there or at Kuskokwim Community College in Bethel, allowing them to teach as bilingual instructors from primary grades through college in classrooms in their region. In addition to materials for the schools, government informational publications of many kinds are now translated into Yupik for distribution throughout the area, where not only schoolchildren but also adults are increasingly literate in the modern writing system.

Siberian Yupik is spoken by the entire population of St. Lawrence Island in Alaska, in the two villages of Gambell and Savoonga. This includes all the children, making Siberian Yupik the Native language in Alaska which has increased most dramatically in its numerical strength. Severely reduced by famine and plague a century ago to fewer than 300 survivors of a population at least five times that, the St. Lawrence Island population has made a remarkable recovery, and is now approaching 1,000. This includes significant immigration from the Chaplinski dialect area of Chukotka as late as the 1920s. The dialect of St. Lawrence Island is still nearly

identical with the Chaplinski dialect of the U.S.S.R. No doubt because of their well defined and separate island world, of which they are still basically the masters, St. Lawrence Islanders have maintained the full vigor of their culture and language along with the modern material advances from which they also benefit. St. Lawrence Island is certainly a major exception to the usual recent language history pattern in Alaska. Except for one missionary booklet in 1910, nothing was printed in the language for St. Lawrence Island until the 1960s, when David Shinen of the Summer Institute of Linguistics devised a modern orthography and printed three booklets in it. In 1971 at the University of Alaska we revised the orthography and began the modern written literature for St. Lawrence Island. Bilingual education programs began in its schools in 1972, and by now over 100 booklets in the language have been produced for the schools, written especially by Vera Oovi Kaneshiro, Grace Slwooko, and Raymond Oozevaseuk. Steven Jacobson has written a preliminary grammatical sketch of the language (1977) and is presently working on the compilation of a comprehensive dictionary for it.

The main dialect of Siberian Yupik spoken in the U.S.S.R. is Chaplinski, identical with that of St. Lawrence Island, as mentioned above. The Chaplinski population in the U.S.S.R. is about 800, now concentrated in two locations, (New) Ungaziq and Sireniki. East Cape (Naukanski) is the other

main dialect group, population about 350, forcibly evacuated and dispersed from the ancient East Cape village of Nevuqaq in 1958, at the height of the Cold War. After the consolidation of Soviet power in the area in the 1920s and the expulsion of American traders, the Soviets began seriously and idealistically to implement their policy of bilingual education to include even this small group of Eskimos, according to their principle that every Soviet nation, no matter how small, has a basic right to the cultivation of its own language and an introductory educational system in it. In 1932 the first Soviet Siberian Yupik schoolbook was printed, to be followed by about 50 more between 1935 and 1959, an admirable effort, all in the Chaplinski dialect, the official standard. However, during the Cold War and the 1960s this output ceased, the communities were relocated, and instead of bilingual education the children were put in Russian-speaking day-care centers and boarding schools, under an assimilationist policy that in some ways resembled the American. Now there are probably no children speaking the Naukanski dialect, and probably also none or very few speaking even Chaplinski, in spite of continuing Soviet propaganda claiming that the system has supported the cultural life and morale of these people, and in spite of printing new schoolbooks in the language in 1974. Ironically, in spite of professed national policies, the Siberian Yupik language is flourishing in the United States and dying in the U.S.S.R.

If the St. Lawrence Islanders do not very soon regain the permission they enjoyed until 1947 to visit their kin in Siberia, they will find they have a common language only with the oldest generation there. The area remains completely closed to Westerners at this time. The Bering Strait Wall has been a tragedy for the Siberian Yupik people.

Inupiaq in Alaska is at the western end of a vast Inuit dialect continuum which now spans the entire American Arctic from Bering Strait across Canada to Greenland. Within Alaska there are four markedly different but still mutually intelligible dialect types, in two main groups: Northern (North Slope and Malimiut) and Seward Peninsula (Qawiaraq and Wales). The total population in Alaska is about 12,000, of whom now only about 5,000 are speakers of Inupiaq, including only a small proportion of children. The Qawiaraq dialect (originally of the Nome area, but expanded during the past century to Shaktoolik and Unalakleet) has no speakers under 20 years of age, having been most severely affected by the Nome Gold Rush and subsequent developments. The Wales dialect has probably no speakers under 10 years of age, although some teenagers on Diomede and amongst the King Islanders (all moved to Nome) can speak it still. In the Malimiut dialect area of Kotzebue Sound, the Noatak and Kobuk rivers, and its early historical southward extension to Shaktoolik and Unalakleet, the only villages where many children still speak the language are on the Upper Kobuk at

Ambler, Shungnak, and Kobuk. On the North Slope, Wainwright is the only place where most of the children now speak Inupiaq, though many do at least to some extent at Anaktuvuk Pass, Nuiqsut, and to a lesser degree at Barrow. Inupiaq had very little contact with the Russians, so there was no major effort to establish a written literature in it in Alaska at all until very late, two centuries behind Greenlandic and one century behind Canadian Inuit. The work of Roy Ahmaogak and Eugene Nida in 1946 achieved a scientifically excellent orthography (though a slightly impractical one, using some special phonetic symbols), but this came at a highly unfavorable time in terms of school policy, so for a generation the writing system was used only in the churches. Ahmaogak and Donald Webster of the Summer Institute of Linguistics published a complete New Testament (1966) and during the 1960s the late Wilfried Zibell also began printing materials in the Malimiut dialect. In 1971 we began to teach Inupiaq at the University of Alaska and in the next year the first Alaskan educational programs in it began in Barrow. These have spread rapidly throughout most of the area. There is certainly significant literacy, and no fewer than 350 booklets of considerable variety have been printed by various agencies for the schools in all dialects, especially of course the North Slope and Malimiut. The Inupiat Materials Development Center at Barrow has printed a large number of particularly fine school texts. A preliminary dictionary

for these two dialects was published in 1970 (Webster and Zibell 1970), and now in press is a much better school dictionary, prepared under the editorship of Edna Ahgeak MacLean, president of the North Slope Borough Language Commission, which supports much of the language work in the area. MacLean, a native speaker from Barrow, is currently editing a definitive dictionary for the North Slope and finishing a full pedagogical grammar of the language from materials she has developed at ANLC for the teaching program at the University, for which she is also responsible. Larry Kaplan, also of ANLC, has written on the phonology of Alaskan Inupiaq dialects (1979) and is engaged in continuing fieldwork.

By now, however, the future of Inupiaq as a spoken language in Alaska is gravely threatened. The Qawiaraq dialect may well be extinct in forty years and the Wales dialect in seventy. By the end of this century there may be no children at all learning the language even in the North Slope and Malimiut dialects, especially if past trends continue. A renewed cultural perspective is the only strong hope for the future of this language in Alaska. This great hope is a renewed sense of the international Inuit world not only in Alaska but also in Canada and Greenland, by overcoming the artificial, effectually colonial barriers externally imposed by the separate American, Canadian, and Danish administrations. This can now under modern conditions easily be achieved through improved cultural exchange,

transportation, communication, and education. Without this, I believe that the Inupiaq language in Alaska will not survive the next century.

6. The future for Alaska Native languages

I am at a point now to consider the future of Alaska Native languages in general. We can no longer avoid facing the tragic consequences of the American suppression of this century, as the next century, nearly upon us, will as an inevitable result become the age of extinction of most Alaska Native languages. The first half of the coming century will probably see the death of the very last speakers of fifteen of the twenty languages. In the case of the moribund languages, those no longer spoken by any children, it is an unfortunately simple matter to estimate a probable date of extinction, by adding to 1980 the remaining life expectancy of the youngest speakers, which we shall base on a generous total life expectancy of 75 years. Thus, not allowing for miracles, Eyak will probably not survive this century; Alaskan Tsimshian, Alaskan Haida, Holikachuk, and Tanana will probably be extinct by 2015; and Tlingit, Ahtna, Ingalik, Koyukon, and Han will probably be extinct by 2030. Furthermore, Alutiiq, Upper Tanana, Tanacross, Tanaina, and Upper Kuskokwim have an extremely doubtful future, with a few small children able to speak the languages, but those children already English-dominant; again, not

allowing for miracles or radical changes, they will probably be extinct within a lifetime, by about 2055. By that year, then, probably only five of the twenty Alaskan languages will still be spoken. Of these, Western Aleut at Atka and Kutchin Athabaskan at Venetie and Arctic Village might conceivably survive indefinitely under ideal conditions, which might have to include continued isolation, hardly likely. Inupiaq might survive also, but only if great strengthening of international awareness and communication comes in time. Central Alaskan Yupik and Siberian Yupik have by far the best chance of survival, because of the still large concentration of speakers of all generations in the Kuskokwim region and a few other parts of the Central Yupik area, and Siberian Yupik because of its isolation and great vitality on St. Lawrence Island. Both languages now also have excellent beginnings of educational programs and written literatures.

It is of course important to emphasize that these predictions are based on our experience and knowledge of the way things are presently going, and do not take into account on the one hand miracles or radical social changes favorable to their survival. The tragic end result of the way things are going does indeed point out the importance of considering measures for adequately favorable change, if such is possible. On the other hand, we must face an at least equal likelihood that things may take a turn for yet worse, that social,

demographic, and technological developments (such as the spread of television) will bring still more unfavorable pressure against the survival of these languages, that they will be obliterated by English at an ever accelerating rate.

I view the obliteration of Alaskan Native languages by English as an unnecessary final tragic chapter in the continuing conflict in American history, the "winning of the West." The physical genocides of the nineteenth century were replaced in the twentieth by cultural genocide in the classroom: "cowboys and Indians" moved into the schools, and extermination and removal were replaced by assimilation. With bilingual education and the development of the printed word in Native languages, Native languages have at least begun to fight back in the battle of the classroom, but the battle is far from won, and in the case of many Alaskan languages it is already far too late.

It is clear that educators and linguists must continue to cooperate and serve community needs in the development and improvement of education and literature in those languages which the schoolchildren still speak. We must also consider, however, what are the goals of bilingual education in the case of those languages which are already moribund. For one thing, it is the task of linguistics to document or preserve as complete as possible a record and description of all these languages for posterity, regardless of their likely fate as spoken languages. This much is clear: that it is

reasonably well within our capabilities and also our intentions now to produce detailed descriptions of their grammars, comprehensive dictionaries of their lexical inventories, and extensive records of them in text, especially narrative, including at least a large sample of traditional oral literature. This work will be of lasting great value to the people themselves and also to the world at large, and on this we at the Alaska Native Language Center place high priority. In the educational systems for those areas where the languages are moribund, again, we cannot realistically expect true revival of the spoken languages, but we can develop appropriate and effective programs of teaching them as second languages to the children, so that coming generations learn at least a sample of their ancestral language, enough for them to maintain respect for it and their heritage and to continue some ceremonial and artistic use of it. Extensive knowledge of the languages and the tradition of teaching them in the schools would have to be maintained by small, specialized groups within the cultures who would also have the good linguistic work mentioned above to rely on. In that way these languages too can continue to play an important role in the future of the people.

In those areas where the schoolchildren still speak an Alaskan language, increased efforts must be made to improve and extend the use of the language in the schools. Educational, social, organizational, and political work must be done to

bring this about, and eternal vigilance kept to maintain it. In such areas there still may sometimes be found, in this day and age, educators of the old assimilationist school, who are either hostile or indifferent to the survival of Native languages. Agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs do not change attitudes quickly, nor do many of the experienced educators of this type often hired by local school systems. In most elementary schools where there are children still able to speak an Alaskan language, there is still practically no Native language curriculum beyond the third grade, and in very many cases little or none even in the lower grades. If used at all, Native languages are merely tolerated in a policy still aimed at transition to English. The tragic consequences of this have already been clearly demonstrated.

As threatening as the school situation still is, a graver threat to the survival of Alaska Native languages is now upon us. This is the inevitable and rapid spread of radio and especially television to every village and home. The cultural and linguistic battleground is now shifting from the classroom to the living room. Within a few short years, practically every Native-speaking home will have a color television set receiving several channels of the usual commercial and educational programming in English to flood the home for several hours a day. The battle of the living room will be fought with what I call "cultural nerve gas"--

insidious, painless, and fatal. The fate even of Siberian and Central Yupik could be sealed in a decade of this. Yet there is hope here too, for much more easily than an educational system (which requires much time and effort for the development of an alphabet, literature, teacher training, and literacy), television and radio cculd quickly be adapted to the service of Native languages. In contrast with the time it takes to learn to write and read, it takes little training to speak one's own language into a microphone, and no training to learn to enjoy hearing a broadcast in it. Furthermore, the technology of television has fewer cultural strings attached to it than do educational systems; it is much more readily convertible to the service of any language and culture. In fact, one must not think mainly of translated commercial or educational programs, or Native imitations of successful commercial or educational programs, but of actual Native content in Native languages, for example village news networks, Native cultural events, much of it village-produced for broadcast to other villages in the same language area. However, if this is not done soon and imaginatively, the potential these media have for strengthening Alaskan cultures and languages will be lost in their destruction. The final tragedy is unnecessary and can still be prevented, but only by understanding, determination, and courageous effort. Linguists, educational administrators, teachers, local school boards, and parents must work together to convert the

schools from the destruction to the strengthening of native languages. Imaginative and determined media personnel and villagers must work together to convert television and radio to the service of this heritage.

Finally, we must understand and remember that the only way a living language is transmitted from one generation to the next is by parents speaking that language to their children. A school and even a television set which inundates the children with another language, say English, do not themselves alone prevent the children from becoming bilingual, still able to speak their parents' native language, provided the parents speak that language to them, fully realizing that that is the only way the children will learn it. The amount of time the children are involved with the English-speaking school or television will of course detract from that spent with the Native language, but the ability to speak more than one language well is in fact very common throughout the world; it is perfectly normal and healthy. The most destructive effects of the school and media are in the attitudes they impose on both parents and children. They cannot take the knowledge of the Native language away, but through generations of punishment and brainwashing in English-only schools, and now more swiftly through the stunning and stupefying power of television, they destroy or paralyze the parents' will to transmit the Native language and the children's will to learn it, unless the

language is also respected, used, cultivated, and celebrated in them. With adequate Native-language programs in the schools and on television and radio, the basic responsibility for the survival of the Native language is more clearly seen to be where it has always been, with the parents to speak it to their children. Not bilingual education, not even bilingual television can themselves keep Alaskan languages alive; only parents speaking the languages to their children can do that, as has always been the way.

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APPENDIX I:

THE FUTURE OF ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES

1. Survival or Extinction?

The time has come to face the real future of Alaskan languages. There is no more time to waste deluding ourselves about the unpleasant and tragic aspects of this. Alaska Native languages are entering a period of final crisis for their future as living languages. Most of them are about to die.

The only way a language can survive as a living spoken language is if children learn that language as their first language and transmit it to their own children the way it was transmitted to them. All Alaska Native languages which have survived to this day have of course survived by this means and only this means. The language has been handed down for countless generations who have cultivated it, shaped it, perfected it according to their own culture into an intellectual heritage of complex beauty, unique to each people.

The thread can be broken irreparably in one generation. The generation that is now able to speak Native and English, but is speaking English only to its children, is directly

responsible for abandoning this heritage, irrecoverably. It is Native language suicide. That is a heavy responsibility to bear towards the coming generations. Such a decision should only be made consciously with full awareness of its consequences.

As far as we can predict from the present situation, the first half of the 21st century will see the death of the very last speakers of most Alaska Native languages. In fact, it is all too simple to calculate the approximate date of extinction of most of these languages. We need merely to add to 1980 the remaining life expectancy of the youngest speakers of the language, based on a generous estimate of, say, 75 years. If, for example, there is no one under 20 able to speak Koyukon, the language could be expected to become extinct about 55 years from now, in 2035, give or take a few years. (It does not matter how many people speak the language if the youngest children do not; even a language with a million speakers will not last significantly longer than one with a hundred, unless the children are learning the language. The only difference is minor: of a million people probably a few more will live to be very old, thus adding a possible 25 years at most before the still inevitable extinction.)

The youngest speaker of Eyak is past sixty. The youngest speakers of Alaskan Tsimshian, Alaskan Haida, Holikachuk, and Tanana are past forty. The youngest speakers of Tlingit,

Ahtna, Ingalik, Koyukon, and Han are in their thirties or twenties. Thus, the way things are going, and not allowing for miracles, of these ten languages Eyak will probably be extinct within this century; Alaskan Tsimshian, Alaskan Haida, Holikachuk, and Tanana will probably be extinct by 2015, and the very last speakers of Tlingit, Ahtna, Ingalik, Koyukon, and Han will all be dead by 2030. Next, there are five Alaskan languages which some children are able to speak to some extent in one or two communities, but these are already English-dominant or rapidly becoming so: Alutiiq (Sugpiaq) (at English Bay only--everywhere else, Kodiak, Alaska Peninsula and Prince William Sound no children speak the language), Tanaina Athabaskan (only at tiny Lime Village--everywhere else around Cook Inlet there are no young speakers), Upper Tanana (especially at Tetlin), Tanacross, and Upper Kuskokwim (especially at Nikolai). Again not allowing for miracles or radical changes, these five languages too will probably all be extinct within a lifetime, by about 2055. By that year, then, probably only 5 of the 20 Alaskan languages will still be spoken: Western Aleut (at Atka only); Kutchin Athabaskan (at Venetie and Arctic Village only); Inupiaq Eskimo (only in the Upper Kobuk and at Wainwright); Central Yupik (mainly in the Kuskokwim region); and Siberian Yupik (at Gambell and Savoonga). Of these, Western Aleut and Kutchin might conceivably survive indefinitely under "ideal" conditions; such conditions would probably have to include

continued isolation, but this is hardly likely. Inupiaq might survive in a few places also, but only if there comes in time great strengthening of awareness of and communication with the rest of the Inupiaq world in Canada and Greenland, of which Alaskan Inupiaq is only a small part. The way things are going, however, these languages too are likely to become extinct before the next century is over. Central Yupik and Siberian Yupik have by far the best chance of surviving indefinitely; Central Yupik because of the still large concentration of speakers of all generations in the Kuskokwim region and a few other parts of the Central Yupik area, and Siberian Yupik because of its isolation and great vitality on St. Lawrence Island.

We at the Alaska Native Language Center feel the responsibility for doing what we can to promote the survival of Alaska Native languages as living spoken languages. For this reason I am describing quite frankly what I fear is coming, without mincing words. I sincerely hope I am wrong. I hope that there are more, younger speakers of the languages than I know of. I hope that some parents at least are indeed consistently speaking the languages to their children, and I have simply not heard of them. I would welcome hearing from anyone who has information that I do not, where I am wrong in these mournful predictions. I am certain that I am not wrong in one thing: if the parents do not speak the language to the children, the language will die.

What I am certain that we as linguists and Native language specialists at ANLC and elsewhere can do (with adequate support) is to document the languages well, by compiling good comprehensive dictionaries of their vocabulary, good grammars of their structure, and also writing down texts, including stories and legends in the language, to preserve at least a significant part of their oral literary tradition. In this way an adequate record of the heritage can be kept for posterity, in the form, however, of some books on the shelf. In this sense at least, the language can certainly be saved. This important work is also the necessary basis for the development of teaching grammars and other materials for Native language programs in the schools.

2. Can school save the language?

Some people may believe that "bilingual education" is going to "save" Native languages. This is simply not so. English-only education, especially with prolonged periods away from home at boarding school, can kill a Native language. However, school could not do the reverse, bring a Native language back, unless it were Native-speaking only and involved a boarding school or the like, where children were discouraged from speaking anything but Native. Certainly no Alaskan "bilingual education" programs ever remotely resembled this.

In speaking of "bilingual education" we must carefully distinguish between programs for communities where children still speak the Native language as their first language ("first language" bilingual programs), and programs for communities in which children do not speak the language ("second language programs", not strictly speaking bilingual education, but something resembling more the way European languages are taught academically as second languages in traditional American city schools).

I shall here discuss realistic goals for the second language programs, where Native language is taught in school to children who do not learn to speak the language at home. Such programs can not teach the children to speak the language in a fluent way resembling their parents' or grandparents' native ability. That can only come from the parents or grandparents. The school can teach the children about the language, and teach the children words and phrases in it. Some children will learn quite a lot that way, but realistically, most will learn only a bit, even in a good program with well trained teachers and good materials.

Nevertheless, even that little bit is very important. It will at least give the children an idea of what their ancestral language was like, a sense that they know some of it, have some association with it, that it is still around. This knowledge will also enable them in a very real way to continue much of their culture actively in songs and

ceremonials. In this way the language will still continue to play some kind of role in the community, having a place of honor and respect, as an important part of whatever can be preserved of traditional culture in an advancing society. In this way it can still give essential life to the culture of the people.

Within the society there will have to be a small core of people whose specialized role in the community will be to preserve the language tradition by teaching it in the schools, generation by generation, even after the last native speakers have died. They will have to have in some sense a profound knowledge of the language, and for this the technical work of language specialists and linguists to document the languages now while they are still alive will be essential. The preservation of all Alaska Native languages in this way is still possible, as I have said. Its success will depend on the linguistic work that is done now (dictionaries, grammars, texts) and then on the materials and training available to the teachers.

I have some confidence that these goals of continuation in an academic or school setting can be achieved, and do not believe that they are going to face much political or administrative opposition. On the contrary, the support for them seems to be increasing and probably will continue to do so provided the programs are good. (Why is it, in fact, that after they realize their children no longer speak the

language, parents and children finally regret abandoning their language? Then they want to do something about it, but not before. The key is to realize what they stand to lose before they lose it, not after.)

There is, in fact, a very important way in which Native language programs in the schools, even good ones, may actually be doing more harm than good for the future of Native languages in these communities where the children do not know the language or have only a partial command of it. Many parents who are not speaking their Native language to their children are aware, dimly or keenly, that they are responsible for the impending extinction of their language, and feel to some degree relieved of this uncomfortable burden of responsibility by the program in the school. I have heard many times, "The school can save our language," that the school instead of the parents can teach the language to the children. I repeat, this is simply not true. As I have already described, the school cannot transmit the language at all as a parent talking to his child can. Those who claim that the school can save the language and that therefore the parents do not have the responsibility to talk it to their children, are fooling themselves. Parents must not expect this, and the school must not claim it. Otherwise the program is doing more harm than good in a community where the parents can speak the language to their children and are not doing so, counting instead on the program.

Better to cancel the program if then the parents will instead speak more Native to their children.

So long as there are parents or even grandparents who can speak the language, this remains the most important thing to do. The community must actively support the school program. Short of having a radical school program where for hours on end, or even years on end, the use of any language but Native is discouraged, there are several things that a community can do if it is serious about keeping the language alive or reviving it in a sense that it will actually remain or become a first, natural, fluent language of the children. Ways must be found which will motivate and help parents to overcome the initial difficulties of speaking the Native language to their children where they have not recently been doing so. The community could establish day-care centers or nurseries staffed by Native-speaking instructors, who speak nothing but Native to the small children. Similarly, seasonal but completely Native-speaking situations can be established, such as summer camps. Satellite or new communities could be founded where one of the purposes would be to maintain the language. In those cases where the language is stronger in another area, for instance Inupiaq in Canada and Greenland, or Central Yupik in the Kuskokwim, children could visit those areas (but only if they go there to learn Native, and do not by their presence undermine the language in those areas).

With determination and commitment, still very much can be saved of the Native languages, even where children no longer speak it. To the extent that children still do know or understand some, the potential may be greater or the task easier. However, one must absolutely not expect the school itself to save the language, to bring about any true revival of it. It is up to the parents and the community.

3. Can bilingual education maintain a language?

We must now look carefully at bilingual education in those communities where the children do speak the Native language. Here the term "bilingual education" means--or is supposed truly to mean--education in two languages, Native and English. The communities involved are mainly certain Central Yupik villages, especially those in the Kuskokwim heartland and nearby, and the Siberian Yupik villages of Gambell and Savoonga on St. Lawrence Island; to a lesser extent also Venetie and Arctic Village for Kutchin Athabaskan, the Upper Kobuk villages and Wainwright for Inupiaq, and Atka for Aleut; and perhaps to some extent English Bay for Alutiiq (Sugpiaq), Nikolai for Upper Kuskokwim, and Lime Village for Tanaina. How many of the schools of these communities, especially for Central and Siberian Yupik where Native is still truly the dominant language of the children, are there actually bilingual programs? Certainly not all. How many hours a day do the children in the lower grades

actually have instruction in the Native language? How many of these children past the third grade have any instruction in the Native language at all? These are hard questions, and I believe the answers to them would be shocking.

For one thing, still the majority of children who speak Alaska Native languages are in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. Of an estimated 4,000 children in Alaska who speak Native languages, an estimated 3,000 are in BIA schools. Therefore, by far the greatest number of Alaskan children who do speak a Native language are not protected by the Alaska State Bilingual Education law. Since 1972 there has been a State law that all Alaskan schools which have 15 or more (now 8 or more) students whose primary language is other than English shall have a teacher fluent in that language, and an instructional program and materials in that language. The BIA school system, however, is not subject to Alaska State laws. To whatever extent it complies with those laws, its compliance is essentially voluntary. The BIA, like any human institution, does not change quickly. There are still teachers, principals, and administrators in both BIA and regional schools, who are indifferent or hostile toward Alaska Native languages, who are still very much a part of the old assimilationist tradition which for generations has been punishing or discouraging Native children from speaking their ancestral language.

Where bilingual programs are lacking for children who

speak a Native language, the reason is sometimes given that the people themselves do not want the program, and "local" control" should decide such questions. There are many wrong things that can contribute to such a decision, however. Since use of their own language in school was denied them, the parents may not even be aware of the possibility, or they may not have a clear idea of bilingual education, having heard only that the Native language is an obstacle to their children's progress, and that this would be regression "back to the blanket," especially if the option is still presented to them in this light. Eighty years of brainwashing have taken their toll. Generations have already been brainwashed with the notion that Native languages are inferior, disadvantageous to the children in their lives and careers; and with the rubbish that (because educators themselves speak only one language, English) it is unhealthy to overload one's brain with more than one language, or that it is impossible to speak two languages well. Even if that is the sincere belief of the educators (because most are not bilingual themselves) it is absolute nonsense. Learning to speak more than one language is normal, healthy, and advantageous.

Even if the parents want bilingual education, however, they may have elected a school board consisting of the "better educated" members of the community, who therefore represent more the educators' own assimilationist views than those of the "less acculturated" parents; and/or many members of the Board may be under the influence of a local

administrator indifferent or hostile to bilingual education. Thus, under the name of "local control" children are denied the right the State Bilingual Education law was designed to protect, their right to a truly equal opportunity in education.

There are two crucially different ways of looking at bilingual education, one as a "transitional" program, the other as a "maintenance" program. Both programs begin by teaching in Native, including reading and writing, and introducing English as a second language, say one hour a day in the first year. This might grow to two hours of English the next year, and to three or four the next. The "maintenance" program is one in which English would never entirely replace the Native language in the curriculum, but where both would have a place side by side in the school, and in which the Native language would never occupy a smaller part of the day than, say, one hour up through all the upper grades. The Native language would thus be maintained in the school along with English, cultivated, developed, honored.

In a "transitional" program, bilingual education is transitional, going from the Native language over to English in such a way that English totally replaces the Native language. The Native language is only used as a means of acquiring sufficient school ability and knowledge of English, so that once enough English is learned, the Native language can be abandoned. The unfortunate fact is that almost everywhere the bilingual programs are transitional, not

maintenance, both in their intent and practice. ESEA Title VII, which funds bilingual education as a special program, is expressly for these transitional purposes. Thus practically no elementary schools have any Native language past about the third grade. A few high schools have Native language programs as a kind of cultural enrichment. But by and large, even in those schools where the children's primary language is Native, education goes on more in English, mostly in English, or even exclusively in English.

Actually, it is not the exact clock-hours spent using one language or another which is the most important thing about a bilingual program, it is above all the attitude toward the languages which the program teaches. On the surface the maintenance and transitional types of program appear the same, at the beginning. However, the maintenance program honors and values the Native language and teaches that though of course the children should learn English as a second language because of its undeniable practical value, still the Native language is also of great value and should be maintained by the community, that the local language of the community, for the people to speak to each other, will continue to be Native. English they will learn as a second language, for communication with the rest of the world, but their own world continues to exist, and the potential of their own language for growth and development is also to be realized--the best of both worlds.

Transitional bilingual education programs, on the other hand, implicitly but constantly teach the attitude that English is basically better than Native, that the Native language is of no value, that it has no future, and should be replaced by English, as the people assimilate into the "mainstream" of society, and lose their own identity--the modern "final solution" to the "Indian problem."

Where the purpose of a first-language bilingual program is still basically assimilationist, and not sincerely in the interest of the survival and development of Native language and culture, it should be no surprise that all too often Native-speaking bilingual teachers are not given adequate administrative and moral support, or adequate opportunity for getting the training they need, and lack good bilingual materials often even where such materials exist. Administrators can cause a bilingual program, even with sincere and courageous teachers, to wither and fail by not supporting it properly, thus "proving" their own belief that Native languages do not belong in education, or belong only temporarily until they can be replaced with English, and then dispensed with.

Moreover, the persons in authority, the administrators and certified teachers, are generally not bilingual, and are unable to speak the language of the children. There is no requirement that they should be able to do so. On the other hand, bilingual teachers are often prevented from achieving

positions of authority by regulations prohibiting certified teachers from working as bilingual teachers. The bilingual teachers can only be subordinate aides, not the actual authority figure in the classroom. (The children certainly get the message.) If they become certified teachers, they are no longer qualified, or are "overqualified", for the position of bilingual teacher, and may then teach only in the conventional English-only way.

While the bilingual education that has developed in Alaska since 1970 is certainly a vast improvement over the unrelieved repression of Native languages before (1900-1970), we must not fool ourselves into thinking that in its present state bilingual education could yet effectively counteract the destructive influence on Native languages of the educational system as it still is. It is only a beginning. To the extent that teaching in Native languages is used in all schools where children speak the language, and at least to a significant extent, say one hour a day, in all grades where the children speak the language, including the upper grades; to the extent that the teachers are well trained, well supported, and have adequate materials; to the extent that the Native language is cultivated and truly honored in the school; only then will the school system strengthen instead of weaken the status of Native languages in Alaska. As things are now, although the destruction in the schools may be slowed down somewhat, I believe the

schools have by no means stopped undermining the future of Alaska Native languages even in those few areas where the children still speak the language. Thus, the danger is still very great that not just most but all the Alaska Native languages will die during the coming century.

4. Television and radio: Menace or opportunity?

So far I have discussed only the educational system and its effects on the future of Alaska Native languages. However, as threatening as the school situation still is, an even graver threat to the survival of Alaska Native languages is now upon us. This is the inevitable and rapid spread of English-language radio and especially television to every village and home. The cultural and linguistic battleground is now extending from the classroom into the living room. Within a few short years, practically every Native-speaking home will have a color television set receiving several channels of the usual commercial and educational programming in English to flood the home for several hours a day. The battle of the living room has begun with this invasion of what I call "cultural nerve gas"--insidious, painless, and fatal. The fate even of Siberian and Central Yupik could be sealed in a decade of this.

Yet there is great hope and opportunity here too, for television and radio can be much more quickly adapted to the service of Native languages than can an educational system. For one thing, educational systems depend heavily on the written word. Converting them to the service of Native

languages requires the development of an alphabet, development of a literature, training of teachers and writers, and requires the pupils and eventually the whole community to learn to read and write in the Native language. Compared to the time it takes to learn to read and write, for instance, it takes very little time and training to learn to speak one's own language into a microphone, and no time or training at all to learn to enjoy hearing a broadcast in it.

