

A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF FIVE  
YEAR OLD CHILDREN ATTENDING THE CHILCOTIN  
INDIAN DAY SCHOOL AND THE REDSTONE INDIAN DAY SCHOOL

by

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#### ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to determine whether fluency in the Chilcotin Native language had a relationship to the acquisition of the English language in the early childhood kindergarten children of Chilcotin Indian Day School on the Anaham Reserve, and Redstone Indian Day School on the Redstone Reserve.

Thirteen kindergarten children (nine female and four male) were selected from the Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten to take part in the study and nine kindergarten children (four female and five male) were selected from Redstone Indian Day School kindergarten to take part in the study (September 1981 - June 1982).


The children participated in the kindergarten programme offered by the two schools chosen as sites for the study. They also participated in the Chilcotin Language programme which was a part of the kindergarten curriculum at both schools. Informal periodic visits of observation were made to both schools, by the investigator, when the kindergarten programme and the children's progress in it was discussed with the classroom teacher.


In the fall term, 1981, and in the spring term, 1982, the children selected at both schools were tested with the


Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (P.P.V.T.) and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test (C.A.C.T.). The former was administered by the investigator, the latter was administered by two Chilcotin speaking teacher aides. The test results were analyzed through covariance. The kindergarten children at both schools made significant gains in their acquisition of English as measured by the English measure of the C.A.C.T. There was a significant increase in the vocabulary scores for Form A and Form B of the P.P.V.T for children from the Chilcotin Indian Day School and for Form A for Redstone Indian Day School. The kindergarten children at one school made gains in their acquisition of Chilcotin.

The results of this study would seem to invite further research with other populations and larger samples. The results would also seem to indicate that further research is needed to refine and expand the instrumentation used to assess the language ability of young Native children.

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## DEDICATION

To the kindergarten children of  
Chilcotin Indian Day School,  
Anaham Reserve,  
and to the kindergarten children of  
Redstone Indian Day School,  
Redstone Reserve,  
who made it all worthwhile.

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether fluency in Chilcotin has a relationship to the acquisition of English in early childhood by children of Chilcotin Indian Day School on the Anaham Reserve, and Redstone Indian Day School on the Redstone Reserve. Both Anaham and Redstone Reserves are Chilcotin speaking; however, the children from Redstone Reserve have experienced a greater exposure to the influence of the English language.

Much of the background literature which supports this study was found in work in process in the Chilcotin-Cariboo area with Native Indian children involved in language programmes both in the provincial and the federal school systems. The literature was specifically prepared as directives for a Native Indian curriculum to be used within the classroom from kindergarten to Grade 12. It was developmental and has been and is in the process of being redefined, expanded and adapted as the needs of the Indian population within the fifteen Indian communities of the Chilcotin, Shuswap and Carrier peoples are perceived and focused upon by these peoples through the medium of language committees.

In his major study on language Logan (1963) posed the question, "How do children vary in ability with language

and gain proficiency in using it?" The research and results obtained in this study addressed this question.

The study has reflected the continuing enquiry into the question of the learning needs of the Native students through assessing the influence of the Chilcotin language upon vocabulary comprehension in a group of five year old children attending the Chilcotin Indian Day School and the Redstone Indian Day School, both of which are federally operated schools.

Alan Haig-Brown (1979), District Co-ordinator for Indian Education, School District #27, Chilcotin-Cariboo area, described the goals of the Chilcotin Language Programme as follows:

Virtually all Chilcotin students come to school speaking Chilcotin. For these children the language programme is akin to the English language course for a native speaker of English. That is to develop speaking, listening, reading and writing skills. (p. 1)

He listed the following objectives for the programme:

To stimulate oral language and verbal fluency and therefore enhance school progress; to develop beginning awareness of the nature of bilingualism in children whose first language is Chilcotin; to develop references in the Chilcotin language to which children can relate the English they are acquiring as a second language. (p. 1)

### Significance of the Study

There are three significant aspects to this study:

(a) It is the first study of its kind documenting the

language development of Chilcotin Native students of five years of age in their own first language and their acquisition of their second language over a period of eight months.

(b) The study will yield information which can be used as a contribution to other Chilcotin early childhood programmes

in the development of language programmes in the area. (c) The study will identify the needs of the students in relation to the influence of their first language. This last statement is supported by Alan Haig-Brown (1979):

In long range planning, for both Chilcotin language and English language programmes, at the secondary and elementary levels, it is important to have planning. When the student population includes a Chilcotin speaking background and this background appears to significantly influence their school performance, then it seems worthwhile to make some attempt at defining the dimensions of bilingual ability with some objective measure. (p. 1)

### Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. That there will be no significant difference of achievement on the Chilcotin-Auditory Comprehension Test over four months of instruction between the children from Chilcotin Indian Day School on the Anaham Reserve, and the children from Redstone Indian Day School, on Redstone Reserve.

2. There will be no significant differences of achievement on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test after four months of instruction between the children from

Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School.

3. There will be no significant difference between each of the experimental groups on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test after eight months of English and Chilcotin instruction.

4. There will be no significant differences between each of the experimental groups on the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test after eight months of English and Chilcotin instruction.

5. There will be no significant correlation between the scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test for the experimental groups individually or separately.

#### Limitations of the Study

The study did not extend beyond the scope of the kindergarten classroom and programme of the Chilcotin Indian Day School and the kindergarten classroom and programme of the Redstone Indian Day School. It did not extend beyond the sixteen subjects selected at the former school and the eleven selected at the latter.

It was not, in any way, concerned with an analytical evaluation of the kindergarten programme at the Chilcotin Indian Day School or the kindergarten programme at the Redstone Indian Day School.

A further limitation was found in the daily attendance of the subjects chosen and their hours of exposure to the second language instruction during the eight months of the kindergarten programme. For example, Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten children were exposed to the Chilcotin language programme from September, 1981. Redstone Indian Day School kindergarten children were exposed to the Chilcotin language programme from January, 1982 and, in April, 1982, began to use the materials similar to those used in Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten for these lessons.

Attrition in the subjects selected for the study was also experienced. Although, initially, sixteen subjects were selected from Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten to participate in the study, due to relocation during the winter months, thirteen of them finally took part (nine female students and four male students). Although the entire population of the Redstone Indian Day School kindergarten were initially selected to participate in the study (eleven students), nine of them finally took part (i.e., four female students and five male students). The degree of mobility among children living on reserves is still one of the significant problems of a study such as this.

Staff differences were one of the limitations of the study. The kindergarten programme at Chilcotin Indian Day School, on Anaham Reserve, consisted entirely of kindergarten children and was given by a teacher of Native Indian

heritage. The kindergarten programme at Redstone Indian Day School, on Redstone Reserve, consisted of both the kindergarten and the nursery children and was given by a teacher of Caucasian background.

A limitation of the study was the instrumentation used. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test was chosen because it is widely used in the early childhood setting. Dunn (1959) said of the test in the Expanded Manual:

The test has wide utility as a clinical tool. Besides being effective with average subjects, it has special value with certain other groups. Since subjects are not required to read, the scale is especially good for non-readers and remedial reading cases. (p. 25)

Ramstad and Potter (1974) used the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test as an assessment instrument of the measure of receptive vocabulary in Nez Perce Indian and white kindergarten children. Their study will be discussed in Chapter II. However, it seems likely that when using the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test with Native Indian children and administering it in English the results obtained may represent the degree of receptive vocabulary and vocabulary comprehension reached in that language rather than "an estimate of a subject's verbal intelligence through measuring his hearing vocabulary" (p. 25). It would appear that in order to test verbal intelligence among the Chilcotin children one would have to administer the actual test in the Chilcotin language.

The Chilcotin English Auditory Comprehension Test, which is written in Chilcotin and in English, was chosen for the study because it was the only available instrument in Chilcotin-English language and comprehension. Haig-Brown (1979) stated:

While the test is too brief to claim to be diagnostic in any comprehensive sense there is no question that it can be a valuable adjunct to other diagnostic means. (p. 1)

The Chilcotin-English Auditory Comprehension test is a test which has been developed to attempt to discover and if possible isolate the degree to which Chilcotin or English is the basic language of the child and the language to which he/she has the greater degree of access. It was not and is not intended to be interpreted as a test which has a wider application than that listed above.

#### Definition of Terms

The terms used in the study, in reference to language, are as follows:

1. L 1, the mother tongue, or the first, ancestral or traditional language refers to the Chilcotin Native language.
2. L 2, the dominant, or the second or majority language refers to the English language.
3. The Chilcotin-English dialect refers to the speech pattern used by Chilcotin Native people and their children in their adaptation of their own language to the expression

of English. Such a speech pattern retains much of the structure of the Chilcotin language while using English words. The Chilcotin format of noun/object/verb is an example of this. The dialectical pattern is discussed, at greater length, in Chapter II.

### Organization of the Study

The study involved Native Indian children from Anaham Indian Reserve and Redstone Indian Reserve. The children selected for this study were children from the kindergarten of the Chilcotin Indian Day School on Anaham Reserve, and the kindergarten children of the Redstone Indian Day School on Redstone Reserve. The total population of the Chilcotin kindergarten was twenty-four children. Sixteen of these were chosen for this study. The sixteen chosen were children who were five years of age and who came from families where the Chilcotin language was consistently spoken in normal daily family interaction in preference to the English language. This decision was made in consultation with the classroom teacher. The total population of the Redstone kindergarten was fifteen. The eleven kindergarten children were chosen for the study. The eleven chosen were children who were five years of age thus meeting the age criteria for the study. This decision was made in consultation with the classroom teacher.

At both sites chosen permission was requested for the study to take place from the classroom teachers, from the Principal of the Chilcotin Indian Day School, from the Anaham Education Administration Committee, and the Chief and members of the Redstone Education Committee, and from the parents of the children involved in the study.

At both sites discussion and consultation took place with the native Indian teacher aides concerning instrumentation to be used in the study, with specific reference being made to the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test which was administered by them to the kindergarten children.

The children who took part in this study had not participated in the kindergarten programme before September, 1981. They had not been tested formally in any setting, prior to the study, with the tests which had been used in this study.

Chapter II is a review of the related literature in early language development, bilingual education and Indian language learning and programmes. Chapter III describes the children involved in this study, their setting and the instrumentation. Chapter IV is an analysis of the data. Chapter V is a summary, including implications, conclusions and recommendations for the early childhood programme of the Chilcotin kindergarten children in the area of language development.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The first part of this chapter is a review of the literature on the importance of early language development. The second part is a description of research in bilingual education. The third and concluding part presents the significance of Native language to Indian students, Native language programmes and a description of the structure of the Chilcotin language.

#### Early Language Development

Initially, language is an aural base (hearing) with an oral response (speaking). A child's performance in language includes (a) information and convergent or divergent manipulation, (b) the degree to which he can attach vocabulary to his ideas, (c) the security he feels to enable him to develop, or 'dig' into his own language competence. This performance is different for each child each time and does not indicate all that the child can achieve; it is a synthesis, a putting together of words and ideas, and a system of internalized understanding about language. At this early stage of intuitive competence a child is unaware of his competence.

Pflaum (1978) stated that during the first years:

infants make many different sounds unlike those made after words are acquired. . . . We find that many sounds vocalized during the first year are not used when babies finally do utter words. (p. 25)

Pflaum thought that variations in the intonation of language learned and single words used, during the first year, demonstrated the beginning of language. The ability to combine words (e.g., "see train") begins approximately at two years of age. Such simple sentences describe the child's actual experience of the immediate situation. As growth occurs, children at about three to four years, have access to vocabulary which enables them to express simple sentences which can be understood (e.g., "all gone down"). When the child is five years of age he can use vocabulary to express sentences which have a more complex meaning.

Stewig (1974) described the growth in young children from single words to combined words as follows:

As early as eighteen months, the two-word phrases which children make can be divided into two groups. The larger of these two groups included open words which can be said by themselves or can appear with pivot words. Such words as boy, sock, mommy, other, yellow and lettuce are included in this group. The second, smaller group is made up of pivot words which must always appear with an open word. Such words as all gone, goodbye, off, fall, pretty, a, dirty, this and here, are included in this group. The fascinating aspect of this pivot-open grammar idea is that, although completely untaught, it appears to be a universal phenomenon. (p. 16)

Pflaum (1978) observed that these early language developments occur in a short span of time and almost universally among young children and, for the most part, without direct instruction.

Early language development can be shaped through learning by imitation, i.e., through experiencing within the family milieu the words used in that milieu for the objects seen and the actions performed. It can be shaped through hearing the language of the environment and intuitively organizing what is heard and forming a response. In this way, learning would be the result of exposure and response to the environment in a natural way rather than through more formal child-adult interactions of naming actions and objects.

Lenneberg (1967) expressed the view that children possess an inherent natural language learning ability. He cited the study of a young nonverbal child who, at the age of nine and only with great effort could reflect back a word an adult had spoken to him but in spite of this difficulty had an almost normal comprehension of language and structure.

Stewig (1974) also considered that children possess an inherent natural language learning ability. He felt this was demonstrated by (a) the invariable schedule, order and sequence of language development in children, (b) the acquisition of language, in spite of handicaps and the ability to develop this acquisition which appears irrepressible, (c) the development of language which appears autonomous of exterior influence in human forms of life and the difficulty of teaching language to nonhuman forms, and

(d) the basic structural and organizational similarity of semantics, syntax and phonology which are found in all languages in spite of superficial differences.

Piaget's work in human development demonstrated that in the sensorimotor stage (the first year of life) the child is engaged in developing concepts of himself as separate from the objects which surround him. In the preoperational phase (eighteen months to approximately seven years) cognitive growth occurs through the ability to symbolize. In the earlier phase, the child learned that objects exist in their own right; at a later phase, the child transfers this knowledge through using objects to represent other concepts. This leads to the child's growth in the ability to hold or recall the mental image of objects which are not immediately present in his environment, the ability to describe things which are no longer present and the ability to describe circumstances which have passed.

Piaget found that children in the preoperational phase (eighteen months to approximately seven years) initially use egocentric speech; that is, they tend to "monologue" or give verbal expression to their actions and their involvement in circumstances during their play. The "monologue" takes place even with other children participating in the same environment and with the presence of an adult. The language used in the "monologue" is descriptive of the child's situation and what he is experiencing. It does not require

an adult response, but appears to sharpen the focus of the child on the reality of what he is doing and what is happening to him.

The investigator of this study believes that, while this language does not determine behaviour, it does help to define for the child using it what is actually happening and thus to organize thinking. It appears similar to drawing because it is a verbal picture of events taking place. Luria (Pflaum, 1978) described this speech as "planning speech" and suggests it is used to help the child plan his actions and keep out distractions.

Pflaum (1978) stated that:

Piaget's work suggests that language in its functional use is limited to a level of sophistication which has already been achieved in cognitive development. In his theory cognitive development determines the course of language growth. (p. 6)

She quoted Piaget's (1955) statement that "language does not constitute the source of logic but is, on the contrary structured by it" (p. 7).

Inhelder, Bowet, Sinclair and Smock (Pflaum, 1978) concluded from a study of the effect of language training on Piagetian conservation tasks in children in the concrete operational period of development (four to eight years) that although language training directed the child's interactions, providing focus on task situations and giving assistance in storage and retrieval of information, it did not appear, in itself, to contribute to the cognitive integration needed

to perform conservation tasks. They added "language learning does not provide, in our opinion, a ready-made 'lattice' or 'lens' which organizes the child's perceptual world" (pp. 7, 8).

It would appear, then, that although Piaget postulated that the cognitive developmental level determines the level of language ability in the child, he also postulated that cognitive growth was strengthened through language stimulation when the child begins the preoperational phase and uses language to form symbolic thoughts and to represent objects which are absent and events which have passed.

In a discussion of the relationship of language and cognitive development, Oléron (1977) stated:

Such development requires language. Language does not seem to be some external element casually adopted by an organism who might otherwise have followed an independent developmental course. Rather, the organism's evolution involves the development of an instrument responding to its basic cognitive activity and permitting its blossoming. Thus, more elaborated cognitive forms are such only because they have incorporated language. (p. 26)

Vygotsky (Pflaum, 1978) described the significance of adult-child interaction in language development. This interaction and modelling stimulates cognitive growth in the child. Vygotsky identified the egocentric speech noted by Piaget as "external speech". Such speech is used both in monologue and in dialogue with others, child or adult. It would appear, then, that "external speech" used in single word and two-word pivot-open

combinations, monologue and dialogue, lead to "inner speech", described by Vygotsky as "silent speech that occurs before real thoughts begin" which is functional to the development of cognitive ability. Thus, as Pflaum (1978) noted "'external speech' is prerequisite to the 'inner speech' which precedes mature thought" (p. 9).

Bruner (Pflaum, 1978) believed that the mother-child communication during the early months of infancy is a significant influence on the growth of language. The words used when performing the normal mother-child inter-related actions of eating, bathing, dressing enabled the child to attend to specific objects, to grow familiar with the vocabulary of his milieu in identifying those objects around him and the actions being shared. Pflaum (1978) stated that according to Bruner's ideas the sophisticated strategies used by children as they acquire language are available for general cognitive learning.

Pflaum added that while Bruner recognized the significance of language acquisition, in the development of cognition, especially during the pre-school years, he also recognized the significance of this relationship between language and thought in the cognitive development of older children who use language to organize the features of experiences and organize them into a rational system.

Because this study investigated the language development of Chilcotin Native Indian kindergarten children it is

useful to discuss the findings of Brown (1973) in his work with Finnish, Mexican, Spanish, Samoan, Swedish and other non-English speaking cultures. Once again, as in Stewig (1974) where the universality of open-pivot words was discussed, we encounter commonalities across cultures.

Brown (Pflaum, 1978) discovered that there were expressions and first utterances which are universal to all cultures. These were:

1. Nomination. The naming of an object. "this book", "a truck" which name and include words following "this" or "that" in simple utterances belong in this category and are universal.
2. Recurrence. Words which combine "more" and "another" are recurring ones. While this category is not as universal as the first, it is a preferred expressed notion.
3. Non-existence. Brown reports that while fragmentary reports do not list statements such as "no more noises", "dog away" in every child, many English-speaking children showed this expression in their language.
4. Agent and action. Both Bloom et al. and Brown (Pflaum, 1978) found high preference among children for this category ("car go", "me go"). Because such notions are common in different languages, it appears to be part of every language in its incipient form.
5. Action and object. There is also a high incidence of expressions such as "close it", "turn it" and "make house",

"ride Dumbo" in children of many languages. This is a universal category.

6. Possessor and possession. As many caretakers of young children know, remarks about ownership are common: "Mommy face", "dolly hat", "dis mine", "girl dress". This is another universal category. (p. 30)

Pflaum (1978) discussed this phenomenon and concluded that such utterances were a universal characteristic of language learning among children of diverse languages. She also thought that the utterances suggested fundamental categories of grammatical structure which are found in more mature language development.

Young children grow in language development through the monologue of the early egocentric stage to the socialized speech used in the later more mature stage. Such socialized speech is used for interaction with other children and with adults. It enables the child to develop and express his language in the following ways:

1. To exchange thoughts with others, to internalize information.
2. To express feelings about the inappropriateness of the actions of others.
3. To express requests to others or to give commands to others.
4. To ask questions of other children or adults with the expectation of an answer.

5. To grow in the ability to answer questions and to respond to the commands of others.

Socialized speech development takes place at varying times in children. In the kindergarten and even in the early stages of the primary school, children can move from socialized speech to egocentric speech until, with maturity, the former becomes the stronger medium of language expression.

In his discussion on early childhood education, Stewig (1974) identified the following basic functions of language:

1. Language identifies wants and needs.
2. Language facilitates the acquisition and exchange of information and ideas.
3. Language is a means of expressing feelings and emotions.
4. Language is a means of self-identification.
5. Language is a means of social interaction.
6. Language is a basis for reflective thinking.
7. Language is a basis for extended thinking.
8. Language is adaptable to alternate forms of communication. (pp. 58-60)

Stewig discussed the need for the recognition of dialects which are used by children, their families and their community and suggested that a language development approach which would provide for many optimal language experiences was necessary.

In a discussion of the beginning of language competence, Burrow (1969) stated that this competence begins with speaking, listening and understanding

in the preschool years. This is the foundation on which the later skills of reading and writing are built. He added that "these essentials of communication--reading, writing, talking, listening, are basic to other goals of language learning" (p. 213).

It is evident to the investigator from the studies cited and references explored that the early childhood years are profoundly significant for the development of language. They are "the root years" (Mukerji, 1969). Sturdy growth from these "root years" should be stimulated through early childhood programmes in oral language which are planned to encourage communication and individual contribution, for "a child learns to use language by using it" (p. 123).

Armstrong (1977) says this of language and learning:

Language is central to our human experience and to our survival and the survival of our species. We should develop linguistic self-competence and linguistic respect for each other. . . . Children's own language experience should be brought to the level of their awareness and conscious control. We should remember that we teach for a grasp of reality. (Note 1)

### Bilingual Education

This section reviews studies and attitudes towards (a) bilingual education in general, (b) bilingual education and early childhood, and (c) bilingual education and Native Indian education.

The concept of bilingual education was given an official government mandate in October, 1971, in response to The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa, 1965). As a result of the recommendations of The Royal Commission, the Federal Government declared a policy of promotion and maintenance of multiculturalism in Canada. The Government also announced that, although there were two official languages, there were no official cultures and that a series of policies would be formulated to encourage the maintenance of ethnic diversity in Canada so that ethnic groups could retain their integrity and cultural identity.

Burnaby (1980) in a discussion on bilingual education addressed the question of variables which might influence the success of bilingual programmes. She cited the work of Cummins who had been "trying to find a generalization to fit the societal, educational and language variables" (p. 153). His research attempted to account for the differences in cognitive and academic development between middle class children in immersion and maintenance bilingual programmes and lower class children in transition or no special treatment home-school language switch submersion situations. Burnaby stated that Cummins concluded there was a significant difference of achievement in cognitive and academic development between the two groups which may be linked with the type of programme offered, or perhaps with the varying

background of the students. It appears from such research that for bilingual education to be effective for the student other factors such as the societal and economic status of the family, as well as the affective or positive support of the family for the programme may have a significant influence.

Burnaby (1980) stated that Cummins developed two hypotheses. One is that:

There may be a threshold of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages and allow potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence his cognitive functioning. (p. 153)

The other hypothesis is:

That the development of a cognitive competence in a second language is a function of the individual's already developed skills in his L 1 (his first language). (p. 153)

In other words, it seemed evident that significance is attached to the child's comprehension of his first language (L 1) so that he can grow in the acquisition of his second language (L 2).

Burnaby (1980) pointed out that Cummins' data to support his hypotheses originated from French immersion programmes in Canada and programmes for Finnish migrant workers in Sweden. She added that the socio-economic status of both groups could account for Cummins' results. She also suggested that if a child's development in L 1 is dependent upon his background, and if such development is limited because of such a background, then the child's

development in L 2 is interrelated with the same background limitations.

Downing (1978) suggested some variables which can limit the successful outcome of bilingual education. These are:

1. The cognitive difficulty of understanding instruction in L 2.
2. The affective difficulty if L 2 is perceived by the student as a denigration of the mother tongue or if L 1 is perceived as being a medium of low esteem and not highly prized then language instruction in L 1 will not be valued. (p. 332)

The effect of parental perception of the language to be learned also influenced the success of the teaching. An example of this was the Canadian French immersion programmes for children discussed by Cummins ( Burnaby, 1980 ). The parents of these students explicitly wished them to receive such instruction and supported them in their experience.

Fishman ( Burnaby, 1980 ) advocated three factors which influence the success of a bilingual programme:

1. Language maintenance stress on marked language (L 1).
2. Marked (L 1) language represents literary ethnic emphasis while unmarked language (L 2) represents ethnically neutral activity.
3. Stress on total ethnocultural value of unmarked (L 2) language and commitment thereto. (p. 162)

Burnaby, in discussing her "conclusions about school programmes" stated that among bilingual programmes there was an evident need to maintain equilibrium between the two

languages in order to achieve success and that the economic, social and linguistic backgrounds of the individual children experiencing such programmes often were predictors of the results obtained.

### Bilingual Education and Early Childhood

The statement of John and Horner (Downing, 1978) is relevant for this study of the language development of five year old Chilcotin kindergarten children. It addressed the problem of mismatch between the L1 of the students and the L2 of the school instruction. Mismatch occurs when there is little or no congruence between the child's L1 and the L2 in which he has to receive total school instruction in a submersion situation. John and Horner said:

Children between the ages of five and seven use language at an accelerating rate for purposes of problem-solving. When ideas are being formed in one language it is difficult to state them in another and the child's unsuccessful attempts at translation may lead to great frustration and loss of interest in expressing ideas. When the school attempts to teach a second language before the child has developed adequate cognitive skills in his native language, the child may become a 'non-lingual' whose functioning in both his native and second languages develops in only limited ways. Such children may become literally 'children without a language. (Downing, 1978, p. 344)

Thonis (1977) suggested that the "inner language" used by children is " usually the mother tongue ". This alerts us to the findings

of Vygotsky (1962), discussed earlier in this chapter, where he suggested that such "inner speech" is functional to the development of cognitive ability. Thus, if the mother tongue is not English, or the dominant language, then it is reasonable to suppose that young children of kindergarten age are shaping their experiences of reflection, selection, classification, interpretation and cognitive growth through the structure of their own first language, available to them in "inner speech".