There is an important lesson in the way Citizens' Band radio has been adapted widely to the service of Native language and culture. People learn immediately to communicate with each other over CB radio in their own language, as they use it for their own purposes, for example in coordinating their movements in hunting and fishing. This shows how readily convertible electronic communications are to the service instead of the destruction of Native language and culture--but that has already been demonstrated for some time with the telephone and tape recorder. Even more important, the use of these and CB radio shows what happens when a communication system is truly controlled by its users.

So far, most radio and television in rural Alaska is not locally controlled at all. The systems right now being installed, especially television, are imposed from outside the Native language communities, as extensions of huge statewide and nationwide networks. The programs will be rained down from the heavens, for the people to accept as passively and unquestioningly as the weather, controlled by the gods in

Juneau or California. The systems are now being set up in this way with no real local input, control, or content. Instead of further losing control of their own cultural environment and fate, the people must immediately become actively involved in determining the kind of radio and television they will have. At the very least they must provide a supplement or alternative to the outside-controlled network programming, in the form of locally controlled systems that can serve the needs of the language communities.

The areas I am primarily concerned with here are those where Native languages are still spoken or at least understood by the children, so that they may survive if enough is done. The main instances are Central Yup'ik, Siberian Yupik on St. Lawrence Island, and certain Inupiaq locations. For Central Yup'ik there would have to be a network involving many villages, with broadcasting centers at Bethel, Dillingham, and perhaps also elsewhere. Local reporters or TV cameramen could tape local subjects and events to broadcast directly, or send the tapes to broadcast centers, and the centers could also produce a variety of programs. St. Lawrence Island would need mainly a system in which Gambell and Savoonga would broadcast to each other and themselves (and conceivably to what is left of their relatives in Siberia). Inupiaq would need a system something like that for Central Yup'ik but also extensive exchange of programs with Canada and Greenland. Other language areas with smaller numbers of speakers should have local

stations broadcasting in the language, perhaps especially 10-watt radio stations, which are relatively easy to set up. The importance of radio should not be underestimated: it is the sound and not the picture which carries the language; radio programming is cheaper and easier to produce; it is also easier to take in, since one can more easily do other things while listening to radio than while watching television. People speaking Native languages should learn to operate television cameras, local television and radio stations, and to produce programming in Native languages, for at least some significant part of the day, as an alternative to the nation-wide network programs.

The problem is not that the nationwide programs are bad. It does not even matter much whether they are The Incredible Hulk or Masterpiece Theatre, Hee Haw or Sesame Street. The problem is that they are not Native. However, by Native I do not mean Native-language soundtrack or voice-over channels added to network programs, producing for example an Eskimo-speaking Archie Bunker (though that might be interesting). I also do not mean Native-language programs which are essentially imitations of network programs. That would be too expensive and in the end self-defeating. What is needed is programming conceived by and about the people themselves. I can only list here a few things which I might offhand imagine: radio or television broadcasts reporting a potlatch, or featuring a storyteller, a dance, a basketball game, beaching or even hunting a whale, a new baby, local community news, school

news, weather reports, bush radio messages, talk shows, personalities, Native affairs and politics. None of these are too expensive or beyond the ability of community people to learn quickly to produce.

Innovative and imaginative programming of this kind, and also appropriate local systems serving the language area, are not prohibitively expensive; they might cost much less than what is routinely spent on highway construction, for example, or on runway extensions or sports facilities. Moreover, a Native organization with a good proposal writer should stand an excellent chance in competing for grant money from funding agencies for innovative systems and programming of this type, for and by the Native language community.

There is another important way in which radio and television are more readily convertible to the service of the languages (aside from using the electronic rather than the written word): these media are a system with far fewer cultural strings attached than education has. Educators traditionally come with training in the English language and beliefs in Outside American culture, which they have come to spread. Radio and television, however, are at least partly available as empty systems, and at least many of those who bring them to the villages would in fact wish to see the system used for the local language and culture. The ideological battle here will be far less difficult, but the stakes are just as great.

I believe it is essential to understand and act on this threat--or opportunity--soon, vigorously, and imaginatively. Otherwise, the potential these media have for strengthening Alaskan cultures and languages will be lost in their destruction. Good bilingual education alone will not be sufficient to counteract the effect of English-only radio and television. The final tragedy is unnecessary and can still be prevented, but only by understanding, determination, and courageous effort. Just as linguists, educational administrators, teachers, local school boards, and parents must work together to convert the schools from the destruction to the strengthening of Native languages, so also imaginative and determined media personnel and villagers must work together to take active control and convert radio and television to the service of the Native heritage.

Awareness of self and control of self are as important for a culture as for an individual. A small nation lacking perspective of its cultural position and what it stands to lose will lose its culture. In the same way, a larger nation has a similar responsibility. If it cannot control its own growth ("you can't stop progress"), if it cannot prevent itself from destroying everything in its path, then it is a cancer which will end up destroying itself by destroying the life upon which it feeds.

Cultural survival or cultural suicide: A community responsibility

Finally, we must understand and remember that the only way a living language is transmitted from one generation to the next is by parents speaking that language to their children. A school and even a television set which inundates the children with another language, say English, do not themselves alone prevent the children from becoming bilingual. Children will still be able to speak their parents' native language, provided the parents speak that language to them, fully realizing that that is the only way the children will learn it. The amount of time the children are involved with the English-speaking school or television will of course detract from that spent with the Native language, but the ability to speak more than one language well is in fact very common throughout the world; it is perfectly normal, healthy, and advantageous. The most destructive effects of the school and media are in the attitudes they impose on both parents and children. They cannot take the knowledge of the Native language away, but through generations of punishment and brainwashing in English-only schools, and now more swiftly through the stunning and stupefying power of television, they can destroy or paralyze the parents' will to transmit the Native language and the children's will to learn it, unless the language is also respected, used, cultivated, and celebrated in them. With adequate Native-language programs in the schools and on television and radio, the basic

responsibility for the survival of Native languages is more clearly recognized for what it is and has always been: that of parents to speak their language to their children. Not bilingual education, not even bilingual television can themselves keep Alaskan languages alive; only parents speaking the languages to their children can do that, as has always been the way.

If Alaska Native languages die I frankly do not know what future there is for Alaska Native cultures. Language is in my view the most essential part of a culture. I do not know to what extent a culture, an identity, a nation, can survive without its own language. Language suicide may be cultural suicide.

I realize that much of what I have written in this series is not pleasant or easy to face. However, I consider it my responsibility and the responsibility of the Alaska Native Language Center to do what we can to preserve and promote Alaska Native languages as a heritage of Alaskans for the future of Alaska. I have tried to be frank about what I see, even if some people are offended or displeased. I would not want it said that we sat and fiddled while we saw Rome burning, and would not want it said that we failed to warn people of the dangers and losses they must face in the future of Alaska Native languages. At the same time, I have tried to include positive suggestions for what I myself see might be done to save what can be saved for the future. I hope this is more the beginning than the end.

APPENDIX II:

THE ESKIMO LANGUAGES IN ALASKA,
YESTERDAY AND TODAY

This will be a very general introduction to the history and the present-day status of these languages. Their present-day status is, as we shall see, very much a result of the effects of government policies.

Alaskan Languages

There are two major language families in Alaska, the Eskimo-Aleut and the Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit, and two genetically isolated languages, Haida and Tsimshian, both recent immigrations to Alaska (18th and 19th century). Alaska may be called the "cradle of civilization" of two great modern language families, the close-knit Eskimo, and the somewhat more diverse Athabaskan. Eskimo may have originated somewhere in "Beringia," and Athabaskan more towards the Canadian border, in the interior. The contact between Athabaskan and Eskimo is probably fairly recent, since e.g. there are to my knowledge no Athabaskan words in Greenlandic, nor any Eskimo words in Navajo, and there are no important diffusions between the two groups even in the modern Alaskan border languages, except for obvious recent loanwords. We have no idea what languages were until recently in between the two families. They may of course very probably have included extinct languages related to

Athabaskan and/or to Eskimo. At any rate, the most important thing to keep in mind for the present day is that both Athabaskan and Eskimo are actually very successful language families, now more than ever, with excellent chances for indefinite survival. This remarkable fact, however, is mainly because they have both spread well beyond Alaska, through Canada, where they both continue to flourish, and far beyond Canada, where they have flourished in a rather spectacular way in the 20th century, a century which has proven fatal to many Native American languages. There are now many more Athabaskans (and Athabaskan speakers) than ever before, but 150,000 of the 180,000 speakers are Navajos. There are now also many more Eskimos (and Eskimo speakers) than ever before in history, over 90,000, but over half of the Eskimo speakers (42,000 of 78,000) are Greenlanders. Within the Inuit (non-Yupik) branch, of ca. 66,000 speakers, 42,000 (two-thirds) are Greenlanders, ca. 17,000 are Canadian, and at most 6,000 are Alaska, the largest number of non-Inuit-speaking Inuit being Alaskan. These are important figures and the reasons for them are certainly worth understanding.

By far the greatest linguistic diversity in Eskimo is to be found in Western Alaska. There is, for one thing, the well known sharp division between Yupik and what we in Alaska usually call Inupiaq. The famous border is at Unalakleet on Norton Sound, where there is certainly not any significant geographical barrier. The explanation seems to me doubtless that at one time there was something more like a continuum of Eskimo dialects along Alaska's western shores, and that two of these

dialects, Proto-Yupik and Proto-Inuit, began to spread, eliminated all the intermediate dialects, and met at Unalakleet (or rather on the Seward Peninsula, the southern shore of which was Yupik into the 19th century, and where earlier still some form of Yupik intermediate between Alaskan and Siberian might well have been spoken).

Yupik itself is rather more diverse than many people realize. The difference between Siberian and Alaskan Yupik is too great to permit ready mutual intelligibility, as is attested by many speakers who have tried it, and by a score of 65% for cognates on the basic 100-word list. Even within Alaskan Yupik we must recognize two different languages if we use the criterion of ready mutual intelligibility, Central Alaskan Yupik and Sugpiaq or Alutiiq. We thus have three Yupik languages in Alaska: Alutiiq, Central (Alaskan) Yupik, and, on St. Lawrence Island, Siberian Yupik. I shall deal with each of these languages individually, and with Alaskan Inuit or Inupiaq, after first giving a very brief history of government policies which have affected them.

Government Policies

By 'government' I refer, of course, to European powers in Alaska, not Native rule (at least not yet!). The first of these was Russian, which actively affected Alaska from the invasion of Attu in 1745 until 1867, when Alaska became a territory of the United States. The Eskimo peoples were spared intense contact with the Russians during the first and worst

forty years of their dominion over Alaska, a period of barbaric exploitation, pillage, and murder. (I must note here how sharp a distinction that bears with the Danish dominion over Greenland during the same period.) The Russians' victims were not Eskimos, but Aleuts, whose population was literally decimated. This was, however, not specifically by Russian government policy, but rather by commercial expansionism without government control. The Russian Alaskan venture became better organized in the 1780s with the establishment of the Russian America Company under Shelekov at Kodiak, where the first intense long-term Russian-Eskimo contact took place. The Russians' second forty years were more a period of enslavement than of massacre, as the Russians now used Aleuts (Aleutians and Alutiiqs) to do their fur-hunting for them, an activity which they expanded across the whole North Pacific as far as California and as far as the Kurile Islands.

The first Russian priests or missionaries arrived in Alaska, on Kodiak, in 1794. Thus began the first Russian efforts to educate and convert Alaskans to Russian culture and religion. By far the greatest work was that of the priest Ivan Veniaminov (later Metropolit of the entire Russian Church, and now St. Innokenty), a man of great energy, talent, and humanity. He spent ten years, 1824-1834, in the Aleutians. Working with the Aleut Ivan Pan'kov, he had already by 1826 produced a manuscript catechism in Aleut, and had printed the first book in Aleut in 1834. This was in a remarkably good orthography, distinguishing nicely k from q, g from r, gg from rr, for example.

The third forty years of Russian rule in Alaska, 1824-1867, began with the arrival of Veniaminov. For the Native peoples of Alaska, and especially for their languages, this period was clearly a rather good one. The first books were printed in the other "Aleut" language (Kodiak) in 1847-48, about which more later. The point here is that the Russian policy toward indigenous languages was basically then as it is today, benign or favorable, or at least utilitarian, favoring the creation of an alphabet and the establishment of literacy in an effort to educate, whether for Christianity or for Communism. As we shall see, this policy is in sharp contrast with the American. The Russians were worse for the people than for their languages, it might be said, whereas the Americans were worse for the languages than for the people, if that is possible. Whatever the negative effect the Russians had on the Alaskans, they did not attempt to exterminate their languages, but rather even strengthened their status by providing the beginnings of a literary tradition, especially in the case of the two "Aleut" languages (Aleutian and Alutiiq), and to a lesser extent Central Yupik and Tlingit Indian.

During the first twenty years of the American period, 1867-1887, there was very little cultural change for Native Alaskans. The Russian Church remained the only cultural or educational institution in Alaska until about 1890, when the Jesuits arrived in the Yukon Delta area, Moravians in the Kuskokwim Delta, and various other Protestant churches began their work on St. Lawrence Island, the Inupiaq area (Seward

Peninsula and the North) and in the interior. The Jesuits and Moravians soon began printing materials in Central Yupik. This competition even stimulated the hitherto complacent Russian Church to do likewise (and also to print more Aleut materials). In many parts of Alaska the period 1880-1910 was an especially favorable one for the languages themselves, with these re-printings and new books in Aleut, Central Yupik, and also several Indian languages. During the same period, however, the Commissioner of Education for the territory was the Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson, who shaped the first American educational system in the territory. He also succeeded, until 1908, in getting federal support for the mission schools, in spite of the division between church and state, on the grounds that the only teachers who could be recruited were missionaries. Jackson was an energetic and talented man. However, his anti-Native language policy was quite clear.

> The Board of Home Missions has informed us that government contracts for educating Indian pupils provide for the ordinary branches of an English education to be taught, and that no books in any Indian language shall be used, or instruction given in that language to Indian pupils. The letter states that this rule will be strictly enforced in all government Indian schools. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs urges, and very forcibly too, that instruction in their vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to their speedy education and civilization. It is now two years and more since the use of the Indian dialects were first prohibited in the training school here. All instruction is given in English. Pupils are required to speak and write English exclusively; and the results are tenfold more satisfactory than when they were permitted to converse in unknown tongues.*

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*Jackson in North Star, Sitka, 1888. Note also the earlier statement by S. Hall Young, quoted here, p.23.

It took until about 1910 for this policy to become generally enforced, since strong starts had been made with Native language in Church education in several places, especially the Russian Church schools in Aleut and Central Yupik, and the Catholic and Moravian church schools in Central Yupik. Much less, or no Native language writing was done in the Protestant church schools, more under Jackson's influence (this included the whole Inupiaq area). By 1910, virtually all Native language education and literacy development in Alaska had ceased. The last Aleut church school teaching Aleut literacy closed in 1912. In the next fifty years there was a nearly complete ban on Native language education, and Jackson's policy of extreme suppression remained in full force. This was not simply Jackson's policy, of course, but rather this was the national American social philosophy of the time, the ideal of the "melting pot", of assimilationism, assimilation of immigrant peoples and "inferior races" (including indigenous races) to the vigorous and dominant white Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture, which Sheldon Jackson and his kind so perfectly represented in Alaska. This period was to last until the effects of the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s, the resurgence of ethnicity, and the decline of the "melting pot" philosophy which finally reached Alaska by about 1970.

During the 1960s missionaries, now the Summer Institute of Linguistics or Wycliffe Bible Translators, began creating new orthographies for several Alaskan languages, and also

sustained scientific work began at the University of Alaska. It must be remembered that at no time were there ever any official government policies or legislative acts concerning Native languages, or concerning any languages in America, including even English. It was simply assumed, unofficially but firmly, that this nation was to be English-speaking, and the more exclusively so, the better. However, our own personal attempts from the University of Alaska during the 1960s to influence the educational systems in Alaska which controlled most Native education (State-Operated Schools and the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs schools) to permit the use of Native language in school programs, including literacy, were met with firm refusal. "It would undermine the authority of the teacher," said the Alaska Commissioner of Education in 1968. The effects of the social changes taking place elsewhere in the United States during the 1960s were soon to be felt in Alaska, however. One of these was the passage of the national Bilingual Education Act of 1967, which for the first time explicitly permitted (but did not require) education in the children's language where not English. In the fall of 1970, my colleague Irene Reed persuaded the Bureau of Indian Affairs and State-Operated Schools to "experiment" with use of Central Yupik in four schools. We began to print materials in the new orthography and to train Yupik-speaking teachers. This "bilingual" program, the first in Alaska in sixty years, was such an immediate and spectacular success that we were soon able to persuade the Alaska State Legislature to enact a law requiring the schools to provide a

teacher who could speak the children's language and written materials and a literacy program in their language. This law was passed on June 9, 1972; at the same time the legislature established the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska to study and document all Alaskan Native languages, to develop literatures in these, and to train Native teachers for them. The 1970s have thus been a period of dramatic renaissance, in a sense, for many Alaskan languages, of an enormous increase in the new literatures begun in the 1960s, and of great expansion in scientific work and documentation of all Alaskan languages.

However, the long dark age, 1910 to 1970, of linguistic suppression in the schools had meanwhile done irreparable harm to the life of most of Alaska's twenty Native languages. Children were slapped, beaten, ridiculed, punished for speaking their own languages in school. This treatment continued through even the 1960s, wherever there were children who still spoke an Alaskan language, and their parents were advised to speak English to them, not to speak their traditional language which they were told (and began to believe) only held them and their children back from "progress." The effect of this policy has been devastating. Not one child now knows how to speak any Native language in Southeastern Alaska. The youngest Haida and Tsimshian speakers are in their forties, the youngest Tlingit speakers are in their twenties or thirties; Eyak is nearly extinct today (only three speakers alive); and at least nine of Alaska's eleven Athabaskan languages are almost certainly

doomed to extinction (six with no speakers under twenty years of age, two with none under ten, two with a very few bilingual children, and only one, Kutchin, with communities in which the children still nowadays converse mainly in Athabaskan: Venetie and Arctic Village).

The Aleut language is now spoken by young children only at Atka. Alutiiq is spoken by some young children only at English Bay. Both these languages are thus reduced to one single spark of life for a future as a spoken language--perhaps. The rest of the Eskimo languages have survived this tragedy in somewhat better condition. I shall now consider each of the Eskimo languages in Alaska individually. (As for Aleut, I have included that in these general considerations, but shall restrict the rest of this presentation to Eskimo, especially as the situation of Aleut has just been presented excellently by Professor Bergsland.)

Alutiiq

I shall deal first with the Alaskan branch of Yupik, and with the Sugpiaq or Alutiiq branch of that. Alutiiq is the people's own name for themselves, and the most acceptable modern term to them. (They have also been called Suk, Pacific Gulf Yupik, etc.) The term Sugpiaq, probably the best academically, is obsolete in their own usage for themselves. The people identify themselves as Aleuts, along with the Aleutian Aleuts, and not as Eskimos. Although the language shades toward Central Yupik on the Alaska Peninsula, it is also a

fairly well defined unit, with fair mutual intelligibility between the extremes of Prince William Sound and the Alaska Peninsula, with several important unifying traits distinguishing it from Central Yupik. There is a fairly strong dialectal division between the East (Chugach; Prince William Sound and Kenai Peninsula) and the West (Koniag; Kodiak Island and the Alaska Peninsula).

Their population, about 10,000 before European contact, suffered a drastic decline (though not so drastic as Aleutian Aleut) to about 3,000, mostly during the period of enslavement, ca. 1785-1825. Soon after the beginning of Aleutian Aleut literature, and of course also under the influence of Veniaminov (who himself published a brief grammatical sketch of Alutiiq in 1846), the priest Elias Tyzhnov working with the Kodiak Islanders Gerasim Zyrianov and Kosma Uchilishchev, finished in 1845 and printed in 1847-48 a primer, catechism, and Gospel of Matthew, the first books in an Alaskan Eskimo language. These were again in a remarkably good orthography for their time, basically adequate, except for the prosody (word lengths), an especially complex matter in Alutiiq. (The name Alutiiq [alu·tíq] is itself a good illustration of this point. Phonetically the u is longer than the ii, but the non-gemination of the l indicates that the u is underlyingly short and the higher pitch of the ii that that is long; the u is lengthened from being in an automatically accented open syllable and the ii is shortened from being in a closed syllable.)

For reasons that are not very clear, perhaps the more

intense American contact, Russian Church literature did not continue to develop here as it did in Aleutian Aleut and Central Yupik, for which new books were printed during the period 1890-1910. Thus there was absolutely nothing printed in Alutiiq for the 124 years between 1848 and 1972! This was in fact a period of complete silence with virtually no documentation even, the first exceptions being the work of the two late Danish scholars Kaj Birket-Smith (on Chugach in 1933) and L. L. Hammerich (on Kodiak in 1953). Finally in 1972 the Alaska Native Language Center printed the first new materials in Alutiiq. These were the work of Derenty Tabios and the linguist Jeff Leer, who made the first adequate analysis of the prosody.

In spite of neglect and repression, children continued to learn this language through the period of the establishment of American canneries and Gold Rush towns (Seward, Valdez, Cordova, Anchorage), 1890 to 1913, through the decline of the literary tradition and the establishment of English-only American schools. The U. S. Naval Base on Kodiak, built in 1939, was probably the final blow. Most Alutiiqs over forty can speak the language, but the only place where young children can still do so is tiny English Bay, population 60. Even here English is now beginning to predominate. Bilingual education efforts since 1972 have concentrated at English Bay, but the future of Alutiiq as a spoken language is at best extremely precarious.

New language materials, including preliminary dictionaries, have been printed for the Kodiak and Alaska Peninsula dialects

as well as the Kenai Peninsula. Leer is now compiling a major combined dictionary for all dialects.

Central Alaskan Yupik

The other branch of Alaskan Yupik, Central Alaskan Yupik, has now by far the largest number of speakers of all Alaskan languages. Unlike the Aleutian population, most cruelly affected during the first forty years of Russian domination, the Central Yupiks were little affected by the Russians until the third and most benign forty years of their domination. The Central Yupik population has in fact risen from a pre-contact estimated 10,000 to perhaps 16,000 today.

The Central Yupik language is a rather cohesive and well defined unit. Internal dialect differences are not sharp, the main aberrances being Nunivak and Hooper Bay-Chevak. Even with these, mutual intelligibility throughout the Central Yupik area is easy. Nunivak dialect, called Čux by Hammerich (along with Suk for Alutiiq) thus by no means deserved the status of a separate language as does Alutiiq.

For our purposes Central Yupik can be divided into basically three areas: Bristol Bay, the Kuskokwim, and the Yukon. In the 1890s the Jesuits moved into the Yukon, the Moravians moved into the Kuskokwim, and the Russian Orthodox Church renewed its efforts in Bristol Bay, all three churches beginning to print religious materials in the language. Each church has more or less retained its domination, but the Russian Church in Bristol Bay the most weakly, where also

American settlement and contact was the most intense. The Moravian Kuskokwim and Catholic Yukon remained under less anglicizing pressure for a while. These two churches had an invonsistent or ambivalent policy toward Yupik and continued sporadic religious publication in them even during the period of repression 1910-1960, mainly because with a dense and increasing population, almost entirely Yupik, the Yupik language remained so strong that the missionaries at least admitted it was necessary to use the language. Some of the missionaries even liked the language. After World War II, however, with the growth of the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in the Yupik area and reassertion of assimilationist policy under the Eisenhower regime, the church, especially the Catholic in the Yukon, gratefully began to abandon Yupik as the schools forced an English-only policy upon the children. As a result, many young children in many Yukon villages no longer speak Central Yupik, and in most Bristol Bay villages no children speak it. But in most Kuskokwim villages most or all children still speak Yupik. Yupik is thus gravely weakened except in the major Kuskokwim heartland. Since the beginning of the bilingual education programs in four schools in 1970, now expanded to most schools where the children speak Yupik, the chances for survival of the language, at least in this Kuskokwim heartland, have been greatly improved. Still, there is very little Yupik language in education beyond the third grade, and bringing the schools into compliance with state and federal bilingual education regulations is a slow process. The Bureau of

Indian Affairs' cooperation is basically voluntary, since it is apparently technically exempt from both state and federal educational regulations.

Over 200 elementary school books have by now been published in Central Yupik, and perhaps 100 Yupik teachers trained. A major scientific and pedagogical grammar of the language was recently published by the Alaska Native Language Center and a major comprehensive dictionary of it by Steven Jacobson will soon be published.

Siberian Yupik

The Siberian branch of Yupik is spoken by perhaps 2,000 people, about half of whom are in Soviet Siberia and half in Alaska, on St. Lawrence Island. Here, ironically, Czarist Russian domination was too late and weak to be of significance. In fact, the trade vocabulary on both sides is English, from American whalers and traders, not Russian. (E.g. while in Alaskan Yupik the word for 'butter' is maasslaq from Russian máslo, in Siberian Yupik, both on St. Lawrence Island and in Soviet Siberia, the word is bara.) I shall not here take any time to describe the Eskimo language situation in the USSR. I have studied it with interest; it is such an interesting subject that in fact a whole lecture should be devoted to it. Here I shall confine my remarks to St. Lawrence Island.

That island is an old and important center of Eskimo culture. Until 1878 it sustained a population of perhaps 3,000 Eskimos in several villages, but that winter a plague

and famine killed most of the population, and only one village, Sivuqaq or Gambell, remained. A Presbyterian mission school was built there in 1894 by V. C. Gambell. Since then there has been a slow but steady growth in population, to over 800, now in two villages. The Presbyterian school here evidently for some reason did not follow Jackson's policy very closely. In 1910 there was even one small religious booklet printed in the language, but none after that, in keeping with the general silence. St. Lawrence Islanders and their Siberian relatives continued visiting each other rather freely even after the consolidation of Soviet power in Chukotka in the 1920s. The Islanders doubtless noted that by 1932 already their Soviet relatives were using and reading and writing their language in the schools, while they themselves were not. The visits were completely stopped in 1948. In the 1960s a new missionary alphabet was devised by a Wycliffe Bible translator, and in 1971 this was revised to its present form at the University of Alaska. In 1972 the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, which runs both Island elementary schools, was persuaded to permit the use of the language in them, but still remains somewhat unsupportive of the Yupik language program beyond the first two or three grades. Nevertheless, perhaps because of the geographical isolation of the Island and the strength of its culture, St. Lawrence Island children still all speak Siberian Yupik. Though its population is not large, Siberian Yupik thus has an excellent chance of survival, the only Alaskan language which is still being learned by all the children.

Very important, however, for the future of Siberian Yupik on both the Alaskan and Soviet sides, will be the reopening of communication between the two halves of this single small linguistic community, completely cut off since 1948. It would be enormously enriching to both sides if they could renew their ties, as a natural cultural bridge between the two political hemispheres. International communication may in the end play a decisive role in the future of Siberian Yupik. In considering also the future of the Inuit language in Alaska, I shall return to this same point, one I feel to be of great and especially obvious importance at a meeting such as this one.

Inupiaq

The Alaskan Inuit, or Inupiaqs, were little affected by the Russian presence in Alaska. Their population, perhaps 6,000 at contact, has since about doubled. The language within Alaska is mutually intelligible even at the extremes, though with some difficulty, as Alaska is the western end of the Inuit dialect continuum, and is itself rather deeply differentiated dialectally. We recognize four main dialect areas, the North Slope, the Malemiut, the Qawiaraq, and the Wales. Wales dialect is the most distinctive of all, with consonant weakening, e.g. apun > avun, siku > sigu, iqaluk > iġaluk. The present populations of these dialect areas are Qawiaraq 1,600, Wales 1,100, Malemiut 4,000, North Slope 3,800. Qawiaraq and Wales have increased somewhat since contact, Malemiut increased greatly, and North Slope declined somewhat. The number of

speakers is a different matter, however: about 2,500 for the North Slope (of 3,800, including some children), but at most 500 for Wales (of 1,100, including at best very few children), and at most 500 for Qawiaraq (of 1,600, including no children). The two Seward Peninsula dialects have suffered the worst, obviously. The youngest speakers in the area are in their teens and are from the outlying islands, King Island and Diomede, both Wales dialect. The youngest speakers of Qawiaraq must be in their thirties or forties. Qawiaraq will probably be extinct in fifty years, and Wales perhaps a generation later. In the Malemiut area small children can speak the language only in the Upper Kobuk villages of Shungnak, Ambler, and Kobuk. In the North Slope, many children still speak the language especially at Wainwright, Nuiqsut, and perhaps Anaktuvuk Pass (Helge Ingstad's "stone-age" people of the 1950s may already have been speaking English to their children!); and a minority of the children at the important center of Barrow; but in the other North Slope villages, few or no children can speak Inupiaq. The future of the Alaskan Inuit language is thus gravely threatened. The causes of this situation are clear enough. The first schools in the area were Protestant missions of various denominations, which enforced as best they could Sheldon Jackson's English-only language policy. This policy was enforced even more effectively by the government schools which replaced the missions. The Nome Gold Rush and American settlement about 1900 particularly devastated the Seward Peninsula dialects, above all the

Qawiaraq. The long siege against the language in the schools finally began to take its toll even in the Malemiut and North Slope areas, as in the 1950s and 1960s many parents there too began speaking English and not Inupiaq to their children.

During the period 1890 to 1940 there were no attempts of lasting significance to establish an orthography and a literature for the Alaskan Inuit. The originator of Inupiaq literature was Roy Ahmaogak of Wainwright (1898-1967). A church translator in the 1920s and already thinking about writing Inupiaq, Ahmaogak experimented with written Bible translation in the 1930s. In 1946 he was finally able to realize his goal satisfactorily, working with the Wycliffe Bible Translators linguist Eugene Nida in Oklahoma. The Ahmaogak-Nida orthography is of high scientific quality. (Certain practical problems with it are probably well known to many of you, and will figure in the paper about to be presented by my colleague Edna MacLean.) Ahmaogak's great achievement of 1946 came in a cold, dark season indeed for Alaskan languages. Nevertheless, through the church literacy began slowly to spread in Barrow, and by the end of the 1950s it was beginning to take root at Noorvik in the Malemiut area as well, all this in spite of, not with the help of, the schools. The movement gained power and support with the arrival of Wycliffe Bible Translators in the 1960s, and Bible translations, hymnals, and even some secular materials were published. Inupiaq literature and literacy were thus very well prepared to expand as soon as state support came in 1972 with bilingual education. However,

during this same preparatory period, 1946-1972, the ban against the language in the schools had continued in full force, so that by the time the language was finally permitted in the schools, in very many villages it was too late; the children no longer spoke the language.

Since 1972 several hundred elementary texts have been produced for the schools, a considerable amount of traditional text has been published, and very significant scientific work has been done on the grammar, especially the lexicon. A major new dictionary will shortly be published by the Alaska Native Language Center, under the editorship of Edna MacLean.