Downing (1978) anticipated the findings of Burnaby and Cummins when he said:

Young school beginners make better progress if their instruction is delivered in their own mother tongue. However, there may be a variety of reasons why instruction should nevertheless be in the medium of L 2. These reasons have to be weighed against the superior effectiveness of delivery in L 1. In making such judgements it is important to take into account the second generalization that can be made from this review, that is, that the outcome may be influenced to a very important degree by the affective variable . . . the positive motivation of the parents and children may go quite a long way to overcoming the cognitive deficits of delivery of instruction in an L 2. (p. 344)

Spolsky (1978) stated that there were four possible educational outcomes of bilingual education: (a) an improvement in general quality, (b) a means of enhancing relevance, (c) improvement in the teaching of the standard language, and (d) an overall improvement in school achievement measured through retention and results.

This statement described the possible influence bilingual education may have within a community in

encouraging involvement and interest in the education offered by the school. Positive effect includes influence in the economic sphere as well as growth of relevance to the community of the education programme. Spolsky (1978) cited, as an example, the bilingual experience of the Navajo people and his discussion parallels some of the developments in the lives of the Chilcotin people on the Anaham Reserve and the Redstone Reserve.

In speaking of the Navajos, Spolsky (1978) said:

Those schools on the Navajo reservation that have shown strong interest in bilingual education are generally those to which most children come with knowledge only of Navajo. The Navajo situation is a kind of diglossia where Navajo is the language used for all spoken purposes, while English is used for all written purposes and for all relations with the outside community and with non-Navajo institutions. (p. 357)

Spolsky added that because of the historic background of the Navajo people and their economic conditions and geographic location, the outcome of most significance for them, as a result of the bilingual education programme would be, probably, in the changes it has brought to their economy and the opportunity it has given for their political growth and greater access to self determination. He concludes that:

The political effect of bilingual education is to assure not just development of this group, but also community control of school and teacher and so integration of the school into the community life. (p. 357-8)

The Chilcotin Indian people are related linguistically, to the Navajo Indian people as both languages stem from the Athabascan linguistic group. In the summer of 1979, the children of grade 8-9 and staff members, both Indian and non-Indian from Chilcotin Indian Day School on Anaham Reserve, and Stone Indian Day School on Stone Reserve,

travelled to Arizona to visit the Navajo Reservation and the Rough Rock Demonstration School. During this visit between the Chilcotin and the Navajo people linguistic contact was made, language shared, and historic knowledge exchanged. The Chilcotin Indian people visited the Rough Rock School and discussed their educational experiences with the Navajo educators.

Although the Chilcotin reserves of Anaham, Stone and Redstone are certainly considerably smaller than the Navajo Reservation there is a similar experience in the involvement of members of the communities through employment as first language instructors, teacher aides, home school co-ordinators, and Education Committee members. Although the programme of Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School is not bilingual in the sense that all the subjects or content of the programme are taught completely in L 2 (English), L 1 (Chilcotin) is used in the Chilcotin language programme which concentrates on development of vocabulary and the skills of language arts through stories, legends, lessons on kinship names in Chilcotin. The

Chilcotin language programme is discussed later in this chapter.

Nedler and Lindford (1977) discussing bilingual learning for preschool children, stated:

Children entering school with less competence in English than monolingual English-speaking children will probably become retarded in their school work to the extent of their deficiency in English, if English is the sole medium of instruction. On the other hand, the bilingual child's conceptual development and acquisition of other experiences and information could proceed at a normal rate if the mother tongue were used as an alternate medium of instruction. (p. 237)

Their paper suggested that the children's use of L1 for concept acquisition is more likely to meet with success than the use of L2 because L1 is the familiar language and the child has access to an already existing system of concepts to which he can relate new material to be learned.

It follows from their discussion that they identified the goals for a sound bilingual programme as:

Goals for the instructional programme build upon the strengths identified in the target population. . . . All instruction begins with the child's home language. Acceptance and use of the child's language is critical to the development of a healthy self-concept. The objective of the programme is to build up competence in the child's first language by expanding his basic fund of information and only after a child has demonstrated mastery is the concept introduced in the second language. (p. 239)

John and Horner (1971) described the young child's cognitive tasks of "ordering the world around him" (p. 23) (i.e., imitating, classifying, identifying experiences) as

the necessary work of childhood in which the tool of language is essential. Research has shown that there is a profound growth in language during the early language development phase. It is during this vital period that the child confronts the additional task of learning a new language simultaneously with the basic need to strengthen cognitive concepts in his own first language.

John and Horner (1971) stated of such an experience that if the view that language plays an important cognitive role in the child's development is accepted, the introduction of a second, weaker language at this point may confuse the ordering process. Downing (1978) appeared to support their research in his statement that one of the variables which can influence the student's success in a bilingual programme is "the cognitive difficulty of understanding instruction in L 2" (p. 331).

John and Horner (1971) expressed the tenets of their belief in bilingual education as follows:

The American Indian child, while coping with modern advanced technological life can, at the same time rediscover and help preserve the oldest of American cultures.

The English-speaking child, increasingly exposed to instruction in other languages and cultures, can overcome both the isolation of a one-language education and the false sense of superiority in being English-speaking in this multi-ethnic country and world.  
(p. 25)

Ramstad and Potter (1974) addressed the issue of significant differences in receptive vocabulary, receptive

syntax and expressive syntax in a group of Nez Perce Indian children and a group of white children, both attending the same kindergarten. The Northwestern Syntax Screening Test, developed by Lee in 1969 was used by them to measure expressive and receptive syntax and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test was used as a measure of receptive vocabulary. In their discussion and summary on their findings, Ramstad and Potter (1974) said:

The disparity in the language functions examined between this group of American Indians and white kindergarten children was particularly interesting since the students were literally sitting side by side in the same classroom and receiving the same instructions. These data support strongly the need for individualised instruction based upon the child's initial language learning skills, which in this instance were apparently not sufficiently enhanced in approximately a six-month period by the presence of white children with normal language usage. For Indian subjects, despite the mixing of the children in the same classroom, educational opportunity was still not equal. (pp. 39-40)

Thus, being exposed to the classroom situation of being taught in English (L 2) and being exposed to interaction in English through relationships with the teacher and with classmates was insufficient experience and inadequate preparation for the acquisition of the necessary skills for learning.

Willink ( 1973 ) discussed the relationship between language and thought in Navajo children and stated:

The child "learns the world" along with, and through, his first language. The mother tongue greatly aids in forming concepts in the growing child. . . .

Language development and particularly mother tongue development where the mother tongue is the child's dominant language when he comes to school, is extremely important for thought development and thought development is what education is all about. Once the child has better learned how to think, and thereby how to learn, he is better equipped to learn anything that he may need to learn--including the second language, English. (pp. 181-2)

Willink supported Thonis and Vygotsky in their observations that 'inner language' is usually expressed through the mother tongue and that such language is germane to the development of cognitive growth. Ramstad and Potter (1974) described the Nez Perce kindergarten children who were the subjects of their study as "in the process of changing from bilingual (Nez Perce and English) to a monolingual (English) status" (p. 491). They stated that most of the parents of the children involved did not speak native Nez Perce and that none of the children spoke their mother tongue. They concluded that "the American Indian is having difficulty utilizing the English language, we found that those children presented a need for English language instruction" (p. 491).

One could perhaps suggest that from the observations and recommendations made by Thonis (1977) and Willink (1973) that the apparent loss of the Nez Perce language among the Indian people and their children in the community cited by Ramstad and Potter (1974) and its diminished significance in the growth of language-thought development in that community, was in some way a contributing factor in the existing difficulty the children experienced in acquiring English.

Further, if the kinds of language learned through exposure to English in the classroom setting is not perceived as having relevance and significance in the social setting of the home environment it may not be transferred to that setting although it may appear to be absorbed and understood through modelling in the classroom milieu.

Thonis (1977), speaking to the issue of the importance of what she calls "dual language learning and thought", said:

Should the child have a good start in his first language, he will bring to his new language task the conditioning of his previous learnings. . . . He now has to learn to add new sounds and new sound combinations to the reservoir of knowledge he has already stored. . . . The degree of success which he enjoys in his second language learning process is determined by the amount of interference of his first language, the number and kind of his experiences, the accompanying feelings and expectancies, and countless other forces which shape human speech. (p. 200)

### Bilingual Education and Native Indian Education

The final part of this section of Chapter II will discuss the bilingual educational programme at Rocky Point School in Chinle, Arizona, and the bilingual education programme at Rough Rock Demonstration School, both sites on the Navajo Reservation. Both sites are of particular relevance to the study because (a) they address bilingual development among American Native people who are linguistic-

ally related to the Canadian Chilcotin Native people; (b) they address the issue of the validity of the ancestral language as a component of the school curriculum; (c) they address the issue, already discussed earlier, concerning the need for balance to be maintained between L 1 and L 2 within the programme; and (d) they provide information which is pertinent to the study and which is difficult to obtain in other areas.

Rocky Point School. This programme began in 1967 with six year old children and has been extended to include the kindergarten class and two primary classes. The children are encouraged in their Navajo language through being taught in L 1 by a Navajo teacher. They are taught in English (L 2) by an English speaking teacher.

John and Horner (1971) stated that instruction in content is given to the children in Navajo and in English with the subject matter being different from or parallel to that taught in English. The classes are divided into groups of 6 to 8 children who receive language instruction in English (L 2) or in Navajo (L 1). Instruction in Mathematics is given in both languages in different but parallel sessions. The Navajo aides in 1968-69 school year gave instructions one day a week in Navajo reading to all the children in grades 2 through 5. The reading given was part of the programmed reading component.

Spolsky (1978) said of the same school programme that curriculum workbooks and materials had been produced and the University of New Mexico was publishing a number of books which had been written by the staff. He added that the Rocky Point School was a locally controlled school with the bilingual programme as a central and significant component of the community's plan to develop "a quality Navajo education programme".

Rough Rock Demonstration School. This school began in September, 1966, and teaches children from preschool to upper elementary. The programme is divided into four phases: (a) Head Start, (b) Follow-Through (kindergarten - grade 2), (c) elementary, and (d) upper elementary. Throughout the years the original goal of giving instruction in Navajo reading for older children has become expanded to include instruction in Navajo for the preschool and the kindergarten children. Spolsky (1978) said of this programme:

As a recent position paper suggests (Division of Education, the Navajo Tribe, 1974) "One of the most significant aspects of the first community controlled school on the Navajo Reservation was its exploration and initiation of a bilingual bicultural programme for the student body." The programme is guided by a Navajo Language Committee and its philosophy stresses the use of Navajo instruction from an early age, with subsequent teaching of English as a second language. As one might expect, the project has been a pioneer in developing curriculum and materials. (pp. 342-3)

Spolsky (1978) cited eighteen Native Indian bilingual programmes which have been established in the United States

since 1960. Such programmes extend from the Inuit people in Alaska to the Zuni Bilingual Education project in the south-west. He described the complex situation in which Native Indian parents, leaders and educators can be placed when developing and implementing a plan for a bilingual programme. This can be a "patchwork of varying influences and beliefs" because, in almost every case, the programmes are funded federally and it is difficult for the community to have any real control of the programme. Thus the programme may be seen as externally imposed. Spolsky posited that:

There are paradoxically two opposing points of view from which the use of the native language in school may be opposed, from that of the progressives who feel English is more important, and from the traditionalists who feel their language is too sacred for school use. (p. 355)

He mentioned a third and very serious opposition of the fear of many parents that bilingual education is a method of keeping Indians as second-class citizens.

It is interesting to continue the discussion by using some of the observations made by Couture (1974) in his summation of the first Alberta Indian Languages Seminar held at Lake Isle, Alberta. When he referred to the Native elders' recommendations for a bilingual-bicultural education for their children he stated:

Instinctively, we know that this means providing an educational program to an Indian student whereby he becomes grounded in the values and languages of his culture and, at the same time, acquires a non-Indian language, which usually would be English,

along with what that connotates of the three Rs, an understanding of appreciation of the white man's history and, ultimately, when desired, the skills and attitudes necessary to survive and succeed at the university level. (pp. 2-3)

Couture added that although the eventual results of the work at Rough Rock, Rockyboy and Blue Pine are not yet known, the programmes, as well as those in Alberta and Morley demonstrate "a sense of pride". He addressed himself to the issue of language and said:

The issue of language itself, and the process of second language acquisition and how this bears on the sense of identity, in cultural values, cultural practices, cultural attitudes, cultural ideas--about all this we know little. . . . Further, it seems to me that English as a second language is not only a matter of a second language as such along with full use of the mother tongue, but, also, to what extent it will be used to teach part of or all of the school curriculum. (pp. 2-3)

In spite of these uncertainties, bilingual programmes address themselves to the developing of pride in the students' heritage and strengthening the students' self-esteem.

The political ramification of a Native Indian bilingual programme was stated clearly by Spolsky (1978) when he said that:

The movement for bilingual education has become very closely associated with the movement for the Indian control of education. The school boards formed through involvement with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1960s, have grown in power and decision making especially in the area of personnel and curriculum and in a number of cases have become the focus of the movement for local control. (p. 357)

It seemed that the portrayal Spolsky gave of the educational developments in the United States among Native Indians in bilingualism could find parallels in the educational developments for Native Indians in Canada. It is certainly true that when Indian people express their strong desire to develop their own education programme, the introduction and use of their own first language as a living language component within the curriculum, of equal validity with the second language, is a basic foundation of their planning for that programme.

As Spolsky (1978) stated:

All the time that schools for American Indians stay in their compounds, controlled and conducted by what seems not unlike an occupying army of outsiders, the community has no chance to use the school to help it handle the difficult transition to modern technological life. Whatever its other ultimate effects, American Indian bilingual education seems to be a step towards this end. (p. 360)

It seemed appropriate to conclude this section of the study with a quotation from People of Native Ancestry in stating objectives that were relevant to the Indian Control of Indian Education:

- xx. Every Native student should be bilingual (in an official language and a Native language) by the end of the junior division.
- xxi. As the bilingual Native child acquires literacy his literacy should involve both the Native and non-Native languages. (Burnaby, 1980, p. 84)

## Native Indian Language

The final section of this chapter discusses (a) related studies, (b) the Chilcotin Indian Language programme, and (c) the structural difference of the Chilcotin Indian language (the students' L1) to English (the students' L2).

Bayne (1971) in discussing language and culture made the following observations:

Whatever the particular pattern, however, an important part of the cultural difference between an Indian community and a non-Indian community will stem from the existence of a language capable of interpreting and expressing the world in a different way from the categories of English. (p. 31)

Spencer, Jennings, Dibble, Johnson, King, Stern, Stewart and Wallis (1977) said of language:

All humans in any cultural setting by virtue of the language they speak and the cultural system in which they share, possess a cognitive system, that is a way of classifying the whole range of things that touch their lives. (p. 50)

While it is not the intent of this study to address, in depth, the issue of Indian language categories and classification, the research already cited in the paper describes the significance of growth in the ability to classify in the spontaneous network between cognitive maturity and language growth. Spencer et al. (1977) stated that such ability is a universal phenomenon, across cultures, and that it is, at the same time, a unique experience within each culture, ensuring that the classification of that culture is maintained.

Strickland (1962) discussing such categories of life experience in the language of elementary school children stated:

Children enter school able to use oral language and to respond to it. They have for several years been speaking and listening to the language used in their environment and have been doing so with increasing comprehension and skill. They have learned to communicate their own ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols and to comprehend the meaning expressed by others. . . . These symbols which the children have learned are oral symbols and the patterns which constitute the flow of sound called speech are oral patterns. (p. 1)

Strickland (1962) observed that by the time a child enters school he has facility and freedom in using the oral patterns he has learned and that he has access to the "sound system, grammar and vocabulary . . . of the kind of language he has heard most frequently at home and in his neighborhood" (p. 1). She considered that the school has a role in helping such a child develop his language and that it also has a role in making available to the child, where it is appropriate that it should, "an almost totally new dialect which will be needed to learn to read and write" (p. 1).

One has only to add the word "Chilcotin" before "oral language" in the earlier quotation to understand the concept of the significance of the subjects' own functional language to themselves and to their understanding of the world around them. Of particular relevance is Strickland's (1962) statement concerning the characteristic importance of this

language in its reflection of the home and neighbourhood environment of the subjects. Chilcotin is the first language, English will be the second language, and the children through experience in the kindergarten programme, will develop adaptive learning behaviours to accommodate this second language used in the programme. Some of the observations of the classroom teacher at Chilcotin Indian Day School and the classroom teacher at Redstone Indian Day School, which are included in Appendix B, expand on the above statement.

Burnaby (1980) discovered that of the twenty-three listed objectives of the Native peoples in the province of Ontario, for implementation in the education of their children, sixteen of them were addressed, directly, to the maintenance and development of Native language within the school curriculum. These objectives called for the involvement of the Native people in the planning of language programmes, for the acceptance of Native language teachers as "full-fledged teachers", and for the reversal of the trend of the loss of Native ancestral language.

Burnaby (1980) after analyzing the twenty-three objectives mentioned above, stated:

Two major objective themes are apparent. One is that every Native child's sense of his identity as a Native person must be reinforced through his formal education. [The other is] that Native identity is to be preserved through Native language instruction. (pp. 96-7)

Burnaby observed that instruction in the Native language was of profound significance to the Native peoples of Ontario who expressed their desire that such language programmes should be developed in the schools so that the language may be preserved, increased and led to Native literacy becoming a viable component in the curriculum.

It can be seen that it is a concern of Native people that their indigenous language survive. Such concern bridges varying Indian cultural backgrounds. Burnaby (1980) spoke for the Native peoples of Ontario. Kirkness (1978), on behalf of the Indian children in the federal and provincial schools of Manitoba, restated the objectives of the Tribes of Manitoba and recommended that:

Wherever the Indian language is the dominant language of the community, the instruction be conducted in the native language during the first few years of school. That the dominant native language of the community be taught in the time allotted on curriculum for 'teaching a second language' rather than imposing a foreign language such as French, German or Ukrainian on the students already knowing something of two languages.

That it is desirable to introduce the Native language in the elementary grades. This action will prevent loss of native languages, learning of the syllabic system and last but not least it will show the Indian language in a positive light through its placement on the school curriculum. (p. 116)

Perhaps the most complete expression of the deep concern Native peoples possess for the continuance of their own language was stated in 1972 in the Indian Control of Indian Education (Burnaby, 1980):

The Indian people are expressing concern that the Native languages are being lost; that the younger generation can no longer speak or understand their mother tongue. If the Indian identity is to be preserved steps must be taken to reverse this trend. While much can be done by parents in the home and by the community on the reserve to foster facility in speaking and understanding, there is a great need for formal instruction in the language. (pp. 81-82)

### The Chilcotin Language Programme

The initiative for the Chilcotin Language Program which began in 1977 developed because of "a growing interest on the part of Indian communities for language programmes" (Haig-Brown, 1979, p. 1). The actual project was planned through the involvement of members of the Chilcotin Indian communities together with the District Co-ordinator of Indian Education for the provincial education system, in the Chilcotin Cariboo School District. Haig-Brown (1979) described the area as:

There are five Chilcotin speaking communities within this district: Riske Creek, Stone, Nemiah Valley, Anaham Reserve and Redstone Reserve. Elementary students from Stone and Anaham attend federal schools. Of the two, only Stone has a Chilcotin Language programme at this time. Nemiah Valley and Redstone (Puntzi Mountain Elementary) have intermediate grade programmes. (p. 1)

The language programme was begun in Chilcotin Indian Day School on Anaham Reserve in 1980 and Redstone Indian Day School on Redstone Reserve in 1982, the two sites of this study. It has also been operating in the provincial elementary schools of Nemiah Valley, Riske Creek, and Puntzi Mountain School.

Haig-Brown (1979) gave the following rationale for Native Indian curriculum:

My observations of Indian students over the years has shown me that virtually all these students are identified by the school as "Indian". However, those who have, by parental direction or teacher direction, been able to develop a realistic definition of "Indian" are more successful in dealing with the school system and the larger society than those who have only a vague perception of their Indian culture. (pp. 1-3)

Haig-Brown added that the developing of the skills of language and literacy in the Native language will significantly help Indian students to define and express their culture and that such development should be of valid concern to those engaged in Indian education. He suggested that when a school expresses an openness towards Indian studies one of the ways in which the Indian community can respond is in making a recommendation for an Indian language programme. He perceived such a programme as a pivotal point of Indian studies curriculum, enabling the closer participation and involvement of the Indian community with the education of their children. Such participation involves decision making in the selection of a language teacher and in the identification of teaching aids and needs for curriculum materials. He stated "the experience of having tried to teach Indian language will make it possible for the Indian community to control the development process making use of non-Indian professionals as resource people only" (p. 3).

The objectives of the Chilcotin Language programme, at the kindergarten level, are to:

1. Stimulate oral language and verbal fluency and therefore enhance school progress.
2. Develop beginning awareness of the nature of bilingualism in children whose first language is Chilcotin.
3. Develop references in the Chilcotin language to which children can relate the English they are acquiring.

The materials used are the Peabody Language development kits, which are adapted directly into Chilcotin by the Native language teachers. Ms. Bella Alphonse, language instructor, described the goals for the children in the Chilcotin language programme at the kindergarten and primary level in Chilcotin Indian Day School. These were teaching the children to:

1. Count in their language;
2. Learn their colours in Chilcotin;
3. Learn (a) animal names, (b) clothing names; (c) vegetables, (d) fruits, and (e) kitchen utensils in Chilcotin.
4. Learn their kinship family names by drawing a picture of their family, writing down their kinship names as well as their given names;
5. Learn hymns in Chilcotin;
6. Learn about common wild animals;
7. Name body parts;
8. Use the "greetings" in Chilcotin.

In addition, they will learn the history of the reserve,

its legends and traditions and the funeral song. Elders and other local resource people will supplement the instruction.

Ms. Joyce Charleyboy, teacher aide and language instructor for the children at Redstone Indian Day School, described her programme:

The students are really small but they can sit longer now. I am using the Peabody kit with the pictures of the animals, vegetables and the counting cards. I teach the parts of the body, too, and the greetings. They really like it and I do too. I think it's good that they know their own language. I tell the parents to speak it to them at home.

The concern of the Chilcotin communities of Anaham and Redstone that their children should maintain their first language is evident in the involvement of both communities in the language programme. Their attitudes express the significant reality of the ancestral language in the lives of their children, as Thonis (1977) said, when discussing the intimate significance of a child's first language:

When the language of the home is not that of the school or of the majority culture, extra care must be taken to engender feelings of acceptance and equality. A child's first language learning takes place in the warmth and intimacy of his family. Such learning carries with it emotions and memories which become a permanent part of himself. When his language is valued he feels that himself and all that is a part of him is valued as well. (p. 202)

Instruction in the Chilcotin Language programme in the provincial education system is given by Native teaching assistants who are funded by School District #27 under special approvals. Instruction in the Chilcotin Language

Programme in the federal education system is given by Native teaching assistants who are funded by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs through contributions to the Indian bands. This latter source of funding is received at Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School.

A Chilcotin language source book which outlined the parameters of the programme and gave references and information for the planning of lessons was prepared by Haig-Brown in 1978. Material from this source book is found in Appendix A.

#### The Structure of the Chilcotin Language

Burnaby (1980) said of the structure of language that the difference in the fluency achieved when learning a new language is related somewhat to the difference in structure between the two languages. She observed that although young children do not seem to experience such structural differences and difficulties when they learn a language other than their own, it could be supposed that such structural differences could result in problems being experienced "as the child's first language structure solidifies and excludes other possibilities" (pp. 196-7).

The children with whom this study was concerned attended Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School

and had been exposed to a variety of language experiences. For example: (a) their own first language to a greater or lesser degree, (b) the Chilcotin-English dialect, (c) 'Teacher English' in the oral form and, later on, (d) Standard English in the more formal written form. This experience could lead to what Vernon (Downing, 1978) has described as "cognitive confusion". In 1957, her review of research led her to the conclusion that "the fundamental and basic characteristics of reading disability appear to be cognitive confusion and lack of system." In 1971 (Downing, 1978), Vernon concluded:

It would seem that in learning to read it is essential for the child to realise and understand the fundamental generalization that in alphabetic writing all words are represented by combinations of a limited number of visual symbols. Thus it is possible to present a very large vocabulary of spoken words in an economical manner which requires the memorising of a comparatively small number of printed symbols and their associated sounds. But a thorough grasp of this principle necessitates a fairly advanced stage of conceptual reasoning, since this type of organisation differs fundamentally from any previously encountered by children in their normal environment. (p. 339)

Henry (Note 2), a linguist for both the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and School District #27 (Chilcotin-Cariboo), has suggested that Chilcotin children and adults tend to learn English (L2) through their knowledge of the existing structure of their own language (L1) and, using this structure of noun/object verb, reflect it in their English speech in a grammatical pattern. Haig-Brown (1980), discussing experiences with dialect said:

1. All dialects of English are of equal value in that they fulfill the communication needs of the speaker within his or her community.

2. A child will benefit from having a command of standard or school English.

3. The teaching of the standard English dialect must recognise and develop from the child's home dialect. (p. 1)

In order to meet Haig-Brown's third recommendation, which is directly related to the teaching method, it seems evident that language experience approach would fulfill the need to accept the child's dialect as valid and the need to develop this so that Standard English may be acquired. Haig-Brown made this observation himself and he suggested that the use of language experience approach is the logical teaching approach and recommended using the children's "oral and written expression of his or her experiences as the basis for extending expressive abilities in standard English" (p. 1).