The great question facing Alaskan Inuit now is the very survival of the spoken language. Although it is dying fast, there are several communities where the language is still viable, spoken by many of the children, including even Barrow. I personally believe that as an Inuit community isolated from the much larger and more powerful Inuit world of Canada and Greenland, the Alaskan Inuit language probably cannot survive. At this time the average young person in Barrow probably still learns in school more about Greece than about Greenland; he may not even know that Greenland exists. If his knowledge about the Inuit world is broadened, if natural communication and cultural exchange do not remain blocked for him, if he is able to experience the potential cultural strength of an international Inuit world, Alaskan Inuit may find the support it needs to survive, to stop withering in its isolation before the onslaught of acculturative forces such as the school, radio,

television, cinema, and White population pressure. Differences between the United States, Canada, and Denmark are not of an ideological or political nature to prevent this international communication. Let us hope that these problems are of a technical nature that can be overcome soon. There is much at stake in this for the Inuit of Alaska and for the whole Eskimo world.

1. Proto-Athabaskan [illegible] 100 pp.
ISBN 0-933769-[illegible]

2. Athabaskan [illegible]
ISBN 0-93376[illegible]

3. Alaska Native Langu[illegible]
By Michael [illegible]

4. Alaska Native [illegible]
ISBN 0-933769-[illegible]

5. Athaba[illegible] 210 pp.
ISBN 0-[illegible]

6. [illegible]
ISBN 0-[illegible]

7. [illegible]

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AMONG ABORIGINAL CHILDREN IN NORTHERN COMMUNITIES

Jim Cummins
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

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LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AMONG ABORIGINAL CHILDREN IN NORTHERN COMMUNITIES

1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to review the research literature on the development of language proficiency among children in Northern communities, with specific reference to the situation of children from aboriginal backgrounds. The development of both oral and written language is within the scope of the report as is the bilingual child's proficiency in his or her two languages, i.e. English or French and the aboriginal language which may or may not be the child's first acquired language (L1).

The primary focus of the literature review is on Canadian research and experience but relevant research from aboriginal language situations in the United States and other contexts will also be discussed. In order to avoid duplication, research from other circumpolar contexts will not be reviewed in this report.

The term "aboriginal" (language, communities, children, etc) is used as a general term equivalent in meaning to "indigenous" to include both Native and Inuit issues or concerns. The term "Native" includes status and non-status Indian and Metis.

The report will first examine the notion of "language proficiency" to highlight both the scope of the discussion and the fact that many theoretical issues remain unresolved with respect to what exactly constitutes proficiency in a language. Language development is clearly central to academic success or failure in aboriginal settings insofar as students may be required to develop literacy in a language different from that of the home; alternatively, the variety of English spoken in the community may differ substantially from that used in school. Clarification of the nature of language proficiency is a prerequisite to understanding these relationships.

The second major section outlines the historical context and current trends with respect to educational policy and practice for aboriginal children. This context is important for present purposes primarily because until relatively recently educational policies were explicitly designed to eradicate the language and culture of aboriginal children with the result that today the survival of many aboriginal languages is threatened. A crucial issue for many communities is the extent to which reinforcement of the aboriginal language at school can reverse the trend towards language loss.

The third section focuses on the language development (including literacy achievement) of aboriginal students both in Canada and in other countries and outlines the types of programmatic intervention that have been implemented to reverse patterns of aboriginal language loss and school failure. Evaluation results of these programs are discussed and current efforts to promote first and second language development in the Canadian context are examined.

The fourth section attempts to integrate both the research results regarding school failure among aboriginal children and interventions that appear to be successful in at least partially reversing this pattern of school failure. This theoretical framework articulates the notion of "student empowerment" as a central component of programs that succeed in promoting language development and academic achievement among minority students generally and aboriginal students in particular. "Empowerment" refers to the development of both the personal confidence and language proficiency necessary to participate effectively in the schooling process and to reflect critically on and transform forces that limit our life possibilities.

The final section articultes future directions for both research and policy in the education of aboriginal students.

DIMENSIONS OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

SPIRITUAL AND INSTRUMENTAL DIMENSIONS

Clearly, high levels of proficiency in English (or French in Quebec) are required for effective participation in the wider society and thus there is little dispute among aboriginal communities about the importance of strongly promoting literacy in English (or French in Quebec) in the educational system. As documented below, however, education systems throughout the world have a dismal record in promoting literacy in the societal language among aboriginal communities despite education conducted exclusively through the societal language.

One of the reasons for this legacy of school failure is the fact that school systems (particularly residential schools) set out to eradicate the language and culture of aboriginal children under the guise of helping them to acquire English (see, for example, Barman, Hebert, & McCaskill, 1986; Haig-Brown, 1988; Johnston, 1988). Not surprisingly, this eradication of cultural and spiritual identity left most children without a personal or conceptual foundation for academic growth and is also seen as a major source of many of the social problems faced by aboriginal communities. The promotion of aboriginal language

programs by an increasing number of communities represents a means of reversing this disempowerment process and regaining the spiritual identity lost by many as a result of their "educational" experiences.

In short, for many aboriginal communities the aboriginal language has major spiritual significance and is closely tied to the maintenance of community identity. Thus, loss of language is both a contributor to and an effect of loss of communal identity. The spiritual significance of language for many aboriginal communities was eloquently expressed by Dr. Marie Battiste with reference to the Mi'kmaq language in a recent interview on the CBC program *Morningside*:

> "Our Mi'kmaq survival is a very important element here and it [the language] comes from our Creator. For in our beginning when we woke in the world lost and naked to all the things in it, we asked our Creator how we should live and our Creator told us how to hunt and fish and cure what we took and how to take life from the ground and how to get medicines from the earth. He taught us about the stars and the Milky Way and the constellations and the path of our dead through the Milky Way and He taught us all that was wise and good, how to sleep and how to pray and how to listen to our dreams and to the animals that would appear to us in our dreams. And after all of that our Creator gave us a language and that language was to pass on all that our Creator gave us for our survival. And in this world [where] the ecological balances in [different parts of] the world are all very different, all the Native peoples of the world have been given their own lessons from their Creator about how to survive; and when we move away from those lessons, when we move away from ourselves as aboriginal people we find ourselves lost and crushed in the outer world but when we begin to find ourselves again within our language, within our community, within our families, there we find the kinds of spiritual as well as secular survival, at peace with ourselves, that is necessary for our nations and our people to survive and to be able to build bridges between two cultures, or many cultures" (Interview with Peter Gzowski, *Morningside*, CBC Radio, March 30, 1990).

This perspective suggests that promotion of a strong spiritual and cultural identity is the schools may be a prerequisite for both personal and academic growth among aboriginal students. By the same token, growth in aboriginal language proficiency is likely to provide a conceptual foundation for subsequent academic growth in English.

CONTEXTUALIZED AND DECONTEXTUALIZED LANGUAGE

A number of investigators have pointed to a distinction between *contextualized* and *decontextualized* language as fundamental to understanding the nature of children's language and literacy development. The terms used by different investigators have varied but the essential distinction refers to the extent to which the meaning being communicated is supported by contextual cues (e.g. cues such as facial expressions, tone of voice, reference to immediate context present in face-to-face interaction) or dependent largely on linguistic cues that are independent of the immediate communicative context. The latter situation is typical of literate uses of language such as reading a text or writing for particular purposes. The transmission of cultural knowledge through myths and legend in oral cultures also

involves many decontextualized features of language.

Among the distinctions that have been made are Bruner's (1975) distinction between communicative and analytic competence, Olson's (1977) utterance and text, Donaldson's (1978) embedded and disembedded thought and language, Bereiter and Scardamelia's conversation and composition, Cummins' (1981, 1984) context-embedded and context-reduced language proficiency (recently labelled simply as conversational vs. academic language proficiency, e.g. Cummins, 1989) and Snow's (e.g. Davidson, Kline & Snow, 1986) contextualized and decontextualized use of language. Snow's terminology will be adopted in the present report.

There is considerable empirical evidence for this distinction in the sphere of second language acquisition. Several investigators (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1984) have reported that between four and nine years is required even for socioeconomically-advantaged minority students to attain grade norms in English academic skills. Peer-appropriate conversational L2 skills are usually attained within a considerably shorter period when the L2 is the language of wider communication in the society or community (on average about 2 years of exposure to the L2) (Cummins, 1984; Gonzalez, 1986; Snow and Hofnagel-Hohle, 1978). Both Davidson et al (1986) and Gonzalez (1986) have reported that contextualized and decontextualized language skills are relatively independent of each other among bilingual students. In other words, competence in face-to-face communication does not necessarily imply commensurate competence in academic uses of language or in ability to manipulate language outside of the immediate communicative context. Investigators also emphasize, however, that ability to manipulate decontextualized language grows out of children's experience in processing language in contextualized situations (e.g. Cummins, 1984; Wells, 1986). Thus, if children have limited exposure to contextualized uses of the school language outside the school context, the initial instruction through that language in school should be highly contextualized and related to children's prior experience in order to provide input that children can comprehend.

The Arizona Department of Education (1987) has applied this distinction in their framework for effective language teaching in Indian Bilingual-Bicultural Settings:

> ".. *for full, effective language use*, children need to be able to confidently, accurately and appropriately manipulate their linguistic knowledge - both their unconscious, tacit knowledge and their conscious knowledge *about* language - in such a way that they increasingly parallel the language of the community(ies) in which they participate. In many language communities, this involves primarily the oral dimensions of language use - listening and speaking. American Indian communities in particular have, until recently, emphasized primarily oral rather than written language as the chief carrier of cultural traditions. In language communities where written communication is valued in the native language and/or a second language (English) - as in many American Indian communities

> today - effective language use also involves the ability to accurately, confidently and appropriately manipulate the language domains associated with literacy as well" (1987, p. 15-17).

The development of increasingly sophisticated decontextualized language skills can help promote children's (or adults') ability to reflect on their experience and relate it to broader social issues. As expressed by McCarthy (1989):

> "Language acquisition, then, is a much more complex and subconscious process than repeating, imitating, and practicing. Through language, children relect on their experiences. Through language, they interpret and symbolically present their experiences to themselves and others ... **Language development is thus integrally tied to the development of children's thinking (cognition), and to the accumulation of their experiences in a given environment"** (1989, p. 71).

This accumulation of experiences and capacity to reflect on these experiences allows people to critically analyze issues and undertake concrete action to improve their lives.

In summary, the distinction between contextualized and decontextualized language use has been drawn by a considerable number of investigators and is supported empirically in a substantial number of studies. This distinction assumes particular relevance for aboriginal students insofar as there may be relatively little or no exposure to contexualized uses of English outside the school context. In addition, much of the instruction that students have traditionally experienced in school settings has been highly decontextualized with the result that they frequently have had difficulty making sense of the instructional content (Mackay, in press).

FORM AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

In many English-as-second-language (ESL) instructional settings, teachers have traditionally focused on the form of the language and neglected appropriate uses of the language in social situations. The formal aspects of the language include the phonemes (sounds), morphemes (meaning units) and rules for arranging words into sentences (grammar). However, language also has social uses that reflect the relationships and interactions of its users. Power and status are often negotiated in these interactions. For example, when teachers valorize students' aboriginal language in the school context by encouraging its use, they are creating a context where the status of students' culture and the possibilities for personal empowerment are increased. On the negative side, there is considerable evidence that mismatches in communicative expectations and language use patterns between teacher and students can dramatically limit students' personal and academic growth (see, for example, Susan Philips' (1972) study of classroom interaction patterns on the Warm Springs reservation).

Of obvious relevance to the development of language and literacy skills in both English and

the aboriginal language are the functions that each language serves in the wider community and the domains within which each language is used (e.g. Church, school etc). For example, if there are few uses for vernacular literacy in the community and minimal literature or other texts in the language, then it is clearly unrealistic to expect students to develop high levels of literacy in the language. Similarly, the increase of access to television and other media in Northern communities is likely to increase the exposure to and prestige of English at the expense of the aboriginal language, resulting in language loss among the younger generation. Dorais (1989), for example, has carried out surveys in Northern Quebec and the Baffin region that suggest a marked decline in the use of Inuktitut when one shifts from inter-generational communication to communication among young people. In many aboriginal communities, however, the functions that vernacular literacy serves have increased in recent years through the publication of newspapers and other texts in the language (see Shearwood (1987) for a discussion of functions and domains of literacy among Inuit of Baffin Island).

Some investigators have argued that it is inadequate to view language and literacy just in terms of notions such as the functions they serve, domains of use and attitudes of users. Of more fundamental relevance is the extent to which the linguistic interactions people engage in promote individual and collective empowerment among previously subordinated communities. McLaughlin (1989), for example, has documented in a two year ethnographic study the expansion of functions that Navajo literacy serves in one Arizona community. He links the spread of Navajo literacy in Church and school domains to an increasing sense of control by the community over their own institutions; in other words, the increase in vernacular literacy, with respect both to growth in individuals' ability and the functions served by the language, is closely intertwined with what he terms "the individual's struggle for voice" within the institutional and ideological contexts of the community. Thus, the ways in which language and literacy are used contribute to the personal and collective identity and sense of empowerment of individuals and communities.

In summary, in examining processes of language and literacy development among aboriginal children, several dimensions of language need to be considered; first, the contextualized use of language in face-to-face situations needs to be distinguished from the more decontextualized uses of language that are linked to literacy development and are increasingly important for academic success. Students in school are required to manipulate language (particularly written text) and to think in progressively more abstract ways about language and content areas as well as about their own experience. This ability to use language to analyze the word and the world (in Paulo Freire's [1985] terms) is amplified through the acquisition of literacy and the functions that literacy serves within the

community. Literacy in the aboriginal language (or in English) may serve only marginal functions or it may be a vehicle for individual and collective revitalization of identity; in other words, it may serve empowerment functions by encouraging a critical reflection on the forces that affect our lives and opening up possibilities to transform these forces. This conception of literacy (in both L1 and L2) for empowerment is incorporated into the theoretical framework outlined in a later section as a major component of the process for reversing school failure among aboriginal students.

HISTORICAL AND CURRENT POLICY CONTEXT

The historical context of the education of aboriginal children has been amply documented in both the United States and Canada (e.g. Ashworth, 1979; Barman, Hebert, and McCaskill, 1986; Reyner and Eder, 1989). It is largely a history of cultural genocide and both physical and psychological violence against children and communities.

For aboriginal children in North America, education usually involved segregation not only from the mainstream culture but also from their own families. As described by Platero for Navajo students, the results have frequently been devastating:

> "For nearly a hundred years the policy of the United States government was to acculturate the Navajo, so that the Navajo could be assimilated into the White society. To effect this assimilation Navajo children were taken from the shelter of the family and sent to boarding school. Almost every child who entered the boarding school spoke only Navajo, and most of the people employed at the boarding schools spoke only English. When a Navajo child spoke the language of his family at school, he was punished. ... Kee was sent to boarding school as a child where - as was the practice - he was punished for speaking Navajo. Since he was only allowed to return home during Christmas and summer, he lost contact with his family. Kee withdrew both from the White and Navajo worlds as he grew older, because he could not comfortably communicate in either language. ... By the time he was 16, Kee was an alcoholic, uneducated and despondent - without identity. Kee's story is more the rule than the exception (Platero, 1975, p. 57-58).

Wilfred Pelletier (1970) paints a similar picture of the way the dominant society attempted to eradicate aboriginal languages and the consequences for parent-child relationships:

> ".. for many of us as children we were not even permitted to speak out own language. Of course we still tried to speak our own language but we were punished for it. Four or five years ago they were still stripping the kids of their clothes up around Kenora and beating them for speaking their own language... I was punished several times for speaking Indian not only on the school grounds but off the school grounds and on the street, and I lived across from the school. Almost in front of my own door my first language was forbidden me, and yet when I went into the house my parents spoke Indian.
>
> Our language is so important to us as a people. Our language and our language structure related to our whole way of life... At school we are taught English, not Indian, as our first language. And that changes our relationship with our parents. All of a sudden we begin saying to our parents 'you're stupid.'" (1970, p. 24-25).

In fact, eradication of identity was an explicit goal of most residential and missionary schools for aboriginal students in both the United States and Canada. As expressed more than one hundred years ago by the General Secretary of the Methodist Church of Canada, removal of children from the influence of their homes (for at least five years) was a necessary condition for both salvation and civilization:

> "Experience convinces us that the only way in which the Indians of the Country can be permanently elevated and thoroughly civilized, is by removing the children from the surroundings of Indian home life, and keeping them separate long enough to form those habits of order, industry, and systematic effort, which they will never learn at home. ... The return of children to their houses, even temporarily, has a bad effect, while their permanent removal [back home] after one or two years residence results in the loss of all that they have gained" (letter dated April 2, 1886, from A. Sutherland, General Secretary of the Methodist Church of Canada, Missionary Department to Laurence Vankoughnet, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Quoted in Tschantz, 1980, p. 7).

Tschantz goes on to document the extreme violence used in these schools to dissuade children from using their mother tongue, the key to their identity.

> "Dolphus Shae's testimony to the Berger Inquiry (1977:90) of his experiences at the Aklavik Residential School describes not only the terrifying experiences which he and many other children endured, but also the resentment which lasted all his life: 'Before I went to school the only English I knew was 'hello' and when we got there we were told that if we spoke Indian they would whip us until our hands were blue on both sides. And also we were told that the Indian religion was superstitious and pagan. It made you feel inferior to whites ... We all felt lost and wanted to go home ... Today I think back on the hostel life and I feel furious'" (Tschantz, 1980, p. 10).

Tschantz notes that it is hardly surprising that even as late as 1972, 97% of all Indian students in Canada never graduated from high school. Yet it was only in the 1970's that the Canadian government began to wonder if these figures might be partially attributable to the "education" inflicted on children rather than to their presumed inherent inferiorities.

The educational experience of Native students in the Yukon Territory between 1890 and 1955 was summed up by Coates (1986) as follows:

> "Deemed to be marginal people living in a marginal part of the country, the Yukon Natives did not request support, or receive a workable education system. Instead they got a day school network and a residential school designed to placate the Anglican missionaries. Both were fraught with instructional irregularities and administrative problems and neither contributed much to the education of the children of the North" (1986, p. 147).

This legacy of miseducation and oppression, often focused on language, is likely to have instilled a sense of alienation and even shame among many aboriginal communities. To the extent that schools continue to impose oppressive structures on aboriginal students (albeit in more subtle forms), students will not develop the motivation for self-expression and the language development that underlies expression of self, in the school context. In short, unless language and literacy activities serve to help aboriginal students discover and value their identity, students will mentally withdraw from participation in the instructional

process in order to protect what is left of their identity.

RECENT POLICY AND PROGRAM INITIATIVES

The publication in 1972 of the National Indian Brotherhood's position paper entitled *Indian Control of Indian Education* represented a turning point in the education of aboriginal people in Canada. This paper was premised on the non-controversial (at least in the case of non-aboriginal communities) principles of Parental Responsibility and Local Control of Education and asserted that "only Indian peoples can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living" (p. 3).

The position paper was accepted in principle by the Federal government and the past 20 years have seen an increasing involvement of aboriginal peoples in educational decision-making. Barman, Hebert and McCaskill (1987) summarize development since 1972 as follows:

> "Since 1972, much has happened. Numerous bands have taken over the operation of schools on reserves. Indian cultural survival schools have been established in several provinces. Curriculum products have been developed in almost every locality. Indian teacher education programmes and other post-secondary programmes have produced many graduates" (1987, p. 2).

In the Northwest Territories the move towards community control of education received a strong impetus from the 1982 Report of the Special Committee on Education entitled *Learning: Tradition & Change in the Northwest Territories*. This report recommended the creation of divisional boards of education that would have considerable autonomy in setting language and curriculum policy and these locally-controlled boards now have extensive control over educational policies in their jurisdictions.

The impact for language policy of the move towards aboriginal control over their own educational sytems can perhaps be seen most dramatically in the Kativik and Baffin Boards of Education in Northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories respectively. Rapid progress has been made in both jurisdictions during the past decade in implementing Inuktitut-medium instruction in the early grades of elementary school and in changing the curriculum to better reflect Inuit culture and traditions. For example, the Baffin Divisional Board has recently published Piniaqtavut, an Integrated Program based on traditional Inuit beliefs and perspectives and is in the process of publishing 250 Inuktitut language children's books to promote L1 literacy in the early grades.

Similar developments have taken place in Quebec among Cree and Inuit communities as a result of the James Bay Agreement. For example, the Kativik Board of Education that controls Inuit education in the province has strongly promoted education through the

medium of Inuktitut in the early grades of school. A variety of other teaching initiatives in band-controlled schools are described in Barman et al (1987) and Shkilnyk (1985).

The positive effects of the move towards Indian control of Indian education were also noted in the recent Task Force Report on Access for Black and Native People in Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia (1989). While noting that historically both Blacks and Micmacs have been given limited educational opportunities and that the Nova Scotia school system still contains "strong racial connotations" (p. 86), the Task Force pointed to the optimism within the Micmac community about the benefits of Native control of reserve-based schools. According to Micmac Education Directors and Counsellors, those Bands that had assumed control of their schools were managing to improve the educational experience of their children and thereby enhance their prospects for subsequent academic success.

However, many barriers to effective educational participation for aboriginal students remain, as noted by the Dalhousie Report on Black and Native students in Nova Scotia:

> "The low level of Black and Micmac participation in post-secondary programmes in Nova Scotia was described as a manifestation of deep-rooted problems within the province's schools. ... [Respondents] described the latter as institutions which are remote from, ignorant of, and - not infrequently - hostile to the Black and Micmac communities. We were told that many Black and Micmac children experience school as an alien environment, where the curriculum fails to acknowledge their identity, and in which white teachers don't expect them to succeed. At locations throughout the province, we were told of the pervasive practice of "streaming" - whereby teachers and guidance counsellors channel Black and Micmac students into non-academic high school programmes. Few children surmount these barriers to emerge from the system prepared for university" (1989, p. 85).

Despite the persistence of institutionalized racism in some school systems outside reserves, the current policy context is one where new educational possibilities are opening up across Canada as a result of increasing aboriginal community control of education. The actual or threatened loss of language among young people in many communities has given rise to programs for teaching the aboriginal language, either as a subject or medium of instruction. However, [illegible] remain in this process, not least of which are lack of teaching materials, [illegible] teachers, the perceived low status of aboriginal languages among young [illegible], and the lack of adequate funding for language teaching efforts.

Many of these problems have been highlighted by Shkilnyk (1985) in her report for the Secretary of State on aboriginal language retention. Shkilnyk notes that Quebec is the only region of the country where the accelerating trend toward language loss has been reversed and she attributes this to the fact that in Quebec both the federal and provincial governments have committed themselves to a dynamic and progressive policy of supporting

aboriginal languages. Thus, coordinated and supportive provincial and federal policies provide an important context for aboriginal language maintenance.

RESEARCH FINDINGS ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AMONG ABORIGINAL CHILDREN

Empirical research on language development among aboriginal children is relatively scarce both in Canada and in other countries. Much of the research that is available involves the evaluation of children's literacy development in school and usually only in English. Virtually no longitudinal studies have been conducted in Canada and very few in other countries. However, certain conclusions are warranted based on the research that has been conducted. Specifically, bilingual programs that strongly reinforce the child's aboriginal language (whether it is the child's L1 or L2) appear to have considerable promise in helping both to promote aboriginal language development and reverse the legacy of educational failure among aboriginal students in English-only "submersion" programs.

CANADIAN RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Patterns of Aboriginal Language Loss

Burnaby and Beaujot (1986), in an analysis of 1981 census data, report that continued use of an aboriginal language is highest among the Inuit and registered Indians and lowest among non-status Indians. There is little difference among the sexes but aboriginal languages are less likely to be spoken among younger as compared to older people. The highest level of aboriginal language use is in small isolated rural communities with the healthiest maintanance of aboriginal languages in Quebec where more than half the aboriginal population continue to use their L1. However, the isolation of many of these communities has decreased dramatically as a result of the advent of television (via satellite) and videotape machines during the 1980s and this intrusion of English into the home is likely to significantly affect languge use patterns. Burnaby and Beaujot also report that higher educational levels are correlated with lower levels of aboriginal language use which is not surprising in view of the fact that all education beyond the primary grades is conducted exclusively in either English or French.

A generally similar picture comes from the survey carried out by Phillips (1985) which outlined the distribution of speakers and the use of aboriginal languages in schools across the country. Less than 25% of aboriginal children under the age of 15 have acquired an aboriginal language as their L1. English is the dominant language of about 75% of

Canadian aboriginal people and more than 50% of status Indian children had no contact with their aboriginal language. Threatened minority languages around the world have survived in conditions of geographic isolation, lack of media contact and self-sufficiency of traditional lifestyles and all of these conditions are rapidly disappearing with predictable consequences for many Canadian aboriginal languages.

Patterns of Aboriginal Student Achievement in Canadian Schools

In 1971, barely 3% of the Native out-of-school population had attained any postsecondary education but by 1981 the percentage had risen to almost 19%, although this figure is still only about half that of the general Canadian population (Siggner, 1986). The dropout rate for Native students has also lessened significantly. As of 1984-85, 31% of Native students graduated from grade 12, up from 18% in 1975-76.

A recent study of Native student dropout in Ontario schools (Mackay and Myles, 1989) reported that over the past decade the number of registered Indian students attending provincial secondary schools between grades 8 and 13 has risen from about 2,000 to 3,200, an increase of about 60 percent. While there is a trend towards greater retention rates, there is also wide variation across the province:

> "According to ... figures for this decade, retention between Grades 9 and 12 varies from an annual average of more than 90 per cent for registered Indian students attending provincial secondary schools in the Districts of Peterborough and Brantford to an annual average low of about 11 per cent for such students attending provincial secondary schools in the Nakina District and 9 per cent in James Bay District" (1989, p. 14-15).

The overall graduation rate for registered Indian students in Ontario provincial secondary schools between 1983 and 1988 was between 33 and 55 percent of the Grade 9 enrolment three years earlier.

Siggner (1986) attributes the greater participation of Native students in secondary schools to the increasing involvement of Indian communities in controlling the education their children receive:

> "Attempts have been made to make the curriculum more relevant to Indians' daily lives and culture; Indian teachers, Indian teachers' aides, and Indian elders are now common in the classroom; and Indian languages are being taught and in some cases used as the language of instruction" (1986, p. 8).

Despite greater participation in secondary school, the achievement of aboriginal students still remains significantly below that of their non-aboriginal peers. For example, Evans' (1988) large-scale assessment of writing abilities among grade 9 students across the Northwest Territories (NWT) reported that "85% of the 'English only' students and 40% of students of Native language background wrote marginal or better narratives; the figures

for exposition were 84% and 50% respectively" (1988, p. 21). Evans concludes that in general "students of Native language background were having great trouble meeting a standard of writing in English sufficient for them to manage secondary school academic programs" (p. 22).[1] Evans notes that three major types of problem in written English were apparent in the writing of aboriginal students:

- management of ideas as illustrated in a high proportion of choppy or fused sentences;
- grammar and idiom especially verb tenses, absence of articles and unidiomatic expression;
- lack of ability to express clearly what is intended, possibly reflective of a lack of extensive vocabulary.

He also suggests that some of these problems may be addressed by the "whole language" emphasis currently incorporated in the NWT English language arts curriculum and the spread of Native language programs throughout the NWT.

In a later assessment of grade 6 students' writing, Evans (1989) noted similar differences between the writing of Native and non-Native children:

> "It is certainly the case at present that non-Native students, usually concentrated in a few of the larger communities, manage written English more effectively. Many students of Native language background are coping with the demands of two languages, and do not have the same familiarity with written English. (They do have plenty of imagination, though; but it is a struggle for many at the Grade 6 level to find ... ease of expression)" (1989, p. 5).

A study carried out in Northern Ontario (Fort Albany) by Toohey (1985) reported differences in English oral proficiency between Cree-speaking and English-background students in grades 2, 4, and 6. In fact, the English oral proficiency (assessed through individual interviews with the students) of the grade 6 Cree-speaking students was only at the level of grade 2 English-background students. Toohey points to the significance of this pattern in that

> "... it throws into doubt the opinion of many teachers and administrators involved in Native education who believe that, after about three years of English-medium schooling, student mastery of English suffices to make it subsequently non-problematic in their schooling. The fact that sixth grade Cree-speaking students exhibit the English proficiency of only Grade 2 anglophone students indicates serious problems. The Grade 6 curriculum, for example, assumes English proficiency far beyond the level these students have" (1985, p. 283).

Toohey refers to an earlier survey carried out in Northern Ontario (see Burnaby, 1980; Burnaby, Nichols and Toohey, 1980) which showed that almost no teachers in Native

[1] "Native" in this context includes Inuit students.

schools had had any training in second-language teaching techniques and few felt such training was important professionally for them. According to Toohey, "these teachers clearly did not believe that the language of school instruction was a problem for their students" (1985, p. 278).

Toohey's study points to the fact that although students' contextualized English language skills are weak, it may serve as a facade hiding even greater weaknesses in decontextualized language abilities. Teachers may not fully realize the extent of the difficulties posed by the increasingly decontextualized language of the academic curriculum that students are required to master in the later grades of elementary school and beyond.

An ethnographic study carried out by Mackay (1986) in a Baffin community provides further support for the importance of both students' language proficiency and the instructional environment they are exposed to in determining academic progress after the early grades. The basis for Mackay's study was an assessment of the English curriculum in the schools of the Kativik School Board in Northern Quebec. Visits to about ten of the communities and discussions with school principals, schoolboard commissioners, teachers, parents and village education committees revealed that the most common explanations for students' difficulty in academic subjects were (a) home environment, (b) irregular school attendance, (c) lack of student motivation, (d) bilingualism and lack of opportunity to practice English outside the school. Mackay (1990) was struck by the fact that these explanations tended to move the bulk of the responsibility for failure from the teacher and the school to the student and community, despite the fact that few teachers of either English language or content areas employed by the board at that time had any formal training in ESL. Classroom observations carried out by Mackay showed that teachers did the lion's share of the talking in class and in many cases copying from the blackboard was one of the most common activities students were required to engage in.

The more detailed study in the Baffin region was designed to explore the effects of patterns of classroom interaction on students' learning. Mackay participated extensively in the life of the school over a period of several months and focused on the patterns of interaction in a grade 6 and grade 7 class. The grade 6 teacher-student interaction tended to involve a wide range of classroom tasks and activities which frequently had a developmental sequence to them. Mackay describes this progression in terms of the degree of contextual support for the instructional message and the cognitive demands (i.e. amount of cognitive processing) placed on the learner in order to successfully carry out the instructional activity or task. The progression in the grade 6 class was from cognitively undemanding and highly contextualized activities to cognitively undemanding decontextualized activities, to

cognitively demanding contextualized activities and finally to cognitively demanding decontextualized activities.

By contrast, the grade 7 subject matter teachers often tended to start out with, or move rapidly to, tasks that required not only an understanding of the subject matter convered in class but also an almost native-like mastery of the use of English. If, as was usually the case, students experienced difficulty in this type of cognitively demanding decontextualized task, the teacher would typically reduce the activity to a much simpler one (e.g. completing worksheets) and they tended not to employ more cognitively demanding activities or contextualized tasks addressing language development. Thus, ironically, the language demands of the grade 6 teacher were greater and more varied than those of the grade 7 teachers and they also tended to incorporate a developmental plan. The instructional sequence in the grade 7 class tended to go from cognitively demanding decontextualized to cognitively undemanding decontextualized.

Mackay's research and theoretical analysis have important implications for curriculum planning and teacher preparation in Northern communities. His study points very clearly to the contributions that ineffective patterns of classroom interaction can make to students' inadequate language and literacy development.