Harvey (Note 3) discussed the semantic experience and alerted us to its sensitivities and difficulties and suggested, as did Haig-Brown (1980), that the language experience approach is an authentic teaching system which can use the "validity, communication, self-expression and learning" inherent in the dialect. She warned against the practice of teachers and aides purposely misspelling words used in language experience stories in order to write down what the child says exactly as he says it "mistakes and all". She extended this by suggesting that children have learned

their language through the medium of adults' language and accept the fact that language in its written form will tend to fit the adult code. Harvey added the following:

As long as Standard English is the dialect of the written language and as long as most teachers speak Standard English, instruction in the Standard dialect takes place unobtrusively from the earliest grades by means of the teachers ongoing modelling of an alternate means of expression by shared core of meanings and interest. (p. 231)

Vernon (Downing, 1978) and Harvey (Note 3) stressed the importance of linguistic competence in order to be able to read, and the significance of oral language before the teaching of reading in order to enhance and extend this competence.

It is reasonable to assume that the use of the existing structure of the Chilcotin language is the medium through which the kindergarten children at Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School attempt to understand English (L2) as they concentrate upon grasping the concepts of the kindergarten programme. Also, it might be reasonable to assume that when confronted at the primary level with the task of translating the spoken word into the printed word in L2 in order to understand the visual symbols necessary for the reading task "cognitive confusion" could be experienced.

The evident syntactical difference in Chilcotin-English was made explicitly clear in a paper by Myers (Note 4).

Haig-Brown (1979) says of this translation:

You will note that the order and presentation is not what one would expect in an English composition.

This represents a different cultural thought pattern or presentation of ideas that is often represented in Chilcotin students' English composition.

A copy of this paper will be found in Appendix A, but the following is a brief example of it:

?Esqaz nenqayne ?ijegwedel ?anx ?eguh gunaun jid gwadañised.  
 children/Indian/they learn it/that/it is good/I think of it.  
 I think it is good for the children to learn about Chilcotin.

Haig-Brown's statement and the above excerpt support Henry's (Note 2) suggestion concerning the reversal process which is taking place in the literal translation of Chilcotin into English and in the final translation of Chilcotin-English into Standard English.

King and Rathjen (see Appendix A) discussed the difference between Chilcotin and English sounds:

Chilcotin, for instance, has no /r/ sound. Someone who has not learned to make /r/ will have trouble with such words as "red" and "rose". He will probably say "led lose". Two other consonants which are in English but not in Chilcotin are /f/ and /v/. For a Chilcotin-speaking person, hearing and making these sounds will cause much more trouble than sounds which he already has in his language. An English-speaking person learning Chilcotin will have similar trouble hearing and making the first sound in the word for "dog" /din/. The "l" sound (a voiceless /l/ made by holding the tongue in the /l/ position and blowing air out on the sides) does not occur in English. (Appendix A)

King and Rathjen (Appendix A) stated that a Chilcotin speaker, when describing the action of picking up an object would change the form of the verb used to indicate the form of the object being picked up, whether it was hard, stick-like, round, alive, loose-textured. Further, Chilcotin verbs change in order to describe how a person might be travelling

on foot, by boat, on horseback. They observed that "the habits of our first language, then, make learning a second language difficult" (p. 8).

Nedler (1972) described some of the problems young children experience in learning a second language, with explicit reference to the difficulties inherent in discrimination between sounds. She said:

A review of language development and second-language acquisition for the young child revealed a number of existing problems, along with some potential assets. Hawkes (1965) described some of the major problems related to second language learning. One problem is learning how to discriminate between sounds, because some sounds may not appear in a person's native language while others may be treated in one way in the native tongue and a different way in the second language. Other problems include learning and selecting the appropriate response in the appropriate language, sorting out interference at the grammatical level (such as reversed word order). (p. 292)

Because of the sound difference between Chilcotin and English, King and Rathjen (see Appendix A) suggested that a teacher of English as a Second Language to such students should know enough of the pronunciation and grammar of the language to be able to isolate its major differences from English. When he knows these differences, they thought, he would be able to instruct the students on the difficult areas and not use their time on the areas that cause no problems.

In summary, the following language parameters may effect the children's performance and the results of the study: (a) the functional structure of the Chilcotin language (L1), (b) the students' ability to accommodate

the functional structure of the English language (L 2), (c) the students' fluency in the Chilcotin language, (d) the students' use of the Chilcotin-English dialect, and (e) the students' access to the English language.

The students' experiences in their first language will be influenced by the extent to which it is used in their home environment, with adults and with other children. It could be influenced by factors such as whether they are living with parents and/or with Chilcotin-speaking grandparents or elders. Their use of the Chilcotin-English dialect will derive from the same source; this could also be influenced in exposure to such dialect in the playground setting of the school. The students' fluency in English could be influenced by their exposure to it through older siblings who attend school where English is the dominant language, through experiences of moving away from their home with their parents and relatives during seasonal employment activities, and through the many changes which have taken place since 1969 in the lives of the Chilcotin people. These possibilities will be discussed further in Chapter III.

## CHAPTER III

## PROCEDURES

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether fluency in Chilcotin has a relationship to the acquisition of English in the early childhood kindergarten children of Chilcotin Indian Day School on the Anaham Reserve, Redstone Indian Day School on the Redstone Reserve.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were to be tested:

1. That there will be no significant differences of achievement on the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test over four months of instruction between the children from Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School.

2. There will be no significant differences of achievement on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test after four months of instruction between the children from Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School.

3. There will be no significant difference between each of the experimental groups on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test after eight months of English and Chilcotin instruction.

4. There will be no significant differences between

each of the experimental groups on the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test after eight months of English and Chilcotin instruction.

5. There will be no significant correlation between the scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test for the experimental groups individually or separately.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the subjects chosen for the study, the criteria for selection and the sequence of the study. It will also describe the setting of both schools and explore briefly the historical developments of Anaham and Redstone reserves, and examine some of the changes which have taken place in the life of the Chilcotin people during the past twelve years.

The second section will discuss the kindergarten programme of Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School with observations made, by the kindergarten teachers, on the Chilcotin language and its influence on their students.

The third and concluding section will discuss the tests and instrumentation used, including some observations made concerning the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test by the Chilcotin teacher aides from Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School. (A complete description of these observations will be found in Appendix A.)

### Selection of Subjects

Because the purpose of the study was to determine whether fluency in Chilcotin has a relationship to the acquisition of English, a decision was made, in consultation with the kindergarten classroom teacher, that the sixteen subjects chosen from the Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten should come from the children who were five years of age and who came from families where the Chilcotin language was spoken in consistent normal daily family interaction in preference to English. It was intended that the group of sixteen subjects chosen was to be distributed over an equal number of boys and girls. However, twin girls were chosen as part of the group and changed the distribution to nine girls and seven boys. It was felt that the data collected from the individual twins taking part in the testing was well worth the uneven distribution of gender within the numbers. At each stage of initial selection the classroom teacher was consulted and gave co-operation.

Because the total population of the kindergarten group in the Redstone kindergarten was eleven, and the study was addressed to the language development of five year old children and not addressed to children of nursery age, a decision was made, in consultation with the kindergarten classroom teacher that all eleven kindergarten children should be included. None of the children were mainly

Chilcotin-speaking upon entry into the kindergarten. All of them had access to the English language. The group was composed of six girls and five boys. At each stage of initial selection, the classroom teacher was consulted and gave co-operation.

### Sequence of the Study

Chilcotin Indian Day School. Permission for the study was obtained from the principal of Chilcotin Indian Day School, the teacher of the kindergarten class, and the Anaham Education Administration committee. All pertinent material was given to the principal, the classroom teacher and the Anaham Education Administration Committee at this time. Also the study was discussed with Ms. Dorothy Alphonse, who is a member of the Anaham Education Administration committee, with particular attention being paid to the tests to be used and their procedure. Then a meeting was held with the classroom teacher of the kindergarten to discuss the criteria for selection of the subjects and to discuss the tests being used. Next, a meeting was held with the parents of the children involved and all relevant information made available to them and their permission sought.

Redstone Indian Day School. Chief Gerry Charleyboy and the members of the Redstone Education Administration Committee, together with the teacher of the kindergarten

class were asked for permission. All pertinent material was made available for the Chief and the education committee and the classroom teacher at this time. The study was discussed with Ms. Agnes Guichon, and later with Ms. Joyce Charleyboy, who are members of the Redstone Education Committee, and teacher aides, with particular attention being paid to the tests to be used and their procedures. Then, a meeting was held with the classroom teacher of the kindergarten to discuss the criteria for the selection of the subjects to be used in the study and to discuss the tests being used. Next, a meeting was held with the parents of the children involved and all relevant information was made available to them and their permission sought.

For both sites the procedure was:

1. Establishment of dates for the series of testing to take place in the fall and spring terms.
2. Arrangements made for quiet areas for testing, that is, the school library or staff room at Chilcotin Indian Day School was allocated to Ms. Dorothy Alphonse and the investigator and the living quarters of the classroom teacher at Redstone Indian Day School was allocated to Ms. Agnes Guichon, Ms. Joyce Charleboy and the investigator so that the same type of test situation was maintained throughout the study.
3. The progress of the subjects was monitored through contact and interaction with the classroom teachers between

fall and spring terms. Consultations took place on the materials and kits being used.

4. Test 1 was given to the group of subjects in the fall term and Test 2 was given to the same group of subjects in the spring term. Instrumentation will be discussed later in this chapter.

### Setting of the Study

In order to understand the study within its context it is necessary to briefly discuss some of the history of both Indian day schools. A more detailed description of the setting and historical development of the area will be found in Appendix B. Whitehead (1981) described the history of the Cariboo Mission:

By 1941 two day schools were operating in St. Joseph's Mission district. The Ulgatcho Indians had a day school which the Indians had built. . . . The Redstone Indians had a partial school. . . . The Archbishop, with the willing help of Bill Christie, the Indian agent, who saw in such schools encouragement for the Indians to settle, persuaded Ottawa to finance regular day schools at Anaham and Redstone. (p. 132)

Christie, in an interview in 1981, discussed with the investigator his experiences in planning day schools during that period when the only school was the Residential School, at St. Joseph's Mission. Attendance at the Mission was difficult for many of the children who were "eight or nine years old before they got to school". Eventually, during the 1940s, with Government support, two day schools were

started, one at Anaham Reserve and one at Redstone Reserve. (A complete description of the interview with Mr. William Christie, held in 1981, is contained in Appendix B.)

Archbishop Duke ( Whitehead , 1981 ) , writing to Senator S. McKeen in Ottawa, said of the beginning of the day school at Anaham:

In order to help the Indian people in the Chilcotin country we induced the Sisters of Christ the King to come to Anaham to open a school in the old Indian community hall, which became a school building, and the Sisters occupy practically a shack beside it, and began also a Novitiate for Indian girls, the first in Western Canada, through which Indian girls would be trained for official workers, teachers and nurses to work among their own people. (p. 70)

Although it is not the intent of this study to address, in depth, the historic relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the Chilcotin Indian people in the education of the Chilcotin children, it is certainly of significance and relevance to the research that it should be mentioned. The interaction of the Church with the Indian people has had a particular educational influence upon the two sites chosen for this paper.

Fr. John Hennessy ( Whitehead , 1981 ) discussed his involvement in education with specific reference to Redstone Indian community and observed that the Redstone people wanted an education for their children but did not wish to send them to St. Joseph's Mission. Consequently, in 1941, he had begun "a seasonal school" which met the

needs of the families who were engaged in hunting, fishing and trapping in spring, and were engaged in working on the land or in haying in fall. He said that "from the end of October to the first of March seemed to be an ideal time".

(A complete description of the interview with Fr. John Hennessy, ( Whitehead , 1981 ) , will be found in Appendix B.)

Much of the official correspondence of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, written during the sixties, emphasized the difficulties being experienced in keeping the Redstone Day School open; anxiety was expressed regarding problems with heating, water supply, freezing pipes, the lack of plumbing and electrical services. During the sixties and in the early seventies letters were exchanged between parents of the children from the Redstone Indian community and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, regarding the possibility of the children receiving education at St. Joseph's Mission. They were advised to send their children to Chezacut elementary school, which is approximately 30-40 miles from Redstone Reserve and Tatlayoka provincial elementary school was also mentioned as a possible educational location for the Redstone children.

Later in an intradepartmental letter dated June 28, 1972, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs stated that the Redstone school was closed in September, 1971 and "that it has yet to be turned over formally to the Band". A band

council resolution was submitted to the Department in August, 1972, requesting the Department "to transfer ownership of the Redstone Indian Day School to the Alexis Creek (Redstone Band) for use as a community hall." It is interesting to note that it is this same building which is being used to house the present Redstone Indian Day School which began in December, 1980.

By 1971, correspondence between Putzi Mountain provincial elementary school staff and the Indian Affairs branch in Williams Lake discussed "the need for a kindergarten readiness programme" and indicated that the students from Redstone Reserve would, in all probability, participate in such a readiness programme. Puntzi Mountain provincial elementary school is the school which is being attended by students from Redstone Reserve in 1982.

#### Description of the Sites

##### Chilcotin Indian Day School, on Anaham Reserve.

Anaham Reserve is some seventy miles west of Williams Lake and consists of approximately six hundred Chilcotin Indian people. The children from Anaham attend the Chilcotin Indian Day School which is situated in the village and offers a programme from nursery-kindergarten through to grade 9 to one hundred and seventy-five children. The school is the largest federal school in the area and also the largest rural school in the Chilcotin-Cariboo district. It is

anticipated that enrolment will increase to two hundred children in the fall of 1983.