The research reviewed above focused primarily on the difficulties experienced by aboriginal students in development of contextualized and decontextualized language proficiency in English. These difficulties are exacerbated by the lack of opportunities for meaningful interaction in English both in the school and outside the school in isolated contexts and also by the failure of educators to integrate language and content in the instructional process. The result is that students do not develop a conceptual foundation in the target language.

CANADIAN RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY PROMOTION PROGRAMS

This section will review Canadian research on programs designed to develop students' language proficiency (in L1 and L2) and reverse the pattern of school failure experienced by many aboriginal students. Most of this research is descriptive in nature, simply describing aboriginal language or other programs with respect to implementation processes, with little or no data on student outcomes. Where standardized tests have been given, caution is frequently expressed by the investigators because of the possibility of cultural and other biases in the test. Examples of this type of program evaluation are outlined by Hebert (1987) and Shkilnyk (1985) and detailed accounts of some programs have also been published (e.g. Battiste, 1987; Wyatt, 1985).

The most detailed account of bilingual literacy development is provided in research conducted by the Kativik School Board (Stairs, in press). The study was designed to examine the relationship between early Inuktitut proficiency and later English (L2) proficiency. The sample consisted of children in grades 3 and 4 during 1984-85. These children were selected because they were the oldest to have experienced Kativik-developed Inuktitut programs in their initial school years. Predominantly second language (English or French) instruction begins by at least grade 3 in most communities. In total, about 180 children from 10 communities participated in the initial year but this number was reduced by half for the English pahse of the study in 1985-86 due to the fact that approximately half the children enrolled in the French second language program.

Inuktitut writing samples were collected by means of an 8-page story book that had a picture and a blank lined space for writing on each page. Teachers discussed the story in class prior to students' writing, using a series of large coloured pictures. One year later (in grades 4 and 5) many of the same children were given a writing test in English which included scores based on fluency, grammatical structure, and creativity. The battery also yielded an English speaking score and an overall English proficiency score.

For each Inuktitut writing sample, counts were made of the number of expressions (sentences), the average number of clusters (words) per expression, of chunks (morphemes) per cluster and affixes per root. These writing samples were also independently rated by four experienced Inuit teachers into "strong", "average", and "weak" categories.

Inuktitut writing could be classified according to fluency and complexity indices; the first category was defined by number of expressions and clusters per expression while the second was defined by length of word structures (chunks per cluster and affixes per root). These indices were largely unrelated to each other.

There was a **significant positive relationship between the quality of children's Inuktitut writing and their subsequent writing in English one year later. English speaking skills**, however, **were largely unrelated to Inuktitut writing.**

In addition, **communities with higher** averages in grades 3-4 **Inuktitut writing** also showed higher averages in English writing and total English proficiency score. The two settlements with the highest overall scores in English writing and overall English proficiency were two of the three top-rated settlements in Inuktitut writing. In addition, the two settlements ranked lowest in English writing and overall English score were two of the three lowest-rated in Inuktitut writing. These community results show that the

positive relationship between English and Inuktitut writing skills is not based only on the intelligence or general language aptitude of individual students.

At the grade 4 level, English speaking and writing scores were significantly correlated but not at the grade 5 level. This suggests that English speaking and writing become two separate skills after two years of learning the second language; or expressed differently, contextualized and decontextualized language skills become progressively differentiated as proficiency and contexts for use increase.

Level of Inuktitut was relatively low in those communities that spent less time in the early grades through the medium of Inuktitut. However, the additional time through English in these settlements did not lead to any superiority in either spoken or written English. Thus, there were no differences in English proficiency between communities that had exposed children to only two years of English instruction (grades 4/5) and the community that had spent five years (grades 1-5) in English-medium instruction.

This study supports the position of interdependence between the development of academic (or decontextualized) language skills in L1 and L2. Early academic proficiency in Inuktitut was a significant predictor of later academic profiency in English and strong promotion of the aboriginal language between Kindergarten and grade 2 had no adverse impact on later development of English skills. A considerable amount of research also suggests that development of bilingual skills is associated with increased awareness of language, and ability to manipulate language in decontextualized contexts (see Anthony, 1984). In other words, there are potential enhancements of language functioning that may result from bilingualism and biliteracy.

Several aboriginal language immersion programs have been instituted across Canada during the 1980s as a means of revitalizing languages that are threatened with extinction (e.g. in the Six Nations reserve in Brantford, Ontario). One of these programs has been evaluated with respect to its impact on students' academic achievement, namely, the Mohawk partial immersion program in the Kahnawake School system near Montreal. The research looked at students in grade 1 and 3 whose parents had enrolled their children, starting at kindergarten, in the program and compared these children to equivalent Native children in the same school but in English-only instruction.

Students in the immersion program were individually matched with the control students with respect to both vocabulary and nonverbal reasoning and compared on end-of-year achievement in English and content areas. At the grade 1 level, children in the immersion

program who had spent more than half their instructional time through Mohawk performed at a significantly higher level than the control group in Matematics, Social Studies, and Language skills, with no differences in reading comprehension. At the grade 3 level no differences were apparent between immersion and control students on any of the measures. At this level the amount of Mohawk was reduced to 90 minutes per day (compared to 3.5 hours for English) and French was also taught as a subject. The authors interpret these results as follows:

> "This means that the immersion and control pupils, although receiving different amount of English instructional time, are essentially alike on a large array of English language tests, ranging from measures of English reading skills and language competence, to science, math, and social studies. In other words, the greater instructional time devoted to Mohawk apparently has not disrupted the English language and academic development in the immersion pupils at the grade 3 level. This is so even when very careful controls are applied to equate immersion and control pupils on basic reasoning skills and vocabulary skill" (1984, p. 12-13).

This evaluation clearly demonstrates the feasibility of immersion programs in aboriginal languages as a means of promoting proficiency in the language at no cost to the development of proficiency in English. Concern among parents and policy-makers about the development of English academic skills, however, has been an impediment to the initiation of strong aboriginal language programs. Shkilnyk (1985), for example, refers to the experience of the bilingual education program at Cross Lake in Manitoba which started in 1972. Cree was used as the medium of instruction for about 80% of the instructional time in kindergarten, 60% in grade 1, 40% in grade 2 and 20% in grade 3. the program appeared to be very effective in reinforcing Native language and identity but was cancelled against the wishes of the community by the Department of Indian Affairs in the early 1980s on the grounds that the children were too far behind in English. This type of decision reinforces the rationale and urgency of "Indian control of Indian education".

The previous studies have examined the development of literacy in the aboriginal language and English primarily with respect to its academic functions. However, a major goal of recent educational innovations for aboriginal students is to revitalize not only their language but also their sense of cultural and personal identity. In other words, a major goal of the school is empowerment of students. This is particularly so in the case of Indian Cultural Survival Schools which emerged in the late 1970s and attempted to create educational structures that valued Indian culture and traditional belief systems while at the same time providing students with the academic and personal foundation necessary to participate in the mainstream society (McCaskill, 1987). Descriptions of such schools suggest that they incorporate many of the components identified in the research on effective schools (see Stedman, 1987, summarized below). Evaluation data on these schools

is scarce but Kettle (1983) reported that 67% of students at Vancouver's Spirit Rising School felt better about themselves after being at the school for five months than when they were at a regular public school.

Regnier (1988) describes the pedagogical approach of the Saskatoon Native Survival School, particularly its focus on drama and story circles. Since its inception in 1980, this school has expanded from 45 students in grades 7-10 to 130 students in grades 7-12 in 1987. The curriculum includes substantial Native components and perspectives and the school also tries to respond to the social problems likely to be faced by students - for example, homelessness, incarceration, alcoholism, drug abuse, suicide and unemployment. Regnier points out that in one year, 72 out of 77 students in the school lived in single-parent families, group homes,. with one another, or with relatives rather than in two parent arrangements. The improvizations and drama activities encouraged by the school have been so successful that plays developed by the students and staff are regularly performed before live audiences.

Although no formal evaluation has been conducted, Regnier's description suggests that students have discovered a sense of belonging and control over their own lives in the school as well as a reaffirmation of cultural identity. In other words, the school program appears to have been successful in reducing the alienation and sense of failure experienced by many Indian adolescents.

> "What seems so extraordinary about experiences at the Saskatoon Native Survival School is not the quality of the acting - because making actors of these kids wasn't the highest priority - but the quality of the group experiences. From very hesitant beginnings, the students transform themselves into confident, caring human beings who are as much concerned with one another as they are with the performance" (1988, p. 40)

Regnier cites the example of one student whose standardized test scores in the area of Reading Comprehension went from 6.8 to 9.1 in the space of four months of involvement with drama.

The experience of the school with respect to the power of drama to help students articulate a sense of pride and dignity supports theviews expressed in the Preface to a book of three plays focusing on Native themes (Heath, 1986):

> "The question is: robbed of its traditional lifestyle and livelihood, and demoralized by the Janus-faced threat of discrimination and assimilation, how does a people get its pride back? There are, of course, many perspectives on this question and many individuals and groups engaged in the struggle ... While these economic and political struggles continue, there is, at least in some circles, an awareness that a fundamental component of the restoration must be cultural, and an understanding of the individual and communal need to voice aspirations, values and struggles. Out of this awareness has come, along with renewed interest in various forms of spiritual and artisitic expression, native theatre in Canada" (1986, p. vii).

The educational implication of this perspective is that drama and other art forms should be strongly emphasized in the education of all aboriginal students.

In conclusion, the documentation available on outcomes of special intervention programs for aboriginal students suggest that improvement in students' educational achievement is likely to be dependent on the extent to which students' interaction with adults in the school context affirms the value of students' cultural identity and generates a sense of academic and personal confidence among students. Meaningful community participation in developing curriculum content and in the operation of the school also appear to be of major importance. Kirkness (1988) identifies a similar constellation of factors necessary "to empower Native students through language"; specifically, it is necessary:

"1. to accept the 'home language', whether it be another language, dialect, or accent.
2. to develop proficiency in their Native language; and
3. to develop proficiency in English through 'real' [i.e. whole] language" (1988, p. 7).

RESEARCH ON ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES

Within the United States context considerable attention has been devoted over the past decade to identifying characteristics of "effective schools". According to Stedman (1987), schools that achieved and maintained grade-level success with low-income minority students had the following characteristics:

- *Cultural Pluralism.* Effective schools reinforce the ethnic identity of their students;
- *Parent Participation.* School personnel involve parents in their children's education;
- *Shared Governance.* Mechanisms for administrators, parents, teachers and students to participate in school governance are provided;
- *Academically-Rich Programs.* Students are actively engaged in learning through tasks that can be related to their own experience;
- *Skilled Use and Training of Teachers.* A collaborative learning community is established on the school campus where teachers share practical teaching techniques;
- *Personal Attention to Students.* Lower teacher-pupil ratios and extra attention to at-risk students become possible largely through increased volunteers as a result of positive school-community relations.
- *Student Responsibility for Student Affairs.* Effective schools encourage students to air their concerns and involve them in school governance.

This formulation appears to match characteristics highlighted in successful programs for aboriginal students in both Canada and the United States; for example, emphasis on

valorization of minority students' language and culture, community participation and intrinsically motivating and challenging academic tasks for students are all emphasized in evaluations of successful programs for aboriginal students and incorporated into curriculum and program development activities (e.g. Piniaqtavut in the Baffin region).

These same components are also emphasized in recent publications focused on Native American students. For example, the Arizona Department of Education (1987) has drawn up a blueprint for reversing Indian students' low achievement that attempts (a) to change the philosophy and structure of Indian education so that programs capitalize on the linguistic and cultural strengths Indian students bring to school; (b) to involve parents and communities actively and meaningfully as equal partners in the education of their children; and (c) to promote broader social changes that promote positive intercultural attitudes among non-Indian students and educators and give tribes a more powerful voice in determining the process and content through which Indian children are educated (1987, p. 5-6). McLaughlin (1989) also argues on the basis of his ethnographic study that

> "To reverse the widespread pattern of school failure, the educators of Navajo and other minority students need to reinforce the cultural identities of the children, structure the active collaboration of parents, integrate standard and vernacular forms of cognitively complex language into all aspects of classroom life, and locate the source of students' difficulties in structural conditions in society rather than in innate processing deficits of the children" (1989, p. 287).

One of the few programs for Indian students that has been evaluated longitudinally (Rosier and Holm, 1980) is consistent with these principles in suggesting that the use of students' L1 (Navajo) as a partial medium of instruction throughout elementary school together with reinforcement of students' cultural identity can result in significantly better achievement levels (in English). As expressed by Holm and Holm:

> "the importance of the Rock Point data was that they showed, contrary to the conventional wisdom, that being rural and speaking Navajo need not lead to doing poorly in school. But it is not such data that enabled students to perceive themselves as competent students; it was their own sense of progressive mastery... Most Rock Point graduates came to value their Navajo-ness and to see themselves as capable of succeeding because of, not despite, that Navajo-ness" (1989, p. 184).

These same components are also incorporated in the inquiry-based curriculum development project at Rough Rock school on the Navajo reservation (McCarthy, Wallace, & Hadley Lynch, 1989) and in the Hualapai program in Peach Springs, Arizona (Brandt and Ayoungman, 1989).

In summary, despite the scarcity of longitudinal in-depth evaluations of programs for aboriginal students in either Canada or the United States, there does appear to be an

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emerging consensus with respect to some of the components that are important for promoting educational achievement and personal development among aboriginal students. These components are integrated in the theoretical framework presented in the next section.

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR PROMOTING LANGUAGE AND LITERACY DEVELOPMENT AMONG ABORIGINAL STUDENTS

When the patterns of school success and failure by minority students are considered across a wide range of societal contexts, three sets of causal factors can be identified as major contributors to students' academic difficulties. First is poverty and its attendant familial and social consequences for children. Second, is the sense of ambivalence about the value of their cultural identity and powerlessness in relation to the dominant group that appears to characterize many minority groups that fail academically. This is what Ogbu (1978) refers to as "castelike" status and its educational effects are strikingly evident in many situations where formerly subjugated or colonized groups are still in a subordinate relationship to the dominant group. For example, the three groups in the United States context that experience the most pronounced educational difficulty (Black, Hispanic and Native students) have each subordinated for centuries by the dominant group (see Cummins, 1989).

The third major factor concerns what happens in the educational system. Historically, the failure of poor and minority children was attributed to individual or community factors such as "low IQ", genetic inferiority, poor motivation, "cultural deprivation" etc. As pointed out by Mackay (in press), this attribution process tends to screen the educational system from critical scrutiny. It is clear from the review of aboriginal students' achievement patterns and the effects of educational interventions that factors related to schooling play a major role in determining school failure or success among aboriginal and other minority students. Although students may be "at risk" as a result of one or both of the two broad sets of factors noted above (i.e. poverty and disempowered status), it is the cumulative effect of students' interactions with educators in the school context that most directly affects academic development.

The types of interventions that are implied by the research can be summarized in terms of four categories as outlined in Table 1 (Cummins, 1989):

Cultural/Linguistic Incorporation. Historically, schools actively set out to eradicate (or

SOCIETAL CONTEXT

MAJORITY GROUP ←→ SUBORDINATED GROUP

↓

ambivalent insecure minority group identity

EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

EDUCATOR ROLE DEFINITIONS

	INTER CULTURAL ORIENTATION		ANGLO-CONFORMITY ORIENTATION
CULTURAL/LINGUISTIC INCORPORATION	Additive	------------	Subtractive
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION	Collaborative	------------	Exclusionary
PEDAGOGY	Interactive/ Experiential/ Critical	------------	Transmission
ASSESSMENT	Advocacy-oriented	------------	Legitimization-oriented
	↓		↓
	EMPOWERED STUDENTS		DISABLED STUDENTS

Figure 3.1 Empowerment of Minority Students: A Framework for Intervention

"subtract") the language and culture of minority students, often through physical punishment for speaking the home language. Students' failure was frequently attributed to bilingualism or to "verbal deprivation" resulting from non-standard forms of English. Virtually all the case studies and research reports that document successful academic performance on the part of at-risk minority students incorporate the promotion of a sense of pride in students' culture and identity. In the case of bilingual students, this will usually involve teaching the L1 within the school context and/or using it as a medium of instruction (see Burnaby, 1980 and Faries, 1989 for discussion of models of Native language instruction). Valorization of minority students' language and culture directly addresses the ambivalence about their identity that students and communities often feel as a result of current and historical patterns of discrimination.

Community Participation. Parental involvement and direct community participation in the operation of the school is stressed both in the *Indian Control of Indian Schools* position paper (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972) and in all the effective schools research as a critical factor in promoting student academic growth. Once again, the encouragement of parental involvement in a non-condescending way is addressing the sense of powerlessness that characterizes many aboriginal communities. The increased sense of efficacy and purpose experienced by parents as a result of this partnership with the school appears likely to be communicated to their children with positive effects on students' own academic involvement.

Clearly the initiative for community involvement does not rest only with the school. As Littlebear (1990) points out, the community itself must mobilize its resources for transmission of language from one generation to the other:

> "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. ... 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" (1990, p. 3).

It is worth noting that in the case of both cultural/linguistic incorporation and community participation, the school and community are actively involved in reversing a power relation between dominant and subordinated groups that has existed, and still does exist, in the wider society. For example, promotion of aboriginal languages in the school is reversing the historical message communicated to aboriginal children and communities that their language and culture were inferior. It may seem obvious that this is what schools ought to

be doing but it is quite a radical departure for schools to take a proactive role in challenging (rather than reflecting) many of the values and priorities of the dominant group in society.

Pedagogy. Two major orientations can be distinguished with respect to pedagogy. These differ in the extent to which the teacher retains exclusive control over classroom interaction as opposed to sharing some of this control with students. these orientations can be termed *transmission* and *critical, interactive, experiential* respectively. When teachers view their role as transmitting a body of information and skills to students, students are frequently relegated to passive internalization of knowledge (as documented in Mackay's study reviewed above). The problem with this approach is that validation of students' identity is impossible when their experience is excluded from the classroom; by the same token, promotion of students language proficiency is impossible when students' "voice" is denied expression in the classroom. Also, for students from subordinated groups, the development of a critical awareness (Freire's notion of *conscientization*) is crucial to understand the forces that historically and currently limit possibilities for personal and academic growth.

In implementing an interactive/experiential form of pedagogy, the teacher must be sensitive to the cultural patterns of interaction in many aboriginal communities. For example, learning by observation (looking and listening) is the norm in many communities. However, this does not imply that these children are passive learners and instruction that confines them to passive roles will elicit minimal learning.

In short, the pedagogy must give students ample opportunities to use language in contextualized (e.g. cooperative learning groups) and decontextualized (e.g. creative writing) ways to explore and reflect on experience and possibilities. The focus on drama in the Saskatoon Native Survival School shows clearly how empowering for students this type of pedagogy can be.

Assessment. Historically, in North America, psychological assessment has served to legitimate the educational disabling of minority students by locating the academic "problem" within the student himself or herself. this has had the effect of screening from critical scrutiny the subtractive nature of the school program, the exclusionary orientation of teachers towards minority communities, and transmission models of instruction that inhibit students from active participation in learning.

The alternative role definition that is required to reverse the traditional "legitimizing" function of assessment can be termed an "advocacy" role. The assessment specialist must become an advocate for the child in scrutinizing critically the social and educational context

within which the child has developed (see Crago, 1989, for an insightful discussion of these issues in the Inuit context).

In summary, the theoretical framework outlined above incorporates a set of researchable hypotheses regarding the outcomes of certain types of intervention for aboriginal students. These proposed interventions are based both on an analysis of the outcomes of previous Anglo-Conformity educational programs for aboriginal students and on the characteristics of interventions that appear to have been successful in creating conditions for aboriginal student empowerment.

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Few would dispute the fact that language is intimately tied to the sense of identity that individual children develop in their preschool and school years. This individual sense of identity, in turn, reflects and contributes to the collective sense of identity of a people. We express *our selves* both individually and collectively through language. As expressed in the Language Policy of the Northern Ute Tribe in Arizona, "The voice of the land is in our language" (quoted in Arizona State Department of Education, 1987, p. 7).

Suppression of aboriginal languages in schools over generations was explicitly intended as an assault on the individual and collective identity of aboriginal peoples and has contributed significantly to the disempowerment of aboriginal peoples (as illustrated in many social problems faced by communities). Significantly, the revitalization of identity, which is illustrated in the renewed political activism of many aboriginal groups across the country, has been accompanied by concrete policies and programs to halt the decline of aboriginal languages. The educational policies of the past which frequently instilled a sense of shame about language, culture and religion in aboriginal children, together with the power of English as the language of television and the electronic media, have resulted in rapid language shift, especially among younger people, and a shrinking in the functions that aboriginal languages serve within communities. As outlined above, ambivalence towards the home culture and alienation from the dominant culture is a characteristic pattern among minority students that tend to fail academically (e.g. Ogbu, 1978).

Thus, policies and programs designed to revitalize aboriginal languages also incorporate the twin goals of revitalizing the personal and cultural identities of aboriginal students and promoting confidence in their ability to succeed academically. In other words, any consideration of language development must be based on the fact that language is the expression of self and thus the overall goal of aboriginal language revitalization programs

is individual and collective empowerment.

The directions that communities, educators and policy-makers can pursue to promote these goals follow from the intervention framework outlined above. In the first place, a variety of programs to support aboriginal language development should be instituted, as is being done in many contexts. These programs may include full immersion and/or bilingual programs for students whose command of the aboriginal language is limited or non-existent (as in the Six Nations reserve near Brantford and the Kahnawake School near Montreal), bilingual programs designed to develop a conceptual foundation in the L1 among students who speak the L1 at home (as in the Kativik and Baffin programs for Inuit students), teaching the aboriginal language as a subject within the regular school day either for maintenance or acquisition purposes (as in many communities across Canada).

The research data are very clear that reinforcement of the aboriginal language in all of these types of programs will have no adverse effects on development of English or French academic skills. Many of the international examples of bilingual programs, in fact, suggest that academic skills in the major school language are enhanced when the child continues to develop his/her aboriginal language (e.g. Christie, 1985; Gale, McClay, Christie, & Harris, 1981; Modiano, 1973).

The same considerations apply in situations where the aboriginal language is not being taught (either at the elementary or secondary level), for example, in off-reserve schools or urban settings. Teachers should strive to communicate acceptance and respect for the culture and language of aboriginal children. One simple way of communicating this respect is for the teacher (and/or other children) to learn some of the aboriginal language from the children. Very simple gestures such as this, sensitively enacted, can dramaticaly boost the status of the children's language and culture within the school setting and promote increased motivation to develop both English and the aboriginal language.

The same goal is achieved by involving the community actively in the life of the school. Major advances have been made in many contexts during the past two decades in the extent to which aboriginal communities have gained control over the operation of their schools. However, involvement of parents and elders in the academic life of the school is also crucial for children's ultimate success. There are many creative examples of aboriginal community involvement in the academic life of the school across North America but for the most part they have not been systematically documented and most teachers have had little professional development about how to bring about this type of involvement.

One of the major international developments that combines the processes of cultural/linguistic incorporation and community participation is the *Kohanga Reo* (literally "language nests") movement in New Zealand (see for example, Benton, 1988; Fleras, 1989). Initiated by Maori communities when it became clear (in the late 1970s) that the Maori language was not being passed to the next generation, the kohanga reo preschool programs use the Maori language exclusively from the first year of life until the start of school. Supported financially by the New Zealand government, these programs now number more than 500, and have been highly successful in developing preschool bilingualism. They have also resulted in an expansion of bilingual program offerings at the primary level to accomodate the increase of children fluent in Maori.

If language revitalization efforts are to succeed in the era of electronic media that in many cases reduce the amount and quality of linguistic interaction in the home, preschool aboriginal language immersion programs taught by elders as well as other members of the community appear not only desirable but necessary.

A central principle with respect to pedagogy is that language can develop only when it is given opportunity and encouragement for expression. As the studies by Mackay (1986) and Toohey (1985) illustrate, few teachers of aboriginal children have had training in second language teaching approaches and much of the instruction that children have received in the past has been pedagogically inappropriate (e.g. passively copying material from the blackboard, completing worksheets, etc). There is an urgent need to develop practical approaches for integrating the teaching of content areas with language development (at both elementary and secondary levels) and for involving students much more actively in their learning process. These directions are being pursued in the Canadian North (e.g. Aboriginal Languages and Bilingual Education Division, NWT Department of Education, 1989; Baffin Divisional Board of Education, 1989). The compatibility of "whole language" pedagogy with aboriginal ways of knowing is expressed by Kirkness (1988) who suggests that the whole language approach:

> "legitimizes the way Native people generally perceive learning. That is, learning should be based on the real world; real language must be a part of it. Learning should not be fragmented; it should relate to living, in a wholistic and relevant way" (1988, p. 6).

The advent of new technologies opens up significant possibilities for reinforcing aboriginal students' cultural identity while at the same time promoting active use of written and oral language. A series of projects carried out by the Baffin Divisional Board of Education with the support of the Apple Canada Foundation has resulted in (a) regular publication and distribution of students' creative writing, (b) involvement of Baffin students in the Apple

Global Education network which links schools and educators from around the world in carrying out joint projects and sharing information on a variety of topics, and (c) regular visits by prominent authors to Baffin communities to work with local writers and students (McCauley, 1990). As one example of the type of project that students have engaged in, a class in Edmonton that was conducting research on Inuit requested the collaboration of Baffin students in carrying out the project. Thus, Inuit students provided information and their own experiences and opinions to students located thousands of miles away. This collaborative discovery of and validation of identity represents intercultural education in the best sense and provides a non-trivial context for active use of oral and written language.

An obvious policy implication is that as microcomputers are made available in aboriginal educational contexts, educators should ensure that they come supplied with a modem and access to a telephone line.

Finally, with respect to assessment of students' language development, the current emphasis on classroom observation and longitudinal monitoring of student progress should be maintained. There is little rationale for standardized norm-referenced assessment of intellectual ability, language development or academic achievement in view of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Canadian North and the abuses of such measures in the past (see Common & Frost, 1988; Crago, 1989; Deyhle, 1986; Mulcahy & Marfo, 1987). In this regard, assessment is closely linked to pedagogy in that good observational data for assessment purposes can only be obtained in classrooms where students feel comfortable to express and amplify their experience through language or other media (e.g. drawing). Transmission-oriented classrooms suffer from the same biases as standardized tests in that they limit students' opportunity to manifest their true language and academic potential.

In conclusion, language development among aboriginal students is the development of power; the power to express ones' self and to control, at least to some extent, the directions and life possibilities that can be pursued. The history of aboriginal education in North America (and elsewhere) is a history of disempowerment and denial of voice.. During the past 20 years, however, aboriginal communities across Canada, from the Innu in Labrador to the Haida in British Columbia, have begun the process of regaining the voice that expresses their identity and their rights. This articulation of identity provides a necessary context for language development among young aboriginal students; it replaces the alienation from community and society brought about by racism and educational violence over generations; and it confers purpose and urgency on the process of gaining access both to the language of one's history and the language of action in the wider society.

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LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF LEP STUDENTS
IN EARLY CHILDHOOD YEARS

Muriel Saville-Troike
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

It was my pleasure to address this conference two years ago, in September 1985, on the topic of Language Development and Academic Achievement. Near the end of that presentation I noted that although my topic was the relationship of language development factors and academic achievement, it was quite possible that social and cultural factors might be much more powerful than purely linguistic factors in influencing educational success or failure. It was my conclusion that we must ultimately also understand the interactions among personal characteristics, cultural background, societal conditions, and the educational setting if we are truly to provide all types of students with the academic skills necessary to succeed in school.

Today, I would like to like to begin where I left off on that occasion and emphasize the relationship of cultural and social factors to language development and early schooling. I will consider these factors in relation to three groups of children typically categorized as 'LEP', or Limited English Proficient: (1) those who acquire a language other than English in early childhood and learn English as a second language at school; (2) those for whom English is a native (and only) language, but who acquire a non-standard variety which differs significantly from the variety used by teachers and in written texts; and (3) those who have apparently been caught in a 'subtractive' bilingual situation, where they are exposed to both an ancestral language and English in early childhood, but seem not to have developed fluency in either language by the time they enter school. I am intentionally using the words 'apparently' and 'seem' in defining this third category, since there is a strong view held by many sociolinguists that such children do not exist, and that their definition as having limited proficiency in two languages is merely an artifact of inappropriate language assessment procedures. There is some evidence to support this argument, to be sure, but I think our experience in schools tells us such a category of LEP students may indeed be a valid one. It is this third category of LEP children, in fact, who are potentially most at risk academically.

For the children in the first category who acquire a language other than English in early childhood, that language is part of the native culture being acquired in the process of children's enculturation to their primary reference group in the home and community. Children in this category are most likely to be fairly recent immigrants to the United States. For a number of reasons, they prove to be least at risk academically in this setting, in spite of the fact that they may know no English at all on school entry. The

native language of these children is a primary medium for the transmission of other aspects of their native culture from one generation to the next, such as values, beliefs, and rules for social behavior. If the children remain in contact with their native culture, their native language proficiency will expand to include expression of the new concepts they develop, the new domains in which they function, and the new role relationships in which they participate. This intrinsic relationship of language to culture is so 'natural' as to operate at an unconscious level for most native speakers, furthered by informal means more than by formal education, and by family and peers more than by professional educators. By the time children begin their formal elementary education at the age of five or six, they have already internalized many of the basic values and beliefs of their native culture, learned the rules of behavior which are considered appropriate for their role in the community, and established the procedures for continued socialization; they have learned how to learn.

When English is learned as a second language by these children in regions where it is the language of the dominant culture, it must ultimately be able to serve many of the same functions as English does for the native speaker, including medium of instruction, and participation in expanding social domains and role-relationships. Thus, second-language speakers must be able to function at least part of the time according to the rules of the English-dominant American culture.

While the native of a culture acquires these rules quite naturally and unconsciously in the process of first culture learning, or enculturation, the process for children acquiring a second culture is acculturation, the addition of a second set of rules for behavior which may coexist beside the first, replace them, or modify them. One possible result, which has particularly negative psychological and educational consequences, is the rejection of both, or anomie.

For children in the second category who acquire only English, but a non-standard variety of the language, language and cultural development are in essentially the same relationship as for children in the first category I discussed. English is part of the native culture being acquired in early childhood; linguistic forms (such as words and sentences) are first ascribed meaning only because they are embedded in contexts of interaction, which include not merely what can be immediately perceived by a child's senses, but also include his or her interpretation of the sequence of acts that are taking place, the relationship of participants, the emotional tone, and other salient aspects of the setting. So unfolds the process not only of linguistic, but of social and cultural development.

It is important to emphasize here that the meaning of language forms and the norms for their interpretation arise from social and cultural experiences in home and community, because there is no reason to expect that children who speak the same language will necessarily have the same culture. Just as we cannot assume that a child acquiring Spanish in a barrio in San Antonio, Texas is learning the culture of

Spain, nor even the dominant culture of nearby Spanish-speaking Mexico, so we cannot assume that a child acquiring English in a village here in Alaska is learning the culture of the dominant English-speaking society and its schools. While similar linguistic forms may develop in very different settings, cultural differences entail differences in the ways those forms are used, and differences in the meanings which are based in experience.

Because children in this second category speak English, it is difficult for those of us in ESL and Bilingual Education to explain why they generally do less well academically in U.S. schools than do children in the first category who may enroll with no English at all. After all, ESL and Bilingual Education in the United States were founded -- and funded -- largely on the premise that linguistic differences as such, and particularly a lack of proficiency in English, are a primary causative factor in the low academic achievement of students in American schools who are from linguistic minority backgrounds. For this second group of children, the label 'LEP' does not apply to overall English language proficiency, since systematic observation and other modes of research have proved most of the children studied to be highly proficient in interpreting and using the variety of English spoken in their homes and communities. The 'limited' designation here reflects differences between the variety of English which they have acquired and that which is expected and required by schools. While these linguistic differences are very real, they are surely vastly less 'different' than those encountered by speakers of a foreign or a Native American language.