The kindergarten children at Anaham usually have older siblings and/or cousins who attend the day school. Through these relationships, the kindergarten children are exposed to many of the experiences of the elementary and intermediate school programme. For example, they take part in activities with the grade 1 level in Christmas concerts, music, Hallowe'en festivities and track and field events. In addition, many of the Anaham community events are centered around the school programme or occur in the school plant.

There is a significant level of community involvement in the activities of the school and a strong texture of relationships which has been woven between the Chilcotin people and the Missionary Sisters of Christ the King, who have been living in Anaham village since the early 1940s. Some of the Sisters refer to the students whom they are now teaching as their "grandchildren". Further, the Anaham Education Administration is a strong decision-making body, with considerable influence in the operation of the school, and is seeking closer involvement.

Because of the existence of the school in the village, some of the parents did not send their children to St. Joseph's Mission for schooling although Ethel Devlin, who was a principal and teacher at St. Joseph's Mission for many years, discussed the enrolment at the Mission with the

investigator and observed that children were still admitted to the Mission if their parents were "away for twelve consecutive weeks". (A complete description of the interview held with Ethel Devlin in 1982 will be found in Appendix B.)

The Chilcotin parents from Anaham Reserve were nomadic in the early days of the existence of the day school as was observed by Sr. Teresea Bernard (Whitehead, 1981) when she recalled her life on the reserve in the 1940s: "They were nomadic and would all disappear in those days. . . . Little by little they stayed longer on the Reserve" (p. 80). (A complete description of the interview with Sr. Teresa Bernard, (Whitehead, 1981), will be found in Appendix B.)

This remaining in the community for schooling has been identified by a band council member as one of the factors which explains why the Anaham people have retained a strong hold on their own language. Devlin (see Appendix B) discussing the same environmental influence in relation to attendance at St. Joseph's Mission observed that "the students from Anaham spoke their own language and there were many of them. The Chilcotin are a very proud, independent people and the Anaham people kept to themselves."

Conversely, the geographical closeness of the Anaham village to the town of Williams Lake and the milieu of exposure to the English language through interactions at the school could result in differing levels of English

development between the Anaham kindergarten students at Chilcotin Indian Day School and the Redstone kindergarten students and Redstone Indian Day School.

Redstone Indian Day School. Redstone Reserve is approximately 150 miles west of the town of Williams Lake. The population is approximately 300-400 Chilcotin Indian people. The children from Redstone Reserve attend the local provincial school of Puntzi Mountain, approximately seven miles west of the reserve where a programme is offered from kindergarten through to grade 9 to eighty children. Interaction and involvement exist between the education committee of Redstone Reserve and the principal and teaching staff of Puntzi Mountain School which was opened as the result of a Joint-School Agreement (July 20, 1966) between the Ministry of Education and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The projected enrolment on that date was twenty-three children. The kindergarten children at Redstone Indian Day School have been attending the federally operated nursery-kindergarten since December, 1980, and the day school, at this point, consists entirely of the early childhood programme.

The young children at Redstone nursery-kindergarten do not experience either participation in the elementary programme of Puntzi Mountain School or socialization through involvement in daily events. However, they do take part in annual events such as Christmas festivities and track

and field days. Many of the people of Redstone obtained their education through residence at St. Joseph's Mission and this has been identified by a Chilcotin band council member as one of the factors which has influenced their decreased facility in the Chilcotin language, and the facility of their children. Ethel Devlin, discussing language and the influence of St. Joseph's Mission with the investigator, said:

The students from Redstone spoke their own first language but they did have more access to English because their village was nearer the road and there was more exchange between the Redstone people and English-speaking people in the conditions of working together in rural employment. (see Appendix B)

It is pertinent that this study seeks to examine both groups of children within the context of their own milieu and is not comparative in terms of 'judgements' on the degree of language facility either in Chilcotin or in English between the kindergarten children at Chilcotin Indian Day School and the kindergarten children at Redstone Indian Day School.

The planning of the Redstone nursery-kindergarten. In 1978, meetings were held with the Redstone education committee and Dr. Pier de Paola, the Assistant Superintendent of Education for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Williams Lake District Office, to discuss the possibility of operating a nursery-kindergarten on the Redstone Reserve. The enrolment cited then was thirteen

children which included four and five year olds. The band indicated it had a suitable Native teacher who had received two and a half years of teacher training. The rationale for the programme was that no kindergarten programme was offered in the existing public school system. The band requested funding to operate the nursery-kindergarten based on half of the then Master Tuition Agreement for the 1978-79 year, plus 6%, and an approximate budget was planned including the operation and maintenance of the building. A band council resolution was submitted requesting Department of Indian and Northern Affairs funding and letters were sent to parents asking for their input concerning the project.

Throughout 1970-1980 meetings were held at Redstone Reserve when arrangements were made for an agreement to be in place with the Redstone band if the nursery-kindergarten was to be undertaken. A meeting was held on March 21, 1980, with the Redstone education committee and decisions were made about a house-to-house survey in order to discover the opinion of the community concerning the nursery-kindergarten. At this meeting, it was also stated that the nursery-kindergarten would be the beginning of that community's plan for their own school which was then in the projected funding for 1984-1986. It was decided that a member of the Redstone community would be chosen for a training-on-the-job position to work with the nursery-kindergarten teacher.

It was decided that the proposal for the nursery-kindergarten should be based upon (a) established need, (b) request from parents, (c) the number of children, and (d) the educational and community benefits. And that the nursery-kindergarten curriculum would be based upon (a) emphasis upon oral language experience, (b) early childhood activities, (c) cultural content of the programme, and (d) the participation of the parents in visits to the school, contribution of skills, voluntary work.

It was thought that additional training for the nursery-kindergarten teacher would involve (a) the possibility of attendance at summer courses, (b) on-the-job training for the members of the community chosen to work with the teacher, (c) information to be requested from the elementary staff at Puntzi Mountain School, and (d) visits which can be made to other nursery-kindergartens.

### Significant Changes

A number of environmental changes have taken place in the Chilcotin country between 1968 and 1978 which have had an influence upon family life-style, education, and the retention and use of the indigenous language. The investigator considered that the following five changes which have been identified by Haig-Brown (1978) could be of particular relevance to the study.

The first change is the mechanization of the ranching industry in the Chilcotin in which the Indian people participate. For example, in the place of loose hay, log and russel fences, flood irrigation and the feeding of cattle with a team in the wild meadows, there now exists baled hay, wire fences, wheel line sprinklers and mechanical feeding devices at the main ranch.

The second change is the logging industry, prior to the very recent economic recession, provided another source of change from small mills and employment for Chilcotin people solely in the country, to large mills in the town of Williams Lake and employment for Chilcotin people in town.

The third change is the change in life-style with regard to food and diet. This is closely connected with the improvement in road surfaces between Chilcotin reserves and the town of Williams Lake, and the change in transportation from horses and wagons to pick-up trucks, and cars.

The fourth change is the increased use of televisions and telephones in the homes. Although much communication is still heard via the 'radio message time' broadcast from Williams Lake and Quesnel twice a day. The increase of these mediums of communication may have influenced English language acquisition at both sites.

The fifth change is related to social activity. In 1968, Chilcotin families travelled by horse and wagon, the

journey taking a week, to attend rodeos and to attend the Williams Lake annual stampede held in July. They tended to camp on a hill above the stampede grounds for the festivities. Today Chilcotin families drive in by truck or car, the journey taking from two to four hours, and tend to 'stay over' with friends or in motels in the downtown area.

Haig-Brown . . . . . (Chilcotin Source Book, 1978) has also identified as being of particular significance to the changes which have taken place in the Chilcotin "the dramatic shift from Department of Indian Affairs controlled administration to the development of band administration" (p. 4).

Donald Smith, the District Superintendent of Education, Williams Lake District Office, from 1975 to 1981, in discussing with the investigator the growth in educational involvement which has taken place within the Chilcotin people, supported Haig-Brown's statement. Smith stated that during his experience as education administrator with the Native peoples and children in federal, band operated and provincial schools, in the Chilcotin-Cariboo area, he could select three factors which had, among others, been of specific relevance to such growth. These were (a) the work of the in-school and post-school counsellors of the Department of Indian Affairs, with the Chilcotin students in extending the students' knowledge and awareness of educational opportunities

open to them, (b) the appointment, in the early 1970s, of two home-school co-ordinators for a considerably vast geographical terrain; educational awareness and local participation had been strengthened from this time. There were now between 12-15 home-school co-ordinators working in the area, and a considerable number of education committee workers, also, and (c) the publication of The Indian Control of Indian Education (1972) and the growing awareness of the Indian people, particularly after "the long hot summer of '75" when funding was returned by them, to the Department of Indian Affairs, as a result of the Chilliwack Convention, of the possibilities for local involvement in decision-making actions concerning the education of their children. (A complete description of the interview held with Donald Smith in 1982 will be found in Appendix B.)

According to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs statistics (1980) the number of Indian people living in the Williams Lake Chilcotin-Cariboo area is 3,656. 75% of this number live on reserve and 24.6% live off reserve. This is the highest number of Indian people living on reserve in British Columbia (see Appendix B).

In summary, there has been considerable change and evolution socially, economically and politically in the Chilcotin area, per se, which has accelerated during the past twelve years. Such changes may have had a significant influence on educational directions for the Native children

generally and perhaps specifically at the two sites of this study.

There are also three changes which have occurred in the past two years which may be perceived, in the future, to have had a profound directional influence in the lives of the Native peoples and the education of their children. The first change is the final complete closing of St. Joseph's Mission as a residential school in 1981. The second change is the creation of the Cariboo Native Education Training Centre, which is based on the Mission site, in 1981. And the third change is the growing strength and involvement of the Cariboo Tribal Council, which represents the fifteen Indian bands in the area, and their work in education.

The following is a description of the current kindergarten programme at Chilcotin Indian Day School on Anaham Reserve and the kindergarten programme at Redstone Indian Day School on Redstone Reserve.

#### Chilcotin Indian Day School Kindergarten Programme

The kindergarten programme was based upon fostering growth in oral language using the language experience approach. Expressive language was encouraged through the medium of news stories, discussion in the circle, and communication involved when working on assigned tasks. The Peabody Language Kit had been used extensively and

partial use had been made of the Language Patterns series by Holt Reinhart. The classroom teacher had found the Santa Clara Inventory to be a sound source for assessing student progress and for planning future instruction.

From a base of experience with oral language, the children had moved towards working on the sounds of the alphabet. Language arts (i.e., listening, speaking, reading and recording) was an integral part of the kindergarten programme. Activities had been planned with the classroom teacher and the teacher aide, who was of Chilcotin descent, to facilitate learning in small groups. The teacher aide had worked throughout the entire school year with the classroom teacher.

The kindergarten at Chilcotin Indian Day School provided experiences in creative activities with much involvement from the children. More formal group activities took place towards the end of the year when preparation for admission to the grade 1 programme was one of the teacher's goals. There appeared to the investigator, in informal observation, to be a balance between growth in individual inquiry learning, and growth through performance on group oriented tasks when development of social learning, responsibility for self and for completion of assignments, was strengthened.

The classroom teacher expressed satisfaction in the working relationship she and the Chilcotin teacher aide had

achieved throughout the year. She perceived this assistance as particularly helpful in the fall term when the students were settling in and needed the extra support of being able to relate to an adult in their own language. She also perceived it as very necessary, throughout the year, for the reinforcement of that first language as the children grew in their understanding of English. Burnaby (1980) said of such an experience:

If the teacher is not bilingual, bilingual para-professionals can mediate between the teachers and the children. This solution is common in Native schools. There are Native paraprofessionals employed in federal schools in Ontario as teacher aides, social counsellors, counsellor technicians, home-school co-ordinators. . . . If the children do not speak English when they come to school, the chance that a local adult will speak the children's language is great. (p. 272)

To a certain extent this statement reflects the situation in the Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten. However, both the classroom teacher and the teacher aide worked together on daily, weekly and monthly plans for the objectives of the programme and a great deal of team teaching had taken place in group work with the children.

The kindergarten children were also exposed to the Chilcotin language programme, discussed in Chapter II. The lessons had taken place twice a week for approximately ten to fifteen minutes duration each time. Initially the concentration span of the children did not allow for more than a short session and this had gradually been lengthened to accommodate the increased attention span of the children.

In addition to the Peabody Kit, the language teacher included materials she had made. Plans were being made for the translation of the kindergarten nursery rhymes into the Chilcotin language.

### The Influence of the Chilcotin Language

The classroom teacher felt that, upon admission in the fall, some of the Chilcotin speaking children appeared to be "learning through observation"; that is, they perceived what she wished them to learn through observing what she was doing. She added that they tended also to learn in this way from each other. She believed that since the beginning of the programme the children had developed a greater access to English and would use the second language for discussion during group work on tasks. She felt it was very important that her children did not lose their own language.