So why do these English-speaking children, overall, do less well in school? The data underlying this question come in part from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reports for the states of Texas, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, which show Hispanic students regularly outperform both Black and American Indian students (who, for the most part, are monolingual English speakers). Further, surveys conducted by state departments of education in New York, Texas, and Illinois document a similar stratification, with speakers of non-standard English -- not of other languages -- on the bottom of the heap.

I believe this stratification proves that our premise that the low academic achievement of linguistic minority students is primarily caused by lack of proficiency in English, is an overly simplistic one. While most Native American languages in the United States have been erradicated and children have been raised in monolingual English households and communities, this has done nothing for the children's school achievement. As I said at the beginning of this presentation, there is good reason to suspect that children's competence in English at the time they enroll in school does not correlate as highly with their ultimate academic success as do some other factors, and that a different language of instruction is only <u>one</u> dimension of the cultural discontinuity between home and school which has traditionally raised a barrier to learning for the students who concern us here. I will return to address some programmatic and instructional issues

which I believe are also involved, and which may in fact also be significant barriers.

Strong arguments have been made that the linguistic divergencies from standard English represented by children in these first two categories -- speaking a different language or speaking a non-standard variety of English -- are in fact differences, but not deficits in language development. I heartedly endorse that point of view. For the third category of children, however (those who are 'bilingual', but have apparently not developed fluency in their first or second language), we cannot so readily reject a possible deficit condition, and to do so on theoretical or philosophical grounds might deprive such children of needed remediation.

Let me first mention some data which give some indication of the nature and possible extent of such a category, as cited by Lily Wong Fillmore (1985). She reports that several studies that have examined the development of language proficiency in LEP students have shown that from a quarter to over a half of students who are identified as LEP

> ... are no more proficient in their first languages than they are in English. In fact, this research indicates that English rather than the first language is the predominant language form of many of these LEP students, suggesting that reliance on the first language is not responsible for the poorly developed English skills. That many limited English-speaking students appear to be English-dominant is especially troubling.

Fillmore further reports that

> In Houston, Texas, to give a specific example, over a third of the district's 34,000 LEP students have been found to be predominantly English-speaking. Their linguistic deficiencies are clearly reflected in academic performance: these students reportedly score well below the 23rd percentile level in achievement tests that depend on a knowledge of English.

I want to spend more time discussing this third LEP category because understanding the circumstances under which such a deficit develops is an important requisite to prescribing remediation of any kind, or better yet, to preventing the condition from arising in the first place. In some cases, when young children have begun language acquisition in another language and then been immersed in an English-dominant environment, they lose or fail to develop their native language skills while still not developing adequate proficiency in English. In recent years, I have been conducting research on children in Illinois who have come from other countries and entered the English-dominant setting at ages ranging from 3 to 12. Language dominance tests administered to 311 children twice each year have

shown that children who first encounter English between ages 3 and 5 shift in dominance quite rapidly and become English dominant within two years -- even when parents continue speaking only the native language at home. Almost all of these children are still classifiable as LEP speakers when they reached first grade, however. Children who first encounter English at age 6 or 7 shift at a slower rate, and children who do not encounter English until age 8 or beyond shift more slowly at first and then appear to level off after the second year. Only these older children seem to be successful in maintaining a balance between their two languages. Age of entry in an English-dominant setting is thus a major factor in determining whether the experience will be one of additive or subtractive bilingualism.

To be sure, there are many studies which show young children are quite capable of developing two languages simultaneously without detriment to either, but all those I know of have been conducted in settings where both languages (and indeed, bilingualism) were valued by family and community, or where the dominant language of the environment was not as highly valued as the language of the home. In settings where English is dominant and other languages not highly valued, young children are much more likely to lose or fail to fully develop native language skills.

In order to analyze in more detail how language loss in such settings may be realized, I have begun doing longitudinal case studies of a few immigrant children, beginning within a few months of their arrival in the United States. Data include extensive observations and recordings over a period of 2 to 3 years of natural conversations with first and second language speakers, story telling and other controlled language elicitation, and classroom interaction with native language peers and with English-speaking teachers and children. Children in this study who spoke no English at all at age 3 or 4 are having great difficulty communicating with speakers of their native language by age 5 or 6, showing not only shift of dominance but absolute first language loss, and parents report that these children are already uncomfortable trying to talk with their grandparents. Yet they are still far from achieving native-like competence in English.

The children I am studying in Illinois are native speakers of such vital and viable world languages as Chinese, Spanish, Korean, Japanese, and Arabic. Parents are generally regretful of the children's incomplete native language development and losr because they believe the children will need that language in the future; often they plan return to their country of origin. Even with strong motivation for maintenance of subordinate languages in this setting, the dominant language (English) usually 'wins'.

A second cause for incomplete development of a native language in childhood arises when parents no longer see a reason to transmit it to their children. They may even view the language as a handicap to their children's education and advancement. As summarized by Dorian (1980):

> Language loyalty persists so long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it; but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to that other language begins.

While there is inadequate data on the nature of preschool parent-child interaction in minority language homes to draw firm conclusions, Jim Cummins (1980) suggests that parents who have ambivalent feelings about their own language (or believe that the variety they speak is inferior), may be reluctant to use it with their children. The results may have devastating consequences. To quote Merrill Swain (1982:95):

> They may not read to their child. They may not interact with the child to 'negotiate meaning'. Thus the children may arrive at school without the linguistic skills essential as the basis for the literacy demands that the school will place on them.

In a somewhat analagous situation which I consider relevant to the present discussion, many deaf children of hearing parents have also been subjected to very limited linguistic input, particularly during the years when educational and medical authorities discouraged parents from using or teaching sign language. Adults were instructed to talk to deaf children all the time, whether the children understood them or not. In these cases first language (sign) acquisition was generally delayed until children learned it from peers at school. Children of deaf parents do not suffer the same communicative deprivation, since they acquire sign language through natural interaction processes at home during early childhood. Not surprisingly, deaf children of deaf parents typically achieve higher levels of academic language competence than do those with hearing parents, including skills in reading and writing English.

For children in all three 'LEP' categories -- indeed for all children, the aspects of home and community settings which are likely to have the most direct bearing on language development are the structure of families, the patterns of language use among adults and children, the values and attitudes held about language and ways of speaking, and the network of conceptual categories which results from shared experiences. As an example of the importance of family structure, the presence of a grandparent in the home may be a primary determinant of what language young children will learn first, and how fully it will be developed. Dolores Durkin has further documented the positive correlation of the presence of a grandparent with early literacy, and later reading achievement for English speakers who are in a low socioeconomic class, and research in the Virgin Islands has documented a similar positive achievement effect of a grandparent on children in that region.

Also related to family structure and residence patterns, children in some families and communities have relatively more input from peers than they do from adults. This may also result from Day Care or other

educational facilities. It is doubtful that this retards overall linguistic development, but when children are removed from adult native language models for long periods of time, some aspects of linguistic maturation may be prematurely ossified. This has been the case for Navajo students who have attended boarding schools where only English was spoken by the staff, for instance. They reach adolescence without acquiring mature native language forms, and may always continue to speak what is sometimes referred to as 'baby Navajo'. My main point here is that when young children have very limited input from any source, communicative development may be retarded and a true deficit condition obtain, and this is likely to be only partially overcome by remedial efforts in later childhood.

One example of a true input deficit circumstance which I encountered involved young girls living in migrant labor camps in California who were restricted to the house until they entered school, both because of their responsibility to care for even younger siblings and for their own safety. They had limited ability to express themselves in either Spanish or English upon school entry (exemplifying the third category of LEP students I have been describing), whereas boys from the same families, who had been allowed to have a broader range of social contacts, were far more fluent in Spanish (and subsequently more successful in learning English as a second language).

Another social context I have encountered in which children may be deprived of adequate input for normal language development is one I have already alluded to -- where some non-English speaking families reject their native language heritage to the point of using only their very limited English in the home, or even seldom speaking to their children at all. Although not well documented, this has been reported for some Southeast Asian refugee groups in the United States who are anxious to become 'Americanized', and for some members of a generation of Native Americans that was forbidden use of their native languages in school and brainwashed into thinking that it was 'bad' to transmit the languages to their children.

It is important to exmphasize that the issue of adequate input for normal language development is one of at least minimally adequate quantity of language, and has nothing to do with whether the variety of input is standard or nonstandard, or with the range of styles that is used. The parent of a deaf child who attempts to use only an oral mode of communication (which the child cannot understand) is providing inadequate linguistic input, even if the variety of speech is educated and impeccably grammatical. On the other hand, research indicates that the quality of linguistic input (judged for purposes of child language development) does not differ significantly by social class or by standard versus nonstandard usage. Claims have been made to the contrary, but a number of researchers have shown that not to be the case.

> ... the effects of social class on language acquisition are not to be found in the rate of development or size of the repertoire but rather in differences in the typical uses to which language is put (Bowerman 1981:1961; see also Wells 1986).

Where verbal deprivation does occur in some bilingual communities, it is the product of a complex of factors which almost invariably includes attitudes toward the subordinate and dominant languages held both by families and by the wider community. These are often related to social pressures for acculturation or assimilation, and are in some cases abetted by educational programs or practices which intentionally or unintentionally weaken the quality and quantity of native language development and of enculturation. As I said earlier, by the age of five or six children have already internalized many of the basic values and beliefs of the families into which they are born, the community to which they belong, and the environment in which they live. These include values, beliefs, and expectations about language, and about self and group identity and worth, which will have a powerful impact on subsequent learning.

In the time I have left this afternoon, I would like to briefly relate some of the points I have been making about language and cultural development in early childhood to some issues in the nature and delivery of educational programs.

First let me state the obvious, that the early childhood years are critical ones in child development. Work by Shirley Brice Heath and others is showing that when preschool linguistic and cultural experiences are different from those expected by the schools, these do not constitute a barrier as long as the school makes appropriate curricular adaptations to build on them as a positive foundation for continued learning. Some intervention programs do not recognize the validity or viability of native language and cultural development, and are intended primarily to teach the language and culture of the school at an earlier age. These may ironically have the negative effect of helping to create category three LEP children, who are fluent in neither their native language or English at school entry. In other words, programmatic efforts in early preschool intervention, intended to improve chances for school success, may actually hinder rather than enhance children's English language development and academic achievement. I reported to you two years ago that in a study I did of 107 first graders from homes in which only Navajo was used (Saville-Troike 1980), those who had participated in Head Start or Kindergarten programs on the reservation for two or three years were significantly retarded in their Navajo language development, presumably because they had spent less time interacting with Navajo-speaking adults. When we tested them at the beginning of first grade they did know some English, to be sure, while their classmates who had not had this experience knew none at all. By the end of first grade, however, the children who had not been in the preschool programs had caught up to the others in their knowledge of English, and had a clear advantage

in overall language development. Follow-up research by Irene Serna at the University of New Mexico has shown quite conclusively that Navajo children who did not develop competence in their native language are also retarded in their conceptual development by the second or third grade.

Early intervention programs which are designed largely to teach English reflect not only the pedagogical preferences of some educators, but the powerful influences of culture and politics on our schools. There is a false but powerful belief in our nation that children should 'get into English' as soon as possible or they will be retarded in learning. Because this is a matter of faith, based on profound social attitudes and convictions, evidence to the contrary has little impact.

Unfortunately, initial emphasis on developing English language skills often involves placement and instructional content which is based on students' supposed language proficiency level rather than what would be considered 'normal' curriculum content in the larger educational setting, or their level of cognitive development and prior learning in their native language. This creates a separate (and unequal) curriculum track for limited English students which is often discriminatory in effect, if not in intent. As Luis Moll (1986) has pointed out,

> The problem of instructional bias and of watering down the curriculum is, of course, not limited to non-native English speaking students; it may occur in the education of speakers of non-standard English dialects or of students whose language or cultural behavior does not conform to that of the dominant society. In fact, as Anyon (1980), among others, has shown, watering down the curriculum may be viewed as part of a broader stratification of instruction across social class groups.

This instructional bias -- teaching to students's low level of English -- is found even in bilingual programs and regardless of the students's academic competence in their first language. Moll (1986) also cites evidence that more recently, this same phenomenon has become evident in computer instruction:

> Poor and [limited English] students do drill and practice; affluent and English-fluent students do problem solving and programming.... Part of the problem is the overwhelming pressure to make [limited English] students fluent in English at all costs. Learning English, not learning, has become the controlling goal of instruction for these students, even if it places the children at risk academically.

And again, more than language is involved in this phenomenon. Much of the massive school failure among students from non-English

backgrounds must be attributed to attitudes -- both those educators hold toward minority students and students' perceptions of themselves and of the school.

Some of the best evidence we have of the impact of attitude on educational achievement comes from other countries. Finnish immigrants in Sweden are viewed very negatively by Swedes, for instance, and Finnish children do poorly in Swedish schools. In Australia, however, Finns are viewed in terms of a number of positive ('Scandinavian') stereotypes, and Finnish students do much better in school than do their counterparts in Sweden (Ilpola 1979). In New Zealand, Marie Clay compared the achievement of Maori children (who are monolingual speakers of English) and Samoan children (who speak Samoan at home and know little English when they enter school). When the relative reading ability of the two groups was tested after two years of school, the Samoans read better, even though the Maoris' control of oral English remained higher. She reported that the main difference between the two Polynesian groups studied is that the Samoan group feels respect and pride in its heritage while the Maoris are struggling to forget their heritage and to be mainstreamed into the dominant culture. Clay concluded,

> We have learned that for a child to interact creatively and productively with education he must retain his personal integrity and be able to value what he and his family stand for (1976:339).

Relevant research has also been conducted with Spanish-speaking students in the United States. Antonio Gonzalez (1986) has shown, both in Illinois and California, for instance, that immigrant students from Mexico who attended school for two years prior to coming here had higher reading scores <u>in English</u> by the sixth grade than did Spanish speaking peers who began school here. In short, students with two years <u>less</u> instruction in English did better in English than those who had two years more instruction in the U.S. Why should this be, and why again should it be that speakers of a non-standard variety of English consistently score below students who begin school with no English at all?

The answers are not simple to find, and we should beware of simplistic unidimensional responses. Development of cognitive and academic experiential competence in the first language, which Mexican children acquire in Mexico, may have a significant effect in promoting the transfer of these skills into English and enabling them to succeed in American schools. At the same time, however, they have not faced the negative expectations in and out of school that their U.S.-educated peers have, which may have adversely affected the level and quality of their instructional experience and programmed them to reproduce the existing social structure.

Educational programs for LEP students, whether bilingual or all-English, do not exist in isolation from the schools, school systems, and communities in which they are embedded, any of which may

exert more effects on program outcomes -- for good or ill -- than many of the efforts that are expended in instruction, curriculum design, or materials development. John Ogbu has argued that the long-term effects of social and economic discrimination may negatively affect the cultural attitudes and expectations of minority communities. At the same time, research on school 'climate' and the effects of educational leadership at the school level show that these influences are not wholly deterministic, and that the attitudes and behaviors of principals can affect academic results for an entire school. Furthermore, the famous 'Pygmalion effect', in which teachers' expectations for students affect their teaching styles and student achievement, may play a powerful but unrecognized role.

Here we are in a larger realm of the effect of attitudes on instruction, learning opportunities, motivation, and cognitive demands. This returns me to where I ended my presentation to this conference two years ago. Language does not exist in a vacuum, and the fact that children are 'LEP' is relatively unimportant in determining their prognosis for academic success.

Again I conclude that we must ultimately understand the interactions among the personal characteristics and cultural background that children bring to school, as well as the societal conditions and the educational setting into which they move, if we are truly to enable students to fulfill their potential to learn. I believe it will be worth the effort.

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EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS: A FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVENTION

Jim Cummins

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

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ABSTRACT

EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS: A FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVENTION

A theoretical framework is presented for analysing minority students' school failure and the relative lack of success of previous attempts at educational reform (e.g. compensatory education, bilingual education). It is suggested that policy and legislation aimed at reversing minority students' academic difficulties have failed to significantly alter the role relationships between educators and minority students and communities. Students become empowered or disabled as an immediate result of their interactions with educators in the school context. These interactions are mediated by the implicit (or explicit) role definitions that educators assume in relation to four institutional characteristics of schools. These characteristics reflect: (a) the extent to which minority students' language and culture are incorporated within the school program; (b) the extent to which minority community participation is encouraged as an integral component of children's education; (c) the extent to which the pedagogy promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge; and finally, (d) the extent to which professionals involved in assessment become advocates for minority students as opposed to legitimizing the location of the "problem" within the student. For each of these dimensions, the role definitions of educators can be described in terms of a continuum with one end of the continuum promoting the empowerment of students while the other contributes to the disabling of students.

EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS: A FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVENTION [1]

During the past 20 years educators in the United States have implemented a series of costly reforms aimed at reversing the pattern of school failure among minority students. These have included compensatory programs at the pre-school level, myriad forms of bilingual education programs, the hiring of additional aides and remedial personnel, and the institution of safeguards against discriminatory assessment procedures. Yet the drop-out rate among Mexican-American and mainland Puerto Rican students remains between 40 and 50 percent compared to 14 percent among whites and 25 percent among blacks (Jusenius & Duarte, 1982). Similarly, almost a decade after the passage of the non-discriminatory assessment provisions of PL 94-142, we find Hispanic students in Texas overrepresented by a factor of 300% in the "learning disablites" category (Ortiz & Yates, 1983).

I have suggested that a major reason why previous attempts at educational reform have been unsuccessful is that "the role relationships between teachers and students, between special educators and teachers, and between schools and communities have remained essentially unchanged" (Cummins 1984, p. 273). The changes that are required cannot be legislated or imposed from the outside because "they involve personal redefinitions of the way classroom teachers and special educators interact both with each other and with the children and communities they serve" (1984, p. 273). In other words, legislative and policy reforms may be necessary conditions for effective change but they are not sufficient. Implementation of change is dependent upon the extent to which educators, both collectively and individually, redefine their roles with respect to minority students and communities.

The purpose of this paper is to propose a theoretical framework for conceptualizing the nature of the personal and institutional redefinitions that are required to reverse the pattern of minority student failure. The framework incorporates a series of hypotheses regarding contributors to minority students' educational difficulties. These hypotheses, in turn, lead to predictions regarding the probable effectiveness, or otherwise, of various interventions directed at reversing minority students' school failure.

The framework assigns a central role to three inclusive sets of interactions or power relations. Thus, the classroom interactions between teachers and students take place within the broader context of relationships between schools and minority communities, which, in turn, are conditioned by the inter-group power relations in the society as a whole. An assumption of the framework is that the social organization and bureaucratic constraints within the school are a function of both "top-down" and "bottom-up" processes; in other words, they reflect not only broader policy and societal factors, but also the extent to which individual educators accept or challenge the social organization of the school in relation to minority students and communities. Thus, the analysis sketches directions for change that have implications for policy-makers at all levels of the educational hierarchy and in particular for those who interact directly with minority students and communities

First, the policy context for educational interventions with respect to language minority students will be briefly discussed: this involves examining patterns of minority student academic failure and the theoretical assumptions, both implicit and explicit, that have guided policy. Then, the theoretical framework will be presented and empirical evidence reviewed regarding the hypothesized educator role redefinitions required to reverse school failure . Finally, the potential impact of these role redefinitions will be illustrated by means of a case study of a preschool program for low socio-economic (SES) Hispanic minority students.

1 THE POLICY CONTEXT

Research data from the United States, Canada, and Europe show considerable variability in the extent to which minority students experience academic failure (see Cummins 1984, and Ogbu 1978, 1983, for reviews). In the United States, for example, Hispanic (with the exception of some groups of Cuban students), Native American and black students evidence considerable academic disadvantage in comparison to most groups of Asian American (and white) students. In Canada, Franco-Ontarian students (in English language programs) have tended to perform considerably less well academically than immigrant minority groups (see Cummins 1984) while the same pattern characterizes Finnish students in Sweden (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1984).

The major issue for theory and policy is to explain the pattern of school success and failure among minority students. With respect to language minority students, recent policy changes in the United States have been based on the assumption that a major cause of students' educational difficulty is the switch between the language of the home and the language of the school. Thus, the apparently plausible assumption that students cannot learn in a language they do not understand gave rise in the late sixties and early seventies to bilingual education programs in which students' stronger language was used in addition to English as an initial medium of school instruction (see Schneider 1976).

Bilingual programs, however, have been vehemently opposed on both social and educational grounds by educators, policy-makers and media commentators (see for example, Bethell 1979). The major educational argument against bilingual education is that children who lack English skills should be exposed to as much English instruction as possible. To attempt to develop English proficiency by instructing minority students through their home language appears totally illogical to many commentators.

Thus, with respect to educational arguments, the policy debate regarding bilingual education has revolved around two intuitively-appealing assumptions. In favor of bilingual education, it is argued that children cannot learn in a language they do not understand and therefore first language (L1) instruction is necessary to counteract the negative effects of a home-school linguistic mismatch. The opposing argument holds that bilingual education is illogical in its implication that less English instruction will lead to more English achievement; it makes considerably more sense, opponents argue, to provide language minority students with maximum exposure to English.

Despite their apparent plausibility, these two conventional wisdoms (the "linguistic mismatch" and "insufficient exposure" hypotheses) are each patently inadequate: thus, the argument that minority students fail as a result of a home-school language switch is refuted by the success of many minority students whose instruction has been totally through a second language; the well-documented positive outcomes of second language "immersion" programs for majority students in Canada and elsewhere similarly refute the linguistic mismatch hypothesis (see, for example, California State Department of Education 1984). The opposing "insufficient exposure" hypothesis, however, fares no better with respect to the research evidence. In fact, the results of virtually every bilingual program that has been evaluated during the past 50 years show either no relationship or a negative relationship between amount of school exposure to the majority language and academic achievement in that language (Baker & De Kanter, 1981; Cummins 1983a, 1984; Skutnabb-Kangas 1984). For example, evaluations of immersion programs for majority students show that students perform as well in English academic skills as comparison groups despite considerably less exposure to English in school. Exactly the same result is obtained for minority students. Promotion of the minority language entails no loss in the development of English academic skills.

These results have been interpreted in terms of the "interdependence hypothesis" which proposes that to the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in developing academic proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur given adequate exposure and motivation to learn Ly (Cummins 1978, 1983a, 1984). The interdependence hypothesis is supported by a large body of research from bilingual program evaluations, studies of language use in the home, immigrant student language learning, correlational studies of L1-L2 relationships and experimental studies of bilingual information processing (see Cummins 1984 for a review).

It is hardly surprising that the opposing conventional wisdoms are inadequate to account for the research data since each involves only a unidimensional linguistic explanation. Consideration of the variability of minority students' academic performance under different social and educational conditions (see Ogbu 1978; Wong Fillmore 1983) indicates that multidimensional and interactive causal factors are at work. In particular, sociological and anthropological research (for example, Fishman 1976; Ogbu 1978; Paulston 1980) suggests that factors related to status and power relations between groups must be invoked as part of any comprehensive account of minority students' school failure. However, a variety of factors related to educational quality and cultural mismatch also appear to be important in mediating minority students' academic progress (see for example, Wong Fillmore, 1983). The framework outlined below attempts to integrate these hypothesized explanatory factors in such a way that that the changes required to reverse minority student failure are clearly indicated.

2 A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The proposed theoretical framework incorporates sets of constructs that operate at three levels: (a) the societal context of inter-group power relations, (b) the context of the school as an institution that normally reflects the values and priorities of the dominant societal group in its interactions with minority communities, and (c) the context of classroom interactions between teachers and minority students which represent the immediate determinants of students' academic success or failure.

As outlined in Figure 1, the central tenet of the framework is that students from "dominated" societal groups are "empowered" or alternately, "disabled" as a direct result of their interactions with educators in the school context. These interactions are mediated by the implicit (or explicit) role definitions that educators assume in relation to four institutional characteristics of schools. These characteristics reflect

1. the extent to which minority students' language and culture are incorporated within the school program;
2. the extent to which minority community participation is encouraged as an integral component of children's education;
3. the extent to which the pedagogy promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge;
4. and finally, the extent to which professionals involved in assessment become advocates for minority students as opposed to legitimizing the location of the "problem" within the student.

For each of these dimensions of school organization, the role definitions of educators can be described in terms of a continuum with one end of the continuum promoting the empowerment of students while the other contributes to the disabling of students.

The three levels analysed in the present framework (i.e. majority-minority societal group relations, school-minority community relations, educator-minority student relations) are clearly not the only ones that could be discussed. The choice of these levels, however, is dictated by hypotheses regarding the relative ineffectiveness of previous educational reforms and directions required to reverse minority group school failure.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

2.1 Inter-Group Power Relations

When the patterns of minority student school failure are examined within an international perspective, it becomes evident that power and status relations between minority and majority groups exert a major influence. Examples frequently given are the failure of Finnish students in Sweden (where they are a low status group) compared to their academic success in Australia where Finns are regarded as high status (see Troike 1978); similarly, Ogbu (1978) reports that low status Buraku outcasts perform poorly in Japan but as well as any other Japanese students in the United States.

In accounting for the empirical data, theorists have employed several related constructs to describe characteristics of minority groups that tend to experience school failure. Cummins (1984), for example, discusses the "bicultural ambivalence" (or lack of cultural identification) of students in relation to both the home and school cultures; similarly, Ogbu (1978) discusses the "caste" status of minorities that fail academically and attributes their failure to economic and social discrimination combined with the internalization of the inferior status attributed to them by the dominant group. Feuerstein (1979) attributes academic failure to the disruption of intergenerational transmission processes caused by the alienation of a group from its own culture. In all three conceptions, school failure tends not to characterize minority groups that are positively oriented towards their own and the dominant culture (Cummins), have not internalized the dominant group attribution of inferiority (Ogbu) and are not alienated from their own cultural values (Feuerstein).

Within the present framework, the dominant group controls the institutions and reward systems within society; the dominated group (Mullard, 1985) is regarded as inherently inferior by the dominant group and denied access to high status positions within the institutional structure of the society. As described by Ogbu (1978) and others, the dominated status of a minority group sets up conditions that predispose children to school failure even before they come to school. These conditions relate to parental access to economic and educational resources, ambivalence towards cultural transmission and primary language use in the home, and interactional styles that may not prepare students for typical teacher-student interaction patterns in school (see e.g. Heath, 1983; Wong Fillmore, 1983). Bicultural ambivalence and less effective cultural transmission among dominated groups are frequently associated with a historical pattern of colonization and subordination by the dominant group. This pattern, for example, characterizes Franco-Ontarian students in Canada, Finns in Sweden, and black, Hispanic and Native groups in the United States.

Other categories of societal group can clearly be distinguished (see for example, Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, in press). However, detailed analyses of patterns of inter-group relations go beyond the scope of this paper. It is sufficient to note that the minority groups characterized by school failure tend overwhelmingly to be in a dominated relationship to the majority group.

2.2 Empowerment of Students

A central construct in the proposed theoretical framework is the notion of student empowerment. Students who are empowered by their schooling experiences develop the ability, confidence and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction (Cummins 1983b; Tikunoff 1983) as a result of having developed a confident cultural identity as well as appropriate school-based knowledge and interactional structures. Students who are disempowered or "disabled" by their school experiences do not develop this type of cognitive/academic and social/emotional foundation. Thus, student empowerment is regarded as both a mediating construct influencing academic performance and also as an outcome variable itself. [2]

Although conceptually, cognitive/academic and social/emotional (i.e. identity-related) factors are distinct, the data suggest that they are extremely difficult to separate in the case of minority students who are "at risk" academically. For example, data from both Sweden and the United States suggest that minority students who immigrate relatively late (e.g. about 10 years of age) often appear to have better academic prospects than similar SES students born in the host country (Cummins 1984; Skutnabb-Kangas). Is this because their L1 cognitive/academic skills on arrival provide a better foundation for L2 cognitive/academic skills acquisition or, alternatively, because they have not experienced devaluation of their identity in the societal institutions (e.g. schools) of the host country, as has been the case for students born in that setting?

Similarly, the most successful bilingual programs appear to be those that spend more time through the students' L1 (see Cummins 1983a, 1984, for reviews). Is this success because of more adequate promotion of L1 cognitive/academic skills or because of the reinforcement of cultural identity provided by an intensive L1 program? By the same token, is the failure of many minority students in English-only submersion (Cohen & Swain 1976) programs a function of cognitive/academic difficulties or students' ambivalence about the value of their cultural identity?

These questions are clearly difficult to answer; however, the point to be made is that for minority students who have traditionally experienced school failure, there is sufficient overlap in the behaviour of cognitive/academic and identity factors to justify incorporating these two dimensions within the notion of "student empowerment," while recognising that under some conditions each dimension may be affected in different ways.

2.3 Schools and Power

A central proposition of the present paper is that minority students are disabled or disempowered in schools in very much the same way that their communities are disempowered in interactions with societal institutions. In each situation, the victims are made to feel that they have failed because of their own inferiority despite the best efforts of dominant group institutions and individuals to help them (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1984 for discussion of this point). Since equality of opportunity is a given, it is assumed that individuals are responsible for their own failure. This analysis implies that minority students will succeed educationally to the extent that the patterns of interaction in the school context reverse those that prevail in the society at large.

Four structural elements in the organization of schooling contribute to the extent to which minority students are empowered or disabled. These elements relate to incorporation of minority students' culture and language into the instructional program, inclusion of minority communities in the education of their children, pedagogical assumptions and practices operating in the classroom, and assessment of minority students.

2.3.1 Cultural/Linguistic Incorporation

Considerable research data suggest that for dominated minorities the extent to which students' language and culture is incorporated into the school program constitutes a significant predictor of academic success (for example, Campos & Keatinge, 1983; Cummins 1983a, Rosier & Holm, 1980). As outlined earlier, students' school success appears to reflect both the more solid cognitive/academic foundation developed through intensive L1 instruction and also the reinforcement of their cultural identity.

Included under incorporation of minority group cultural features is the adjustment of instructional patterns to take account of culturally-conditioned learning styles. The Kamehameha Early Education Program in Hawaii provides strong evidence of the importance of this type of cultural incorporation (see e.g. Au & Jordan 1981).

A relevant issue concerns the reasons why superficially plausible but patently inadequate assumptions such as the "insufficient exposure" hypothesis continue to dominate the policy debate when virtually all the evidence suggests that incorporation of minority students' language and culture into the school program will, at least, not impede academic progress. In other words, what social function do such arguments serve? Within the context of the present framework, it can be suggested that a major reason why bilingual programs are resisted so vehemently is because the incorporation of minority languages and cultures into the school program confers status and power (e.g. jobs) on the minority group. As a consequence, such programs contravene the established pattern of dominant-dominated group relations. However, within democratic societies contradictions between the rhetoric of equality and the reality of domination must be obscured. Thus, conventional wisdoms such as the insufficient exposure hypothesis become immune from critical scrutiny and incompatible evidence is either ignored or dismissed.

With respect to the incorporation of minority students' language and culture, educators' role definitions can be characterized along an "additive-subtractive" dimension. [3] Educators who see their role as adding a second language and cultural affiliation to students' repertoire are likely to empower students more than those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture in the process of teaching English and assimilating students to the dominant culture. In addition to the personal and future employment advantages of proficiency in two languages, there is considerable (but not conclusive) evidence that subtle educational advantages result from continued development of both languages among bilingual students (see, for example, Hakuta and Diaz, 1985; McLaughlin, 1984).

It should be noted that an additive orientation is not dependent upon actual teaching of the minority language. In many cases this may not be possible for a variety of reasons (e.g. low concentration of particular groups of minority students). However, educators communicate to students and parents in

a variety of ways the extent to which students' language and culture is valued within the context of the school. Even within a monolingual school context, powerful messages can be communicated to students regarding the validity and advantages of language development.

2.3.2 Community Participation

Students from dominated communities will be empowered in the school context to the extent that the communities themselves are empowered through their interactions with the school. When educators involve minority parents as partners in their children's education, parents appear to develop a sense of efficacy that communicates itself to children with positive academic consequences.

Although lip-service is paid to community involvement through Parent Advisory Committees (PACs) in many bilingual education programs, these committees are frequently manipulated through misinformation and intimidation (see e.g. Curtis 1984). The result is that parents from dominated groups retain their powerless status and their internalized inferiority is reinforced. Children's school failure can then be attributed to the combined effects of parental illiteracy and disinterest in their children's education. In reality, most parents of minority students have high aspirations for their children (see e.g. Wong Fillmore 1983) and want to be involved in promoting their academic progress. However, they often lack the knowledge of how to help their children academically and they are excluded from participation by the school. In fact, even their interaction through L1 with their children in the home is frequently regarded by educators as contributing to academic difficulties (Cummins 1984).

Dramatic changes in children's academic progress can be realized when educators take the initiative to change this exclusionary pattern to one of collaboration. The Haringey project in Britain (Tizard, Schofield & Hewison 1982) illustrates just how powerful the effects of simple interventions can be.

In order to assess the effects of parental involvement in the teaching of reading, the researchers established a project in the London borough of Haringey whereby all children in two primary level experimental classes in two different schools read at home on a regular basis to their parents. These children's reading progress was compared with that of children in two classes in two different schools who were given extra reading instruction in small groups by an experienced and qualified teacher who worked four half days each week at each school for the two years of the intervention. Both groups were also compared with a control group that received no treatment.

All the schools were in multi-ethnic areas and thus there were many parents who did not read English or use it at home. Nevertheless, it was found that almost without exception parents welcomed the project and agreed to hear their children read as requested and to complete a record card showing what had been read.

Seven major findings are reported by the researchers:

1. It was found to be both feasible and practicable to involve nearly all parents in educational activities such as listening to their children read, even when the parents were non-literate and largely non-English speaking.

2. Children who read to their parents made significantly greater progress in reading than those who did not engage in this type of literacy sharing.

3. Most parents expressed great satisfaction at being involved in this way by the schools, and teachers reported that the children showed an increased interest in school learning and were better behaved.

4. Teachers involved in the home collaboration reported that they found the work with parents worthwhile and they continued to involve parents with subsequent classes after the experiment was concluded. Teachers of the control classes also adopted the home collaboration program after the two-year experimental period.

5. The collaboration between teachers and parents was effective for children of all initial levels of performance, including those who, at the beginning of the study, were failing to learn to read.

6. Small-group instruction in reading, given by a highly competent specialist teacher, did not produce improvements in attainment comparable in magnitude with those obtained from the collaboration with parents. In contrast to the home collaboration program, benefits of extra reading instruction were least apparent for initially low achieving children.

7. Lack of literacy or English fluency did not detract from parents' willingness to collaborate with the school in listening to their children read English books, nor did it prevent improvement in these children's reading.

The teacher role definitions associated with community participation can be characterized along a collaborative-exclusionary dimension. Teachers operating at the collaborative end of the continuum actively encourage minority parents to participate in promoting their children's academic progress both in the home and through involvement in classroom activities. A collaborative orientation may require a willingness on the part of the teacher to work closely with mother tongue teachers or aides in order to communicate effectively and in a non-condescending way with minority parents. Teachers with an exclusionary orientation, on the other hand, tend to regard teaching as their job and are likely to view collaboration with minority parents as either irrelevant or actually detrimental to children's progress.

2.3.3 Pedagogy

Several investigators have suggested that many so-called "learning disabilities" are pedagogically-induced in that children designated "at risk" frequently receive intensive instruction that confines them to a passive role and induces a form of "learned helplessness" (e.g. Beers & Beers, 1980; Coles 1978; Cummins 1984). Instruction that empowers students, on the other hand, will aim to liberate students from instruction in the sense of encouraging them to become active generators of their own knowledge.

Two major orientations can be distinguished with respect to pedagogy. These differ in the extent to which the teacher retains exclusive control over classroom interaction as opposed to sharing some of this control with students. The dominant instructional model in North American schools has been termed a "transmission" model (Barnes 1976; Wells 1982); this will be contrasted with a "reciprocal interaction" model of pedagogy. The transmission model incorporates essentially the same assumptions as what Freire (1970, 1973) has termed a "banking" model of education.

The basic premise of the transmission model is that the teacher's task is to impart knowledge or skills that s/he possesses to students who do not yet have these skills. This implies that the teacher initiates and controls the interaction, constantly orienting it towards the achievement of instructional objectives. For example, in first and second language programs that stress pattern repetition (e.g. DISTAR), the teacher presents the materials, models the language patterns, asks questions, and provides feedback to students about the correctness of their response. The curriculum in these types of program derives primarily from the internal structure of the language or subject matter; consequently, it frequently involves a predominant focus on surface features of language or literacy (e.g. handwriting, spelling, decoding, etc.) and emphasizes correct recall of content taught. Content is usually transmitted by means of highly structured drills and workbook exercises, although in many cases the drills are disguised in order to make them more attractive and motivating to students.

It has been argued that a transmission model of teaching contravenes central principles of language and literacy acquisition and that a model allowing for reciprocal interaction among students and teachers represents a more appropriate alternative (Cummins 1984; Wells 1982). This "reciprocal interaction" model incorporates proposals about the relation between language and learning made by a variety of investigators, most notably in the Bullock Report (1975), and by Barnes (1976), Lindfors (1981) and Wells (1982). Its applications with respect to the promotion of literacy conform closely to psycholinguistic approaches to reading (e.g. Goodman & Goodman, 1978; Holdaway, 1979; Smith, 1978) and to the recent emphasis on encouraging expressive writing from the earliest grades (e.g. Chomsky, 1981; Giacobbe, 1982; Graves, 1983; Temple, Nathan, & Burris, 1982). Students microcomputer writing networks such as the Computer Chronicles Newswire (Mehan, Miller-Souviney & Riel, 1984) represent a particularly promising application of a reciprocal interaction model of pedagogy.

A central tenet of the reciprocal interaction model is that "talking and writing are means to learning" (Bullock Report, 1975, p. 50). Its major characteristics in comparison to a transmission model are as follows:

- genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written modalities
- guidance and facilitation rather than control of student learning by the teacher
- encouragement of student-student talk in a collaborative learning context

- encouragement of meaningful language use by students rather than correctness of surface forms;

- conscious integration of language use and development with all curricular content rather than teaching language and other content as isolated subjects

- a focus on developing higher level cognitive skills rather than factual recall

- task presentation that generates intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation

In short, pedagogical approaches that empower students encourage them to assume greater control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborate actively with each other in achieving these goals. The development of a sense of efficacy and inner-direction in the classroom is especially important for students from dominated groups whose experiences so often orient them in the opposite direction. In support of this, Wong Fillmore (1983) has reported that Hispanic students learned considerably more English in classrooms that provided opportunities for reciprocal interaction with teachers and peers. Ample opportunities for expressive writing appear to be particularly significant in promoting a sense of academic efficacy among minority students (Cummins, Aguiar, Bascunan, Fiorucci, Sanaoui & Basman, in press). As expressed by Daiute (1985):

> "Children who learn early that writing is not simply an exercise gain a sense of power that gives them confidence to write - and write a lot. ... Beginning writers who are confident that they have something to say or that they can find out what they need to know can even overcome some limits of training or development. Writers who don't feel that what they say matters have an additional burden that no skills training can help them overcome" (1985, p. 5-6).

The implications for students from dominated groups are obvious. Too often the instruction they receive convinces them that what they have to say is irrelevant or wrong. The failure of this instruction is then taken as an indication that the minority student is of low ability - a verdict frequently confirmed by subsequent assessment procedures.

2.3.4 Assessment

Historically, assessment has played the role of legitimizing the previous disabling of minority students. In some cases, assessment itself may play the primary role but usually its role has been to locate the "problem" within the minority student thereby screening from critical scrutiny the subtractive nature of the school program, the exclusionary orientation of teachers towards minority communities, and transmission models of teaching that inhibit students from active participation in learning.

This process is virtually inevitable when the conceptual base for the assessment process is purely psycho-educational. If the psychologist's task is to discover the causes of a minority student's academic difficulties and the only tools at her disposal are psychological tests (in either L1 or L2), then it is hardly surprising that the child's difficulties will be attributed to psychological dysfunctions. The

myth of bilingual handicaps that still influences educational policy was generated in exactly this way during the 1920's and 1930's.

Recent studies suggest that despite the appearance of change with respect to nondiscriminatory assessment, the underlying structure has remained essentially intact. Mehan, Hertweck and Meihls (in press), for example, report that psychologists continued to test children until they "found" the disability that could be invoked to "explain" the student's apperent academic difficulties. Diagnosis and placement were frequently influenced by factors totally extraneous to students' academic performance in the classroom (for example, time of year at which testing occurred). Rueda (1985) has also shown that designation of minority students as "learning disabled" as compared to "language impaired" was strongly influenced by whether a psychologist or a speech pathologist was on the placement committee. In other words, with respect to students' actual behaviour, the label was essentially arbitrary. A similar conclusion emerged from the analysis of more than 400 psychological assessments of minority students conducted by Cummins (1984). Although no diagnostic conclusions were logically possible in the majority of assessments, psychologists were most reluctant to admit this fact to teachers and parents. In short, the data suggest that the structure within which psychological assessment takes place orients the psychologist to locate the cause of the academic problem within the minority student herself.

The alternative role definition that is required to reverse the traditional "legitimizing" function of assessment can be termed an "advocacy" or "delegitimization" role (see Mullard 1984 for discussion of delegitimization strategies in anti-racist education). The psychologist's or special educator's task must be to "delegitimize" the traditional function of psychological assessment in the educational disabling of minority students; in other words, they must be prepared to become advocates for the child (Cazden 1985) in critically scrutinizing the societal and educational context within which the child has developed. This involves locating the pathology within the societal power relations between dominant and dominated groups, in the reflection of these power relations between school and communities, and in the mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms. These conditions are the cause of the 300% overrepresentation of Texas Hispanic students in the "learning disabled" category rather than any intrinsic processing deficit unique to Hispanic children. [4]

Clearly, and for obvious reasons, the training of psychologists and special educators does not prepare them for this advocacy or delegitimization role. However, from the present perspective, it must be emphasized that discriminatory assessment is carried out by (well-intentioned) individuals. Rather than challenging a socio-educational system that tends to disable minority students, these individuals have accepted a role definition and an educational structure that makes discriminatory assessment virtually inevitable.

3 EMPOWERING MINORITY STUDENTS: THE CARPINTERIA EXAMPLE

The Carpinteria School District Spanish-only pre-school program is one of the few programs in the United States that explicitly incorporates the major elements hypothesized in previous sections to empower minority students. Spanish is the exclusive language of instruction, there is a strong community involvement component, and the program is characterized by a coherent philosophy of promoting conceptual development through meaningful linguistic interaction.

The proposal to implement an intensive Spanish-only pre-school program in the Carpinteria School District near Santa Barbara, California, derived from district findings showing that a large majority of the Spanish-speaking students entering kindergarten each year lacked adequate skills to succeed in the kindergarten program. On the School Readiness Inventory, a district-wide screening measure administered to all incoming kindergarten students, Spanish-speaking students tended to average about eight points lower than English-speaking students despite the fact that the test was administered in students' dominant language (approximately 14.5 compared to 23.0, averaged over four years from 1979 to 1982). A score of 20 or better was viewed by the district as predicting a successful kindergarten year for the child. Prior to the implementation of the experimental program, the Spanish-background children attended a bilingual preschool program (operated either by Head Start or the Community Day Care Center) in which both English and Spanish were used concurrently, but with strong emphasis on the development of English skills. According to the district kindergarten teachers, children who had attended these programs often mixed English and Spanish into a "Spanglish".

The major goal of the experimental Spanish-only preschool program was to bring Spanish-dominant children entering kindergarten up to a level of readiness for school similar to that attained by English-speaking children in the community. The project also sought to make parents of the program participants aware of their role as the child's "first teacher" and to encourage them to provide specific types of experiences for their children in the home.

The pre-school program itself involved the integration of language with a large variety of concrete and literacy-related experiences. As summarized in the evaluation report:

> "the development of language skills in Spanish was foremost in the planning and attention given to every facet of the pre-school day. Language was used constantly for conversing, learning new ideas, concepts and vocabulary, thinking creatively, and problem-solving to give the children the opportunity to develop their language skills in Spanish to as high a degree as possible within the structure of the pre-school day" (Campos & Keatinge, 1983, p. 17).

Participation in the program was on a voluntary basis and students were screened only for age and Spanish-language dominance. Family characteristics of students in the experimental program were typical of other Spanish-speaking families in the community. More than 90 percent were of low

socioeconomic status, and the majority worked in agriculture and had an average educational level of about sixth grade.

The program proved to be highly successful in developing students' readiness skills as evidenced by the average score of 21.6 obtained by the 1982/83 incoming kindergarten students who had been in the program compared to the score of 23.2 obtained by English-speaking students. A score of 14.6 was obtained by Spanish-speaking students who experienced the regular bilingual pre-school program. In 1983/84 the scores of these three groups were 23.3, 23.4 and 16.0 respectively. In other words, the gap between English-background and Spanish-background children in the Spanish-only preschool had disappeared; however, a considerable gap remained for Spanish-background students for whom English was the focus of pre-school instruction.

Of special interest is the performance of the experimental program students on the English and Spanish versions of the Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM) (Hernandez-Chavez, Burt, and Dulay, 1976), a test of oral syntactic development. Despite the fact that they experienced an exclusively Spanish pre-school program, they performed better than the other Spanish-speaking students in English (and Spanish) on entry to kindergarten in 1982 and at a similar level in 1983. On entrance to grade 1 in 1983, the gap had widened considerably, with almost five times as many of the experimental program students performing at level 5 (fluent English) compared to the other Spanish-background students (47% vs. 10%).

The evaluation report suggests that

> "although project participants were exposed to less total English, they, because of their enhanced first language skill and concept knowledge were better able to comprehend the English they were exposed to. This seems to be borne out by comments made by kindergarten teachers in the District about project participants. They are making comments like, 'Project participants appear more aware of what is happening around them in the classroom'. 'They are able to focus on the task at hand better' and 'They demonstrate greater self-confidence in learning situations'. All of these traits would tend to enhance the language acquisition process" (Campos & Keatinge, 1983, p. 41).

Campos and Keatinge (1983) also emphasize the consequences of the pre-school program for parental participation in their children's education. They report that in kindergarten and first grade

> "School officials report that ... the parents of project participants are much more aware of and involved in their child's school experience than non-participant parents of Spanish speakers. This is seen as having a positive impact on the future success of the project participants -- the greater the involvement of parents, the greater the chances of success of the child" (1983 p. 41).

The major relevance of these findings for educators and policy-makers derives from their demonstration that educational programs can succeed in preventing the academic failure experienced by many minority students. The corollary is that failure to provide this type of program constitutes

the disabling of minority students by the school system. For example, among the students who did not experience the experimental pre-school program, the typical pattern of low levels of academic readiness and limited proficiency in both languages was observed. These are the students who are likely to be referred for psychological assessment early in their school careers. This assessment will typically legitimize the inadequate educational provision by attributing students' difficulties to some vacuous category such as "learning disability". By contrast, students who experienced a pre-school program in which (a) their cultural identity was reinforced, (b) there was active collaboration with parents, and (c) meaningful use of language was integrated into every aspect of daily activities, were developing high levels of conceptual and linguistic skills in both languages.

4 CONCLUSION

A theoretical framework has been proposed for analysing minority students' academic failure and for predicting the effects of educational interventions. Educational failure of minority students has been analysed as a function of the extent to which schools reflect, or alternatively, counteract the power relations that exist within the broader society. Specifically, language minority students' educational progress will be strongly influenced by the extent to which individual educators become advocates for the promotion of students' linguistic talents, actively encourage community participation in developing students' academic and cultural resources, and implement pedagogical approaches that succeed in liberating students from instructional dependence.

The educator-student interactions characteristic of the disabling end of the proposed continua reflect the typical patterns of interaction that dominated societal groups have experienced in relation to dominant groups. The intrinsic value of the group is usually denied and "objective" evidence accumulated to demonstrate the group's inferiority; this inferior status is then used as a justification for excluding the group from activities and occupations that entail societal rewards.

In a similar way, the disabling of students is frequently rationalized on the basis of students' "needs". For example, minority students "need" maximum exposure to English in both the school and home; thus, parents must be told not to interact with children in their mother tongue; similarly, minority children "need" a highly structured drill-oriented program in order to maximize time on task and compensate for their deficient preschool experiences; as a result of these deficient experiences, they are incapable of handling the active inquiry characteristic of middle-class students in "gifted" programs. Minority students also "need" a comprehensive diagnostic-prescriptive assessment in order to identify the nature of "their" problem and possible remedial interventions.

This analysis suggests a major reason for the relative lack of success of the various educational bandwagons that have characterized the North American crusade against underachievement during the past 20 years. The individual role definitions of educators and the institutional role definitions of schools have remained largely unchanged despite "new and improved" programs and policies. This is

to be expected since it is almost a truism that schools are reflections of society. Thus, in the absence of institutional role redefinitions, the educational disabling of dominated group students simply reproduces a similar relationship in the society at large.

To many educators genuinely concerned to alleviate the educational difficulties of minority students and respond to their "needs," this conclusion may appear overly bleak. However, one could argue that it is realistic (and optimistic) rather than bleak. Directions for change are clearly indicated whereas, in the past, these directions have been obscured by the overlay of costly reforms that left the underlying disabling structure essentially intact. Given the societal commitment to maintaining the dominant-dominated power relationships, it can be predicted that educational changes that threaten this structure (i.e. the only ones likely to be effective) will be fiercely resisted. This is in fact the case for each of the four structural dimensions discussed above. [5]

In order to reverse the pattern of minority group educational failure, educators and policy-makers are faced with both a personal and a political challenge. Personally, they must redefine their roles within the classroom, the community and the broader society so that these role definitions result in interactions that empower rather than disable students. Politically, they must attempt to persuade colleagues and decision-makers (e.g. school boards and the public that elects them) that the school should redefine its own institutional foundations so that rather than reflecting society by disabling minority students it begins to transform society by empowering them.

FOOTNOTES

1. Discussions at the Symposium on "Minority Languages in Academic Research and Educational Policy" held in Sandbjerg Slot, Denmark, April 1985, contributed to the ideas in the paper and I would like to express my appreciation to the participants; also to Safder Alladina, Jan Curtis, Monica Heller, Verity Saifullah Khan and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas for comments on earlier drafts.

2. There is no contradiction in postualating student empowerment as both a mediating and an outcome variable. For example, cognitive abilities clearly have the same status in that they contribute to students' school success and can also be regarded as an outcome of schooling.

3. The terms "additive" and "subtractive" bilingualism were coined by Wallace Lambert (1975) to refer to the proficient bilingualism associated with positive cognitve outcomes, on the one hand, and the limited bilingualism often associated with negative outcomes, on the other.

4. Clearly, the presence of processing difficulties that are rooted in neurological causes is not being denied for either monolingual or bilingual children. However, in the case of children from dominated minorities, the proportion of disabilities that are neurological in origin is likely to represent only a small fraction of those that derive from educational and social conditions.

5. Although for pedagogy the resistance to sharing control with students goes beyond majority-minority group relations, the same elements are present. If the curriculum is not pre-determined and pre-sequenced and students are generating their own knowledge in a critical and creative way, then the reproduction of the societal structure cannot be guaranteed. Hence the reluctance to liberate students from instructional dependence.

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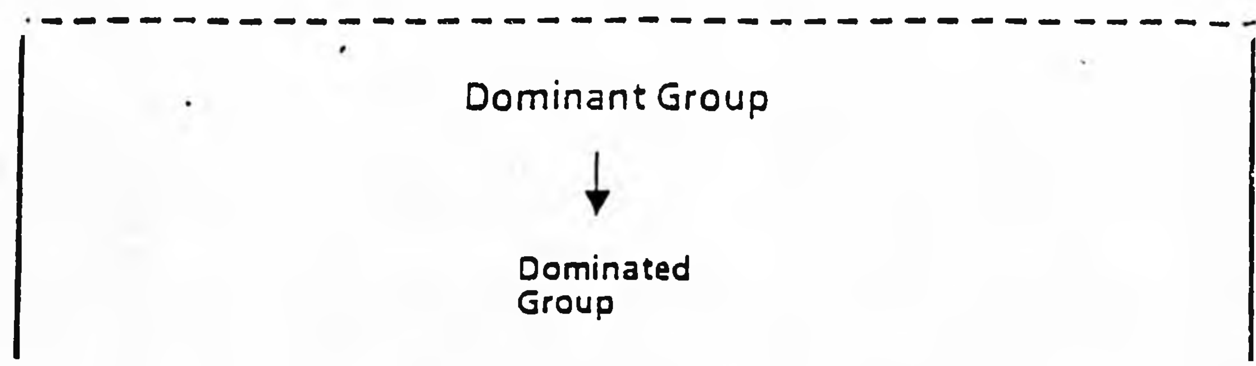
SOCIETAL CONTEXT



SCHOOL CONTEXT

Educator Role Definitions

Cultural/Linguistic Incorporation	Additive	---	Subtractive
Community Participation	Collaborative	---	Exclusionary
Pedagogy	Reciprocal Interaction-Oriented	---	Transmission-oriented
Assessment	Advocacy-oriented	---	Legitimization-oriented
	↓		↓
	EMPOWERED STUDENTS		DISABLED STUDENTS

Figure 1. Empowerment of Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework

Keynote Speech, Special Services Conference
Anchorage, Alaska
September 23, 1985

LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT FOR ACADEMIC NEEDS: WHAT THE RESEARCH TELLS US ABOUT SPECIAL NEEDS STUDENTS

Muriel Saville-Troike
Bureau of Educational Research
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

There has been a vast amount of research in recent years on language development -- both on the acquisition of a first language by children and on the acquisition or learning of a second language by children and adults. Relatively little research, however, has related various factors in language development to the academic achievement levels of students in our schools, and to academic instructional practices. While there are still gaps in our understanding of this relationship, and a number of questions require further investigation, I believe that what is known so far is potentially of great importance for education, and especially for the education of students whose home language background is different from the language in which they are receiving instruction. It is this topic that I would like to focus on in my presentation to you this morning.

The three groups of students we will be most concerned with are: (1) those who have acquired another language at home and in their community, and are learning English as a second language at school, as is the case with many Spanish, Korean, Vietnamese, and Yup'ik speakers in Alaska, for instance; (2) those who come from bilingual homes, often Yup'ik or Inupiaq along with only limited English; and (3) those who are monolingual English speakers who come from homes and communities where a nonstandard variety of the language is used, often influenced by an ancestral language which is no longer being transmitted to children. While these groups clearly differ significantly in the nature of their "special needs" in education, we will find generalizations about language development and academic achievement which can be made for all three. Some of the research results which I will be drawing on this morning will come from my own work, both with Navajo and Spanish speaking students in the Southwestern United States and with students from primarily Asian language backgrounds in the state of Illinois, and some will come from the work of others.

First, let us consider what research suggests are the functions of language in academic contexts, and how the fulfillment of these functions may relate to differencial language developmvnt.

The acquisition of knowledge requires in the first instance the receptive language skills generally associated with listening and reading. One basic skill is the ability to decode meaning, or to 'make sense' of what is being communicated. In the earliest stages of language development, meaning is in the context of interaction. Linguistic forms (such as words and sentences) are first ascribed meaning only because they are embedded in these contexts, which include not merely what can be immediately perceived by the senses, but also include the child's interpretation of, or schemata for, the

sequence of acts that are taking pla
participants, the emotional tone, anc
setting.

With time, through further socia
cognitive development, 'meaningful co
include the linguistic forms themselv
medium of a native language, the schei
developed in this process are availabi
even when the language forms used by c
communicative event cannot be complete
1981; Saville-Troike 1985a.)

In the earliest stages of second
students do not start learning all ove
in terms of what they already know. Thi
heavily dependent on prior experience,
nature and level of their first languag
this point.

In both first and second language
a continuum from only heavily context-e
at the beginning to communicative skill
situations, where meaning is increasingl
forms by themselves. Development within
syntagmatic and paradigmatic in nature,
meaningful sequences within recurring ev
repertoire of forms for their expression
selection. Given the socially and context
language, this process is not significant
other sociocognitive domains (e.g., see S
1983). The well-known generalizeability o
child development lends further weight to
and Kaplan (1963) call the "autonomization
basic process of overall cognitive develop

While meaning in face-to-face interac
with limited linguistic skills because of
in which it is situated, the attainment of
competence requires the ability to decode
context-reduced tasks (especially reading
1984 for an extended discussion of this poi

In addition to the higher level of lin
interpret written text, however, it is impo
academic success also requires such recepti
or reading for the main point, generalizing
from known information, and constructing mo
once these strategies have been developed, t
quite readily to academic tasks in a differe
finding with children who began school in a
come to the United States after already lear
language, that their reading achievement in
language is much more dependent on their reac
native language than it is on their relative

English. This is true even when the language they first learned to read is written in symbols which are quite different from our Roman alphabet, such as Japanese, Korean, and Arabic. Accuracy in English morphology and syntax in spoken language appears to make little difference in academic achievement, which probably accounts for the low predictive power of such language tests as the Bilingual Syntax Measure and the Northwest Syntax Screening Tests. In research in Illinois on students who speak seven different native languages, we found the correlation between their rank order of reading achievement in English and grammatical accuracy to be only .025 (Saville-Troike 1984). Similar results were reported from research in California (Ulibarri, Spencer, and Rivas 1981).

It is difficult to do research in the area of receptive competence for the same reason that it is difficult in teaching to judge the level and nature of students' receptive skills. They are not directly observable; they cannot be seen or heard. One major function of students' productive language skills in academic contexts (their speaking and writing) is to provide us with data from which we may infer their competence, and what they understand. In other words, the function of testing.

It is important to recognize the distinction between receptive and productive language skills, however. Educators often mistakenly equate production with learning, especially in the field of language. I have seen children go weeks and even months without speaking any English when they first started learning this language who quite suddenly, when they were ready, produced utterances that were at least as advanced as those produced by other children who chose to talk a lot from the begininng. In fact, in one group of students I have studied, the children who went through such a period of silent learning included those who achieved the highest levels of English proficiency within a year (Saville-Troike, McClure, and Fritz 1984; Saville-Troike 1984). Language development is heavily dependent on comprehensible input, but it does not nessarily depend on practice in speaking.

To some extent, the relationship that is perceived between performance and learning is based in culture-specific beliefs and values. Some believe in 'learning by doing', and attempt to encourage those who fail with, 'If at first you don't succeed, try, try again'. Others from a different cultural background believe in learning by observing and listening to others, and consider public performance prior to mastery overly self-assertive and even shameful.

The latter style of teaching and learning is considerad much more approporiate by most Navajo people, for instance, as it is by some Alaskan groups. At a time (some 15 - 20 years ago) when the audio-lingual method for language teaching was at its zenith, including pattern practices with oral drill, two of the English programs for Navajo children were adapted to allow to initial learning without speaking. One dramatic result was that within a relatively short time, the children were much more willing to produce English than were children who were required to speak. The same principle has been

extended in at least one Navajo-controlled school, which provides space for students to work on math problems and other subjects out of sight of peers and teachers until they feel ready to 'perform' in public. Anita Pfeiffer, a Navajo professor at the University of New Mexico, says that the change has resulted not only in higher academic achievement, but in greatly improved attitudes toward school (personal communication).

Even where teaching by testing is culturally appropriate, however, teachers may be gravely misled. The most serious academic consequence is the inappropriate teaching level or procedures which often results.

One example commonly occurs in reading lessons where the teacher has students read aloud in round-robin fashion. Nonstandard pronunciation or other production 'errors' in this situation may result from encoding symbols on the page into the readers' own linguistic system. These are actually quite good positive proof of students' receptive decoding skills and comprehension. I can find no evidence that either divergent pronunciation or nonstandard forms constitute a reading problem, but the teacher can and does constitute a major problem when he or she inhibits the reading process with ill-timed 'corrections'.

This is not to say that productive skills in standard English should not be one goal of the language curriculum, but to say that that goal should not be confused with recognition of receptive skills or interfere with their development. It is, after all, the receptive skills which have the most important role in learning.

Recoding of aural input for production is also good evidence for receptive competence. Sentence repetition tests are used in some language research, and these illustrate my point. When a sentence is too long to be held in short term memory, a child can recode it only if he or she comprehends the meaning. One sentence that we asked a five year old Japanese child to repeat was :

"Yesterday Michael didn't ride the bus home."

The child repeated:

"Yesterday Michael bus didn't. Michael is didn't bus home."

While he had not yet mastered those grammatical structures for productive purposes, he proved to us that he understood the message.

Similar recoding tasks also provide evidence for receptive competence in studies of native language development. In her study of kindergarten children in Louisiana, for instance, Gloria Lanclos (1971) found that children who understood the language would recode her Parisian French sentences into Cajun French, and in tests of receptive competence in Arabic which are included in my current research, children from different countries who understand my Egyptian assistant recode his variety of the language into their own Saudi, Iraqui, or Jordanian Arabic dialects when they repeat sentences after him. What is positive evidence of receptive competence to researchers is often interpreted quite differently by teachers, however, especially when a child speaks nonstandard English.

When English readers encode print into a nonstandard and/or nonnative variety of speech when they are reading aloud, the teacher's evaluation is often realized in other negative practices, even when there is not explicit 'correction'. For instance, the teacher is much more likely to ask lower level questions of them than of standard English speakers, such as 'What' queries that require only simple recall from the immediate text, or to focus only on surface-level decoding, rather than to ask the 'How', 'Why', and 'What if' questions that stimulate higher order thinking and language production (e.g., see Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez 1972). This is unintentional discrimination, but discrimination none the less. If a teacher responds to nonstandard language production with lowered expectations of competence, that prophecy is all too often fulfilled.

A similar relationship exists between students' different linguistic systems and their performance in writing -- perhaps especially spelling. Standard spelling does not tolerate the same diversity as spoken English, and sounds and symbols therefore do not have exactly the same correspondences in any two varieties, even when they are both merely different regional varieties of the standard language, such as those produced by educated speakers from Texas and New York or California.

Students often make spelling errors that reflect differences in pronunciation relating their productive systems. One way to correct such errors is to teach the sound-symbol relationship in terms of the actual pronunciation of the students, even if it is considered nonstandard speech. When the sounds are omitted in their own usage, as is the case with the past tense and plural endings for many, students may be taught to at least hear them when they are used by other English speakers. Since many students have little contact outside their own linguistic community, however, they may not hear enough of this pronunciation to make the suggestion feasible. In this case, it is possible to ask students to memorize numerous spelling patterns that do not have any auditory reality for them. At early levels, it is much more effective for teachers to accept spelling based on the children's pronunciation, to postpone correction until some fluency in reading and writing has been achieved, and until the children have a wider experience with the English of schools and books.