The classroom teacher, discussing entry to the programme in the fall, felt that a bilingual Chilcotin child would probably have derived a great deal in the early days of admission. She added that he would have been able to relate immediately to the direction and information she gave and he would have been able to feel comfortable with many of the materials displayed and the activities planned. His initial introduction to the programme would probably have been smoother, and together with his first days in the unfamiliar milieu of the classroom, he would not have been

exposed also to the unfamiliar sounds and intonations of English. She felt that "making the transfer from Chilcotin to English" had been a difficult task for many of her children, requiring concentration and determined effort.

During discussion of some of the other influences which might have shaped the children's facilities in English (L 2), the classroom teacher thought that the movement of families during the summer and the fall, for seasonal employment activities had "broadened their vision of reality" as well as expanded their use of language.

Sister Edwina Dubé, who had taught the grade 1 programme at Chilcotin Indian Day School since the early 1970s, discussed the Chilcotin language in relation to that programme and observed that in the beginning of the 1970s it was not unusual for the children in the grade 1 programme to have little English until March of their school year. She could recall the time when an interpreter would be needed in the grade 1 classroom. She thought that where there were elders dwelling in the children's homes there would be a rich exposure to the ancestral language as Chilcotin was still predominant in many homes. She observed that the Chilcotin people of Anaham "want their children to learn English". (A complete description of the interview held with Sister Edwin Dubé, in 1982, will be found in Appendix B).

This study recognizes, with Burnaby (1980), that "the pressure" to learn English in order to benefit from further schooling is as valid at Anaham Reserve as it appears to be for the Native peoples of Ontario. Burnaby states further:

Native people seem to agree that a knowledge of English is essential for economic participation in provincial life and therefore want their children to learn it. For Native children who speak English, the problems are minimal. For Native children who do not, much more can be done to make learning of English a happy and successful experience. (p. 290)

It would appear to the investigator, from periodic informal observations of the classroom and the students' development within the programme, that the affective goal of Native language teaching of increased student self-esteem and awareness of identity and culture, through the maintenance of the ancestral language is being reached in Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten. This is made possible through the complete, unreserved acceptance of that language within the programme, its use in the Native language lessons and in daily interaction with the Native teacher aide. Burnaby's recommendation that the learning of English should be "a happy and successful experience" also appears to be met.

It seems that what Burnaby (1980) calls "the immensity of the task" (p. 278), when discussing the difficulties inherent in providing suitable materials, curriculum content, for Native language programmes, is no doubt applicable to

the work being done in the Chilcotin-Cariboo for the Chilcotin language programme. This is the continuing concern of the various language committees in the area and is now being addressed through the auspices of the Cariboo Native Education Centre and members of the education committee of the Cariboo Tribal council, in their work on a possible social studies programme with a broad application in provincial, federal and band operated schools, and with parameters which include the Chilcotin, the Shuswap and the Carrier Native peoples in the area.

It is possible that the use of the Peabody Language Kit in developing language both in English and in Chilcotin may have a significant effect upon the growth of both languages, through a transference of the learning taking place in the use of the same materials, in the two languages.

#### The Redstone Indian Day School Kindergarten Programme

The kindergarten programme was based upon growth in oral language using, initially, the language experience approach and language enrichment pictures (e.g., pictures in social studies, health, weather, care of pets). The Peabody Language Kit was not available to this class until March, 1982. At the same time, the Boehm Concept Kit became available and was used by the classroom teacher.

The routine of the classroom had been based upon growth in socialization skills, listening skills, development

of language arts, responsibility for self and completion of task, and guidance towards preparation for entry into the grade 1 programme at Puntzi Mountain elementary school.

The classroom teacher had used individual skills checklists available from the school district to assess the progress of her children. She had kept files on their work, recording their development throughout the year. The Santa Clara Inventory Tests had been used with these children.

The nursery-kindergarten students were taught in one complete group in an afternoon session. Many of the children did not speak Chilcotin upon admission to the Redstone kindergarten. In the fall the classroom teacher worked with a teacher aide from the Redstone community. The teacher aide developed a team teaching approach with the classroom teacher, telling stories, working with art projects and assisting in language arts tasks which were all given in English. The children began exposure to their language in a classroom setting in January, 1982. The method used was an adaptation and translation of existing kindergarten materials (e.g., materials used for the teaching of colours and some number concepts). The Peabody Language Kit was not part of the Chilcotin Language programme until May, 1982.

This initial Chilcotin Language programme ended in April, 1982, because of the transfer of the teaching assistant. The position of teaching assistant was then given to

another member of the community who was fluent in the first language. She had taught Chilcotin each day to the nursery-kindergarten children and had used the Peabody Language Kit as her main source of materials. She has also become an integral part of the daily kindergarten programme.

### The Influence of the Chilcotin Language

The classroom teacher felt that upon admission in the fall most of the children had already formed much of their language growth in English, through their home environments and that they were able to begin to grasp the concept of the programme. She also perceived the Chilcotin language to be of value to them and was partly instrumental, with members of the Redstone education committee, in bringing it into the classroom. She did not think that its introduction would cause language confusion.

The children at Redstone kindergarten were exposed to hearing the Chilcotin language in the classroom through the activities of the intital teacher aide who occasionally would use it to explain a point of classroom routine to a child. Some of the children had partial access to their first language and it is conceivable that many of them understood it more than they spoke it. Several members of the Redstone education committee and the Redstone band administration expressed the desire that the first language

should be introduced into the kindergarten programme. Their children attending Puntzi Mountain provincial elementary school were receiving instruction in the Chilcotin language through the language programme generated by the school district. The Native language instructor for this elementary programme lived at Redstone reservation and was a concerned supporter of the kindergarten programme.

A great deal of interest and involvement was generated among the Redstone Indian administration concerning the daily operation and the possible future of their nursery-kindergarten as it was intended as the pivotal point for further educational achievements by the band.

In summary, Redstone kindergarten has operated mainly through the use of English (L 2) in its programme with the Chilcotin language programme as an enrichment programme providing "recognition of the ancestral language" in the school (Burnaby, 1980, p. 314). The language programme had attempted to meet the curriculum prerequisites, identified by the Redstone education committee, and discussed earlier, as significant in their planning of their kindergarten.

Gooderham (1978) in his paper "Bilingual Education for Indians and Inuit: The Canadian Experience" discussed the aims of the Native language programmes and made a point which is pertinent to the study when he said that the particular goals of the kindergarten phase of the project was (a) to expand and increase the child's ability to

communicate in his native language, (b) enable the child to learn certain basic concepts and processes in his own language, and (c) foster the initial and informal use of English or French to be followed by the stages of a planned programme in which English or French was to be taught as a second language (p. 48). He said of this planning that:

When the Native language is the medium of instruction, English or French is introduced as a second language, using the language shift pattern to facilitate the change-over to the dominant language by the grade four level. . . . A major challenge is the need to co-ordinate, to some degree, the efforts of the various agencies engaged in work with native languages. This is a formidable task when one considers the cultural, linguistic and geographical diversity involved. (p. 49)

Gooderham (1978) added that local school curriculum committees, Native cultural colleges, universities, Native teachers' associations, provincial departments of education, and the education branch of the D.I.A.N.D. are all involved in the task. He concluded that "the future role of D.I.A. N.D. will, of course, depend on the rate at which the Indian and Inuit people assume direction of the Native language programmes" (p. 49). He felt that "we in Canada are witnessing a dramatic expansion of bilingual/bicultural education among the indigenous peoples" (p. 52).

#### Tests and Instrumentation Used in the Study

In this section a description of the instrumentation used for the study will be given, together with an examina-

tion of some of the variables which might significantly influence the results achieved. The section will conclude with a sample of the observations made by Chilcotin teacher aides from Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School addressing the question of cultural bias of some of the stimulus items. A complete list of the items selected will be found in Appendix A.

Instrumentation used. The tests selected were:

1. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn, 1965).
2. The Chilcotin English Auditory Comprehension Test (Haig-Brown & Myers, 1979).

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. This test is widely used in early childhood education settings. The test manual stated:

The administration of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (P.P.V.T.) requires no special preparation other than complete familiarity with the test materials, including practice in giving the instrument prior to its use as a standardized measure. . . . If all the instructions are strictly observed, psychologists, teachers, speech therapists, physicians, counsellors and social workers should be able to give the scale accurately. (Dunn, 1965, p. 5)

Covin and Zeanah (1975) addressed their study to determining the stability of:

Form A of the Peabody for all children enrolled in the public kindergarten in the Andalusia City school system during the 1973-74 academic year. Data was collected from 7 white females, 8 white males, 20 negro females and 20 negro males. . . . The PPVT Form A was administered individually to all subjects by a white female examiner during the second week of September, 1973, and again during the second week of May, 1974, approximately eight months later. (p. 284)

The study showed that "the second administration of the Peabody Form A gave consistently and significantly higher scores than the first." Covin and Zeanah (1975) stated that:

Since these data are pertinent for a very limited sample of children in a particular school setting, a much more extensive evaluation with a larger number of subjects is needed before conclusive statements concerning the stability of Peabody A can be made. (p. 284)

The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test Form A and Form B were administered to the Chilcotin Indian kindergarten children of Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School in December, 1981 and in May, 1982 and the scores for both forms, on each occasion, were averaged for each subject.

Dunn (1965) stated that the validity of the PPVT was obtained both for individual items and for the total test. He adds that:

Content validity was built into the test when a complete search was made of Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (G & C Merriam, 1953), for all words whose meanings could be depicted by a picture. The restriction was the omission of words which could not be illustrated. (p. 32)

The validity of the PPVT, according to Dunn (1965) reflects the content validity when the PPVT is assumed to measure hearing vocabulary.

Lyman (1965) in The Sixth Mental Measurement Yearbook discussed the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test and stated that the test standardization had been based entirely on

results obtained from a group of 4,012 white children and young people who lived in and near Nashville, Tennessee. Because of this, caution should be used in administering it to "communities other than Nashville" (p. 531) and in interpreting its norms. However, Lyman thought that the test was interesting to subjects to be tested, simple to administer and score and concluded that "in summary, the PPVT is a highly usable test, of moderate reliability and largely unestablished validity" (p. 531).

Piers (1965) in The Sixth Mental Measurement Yearbook discussed the PPVT and concluded that the PPVT provided a "well standardized estimate of a subject's verbal intelligence through measuring his hearing vocabulary" (p. 531). The test would give a swift estimate of intelligence for normal subjects and it was developed for use with groups where giving the standard intelligence tests would not be appropriate.

Pascale (1973) in his study "Validity Concerns of Preschool Testing" when 72 preschool children (36 males and 36 females) were given the PPVT, the Raven's Coloured Progressive Matrices (CPM) and the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale (CMMS), concluded that the "test retest correlation coefficients of the PPVT (.84) and the CMMS (.85) are of such magnitude as to be reasonably reliable" (p. 944).

In summary, the PPVT test was chosen for the study because it has been used widely in early childhood settings.

It was recognized that there may be some difficulties experienced through the structural language differences and cultural differences. It was thought that the administration of the second test, the Chilcotin-English Auditory Comprehension Test would perhaps address and adjust some of the variables which might arise through the use of the PPVT. When administering the PPVT to the Chilcotin kindergarten students, Forms A and B were used and the rules of administration were followed. The test scores were derived from the recording of responses with submission of the raw scores. The actual language used by the examiner in this situation was English (L 2) but it was kept to a minimum and of a consistent pattern in compliance with the test.

#### The Chilcotin-English Auditory Comprehension Test.

This test is an adaptation by Haig-Brown and Myers (1979) of the screening test for Auditory Comprehension of Language (English) developed by Elizabeth Scarrow with the stimulus items translated into the Chilcotin language. (A copy of the test items in Chilcotin and in English, together with the test booklet are found in Appendix A.) Haig-Brown (1979) stated:

The test has been developed to compare with the auditory comprehension of children in Chilcotin and in English. Teachers in the Chilcotin generally understand very little, if any, of the local language, this test enables the teacher to understand each child more fully. A score of 15/25 on the English section and a score of 22/25 on the Chilcotin section could indicate that there is a need for an increase in the oral language programme. (p. 1)

There are twenty-five items in the test. It was administered by a teacher aide at Chilcotin Indian Day School who is also a member of the Anaham education administration and a band council member. She administered both the Chilcotin and the English section of the test. The examiner estimated which of the two languages was more available to the child and administered the test in that language initially. The test was then given in the other language. The test had been used in the Chilcotin area previously with the Chilcotin children in the provincial schools and the information correlated. When used in this study it was the first time it had been carried out in a two-test situation with the added information from the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.

The Chilcotin-English Auditory Comprehension Test was administered by a teacher aide at Redstone Indian Day School. She administered both the Chilcotin and the English section of the test. The examiner estimated which of the two languages was more available to the child and administered the test in that language initially. The test was then given in the other language.