While standard spelling is an important system for students to master, early correction of linguistically different children may either lead them to the conclusion that spelling and language sounds have no necessary correlation, or inhibit the development of the fluency which is so vital if they are to become sucessful readers and writers by the middle grades. The overcorrected, discouraged beginner can seldom be reclaimed by remedial programs.

Another production factor which can create a mismatch between teaching and learning has only in recent years been recognized and analyzed, and that is the different prosodic or paralinguistic systems that are used in different languages, and in different varieties of English. In Navajo classrooms, for instance, I found that an Anglo teacher's normal classroom projection level was interpreted as anger

by Navajo students, and the normal Navajo time lapse between question and response was interpreted by teachers as shyness or uncertainty. Often Navajo students did not even have a chance to answer a question when they were prepared and willing to do so because the teacher gave up and called on someone else before the appropriate pause had elapsed.

Sarah Michaels (1981) and others have found that different intonation contours and discourse styles also lead white teachers to interrupt black children, and to consider their narratives disjointed or poorly organized, even though the verbal performance is often considered quite proficient by black teachers who are played audio or videotapes of the same classroom event. Some of these black children succeed in learning the white speaking style in the process of acquiring a second dialect, but the many who do not are likely to be inhibited in white schools. Recent research at the Center for the Study of Reading at the University of Illinois is showing quite convincingly that different patterns of language use may in fact have a beneficial effect on overall language development for academic purposes, but differences are still too often perceived as deficits (DeLain, Pearson, and Anderson 1985).

More widely recognized is the fact that production is often elicited from students in particular contexts within which it is either inappropriate or unlikely for their actual competence to be displayed. Educators and researchers who use ethnographic monitoring to evaluate communicative competence find that many students (especially from different language and cultural backgrounds) systematically conceal their knowledge from teachers (e.g., see Carrasco 1981). Much will be said during this conference about testing, and that is not my topic, but I must stress the importance of informed and sensitive evaluation in any case. If it is misinformed, students are at great risk. Recognition of the extent to which informal testing relies on surface-level language production is critical.

Although it is seldom listed as such, another important function of language for students in academic contexts is to convey a 'proper attitude' toward school. A list of behaviors related to school success which Cynthia Wallat (1981) has extracted from the literature includes:

Speak positively to others.
Make positive comments to the teacher.
Speak positively about academic materials.
Answer or try to answer questions.
Initiate contacts about work assignments.

Even more indicators of 'proper attitude' that she lists involve nonverbal communicative behaviors, including:

Sit up straight.
Smile at the teacher.
Use your body to show attention.
Use your body to show persistence to tasks.
Use your body, or face, to show self-control.
Nod in agreement as the teacher speaks.

Testing and teacher monitoring are not the only functions of productive language use by students in the classroom to be sure. Academic competence also requires knowing how to use language as a tool in acquiring knowledge and in performing analytic processes, but these skills appear to relate more closely to language development in a general sense (much as some of the receptive skills that I have already mentioned), rather than to any particular language or variety.

This leads us to a related issue. If learning does not necessarily depend on which language or variety of language a child acquires, but only the level of that development, why is there massive school failure among students from non-English or nonstandard English backgrounds in the United States? The most obvious answer would be that the difference between the language of home and school in these cases is a barrier, that language differences in and of themselves account for the relatively low academic achievement of non-English or nonstandard English speakers in our schools. This is called the 'linguistic mismatch hypothesis'.

While it appeals to common sense, it is overly simplistic. To quote from a paper by Jim Cummins (1981):

> The linguistic mismatch hypothesis implies that what is important for language minority students' academic success is (a) acquisition of "English proficiency" (usually understood as fluent surface structure in context-embedded face-to-face situations), and (b) acculturation to the values and norms of the school. In other words, because the emphasis is on <u>initial</u> linguistic and (sometimes) cultural mismatch, a "quick-exit" transitional program follows logically from this hypothesis. There appears to be no need to continue to promote minority students' L1 proficiency nor their cultural identity after "English-proficiency" has been acquired. (p. 40)

Cummins cites dramatic evidence from research by Chesarek (1981) on the Crow reservation in Montana and by Bhatnager (1980) with Italian immigrant children in Montreal, Canada that children who are exposed only to the majority language at home do not perform better in school than do those who use their native minority language. Chesarek, for instance, found that third grade Crow-speaking children who had only three years exposure to English surpassed children who had heard only English at home. Cummins concludes that which language is used at home is relatively unimportant for students' academic development.

A partial explanation for this fact may be derived from Wells' (1985) longitudinal study of families in England. He demonstrates that what does make a difference in children's achievement in school is the <u>quality</u> of their verbal interaction with adults during their preschool years.

> Viewed from this perspective, encouraging minority parents to communicate in English with their children in the home (a logical course of action

> to reduce mismatch) can have very detrimental consequences. If parents are not comfortable in English, the quality of their interaction with their children in English is likely to be less than in L1. Thus, the lower academic achievement of minority children who used L2 exclusively with their parents and friends in Bhatnagar's and Chesarek's studies may be partly attributable to the lower quality of communication their parents were capable of providing in their second language. (Cummins 1981:41)

Ironically, our programmatic efforts in early intervention may hinder rather than enhance children's language development for a similar reason. In a study I did of 107 first graders from homes in which only Navajo was used, those who had participated in Head Start or Kindergarten programs on the reservation for two or three years were significantly retarded in their Navajo language development, presumably because they had spent less time interacting with Navajo-speaking adults. When we tested them at the beginning of first grade they did know some English, to be sure, while their classmates who had not had this experience knew none at all. By the end of first grade, however, the children who had not been in the preschool programs had caught up to the others in their knowledge of English, and had a clear advantage in overall language development (Saville-Troike 1980). Follow-up research just being completed by Irene Serna at the University of New Mexico is showing quite conclusively that Navajo children who did not develop competence in their native language are also retarded in their conceptual development by the second or third grade (personal communication).

I would now like to address the issue of how instructional programs and practices relate to language development and academic achievement, although remarkably little research has been done to study the effects of either bilingual education or English as a Second Language (ESL). Nevertheless, enough data are at hand to enable us to formulate some preliminary findings.

First, for minority language students, the greater the use of the native language in a program, the higher the level of academic achievement as measured in English. This may be restated conversely as the greater the use of English, the lower the achievement in English will be. This finding at first seems counterintuitive, since it appears to directly contradict expectations regarding the effects of time on task. On the other hand, it is not so surprising if we assume that the less the students' language is used, the less they are likely to understand. Among the first studies to report this finding was one conducted by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) in 1976, which remains one of the few to make a careful quantitative analysis of language use in the classroom. My own research confirms this (Saville-Troike 1984). I have found that most of the students who achieved best in content areas, as measured by tests in English, were those who had

the most opportunity to discuss the concepts they were learning in their native language with peers or with adults.

A second important finding is that the longer that minority language students are in a bilingual program, the higher their academic achievement as measured in English is likely to be. The converse of this may seem more startling: The sooner students are exited from a bilingual program ('mainstreamed'), the lower their academic achievement is likely to be. This also deals with greater use of the native language, in this instance over a period of time. Well documented longitudinal program evaluations from Santa Fe, NM (Leyba 1978), Rock Point, AZ (Vorth and Rosier 1978), and Brownsville, TX (Gonzalez 1977) demonstrate this finding. Bilingual instruction appears to have a cumulative effect, reversing the pattern of cumulative grade retardation commonly found among language minority students (Troike 1978).

A third finding is that attendance rates, graduation rates, and college admission rates are higher for bilingually schooled students. This has been reported from New York, California, and Texas, and it may have more important implications for students' future than achievement scores on standardized tests. Unfortunately, data on these points are rarely collected or reported by evaluators or researchers.

In the case of immigrant families, the longer students are schooled in their native country before immigrating to the U.S., the higher their school achievement in the U.S. and their learning of English is likely to be. This finding is one of the most important to emerge in recent years, and is having a great deal of effect on current thinking. First reported by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) on the basis of a study of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden, the finding revolutionized the prevailing thought that the younger that children begin school in the new country, the better they would do academically and in learning the second language. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa found that the optimum time for immigration appeared to be about 10-12 years of age. Similar findings have been reported anecdotally about Mexican immigrants in the U.S. Southwest, and in a study at the University of Illinois, Gonzalez (1985) has found that sixth graders who immigranted to the U.S. after two years of education in Mexico did better as a group on the CTBS English reading comprehension test than all but one student who had started school in this country. This provides major support for the suggestions of Cummins and others concerning the importance of prior first language development for second language acquisition.

As a final example, the advantages of bilingual education for English speaking students has been demonstrated in a German program in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, funded by Title I. Forty percent of the students in the school are Blacks from families who are below the poverty line. Yet that school has scored second in academic achievement in the whole district, second only to a magnet school for gifted students.

If bilingual education can reverse the academic wastage of minority language students, as data from a number of language settings and geographic locations show, we must wonder what the causal factors

are. One obvious possibility is the effect of instruction given in two languages on the cognitive ability of students (e.g., see Peal and Lambert 1962; Feldman and Shen 1972; Ben-Zeev 1972; Ianco-Worrall 1972).

Wallace Lambert (1975) has pointed out that limited English proficiency students in a traditional all-English classroom typically lose proficiency in their native language, a condition he labels 'subtractive bilingualism'. The opposite condition, where an English speaker learns a foreign language such as German in school, he refers to as 'additive' bilingualism, since proficiency in the second language is added to that in the first rather than replacing it. A bilingual program may, by halting the attrition of native language skills, prevent the potential deficits of subtractive gilingualism, and permit students to develop additive bilingualism instead -- presumably the condition which enables them to benefit from some of the advantages conferred by their greater cognitive flexibility and metalinguistic awareness.

With respect to ESL instruction, the additional findings from my own research that I would like to summarize here relate primarily to priorities for teaching English:

1. Vocabulary knowledge in English is unquestionably the most important aspect of English proficiency for academic achievement. (The vocabulary that is taught, however, needs to be related as closely as possible to students' learning needs in their subject matter classes.
2. Spoken practice in English may not be necessary for the development of English proficiency for academic needs. I believe that it is a positive development that we have broadened our focus from grammatical competence to 'communicative competence'. But many who have jumped aboard this bandwagon have unfortunately misinterpreted 'communication' to apply only to social interaction. While social interaction is certainly to be encouraged, we cannot depend on that for developing academic language skills.
3. Accurate grammatical production is far less important to academic achievement in English than is vocabulary knowledge, and the portions of ESL lessons which focus on structural patterns, especially on English morphology, appear to make little contribution toward meeting students' immediate academic needs. It appears quite likely, however, that a receptive knowledge of grammatical processes which express semantic relationships is indeed important for higher level context-reduced situations.
4. Focus on students' pronunciation should be eliminated. This not only has lowest priority in terms of academic needs, it is likely to create negative affect and inhibit fluency.

The same priorities hold true for the language development of students who speak a nonstandard variety of English. Vocabulary knowledge for receptive and productive purposes is clearly most important for academic needs. The development of the more complex syntactic structures required in context-reduced situations is also

important, but this must be based on context-rich early learning at home and in early childhood education.

Focus on surface-level grammatical accuracy in production for this population, too, has little demonstrated pay off in academic achievement, and focus on pronunciation is likely to have an overall negative effect. The most interesting research is that which shows the extent to which nonstandard English speakers may also profit from bilingual education and foreign language instruction, most likely because of the heightened degree of metalinguistic awareness which it appears to yield. This is one of the most promising directions I see in this field for both research and program development.

I would like to conclude by noting that although the topic of the presentation has been the relationship of language development factors and academic achievement, it is quite possible that social and cultural factors may be much more powerful than purely linguistic factors in influencing educational success or failure. This does not contradict the findings about language, but it seriously complicates the issues. We must ultimately also understand the interactions between personal characteristics, cultural background, societal conditions, and the educational setting if we are truly to provide all types of students with the academic skills necessary to succeed in school.

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THE ROLE OF NATIVE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Angela Carrasquillo, Ph.D.

A large proportion of students residing in the United States still have a native language that is other than Enr.ish. Information based on the 1980 Census and immigration and Naturalization records estimated that there are 7.9 million school-age language minority children in the United States. Estimates indicate that there are between 3.5 and 5.3 million limited English proficient speaking children in the United States (Waggoner, 1986). This figure, although conservative, represents a significant group for which schools must provide equal education opportunities through bilingual education instruction. Schools have a responsibility to provide equal educational opportunities to all children and youth and to provide sound academic programs that foster advanced cognitive skills and academic achievement in the classroom. The New York State Association for Bilingual Education encourages the establishment, maintenance and expansion of quality bilingual education programs which enhance academic learning through the use of the first language while learning to function in the second language.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (Title VII, an amendment to the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was passed as a response to the need to teach the growing number of persons residing in the United States with limited English Proficiency. This mandate allows most projects funded under the act to use the students' native language to the extent necessary. The United States government defines bilingual Education as instruction using the native language and culture as a basis for learning subjects until English skills have been sufficiently developed. In bilingual education programs students are taught cognitive areas, first in the students' native language including development of literacy skills while learning English. Bilingual education programs help students to: (a) acquire academic concepts and learning skills, (b) acquire and develop English language skills, and (c) develop primary language skills. For students with limited English proficiency there is linguistic, academic, and cognitive benefits resulting from instruction in their native language.

Bilingual students or second language learners are more successful academically when they are first encouraged to develop concepts, vocabulary and literacy in their native language. Language development facilitates and expands intellectual growth. Background information and an extensive vocabulary facilitate learning, memory and manipulation of complex concepts. As language learners use the native language to learn, they actively construct meaning using their language background and knowledge.

The importance of native language instruction in the linguistic, cognitive and academic development of limited English proficient students has been emphasized by authorities such as Anderson (1977); Carrasquillo & Segan

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(1984); Cummins (1981, 1984); Goodman, Goodman & Flores (1979); Krashen (1981); United States General Accounting Office (1987); Secretary of Education Carvazos (1989); and Vygotsky (1962). All these authorities agree that since language is a means for representing thought as well as the vehicle for complex thinking, there is a need to use and develop the language students know best. Within these principles, there are several areas in which native language instruction impacts the most.

Early Language Development

Educational developments that take place during the child's first year are the most important and most in need of attention. Children acquire language in a developmental stage that begins at birth and reaches virtual completion about the age of five. During these years children learn languages by using and interacting with different forms of that language. Through this interaction and without any formal teaching, children learn the basic elements of language: its sounds, intonation, basic forms of speech, use of correct and meaningful words, phrases and sentences. For all children, the key to development of cognitive skills and subsequent academic success is early development of communicative and cognitive processes. Children learn the language in communicative-based and meaningful settings. Along with the child, the parents and other care takers also contribute to the child's language development. Usually this is done in the native or primary language of the child, which in many cases is not English.

For limited-English proficient (LEP) students early native language development which capitalizes on the language experiences from home is intrinsic to the development of cognitive skills. Through the native language children are able to acquire new concepts and skills at a normal rate, concepts and skills that supposedly will be expanded and enriched in school once children reach school age (Anderson, 1977; Carrasquillo & Segan, 1984; Vygotsky, 1962). If the native language of the students is different from the language of the school and if the school does not use the children's language in the instructional setting, there is no language enrichment or concepts development; and knowledge stops until children learn the language of the school. In contrast, if the school uses the children's native language, the children's early linguistic and cognitive development is expanded resulting in their academic success.

Second Language Acquisition

One of the main objectives of bilingual education is the acquisition of English skills. When concepts are introduced and reinforced in the students' primary language, linguistic ability in general, is enhanced. Acquisition of a second language depends not only on exposure to the target language but on proficiency in the native language. Cummins (1984) has stated that: "The interdependence or common underlying proficiency principle implies that experience with either language can promote development of their proficiency underlying both languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both, either in school or in the wider environment (p. 143)." A high level of language proficiency evidenced in both - the native language and the second language - leads to accelerated cognitive growth and therefore positive academic outcomes.

It has been found that children who have a good command of their native

language (especially in vocabulary and grammatical structure) demonstrate facility in the acquisition of the second language and students may quickly develop surface language skills (in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation) in English. Through the native language students have already mastered general concepts through cognitive and meaningful tasks (Krashen, 1981). Students use these conceptual and cognitive skills effectively in the second language environment if the second language is presented in meaningful and communicative-based settings. Competence in the second language, therefore, is a function of competence that has been developed in the native language.

Content Area Knowledge

The primary objective of bilingual education is to facilitate students' acquisition of academic concepts, knowledge and skills through the language students know best and to reinforce this information through the second language. It is recommended that limited English proficient students enrolled in bilingual programs study content areas in their primary language since this approach facilitates students' learning of new concepts and skills.

The time it takes to reach proficiency in the second language affects the ability to master content area concepts and skills. According to Cummins (1984), it takes five to seven years to reach an age-appropriate level of context reduced proficiency (academic communicative proficiency), necessary in the development of content knowledge. Students learning content areas such as science, mathematics and social studies need to study them with the least possible language difficulty. Science, mathematics or social studies achievement can be enhanced by instruction provided in the students' native language. This should continue for several years until students have mastered English language skills and are more adept at processing abstract cognitive skills through the second language.

Self-Concept and Motivation to Learn

There is a positive correlation between self-concept and academic achievement. To maximize learning, students must have a positive attitude and a positive self-concept. Since the bilingual program accepts, respects and values the language and culture of the student, this approach contributes to students' positive attitudes toward themselves. Also, since pride in the native language and culture motivate students to struggle for academic excellence students will feel"more at home" in school, and will be more motivated to learn, thus creating a self-interest in coming to school and performing all the school tasks. Thus, these effective variables establish a powerful framework to successful acquisition of English and academic achievement in the school.

Learning to Read in the Students' Native Language

Reading instruction plays an important role in the school curriculum. Through reading students learn concepts, expand language, acquire content area knowledge and become informed of what happened and what is happening in the world. The school has the responsibility to teach each child to be a competent reader since lack of reading ability can become detrimental to the students' academic and cognitive development (Carrasquillo & Segan, 1984).

In bilingual programs reading is taught in the students' native language to

ensure initial reading success. Bilingual education capitalizes on the familiar experiences and knowledge of the child's own language. When concepts are introduced and reinforced in the student's native language linguistic ability in that language is enhanced. Growth in linguistic ability is interrelated with academic growth because language is a medium of representing thought and a vehicle for thinking. Once children have learned to read in their native language, they transfer those reading skills into English more easily because basic reading skills are transferable from one language to another. Once children have learned to read well in their native language they can use the same strategies to obtain meaning from print. These abilities provide a solid foundation for literacy skills in the second language.

Role of Native Language in Bilingual Special Education Classrooms

Bilingual handicapped students are those who, ideally have been screened and evaluated using non-discriminatory procedures including assessment instruments in both languages and requiring the development of an educational program for each student to meet academic, social and linguistic needs. Limited English proficient students with handicapping conditions require special instruction in the language they best understand while acquiring English language skills.

Bilingual special education instruction is focused on basic academic skills to include subject area content, language development and literacy skills. The primary language is the language through which students acquire more of these conceptual and academic skills. A positive effect on literacy achievement in the primary and second languages occurs when students engage in centered native language literacy and in the development of concepts in the content areas. Through the use of the native language the teacher becomes the facilitator of learning, focusing students learning on higher order cognitive skills and integrates language use and development in all aspects of curriculum development (Ortiz & Garcia, 1899). The native language provides the foundation for acquiring English as a second language skills. Ortiz and Garcia (1988) emphasize that a strong promotion of native language conceptual skills is more effective in providing a basis for English literacy.

Conclusion

Bilingual education - the regular use of two languages in the instructional program - contributes to the linguistic, academic and cognitive development of students. While the particular approaches used vary widely, the term implies the use of a student's native/primary language and English as medium of instruction. An emphasis on instructing students through two languages and enabling students to become proficient in two languages is emphasized and reinforced. This endorses the value of linguistic and cultural diversity encouraging students to become literate in their native/primary language and to develop bilingual skills throughout their schooling even into their adult lives. Bilingual education programs include classes taught in both languages in a multicultural curriculum with support for reaching full-English language proficiency without negating the first language in the process. Bilingual education supports and promotes two languages for every student, especially for limited English proficient students.

THE Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory

NEW R&D PRODUCTS

TOWARD MORE EFFECTIVE EDUCATION FOR POOR, MINORITY STUDENTS IN RURAL AREAS: WHAT THE RESEARCH SUGGESTS

Prepared for:

Joint Hearing

Alaska State Senate's Special Committee on School Performance

Carnegie Foundation's Quality Education for Minorities Project

August 26, 1988

Presented by:
Dr. Robert R. Rath
Executive Director

Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory
101 S.W. Main Street, Suite 500
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report summarizes recent research evidence regarding effective education of poor, minority students in rural areas. The report was prepared by staff at the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory with developmental support from the Laboratory's Center on National Origin, Race, and Sex Equity.

After a brief review of some significant barriers to high student performance, the bulk of the report reviews research findings about practices that can overcome these barriers and lead to high performance by poor, minority students. These research findings call for a new vision for effective education of the disadvantaged. Earlier efforts were flawed by a "remedial" and "cultural deficit" mentality with low expectations of disadvantaged students.

The research now suggests that a dramatically different vision is called for, one which is manifested by: (a) high community, family, and school expectations for all students regardless of ethnicity or socioeconomic condition, (b) active community and parent participation and partnerships, (c) skillful instruction in basic skills, learning-to-learn skills and thinking skills, (d) cultural sensitivity and relevance in curriculum materials and teaching practices, and (e) new teaching and grouping strategies such as mastery learning, cooperative learning, and peer tutoring.

The report concludes with a discussion of major public policy issues raised by this new vision. Included in this review are new issues related to: (a) the need for new policy partnerships, (b) new policy perspectives on the relationship between equity and excellence goals, (c) the nature of accountability expectations of the schools, (d) optional policy strategies to help implement new schooling strategies, (e) long- versus short-range perspectives on strategies for change, and (f) the need for continuing policy support as well as policy mandates. Finally, the report suggests that the practices emerging from the research provide a highly important information base which policy makers and practitioners should use to implement the new vision of effective education for the disadvantaged.

The underlying theme of the report is that effective education of the disadvantaged is a major public social and economic issue--not just an educational one.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Alaska's statewide concern with improving the achievement of Alaska Native students from isolated poor families is on the leading edge of a national policy issue.

As we face a future of increasing multicultural diversity and a projected growing population of disadvantaged and poor, this nation is faced with a highly complex set of educational questions. These questions go to the heart of how to improve education of the minority poor. Increasingly, we are beginning to understand that we *must* answer these questions for our social and economic survival. One researcher (Levin, 1987) points out the dimensions of the problem:

> "Educationally disadvantaged pupils account for almost one third of all elementary and secondary students in the U.S. Pupils who are defined as educationally disadvantaged lack the home and community resources to fully benefit from conventional schooling practices and the recent wave of educational reforms. Because of poverty, cultural or linguistic differences, they tend to have low academic achievement and experience high secondary school dropout rates. Such students are especially concentrated among minority groups, immigrants, non-English speaking families, and economically disadvantaged populations."

We know there has historically been a gap between ethnic and language minority and majority achievement in the United States. We know equally well that one's race does not cause low achievement. We also know that chronic poverty creates frighteningly unhealthy conditions for learning--conditions which *do* cause low achievement.

As your Commissioner of Education reported in describing the results of the State's recent Educational Issues forum, the numbers of Alaska students who live in poverty and who are bilingual are increasing. Therefore, the issues of improving poor, minority, rural student performance are playing out in Alaska in advance of many other states.

It is in this context that we draw on our research knowledge today to do three things:

- Briefly review the known factors which function as barriers to high performance among poor, isolated, minority children and youth.
- Review more extensively what we know works in helping disadvantaged youngsters perform at high levels.
- Conclude with some thoughts on policy issues and options which seem to come out of the research findings.

Throughout, we will assess strategies to improve student performance in consideration of the context in which these children live and from which they come to school. Solutions that work for poor, [illegible] children can and are found not in the school alone, but in the interactions among the [illegible] and the home. Therefore, we know we need to draw upon, not ignore, the social, [illegible] context of home and [illegible].

II. BARRIERS TO HIGH STUDENT PERFORMANCE *

We know from the research on low achieving, "at risk" students that there are features which prevent them from performing at high levels, and which can often lead to failure and dropping out of school.

A. STUDENT FACTORS

First, we know there are *student factors*. For example, students who are not proficient in English run the risk of failure in school. Further, we know that the poor performance of non-English speaking students is not due to lower ability or lower learning skills. Yet research tells us that both limited-English-language proficiency and coming from a home environment that has a non-English language is associated with poor achievement and dropping out. Moreover, this population is increasing nationwide.

We know that when the home culture and school system expectations and values conflict, students are caught in the middle. These cultural differences may manifest themselves in ways as subtle as differing expectations of children's "speaking up" for themselves in front of adults or as profound as the contrast between the language of the home and the school. While some programs specifically address recognized language differences, unrecognized differing cultural, interactional, and behavioral expectations can lead equally directly to misapprehension of teachers and the school by the child and of the child by the school and its staff. The result is very often performance which is, correctly or incorrectly, deemed poor. The ultimate results are too often school failure and dropping out of school.

Like ethnic and linguistic differences, the culture of poverty, with its need to focus on meeting urgent immediate needs, contrasts with the long-term growth and goal orientation of the school. One researcher (Boocock, 1979) has analyzed the "culture" created by poverty and how this affects school performance:

> "Characteristic of the culture of poverty are fatalism, feelings of frustration and alienation from the larger society, a present--rather than future--time orientation, resulting in an inability to plan for the future, and preference for physical over mental activities and gratifications."

We are beginning to build a sharper understanding of two different kinds of families: (a) those families who are simply poor and (b) those families who are dysfunctional (where children simply have little constructive access to their parents). The latter families lack the ability to support the educational growth of their children. Regardless of income level, dysfunctional families certainly create learning barriers. For example, children who are abused (nationally a 20 percent increase in reported cases since 1976) have a variety of learning problems. One researcher (Brassard, 1987) has discovered that maltreated youngsters are 10 to 30 IQ points below other children during early childhood. Researchers have also found that teachers tend to judge maltreated children as less competent and as greater behavioral problems.

We are coming to recognize the strong correlation which exists between parents' alcoholism and drug abuse and children's substance abuse. While we don't have research results which directly tie substance abuse to low achievement, the potential relationship seems obvious to us. As one streetwise teacher observed recently, "If the kids in our class are stoned, they sure as heck aren't learning!" The 1986 Gallup poll of public attitudes toward education reveals that, for the first time, the public viewed drug abuse as the most important problem of education.

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*We will use the term "student performance" rather than "achievement." Student performance includes academic achievement, student attitudes, and aspirations as well as student social behaviors.

We know that substance abuse is higher in the West than it is in any other part of the country other than the Northeast. Statistics in our Technical Assistance Center for Drug Free Schools show that Alaska students report particularly high rates of alcohol and marijuana use. Finally, we know from studies in various states that the problem is increasing in rural areas in the West.

We are learning that the growing phenomenon of single-parent families is contributing to children's learning problems. A recent research report (Milne, et al., 1986) reveals that children growing up in a single-parent family have a 93 percent chance of living in poverty at least one year while growing up. They have a 61 percent chance of being in poverty throughout the first ten years of their lives. By contrast, children in two-parent homes have only a 2 percent chance of being poor continuously during ages 0-10. Moreover, we know that more children living in single-parent families score lower on standardized tests and receive lower grades in school.

We recognize that students who have a high rate of absenteeism are also more likely to fail and drop out of school. This absenteeism may be due to a number of factors including dysfunctional families, migration, or subsistence needs for hunting and fishing. Whatever the cause of the absences, we do know that excessive absenteeism is another predictor of school failure.

Finally, we know that living and learning in social isolation causes problems. Our Rural Education Program is developing a better understanding of this isolation. Whether from dysfunctional families or simply due to geographic isolation, students who experience these conditions often lack the necessary stimulation and/or motivation to learn and to see the relevance of their school work to the "outside" world. Concern for the performance of low-income students was the highest ranked need in the recent survey conducted in rural districts in our region.

B. SCHOOL SYSTEM FACTORS

Let us now turn our attention to *school system factors* which can set up barriers. For example, we know the problems created by high staff turnover--particularly in rural areas. Our R&D Program for Indian Education has found that schools with high turnover often lack the necessary continuity in their curriculum and instructional programs.

Schools in isolated rural settings also pose particular problems. Small size and isolation often prevent attention to unique needs--particularly among the disadvantaged. Moreover, rural teachers and administrators are prepared by institutions of higher education which may not necessarily consider the rural context in their training.

The problem of ineffective teaching of the disadvantaged has also been well researched. Studies show clear tendencies by many teachers to have different expectations for, and different behavior toward, poor and low-achieving students than for higher achievers. Teachers tend to give the higher achievers more interesting assignments. They give low achievers less time to answer questions and more "low order" drill and practice. They tend to interrupt the low achievers more and have them do less self-evaluation than the higher achievers. Obviously, not all teachers behave this way, but the research has revealed some disturbing trends regarding lowered expectations for low-achieving students.

Inadequate staffing levels also present constraints to developing high performance. Studies of Chapter I programs reveal the need for frequent and ongoing adult/child interaction in the classroom. Schools with inadequate staffing levels prevent opportunities for such interactions and positive reinforcement.

Often the structure of schools can present barriers. Schools that are not structured to provide ongoing professional development for their teachers tend to perform less well than those that do. Testing programs that are not related to the curriculum provide meaningless information. Incorrect procedures for grouping and "tracking" students often prevent students from performing at optimum levels and worse, do damage to their self-esteem.

Finally, we now accept that the lack of strong school/community partnerships inhibits high performance. We recognize, as do researchers across the nation, that the source of low achievement may rest with either the school, the family, with the broader community, or some combination thereof. To attempt to isolate the school from the broader community overlooks this need for a sense of mutual purpose and partnership. As one group of researchers (Pallas, et al., 1987) put it:

> "The results of these three types of deficiencies (school, family, community) may all manifest themselves in the same way on standard measures of academic achievement, but the realization that the sources of the deficiencies may rest with the school, the family, or the community, or all three, will sensitize us as we move to identify the size and location of the educationally disadvantaged population."

We now turn our attention to guidelines which are emerging from the research about effective solutions to some of these very complex problems.

III. STRATEGIES FOR EFFECTIVE SOLUTIONS

A. THE RESEARCH BASE

Over the past 15 years, high quality research studies have dramatically improved our understanding of how to create effective education for disadvantaged students. Time and again, effective practices related to improved student performance have been revealed. As we review these research-based practices, specific qualifications about the information presented need to be made:

- Most of the research has been conducted in settings other than Alaska. Therefore, in preparing our report, we have been careful to examine and summarize those findings which appear to be most relevant to poor, minority, rural, and isolated educational settings.
- Most of the research is what the researchers call "correlational"; i.e., certain practices have been found time and again to be "correlated" to high student performance, but we are not able to draw a direct "cause and effect" relationship. For example, we know that in virtually all of the effective schooling studies, the leadership of the principal is highly important. Yet we can't say that the active leadership of the principal *per se* causes better student performance.

In spite of these qualifications, we urge consideration of the powerful guidance emerging from these studies.

B. A HISTORY OF DIFFERENT ASSUMPTIONS AND STRATEGIES

The issue of improving the disproportionately low achievement of poor minority students has undergone several different kinds of analyses in the history of United States education. The early view was that genetic inheritance determined the difference in minority versus majority performance. The solution strategies tried under this theory were narrow remedial approaches, such as "tracking" and ability grouping--in worst cases, even segregation. There was a pervasive low expectation of closing the gap between minority and majority performance.

Then came the theory that "environment" caused poor minority students' learning problems. These theories blamed family problems, poverty, and lack of learning stimulation in the home. The solution strategies tried under this theory focused on having the schools "compensate" for the "deficits" and "cultural deprivation" that poor, minority students faced. Solutions included many of the programs of the "Great Society" (Title I, Head Start and Follow Through, desegregation). While these programs worked well in certain settings, many of them were also hindered by an underlying wave of different--and lower--expectations. Low order remediation and basic skills instruction without attainment of "learning to learn" skills was a major strategy in many of these efforts.

Another theory came along in the early 1970s which held that students failed because the culture of the school was different from, and often in conflict with, the home culture. This theory of multicultural pluralism suggested that the best solution strategies were those that strengthened the students' awareness and understanding of their own culture and history and provided a bridge between the home and the school.

At about the same time that multicultural pluralism theories were being advanced, we began to develop a much better understanding of the effectiveness of certain teaching techniques. Mastery learning is one such technique and involves setting specific objectives, carefully measuring prerequisite skill levels, teaching to the objectives, measuring how well students accomplish the objectives, grouping and reteaching as necessary. Similarly, effective teaching practices discovered out of the teaching effects research (in which teachers held high expectations for all students, offered

direct and structured instruction, etc.) also began to enrich our understanding of the kinds of teaching which makes a difference in students' performance. Most important, many of these studies were conducted in areas with high concentrations of poor, minority students.

Current research on multicultural pluralism and effective schooling practices provides us with the most promising direction. This research also definitively disproves the earlier "genetic inheritance" theories.

An additional key strand that has emerged during the current decade is the essential role of parents in the education of their children and the role of the community in the life of the school. In both urban and rural settings, the school has come to be recognized as a part of the community from which its students are drawn, not an institution that can exist separate from it. Goals, standards, and practices of the school must be consistent with, and developed in partnership with, parents and community members. From a narrow definition of community control, i.e., elected boards of education, we have evolved toward a multifaceted model of community involvement. This school-community cooperation is seen as especially critical in districts whose populations are poor, ethnic minority, and language minority children.

The research findings we will summarize document the direct correlation between these effective practices and the performance of poor, minority children. Further, the research findings paint an optimistic picture of what is truly possible. We will be talking about the "alterable variables"--those things that schools and school people can do to bring about improved performance. These practices can and do overcome the barriers of poverty over which school people have little control.

C. POINTS OF IMPACT FOR IMPROVED PERFORMANCE

The research on improvement of student performance suggests three key points of access when working with poor, minority, rural youth. First, in all schools, and especially in the types of communities discussed here, parent and community involvement is a key component of improvement. Second, a great deal of information about more effective ways to structure schools and school districts is available, much of which applies to the rural school setting. Third, effective strategies for working directly with students in classrooms hold great promise for improving student performance. The sections following highlight research findings in each of these three key areas.

D. PARENT AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

1. Parental involvement with schooling and with children. In a thorough review of the research, our staff has concluded that three key points stand out. First, the evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that parental involvement in the school and with children's learning is positively related to achievement, behavior, self-concept, future expectations, attendance, and motivation of their children. Further, the greater the level of involvement, the greater the achievement and performance benefits. Finally, the earlier in a child's educational process the parental involvement begins, the more powerful the positive effects will be.

2. Enhancing involvement. To those who have argued that it is "impossible" to get involvement of poor or minority parents, the research suggests another look. Schools across the country are demonstrating powerful effects of involving very willing poor and minority parents. Some of the most positive examples of parentally-involved schools are in the most poverty-stricken neighborhoods of our cities and most isolated communities of our countryside. They are the result of high priority on parental involvement and respect for parents as first and co-teachers.

There are many effective strategies to foster parent involvement. Among these are "Saturday schools" which children and parents attend together; home visits by school staff, a common component in effective early childhood education programs; providing transportation for parents to attend school affairs; rescheduling events and staff schedules to accommodate parents' work schedules; cooperative ventures such as parent-run child care on-site after school hours; and basic skills and other adult education programs in the schools combined with on-site child care and parent-child cooperative learning components.

3. **Participation in children's learning.** While there has been little research which ties community involvement in governance with student achievement, there is a growing body of evidence that attests to the power of involving parents in the education of their children. Effective involvement, particularly when it directly involves parents in their children's learning tasks, has a definite correlation with improving children's performance--particularly minority and poor children. For example, a major study in England found that children who read to their parents at home made significantly greater progress than students who did not follow this practice. In fact, the children who read to their parents at home (even to those parents who couldn't speak English) outperformed students who had received small group instruction from a highly qualified instructor.

These findings were particularly true for minority, bilingual, underperforming students and are concurrent with a growing number of studies in the United States. The combination of effective parent involvement with other good practices can have particularly dramatic results for limited-English-speaking students. For example, Jim Cummins (1986) reports on the preschool program in Carpinteria, California, a poor Hispanic community:

> "Students who experienced a preschool program in which (a) their cultural identity was reinforced, (b) there was active collaboration with parents, and (c) meaningful use of language was integrated into every aspect of daily activities were developing high levels of conceptual and linguistic skills in both languages (English and Spanish)."

4. **Defining the mission of the schools.** Community agreement on desired schooling outcomes is essential for effective schooling to take place, as well as community participation in reviewing progress toward these desired outcomes. Native language retention or literacy programs would be a prime example of a community-driven program. Research on vocational education indicates that schools whose parents are involved in defining the vocational programs are more likely to attract and retain their students, especially poor, minority students (Weber, 1986). Such programs have as a key element parent involvement in career education and in student learning.

5. **"Empowerment" of parents and communities.** Recent reform movements have devoted much attention to the concept of "empowerment" of communities and parents. Such empowerment theories argue that the greater the involvement of the lay community in governance of schools, the greater the potential for ensuring improvement. While this theory has not been well researched, there are signals that empowerment may create a greater sense of relevance and support for schools. For example, in a study of rural schools in Alaska, Gerald McBeath and colleagues (1983) discovered that schools with greater "localized" community control had the lowest rates of absenteeism and vandalism, indicating a greater degree of community identification with the school. Equally important, community participation in defining the mission of the school can lead to greater accountability for school success on the part of the community and parents.

6. **Community members as teachers.** Recent literature on parental involvement has emphasized the role of parents and other family elders as children's first teachers. Effective early education programs, including Perry Preschool Head Start, incorporate strong parent involvement and parent education programs.

Additionally, there is evidence that parents and community members have a positive effect in the classroom, for example, when serving as teacher or language aides. In some studies of bilingual classrooms, where community members serve as the bridge between the children's first language

and the language of instruction, these community people play key roles not only in translating language, but in interpreting behavior and facilitating the transition from home modes of interaction to the interactional styles that are accepted at schools (e.g., Watson-Gegeo and Boggs, 1977). These positive, facilitative effects on language arts performance can be found in monolingual classrooms as well, where the English language may be shared, but the style of speaking varies from home to school. Micheals and Cook-Gumperz (1979), reporting on an urban Black primary classroom and Cooley and Ballenger (1982) reporting on a public speaking course for Indian college freshmen, found that members from the students' home cultures were able to intervene with explanations and assistance to teachers who were not able to follow the oral structures their students had brought from their homes.

E. SCHOOL AND DISTRICT STRUCTURES AND PRACTICES

1. Direction setting. As in the private sector, we know high performing schools and school districts have strong leadership in setting directions. These directions focus on student performance and take the form of well-defined mission statements, goals and objectives, and clear standards for student performance. The schools and districts that produce extraordinary student performance keep everyone focused on these targets for improvement.

The real leadership challenge in schools and districts with high concentrations of low income and minority students is to instill the belief that *all* students can learn well. In effective schools for minority and poor youth, there is consistent priority placed on narrowing the gap between minority and majority performance. In districts such as Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, and Portland, Oregon, where this leadership focus has been established, we are seeing significant movements toward "closing the gap."

2. Early Intervention. A very key finding of recent research has been the long-term positive outcomes of early education for poor and minority students. Early childhood education is an area in which Alaska has led the nation; its positive effects have led to its expansion as a priority item in your Governor's Interim Commission on Children and Youth report. Long-term studies of early childhood education for disadvantaged children indicate that social and economic benefits outweigh the school achievement gains that have too often been the sole focus of our concern. Early childhood education programs yield cost benefits for the society as a whole as well as for the individuals who attend them. One study, for example, documents a $7 public cost savings for every $1 invested in early childhood education (Berrueta-Clement, 1984).

Our staff recently completed an extensive review of the research on the effects of early childhood education on disadvantaged children. Major findings include the following:

- Children from educationally disadvantaged families benefit greatly from early education, as do the handicapped.
- Prekindergartners are more prepared for first grade and do better in the critical primary years, based on teacher assessments.
- Studies show positive impact on achievement in one or more subjects, most lasting through primary grades. Longer term achievement effects are more mixed.
- Special education referrals and grade retentions are significantly reduced among students who participate in early childhood education.
- Prekindergartners are more positive about school and their scholastic ability through early adulthood than are their counterparts.
- Early education results in greater economic self sufficiency, self-esteem, and aspirations as well as reduced delinquent behavior.
- Adult:child ratio is critical and should not exceed 1:16 or 2:20.

- Effective parent involvement is clearly needed.
- Many effective programs build their instruction from a child development perspective and provide health and social services to the children and their families.
- Early childhood education narrows the gap in school readiness between disadvantaged and advantaged youngsters.
- The lower the income of the family, the greater the benefits of early childhood education, academically and socially.

3. **Curriculum and instruction.** The curriculum the school offers is critically important to improved student performance. In studying schools with high concentrations of poor, minority and underachieving students, researchers have found the following curriculum characteristics related to improved performance, both achievement and retention in school:

- Language-based approach with emphasis on reading, writing, speaking, and listening across all subjects in the curriculum.
- Emphasis on generic learning-to-learn skills as well as on the subject matter content in the curriculum.
- Alignment of the curriculum objectives, instructional materials, and testing program. Such approaches help focus on essential skills to be taught, eliminate underplacing and underpacing, and establish priorities for management and use of instructional time.
- Emphasis on cultural materials consistent with the students' cultural backgrounds and culturally conditioned learning styles. For example, studies of instruction of both Native Hawaiian and Native American students find direct correlation between these factors and improved student achievement. This is particularly key in transition from home to school in the early grades and in the language arts areas.
- Curriculum content that is appropriate to the life expectations and interests of the students. For example, vocational, rather than purely academic curricula have higher rates of student retention in populations of poor students. As with cultural appropriateness, economic appropriateness of curriculum is critical to students' engagement in the school. It further provides motivation for continuing in school. Studies have shown, for example, that among low income students, vocational graduates can expect to have a lifetime wage advantage of 9-11 percent over their academic counterparts.

These curriculum characteristics need to be considered in light of the tremendous influence of textbooks on instruction. Studies indicate that 80-90 percent of the total instruction in our schools is dominated by the content of textbooks. Such studies indicate that the instructional quality of textbooks is seriously lacking. The content may be poorly organized, over-generalized, and neglectful of the cultural contributions of various minority groups. Further, publishers' tests are often misaligned with the content of the texts. This indicates a serious need to examine and augment existing curricula in our schools.

4. **Standardized testing.** When standardized tests are used on a schoolwide or districtwide basis, the research tells us that high performing schools:

- Coordinate and summarize results of their testing.
- Take care to make assessments regular, routine, and with minimum classroom disruption.

- Check the alignment between the tests and the curriculum and materials, and make improvements where necessary.
- Openly review and use assessment results for setting priorities for improvement of student performance.

5. Monitoring student performance and school improvement efforts. The effective schooling studies have revealed that careful schoolwide monitoring of student performance is a significant characteristic of high performing schools. Monitoring such performance results (in the classroom and schoolwide) and making mid-course corrections, keeps attention focused on the "bottom line" learning goals of the school.

Equally important is regular, careful, and evaluative monitoring of educational improvement efforts by school and district staff. Studies of various educational innovations in the 1970s revealed a serious lack of such monitoring. And where such a lack existed, the innovation failed to last. As in any change movement, in school improvement efforts reinforcement and reflection are necessary to sustain the momentum and keep up enthusiasm and involvement.

6. School climate. The effective schooling research reveals the need for a safe, orderly, schoolwide environment, one in which discipline policy is well known and consistently enforced. As in the classroom climate studies, effective schools have also discovered the importance of students and teachers sharing a view of high performance as a critical element, along with incentives and rewards for such performance. Researchers at the University of Texas found that this type of climate can be created within the first two weeks at the opening of the school year by *teaching* the rules and norms as if they are subject matter (as opposed to "handing out a list of do's and don'ts").

Researchers (Stockard & Mayberry, 1988) who reviewed the studies on school climate paint the following picture of schoolwide characteristics associated with high student performance:

- A supportive environment (safe, orderly, democratic, respectful of individual rights).
- Teachers' warmth and responsiveness to students.
- Staff expecting high achievement from students.
- Students valuing academic excellence and believing that they can achieve it.
- An instructional leader who takes responsibility for students' learning.
- Low achievers positively associated with high ability peers.
- Staff and student agreement on norms supporting high achievement.
- High level of involvement and sense of belonging among students and staff.
- Community involvement and/or identification with school.

7. School size. There is some evidence that suggests smaller schools offer greater potential than larger ones for achieving high student performance. However, school size as an isolated factor is meaningless. Yet there are those who have identified the small school's closeness, individual attention, and group cohesiveness as factors which can influence improved student performance. One team of researchers (Stockard & Mayberry, 1988) reviewed the evidence and stated:

> "Besides giving students greater involvement in school activities, it is possible that smaller schools can more easily develop consensus on curricular and disciplinary policies among teachers and students than large schools can. Such consensus has been found to be related to more cohesive school climates, student attendance, and academic achievement."

8. Staffing practices. Staffing practices include recruitment and selection, retention, and inservice training of qualified staff. While there are no research studies which tie recruitment, selection, and retention practices to student performance, we realize that coping with teacher turnover is a major challenge for schools in rural areas.

Some implications for improving staffing decisions in Alaska schools may be drawn from a recent study of teacher turnover in reservation schools conducted by our R&D Program on Indian Education. This study discovered that there are some common characteristics of teachers who tend not to stay in reservation schools: they are likely to be relatively young and inexperienced (four or fewer years of teaching); they are likely to be single, and they are likely to be from cities or prefer city life.

Teachers who left these schools identified lack of support for teachers by administrators, low academic standards, lack of professional development, and geographic isolation. The study revealed that in recruiting teachers there are some common "warning signals" of personal or professional characteristics which warrant the attention of a hiring committee for a rural, minority school. Long tenure and success is unlikely if the candidate is: rigid and inflexible; overly concerned with discipline and structure; "full of him/herself," i.e, thinks he or she has all the answers; burned out; heavily oriented to and reliant on commercial textbooks; lacking in self-confidence; a "job hopper" who has made frequent job changes; or negative in his/her reaction to the geographic setting.

Rural schools are not the appropriate place for refuge from the "real world" by escapist individuals, nor are staff with a missionary attitude toward their isolated constitutents well placed in the schools. Avoiding teacher candidates with these negative traits and looking for those with solid instructional skills (see below) can be a major factor in turning around student performance in a school.

Once selected, an "induction" program for new teachers should be conducted. This program pairs the new teacher with an experienced one to help the novice get acclimated and work on developing and improving the necessary teaching skills. Finally, a well-planned long-range professional inservice training program is an essential ingredient in any effective school. We will have more to say about this when we discuss policy implications.

F. CLASSROOM STRUCTURE AND PRACTICES

1. Classroom teaching. The research suggests specific teaching practices which lead to high performance of poor, minority students. We know teachers must:

- Hold high expectations for all students regardless of socioeconomic status. These expectations include high achievement of both basic and higher order skills by *all* students.
- Teach to an objective-based, preplanned curriculum.
- Make effective and efficient use of class time through clear directions and instruction, equitable questioning of all students, minimal interruptions for discipline, checking for student understanding and reteaching as necessary, and maintaining a brisk instructional pace.
- Demonstrate personal warmth while demanding high performance.
- Respect and incorporate the students' home cultures into the classroom work.
- Adjust instructional techniques to culturally conditioned learning styles (e.g., use of cooperative learning for students from backgrounds such as Native Hawaiian and Native American).
- Monitor students' work regularly and provide constructive feedback.

- Assure that all levels of thinking are required on the part of all students, integrating types of tasks demanded.
- Maintain a task orientation.
- Relate current learning to past learning.

This list of effective teaching practices may seem "old hat" to many. For years, good teachers have practiced them. But several points need to be made about the list which suggest it is worth revisiting from the point of view of improving education for rural disadvantaged students.

First, our research knowledge now makes these effective practices unarguable. This was not the case ten years ago. We can all recall hearing a few teachers say that if we just let kids "do their own thing" and "explore their own interests" that was all the structure they needed. We now can reject this argument as an indication of bad teaching practice.

Second, there are some features in the preceding list which do not often get attention in generalized lists of effective teaching behaviors. For example, the notion of skillful combining of basic skills instruction with the teaching of higher order thinking skills is a particular requirement of effective teaching of disadvantaged students that is often unmentioned--and even debated by some. Yet researchers have documented that disadvantaged students particularly have often suffered from, and been bored by, endless repetition of low order drill and practice in the basic skills. This poor practice derives from failure of teachers to hold equally high expectations for such students. Similarly, decoding skills in reading to the exclusion of helping kids with ways to improve comprehension and simple arithmetic operations to the exclusion of experiences in math problem solving all have the effect of creating meaningless experiences. These in turn negate disadvantaged children's views of school and themselves. Researchers are now documenting the effectiveness of teaching higher order skills to disadvantaged and underachieving students. Increasingly, we are realizing that the often well intentioned approaches to basic skills remediation have been misguided. Beyond the basic skills, the disadvantaged need learning-to-learn skills, content thinking skills, basic reasoning skills, and communication skills.

Third, this list of effective teaching practices makes reference to ensuring cultural relevance. A growing body of research knowledge now documents the fact that the extent to which this happens in the classroom is one major predictor of academic success on the part of minorities and students with limited English speaking abilities. As one research team (Garcia & Noble, 1988) puts it: "Students are more likely to feel that what they do is significant when their personal and family characteristics, their ethnicity, language, and way of life are respected by the school." Increasingly, this sense of "efficacy" on the part of the students is linked in teaching research to high achievement.

Of particular importance in classrooms with minority students is the finding that how children interact is very much structured by the conversation rules and modes of parent-child communication. For example, direct questioning of Native American children often evokes silence. Such silence does not necessarily mean that the child does not understand or know the answer. Rather, the home culture regards active demonstration of knowledge as unseemly. The same is true when a teacher wants the student to debate a proposition. Many tribes favor a less direct and nonpersuasive way of expressing dissent. Thus, minority students often must tread a confusing line of trying to understand the teacher's expectations and ways that the teacher assesses the child's performance, and to resolve the differences between home and teacher expectations.

Finally, the list contains some affective items, too often overlooked in summaries of effective teaching techniques. Yet, in the bicultural classroom, the quality and sincerity of the interaction between teacher and students is a key element in engaging and encouraging, rather than alienating and discouraging, the students. The concept of "warmth" of the teacher is one which is seldom found in general lists of effective teaching practices. Researchers have discovered that this trait of personal warmth is particularly important in working with Native American students. It is most effectively combined with consistent high expectations, yielding what one Alaskan researcher (Kleinfeld, 1972) calls "active demandingness."

2. Grouping for instruction. Research tells us that the way students are grouped can often have a major effect on student performance. Among key findings on grouping:

- Both high- and low-ability students do better academically in classes where the total group includes students with a wide range of academic ability. The impact is most positive for low-ability students.
- By contrast, only high-ability students benefit from homogenous "ability" grouping where students at a similar ability level are kept together for long periods of time. In addition, there are harmful effects for low-ability students. Their engagement decreases when they are kept together for long periods of time.

Two grouping practices that are showing particularly significant performance results are "peer tutoring" and "cooperative learning" strategies. In peer tutoring, students are paired in a one-on-one relationship to reteach one another, to extend instruction, or to assist each other with tasks emerging from the instruction. In cooperative learning, small groups of four to six students with a cross-section of characteristics are formed to teach information and skills. The tasks they work on emphasize material already taught by teachers. Students assist one another with the task. Then each group receives a single grade for its performance, as well as an individual assessment of each student's contribution to the group.

In peer tutoring and cooperative learning, the individual student is judged in part by his/her contribution to the total team effort. Study after study has documented both improved achievement and improved classroom climate related to these strategies. One researcher (Levin, 1987) cites the peer tutoring approach, properly carried out, as one of the most cost-effective ways for improving the performance of disadvantaged students. Further, such cooperative student-on-student and team-structured groupings take advantage of many minority students' cultural backgrounds. Where "performance" by an individual may be construed as showing off or self-aggrandizement, group work supports striving for excellence.

3. Classroom testing and assessment. The decade of the 1980s has seen great public interest in testing students. While the reform movement of the early 1980s led to heightened schoolwide achievement testing of students across the country, researchers at the Laboratory (Stiggins, Conklin, & Bridgeford, 1986) focused a great deal of attention on the kind of testing that happens in the classroom. They found teachers assess students' behavioral and interactional styles almost as much as they assess academic performance. For example, some research found that teachers tend to use cues such as the ways children sit, talk, listen, and respond to instructions to develop a framework for assessing students. For minority students, whose interactional expectations differ from those of the teacher, these assessments can be especially inappropriate or unfair.

Our researchers advocate expanded training of teachers to assess students appropriately and to be sensitive to the different styles of interaction conditioned by their home environments. As students are assessed much more often by their teachers in the classroom than they are by standardized tests, these research findings are particularly important for improving student performance.

4. Classroom climate. The climate of the classroom has an important relationship to student learning. Researchers have documented that a "safe and orderly" environment is a key feature of effective classrooms. We have already cited the necessity for the classroom to contain an atmosphere that respects the students' cultural backgrounds and heritage. Also important is a classroom environment where the students as well as the teacher respect and demonstrate "high academic expectations, warmth, concern for others, and respect of others." These features have been shown to enhance student achievement, particularly in classrooms with significant numbers of minorities and disadvantaged students.

5. Class size. The issue of class size has been debated for years. It continues to be a major topic in collective bargaining discussions as well as in state legislatures and state education departments. Researchers have reached general consensus on the following statements about class size:

- Reducing class size will not, by itself, raise student achievement. High quality teaching that takes advantage of the smaller group of students must accompany such reductions.
- The most beneficial effects of smaller classes are noted in the area of reading followed, in descending order, by mathematics, language arts, and the natural sciences.
- Ethnic minority students and economically disadvantaged students have higher achievement in smaller classes with high quality teaching than in similar classes of larger size.
- Students of lesser ability benefit relatively more from smaller classes.
- Smaller classes are related to higher achievement in the primary grades of kindergarten through grade three but less related in grades four through eight. The most beneficial effects at all grade levels are noted when the class size is 16 to 22.

In most cases, the issue of class size in rural Alaska is irrelevant. The schools already have very low class size. On the other hand, it is good to recognize that this is a strength in rural Alaska which can be built upon.

IV. POLICY ISSUES AND OPTIONS

A. THE NEED FOR POLICY INITIATIVES

The research findings discussed in the preceding raise several key public policy issues. The "rising underclass" demands heightened attention to effective education for poor, minority students. As we know from national projections, without some form of intervention the number of poor, minority, low-skilled citizens is expected to increase dramatically in the foreseeable future. We know that the consequences are getting worse faster than in any other era of our history. Henry Levin (1987) has detailed the consequences of avoiding the issue of better education for the disadvantaged. Economic deterioration, rising costs of welfare and other public services, and the creation of a "dual society" are all clearly on the horizon unless public policy sets a different direction.

These consequences will have major effects on the economic and social climate. And, equally important, the lack of action will have a major influence on our higher education systems. We are already feeling the impact of declining enrollments of poor, minority citizens in higher education. We applaud the Carnegie Foundation and Massachusetts Institute of Technology for addressing this issue.

B. INTEGRATING POLICY FOR EQUITY AND EXCELLENCE

We have historically viewed the issues of "equity" and "excellence" as two separate sets of concerns. We have tended to assume that if you enhance one, the other must, of necessity, suffer. We now know that the assumption of "tradeoffs" between the two goals is unnecessary and counterproductive. The research on culturally sensitive curriculum and instruction shows us that the "remedial" mentality of "dumbing down" and slowing the pace of instruction is a fruitless way to achieve either equity or excellence. Conversely, sensitive adjustment of curriculum and instruction to cultural conditions, while maintaining the same high expectations for all children, is truly possible. The vision public policy makers can now create is one of hope and belief--the belief that all children, regardless of ethnicity or socioeconomic status, can learn well.

C. EDUCATIONAL POLICY SUGGESTED BY THE RESEARCH

Three major features of the research findings require the attention of those at the local level who must implement improved educational strategies. First, the skillful combination of basic and higher order thinking and learning skills is a major new focus. Second, the need for cultural relevance in curriculum materials and teaching techniques is now well documented. But more than the need, we now have evidence which correlates such relevance with improved student performance for minority and bilingual students. Finally, the requirements that teachers and administrators be highly skilled in planning and initiating new instructional strategies such as cooperative learning, peer tutoring, and mastery learning is coupled with the need for warmth, sensitivity, and commitment to the needs of parents as full partners in the education of children.

Obviously, most of this must happen at the local level. State policy makers are therefore left wondering what their role might be to stimulate this new vision of education and the related solutions. The need for a major initiative in professional development to learn more about these solutions and to gain skills and perspectives in implementing them is probably the single most important support policy makers can give.

D. POLICY ON IMPLEMENTING SOLUTIONS

Another key state policy question centers on the best strategy for creating a new vision and stimulating implementation of the solutions we have discussed. Should the state adopt an "incentive" strategy, rewarding school districts that demonstrate major gains? Should the state provide developmental support to all school districts to improve education of the disadvantaged? Should the state adopt curriculum standards, requiring a common core of learning outcomes for all students? Or should the state adopt a requirement that all districts implement a planning and evaluation process which involves the community in specifying the local outcomes, reviews research findings, implements solutions, and measures and reports how well those outcomes are achieved? There is no research evidence suggesting a preferred policy position on these options. Clearly, however, state policy makers must resolve which of the options should be implemented. We do know from the research on change and improvement in schools that policy makers must orchestrate a constant balance of "pressure" and "support."

E. POLICY PARTNERSHIPS

In setting new directions to reverse the trend of the rising underclass, public policy makers need partnership support from business, industry, and labor as well as a renewed sense of purpose from the educational community. We need to begin detailing the necessary commitments and roles of other health and welfare agencies in dealing with dysfunctional families, drug and alcohol abuse, and the debilitating effects of poverty.

New kinds of partnerships and commitments are clearly called for. In the case of drug and alcohol abuse, for example, we know that schools cannot overcome a community context that is either ambivalent about drugs or alcohol abuse or worse yet, promotes it. Only effective community partnerships can reverse these trends.

F. ACCOUNTABILITY POLICY

As state and local policy makers seek to create a new vision and provide the necessary support to make it a reality, we are shifting our assumptions about the nature and contributions of schooling in our society. For the last few generations, we have held the view that the schools' basic responsibilities were to provide opportunities. We now see the possibility of schools as "obligation centers." The "opportunity" view says, "Judge our schools on the range and scope of the opportunities we provide." The "obligation" vision says, "Judge the schools on how well they deliver on student performance for *all* students."

As we move to this new level of expectation for our schools, a key public policy question is, "How far should the public expectations of the schools' performance obligation go? To high test scores and positive social behavior? To successful graduation of all students? To possession of job skills?" This question of accountability is a major issue for policy makers to resolve.

G. LONG-RANGE VERSUS SHORT-RANGE POLICY

Another major policy question is, "How long are you willing to wait for major benefits?" Some states are beginning to make major investments in early childhood education. We know that, properly implemented, this is a highly cost-effective strategy, but the benefits will not be fully felt for almost two decades. Other states are choosing to seek quicker, but perhaps more narrow, benefits through dropout prevention programs at the junior and senior high school levels. This latter approach, properly implemented, can have major and more immediate benefits, but may well neglect the next generation of students. Resolving this issue is a major public policy challenge.

H. POLICY REQUIRES A RESEARCH BASE

Finally, we need to return to our early qualifying statement about the nature of the research we have been discussing. Most of the research has not been carried out in Alaska. We encourage your consideration of support for additional research of the kind that Bill Demmert and Bob Silverman recently conducted. In a report presented at the American Educational Research Association 1988 Annual Meeting, Demmert and Silverman disussed the characteristics of successful Alaska Native students. This focus on "success" characteristics, rather than "deficits" is the direction research on education of poor, minority students needs to take. But studies like this one in Alaska are in short supply. More are needed.

I. IMPLEMENTING RESEARCH IN POOR, MINORITY, RURAL AREAS

Since relatively little of the research on education of the disadvantaged has been conducted in Alaska, you are likely to hear from some that, because of your unique cultural conditions, the research findings simply will not apply here. We have some experience with this kind of challenge to the relevance of the research findings on effective schooling. Several years ago, our R&D Program for Indian Education launched an effort to help schools with high concentrations of Indian children in the Northwest. The basic approach was to provide the evidence about general effective schooling to local planning groups. There were many, Indian and non-Indian alike, who said that the effective schooling research findings would never work due to cultural conflict. However, after several years of experience in culturally sensitive application of the effective schooling research we can now quote the following illustrative success stories reported by the school people who have implemented the effective schooling practices:

> "We raised composite SRA scores for Native American students (so that) combined scores of Native students are 50 percent or better in each grade for grades one through four."
>
> "We reduced incomplete student assignments by 61 percent. We have a workable process for achieving school improvement now."
>
> "Last year we had 15 Native American students being considered for retention. This year we have 5. That's significant!"
>
> "We went from a homework completion rate of only 53 percent to an 88 percent completion rate."
>
> "Our PTA meetings had three people showing up in September. At our last meeting for parents of Native American students, we had 60 people attend."
>
> "Our volunteer program for parents includes 20 percent Native parents (up from 0 percent last year). For the first time we have a Native as a PTA officer."
>
> "We increased our attendance to the best in the district (94 percent)."
>
> "Our post test results showed ... that Native American responses in classroom discussions increased to 22 percent of the total students. The Native population is only 12 percent. An interesting side benefit was that the total number of responses in the same period of time increased 60 percent. All students were responding more!"

These kinds of comments suggest to us that the research findings have direct relevance for minorities. Strong state support for implementing these new solutions in Alaska settings will be critical.

J. POLICY AS THE CONTEXT FOR IMPROVEMENT

Almost equally important, policy makers' commitment to, and patience with, a long-range educational improvement effort is absolutely essential. Our schools are one of the most complex, yet stable of our social institutions. Creating change and improvement therefore demands a long-range viewpoint and long-range strategies. The "quick fix" is not an option. Lasting solutions suggested by a growing body of research evidence are available for us to use.

Thank you for asking us to participate in this, the most important public policy issue of the next decade.

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