The teacher aides who agreed to take part in this study from Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten and Redstone Indian Day School kindergarten were well known to the children, had developed rapport with them, and it was felt that both the aides and the students would feel comfortable in the test situation.

### Variables Which Could Influence Test Results

One of the variables which could influence test results would be the acceptance, or rejection, within the classroom situation of the Chilcotin language used by the children upon admission. It is anticipated that teacher approval of the Native language will strengthen the self-concept of the children which, in turn, will influence learning the second language, English (L2).

A second variable may be found in the Chilcotin-English Auditory Comprehension Test being administered at the Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten by a teacher aide who, although she did not specifically teach the children the Chilcotin language, had worked with them in many other areas and had on these occasions sometimes used the language, and at the Redstone Indian Day School kindergarten by a teacher aide who also fulfilled the role of Chilcotin language instructor for that classroom.

### Possible Cultural Bias of the P.P.V.T. Stimulus Items

The investigator is aware that the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test stimulus items contain some items which may cause difficulty, and that such difficulty may be experienced by English-speaking kindergarten children, in order that the test results obtained measure the extent of the children's verbal knowledge. However, it is appropriate, and valid, at this point, to give a sample of the observa-

tions made by the Chilcotin teacher aides, at both sites, indicating a possible stimulus bias in the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test which they considered may elicit environmental difficulty of comprehension. (A complete list of the twenty-three stimulus items chosen by the teacher aides will be found in Appendix A.) (Figure 1)

These eight stimulus items and the fifteen to be found in Appendix A were considered, by the Chilcotin teacher aides working in the Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten and the Redstone Indian Day School kindergarten to possibly cause difficulty for Chilcotin kindergarten children because the words used to describe each stimulus item were not part of the children's normal language experience of English. That is not to say, of course, that the experiences of the actual item is outside their reality; most Chilcotin children will (as will young children of other cultures) have taken "capsules", eaten a "meringue" and seen "chemists".

Through the use of the instrumentation described in this chapter the study sought to clarify, in some measure, the existing situation, or current conditions of the relationship of the Chilcotin language (L 1) to the acquisition of English (L 2) in the kindergarten students of the two day schools chosen in the expectation that the evidence thus secured would (a) assist in our understanding of the function of language in early childhood students as cited

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P.P.V.T. Stimulus Item	Chilcotin Interpretation
wasp	insect
envelope	letter
dial	phone
meringue	pie
sewing	mending
captain	driver
capsule	pills, vitamins
chemist	drug store

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Figure 1. Example of Stimulus Items Causing Possible Difficulty for Chilcotin Kindergarten Children on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.

by Stewig (1974), (b) would assist in our understanding of the language needs of bilingual children as cited by John and Horner (1971), and (c) would assist in our understanding of the influence of the Native ancestral language and its significance in the lives of Native early childhood kindergarten children, their parents and their community, as cited by Burnaby (1980).

CHAPTER IV  
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate possible differences in performance of five year old children, attending Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School, on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (P.P.V.T.) and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test (C.A.C.T.) after four months of instruction and after eight months of instruction. Analyses of covariance were calculated (see Winer, 1971, p. 775). Through the use of analysis of covariance, adjustments in final scores were made to account for any differences between the groups prior to the four months of instruction.

Hypothesis 1

The analysis of covariance for performance on the C.A.C.T. demonstrated after four months of instruction that there were no statistically significant differences in vocabulary scores between the two groups. This led to the acceptance of Hypothesis 1:

That there will be no significant differences in achievement on the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test over four months of instruction between the children from Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School.

The analysis is reported in Table 1.

Table 1

Analysis of Covariance Scores on the C.A.C.T  
 After Four Months of Instruction for Chilcotin  
 Indian Day School (Group 1) and Redstone Indian  
 Day School (Group 2)

Source of Variation		df	MS	F	p
Score 3	Among Groups (adjusted)	1	1.875	0.293	0.594
	Within Groups (adjusted)	18	6.395		
Score 4	Among Groups (adjusted)	1	108.300	12.638	0.002*
	Within Groups (adjusted)	18	184.250		

\*  $p < .05$

There was an increase in the vocabulary scores on the English measure of the C.A.C.T. (Score 4) for the children from Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2). The results are reported in Table 2. There were significant increases in scores over four and eight months. The Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2) increased significantly on Score 4 (the English measure of the C.A.C.T.).

### Hypothesis 2

The analysis of covariance for performances on the P.P.V.T. demonstrated that after four months of instruction there were no statistically significant differences in vocabulary scores between the groups. This led to the acceptance of Hypothesis 2:

There will be no significant differences of achievement on the P.P.V.T. after four months of instruction, between the children from Chilcotin Indian Day School and Redstone Indian Day School.

The analysis is reported in Table 3. There was a significant increase in the vocabulary scores for Form A and Form B of the P.P.V.T. for the children from Chilcotin Indian Day School (Group 1). The means are reported in Table 4. There was also a significant increase in vocabulary scores for Form A for Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2).

This result is similar to that of a study of Callaway (1972) (c.f. Chapter III) in which the P.P.V.T. Form A was

Table 2

C.A.C.T. Mean Scores for Chilcotin Indian Day School  
(Group 1) and Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2)

After four months instruction	Score 3 (Chilcotin)	Score 4 (English)
Group 1 (N = 12)	14.75	13.25
Group 2 (N = 8)	14.13	18.00
After eight months instruction	Score 3 (Chilcotin)	Score 4 (English)
Group 1 (N = 12)	14.92	15.58
Group 2 (N = 8)	17.50	26.75
Mean Differences	Score 3 (Chilcotin)	Score 4 (English)
Group 1 (N = 12)	0.17	2.33
Group 2 (N = 8)	3.37	8.75*

\*  $p < .05$

Table 3

Analysis of Covariance Scores on the P.P.V.T.  
 After Four Months of Instruction for Chilcotin  
 Indian Day School (Group 1) and Redstone  
 Indian Day School (Group 2)

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Score 1 Among Groups (adjusted)	1	599.300	5.986	0.025*
Within Groups (adjusted)	17	1701.859		
Score 2 Among Groups (adjusted)	1	231.617	2.475	0.134
Within Groups (adjusted)	17	93.551		

\*  $p < .05$

Table 4

P.P.V.T. Means and Standard Deviations for  
Chilcotin Indian Day School (Group 1)  
and Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2)

After 4 months instruction		Form A	Form B
Group 1 (N = 12)	$\bar{X}$ =	37.00	35.23
	SD =	9.95	7.77
Group 2 (N = 8)	$\bar{X}$ =	26.25	29.25
	SD =	7.61	10.45
After 8 months instruction		Form A	Form B
Group 1 (N = 12)	$\bar{X}$ =	46.25	44.17
	SD =	9.09	6.28
Group 2 (N = 8)	$\bar{X}$ =	36.00	37.00
	SD =	7.14	11.01
Mean Differences		Form A	Form B
Group 1 (N = 12)		9.25*	8.94**
Group 2 (N = 8)		9.75*	7.75

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

used to test the oral language development of kindergarten children in northeast Georgia. The purpose of the study was to determine whether there was "a significant difference in the oral language development of kindergarten children who have had special lessons in movement" (p. 4662-A). Callaway analyzed the data from the P.P.V.T. pretest and posttest and concluded that "there were no statistically significant differences in the two treatments but the differences that were found were more often in favour of the language stimulation groups" (p. 4662-A).

### Hypothesis 3

The analysis of covariance for performance on the P.P.V.T. demonstrated that after eight months there were no statistically significant differences in vocabulary scores between the groups. This led to the acceptance of Hypothesis 3:

There will be no significant differences between each of the experimental groups on the P.P.V.T. after eight months of English and Chilcotin instruction.

The analysis is reported in Table 5.

These results relate to the statement of Downing (1978) that "young school beginners make better progress if their instruction is delivered in their mother tongue. However, there may be a variety of reasons why instruction should

Table 5

Analysis of Covariance Scores on the P.P.V.T.  
 After Eight Months of Instruction for  
 Chilcotin Indian Day School (Group 1) and  
 Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2)

Source of Variation		df	MS	F	p
Score 1	Among Groups (adjusted)	1	54.903	1.432	0.248
	Within Groups (adjusted)	16	38.320		
Score 2	Among Groups (adjusted)	1	141.306	2.081	0.168
	Within Groups (adjusted)	16	67.888		

\*  $p < .05$

nevertheless be in the medium of L2" (p. 344). Such conditions prevailed at both sites of this study. Downing continued that the outcome of language instruction in L2 could be influenced "to a very important degree by the affective variable . . . the positive motivation of the parents and the children may go quite a long way to overcoming the cognitive deficits of delivery of instruction in L2" (p. 344). At both sites, the parents and the communities have demonstrated an interest in their children acquiring skills in the development of English (L2). An example of this interest is the statement made by the Anaham Education Administrative committee that the content of the school programme should be given in English (L2) and the emphasis expressed, by communities at both sites, that the young children should receive their instruction in English so that a foundation for learning in that language is created.

#### Hypothesis 4

The analysis of covariance for performance on the C.A.C.T. demonstrated that after eight months of instruction there were statistically significant differences in vocabulary scores between the groups. Therefore Hypothesis 4 was not accepted:

There will be no significant differences between each of the experimental groups on the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test after eight months of English and Chilcotin instruction.

The analysis is reported in Table 6. The means for the groups are reported in Table 2. Redstone Indian Day School children achieved significantly higher scores than did those at Chilcotin Indian Day School on Score 3 (the Chilcotin measure) and on Score 4 (the English measure) of the C.A.C.T.

These results relate to the study submitted by Strickland (1962) when, in discussing categories of life experience in the language of elementary school children, she stated that "children enter school able to use oral language and respond to it" and that the child "has access to the sound system, grammar and vocabulary . . . of the kind of language he has heard most frequently at home and in his neighbourhood" (p. 1). The results indicate possible influence through site differentials.

#### Hypothesis 5

The Pearson Product-Moment correlations between the scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Form B, Score 2) and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test (Score 3) for the Chilcotin Indian Day School (Group 1) and the Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2) were statistically significant at the .01 level. Hypothesis 5 was not accepted:

There will be no significant correlation between the scores on the P.P.V.T. and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test for the experimental groups individually or separately.

Table 6

Analysis of Covariance Scores on the C.A.C.T.  
 After Eight Months of Instruction for  
 Chilcotin Indian Day School (Group 1) and  
 Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2)

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Score 3 Among Groups (adjusted)	1	49.465	4.587	0.046*
Within Group (adjusted)	17	10.783		
Score 4 Among Groups (adjusted)	1	332.044	8.306	0.034*
Within Groups (adjusted)	17	62.572		

\*  $p < .05$

The correlations are reported in Table 7, Table 8 and Table 9. These results relate to the statement of Haig-Brown (1979) when he said:

In long range planning for both Chilcotin language and English language programmes, at the secondary and elementary level, it is important to have as complete a profile of the student population as possible in order to avoid haphazard planning. When the student population includes students with a Chilcotin speaking background and this background appears to significantly influence their actual school performance, then it seems worth while to make some attempt at defining the dimensions of bilingual ability with some objective measure. (p. 1)

The results also address the concept of the beginning of language competence which begins with listening, speaking and understanding in pre-school years. Burrows (1969) stated that "such essentials are basic to other goals of language learning" (p. 213). Burnaby (1980) also made a point which is pertinent to the results when she stated that among bilingual programmes there was an evident need to maintain equilibrium between the two languages in order to achieve success.

Table 7

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Between  
Scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary  
Test and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension  
Test for the Chilcotin Indian Day School

	P.P.V.T.	
	Form A Score 1	Form B Score 2
Chilcotin (N=12)		
Score 3	.22	.74*
Score 4	-.47	.50

\*  $p < .01$

Table 8

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Between  
 Scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary  
 Test and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension  
 Test for the Redstone Indian Day School

	P.P.V.T.	
	Form A Score 1	Form B Score 2
Chilcotin (N=8)		
Score 3	.52	.96*
Score 4	.45	-.03

\*  $p < .01$ .

Table 9

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations Between  
Scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary  
Test and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension  
Test for the Combined Schools

	P.P.V.T.	
	Form A Score 1	Form B Score 2
Chilcotin (N=20)		
Score 3	.03	.84*
Score 4	.01	.09

\*  $p < .01$

CHAPTER V  
SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS, CONCLUSIONS  
AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the findings in relation to the possible site differences and includes implications, conclusions and recommendations.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate if fluency in Chilcotin has a relationship to the acquisition of English in the early childhood kindergarten children of Chilcotin Indian Day School on Anaham Reserve, and Redstone Indian Day School on Redstone Reserve. ] This study has significance in the following areas: (a) the importance of language development at the early childhood stage, (b) the additional information it would provide concerning the degree of fluency in Chilcotin among kindergarten children and whether this increased as a result of formal teaching in the Chilcotin language programme, and (c) the additional information it would provide on whether fluency in Chilcotin proved a distraction to the acquisition of English, and (d) the additional information it would provide on whether initial fluency in Chilcotin, reinforced with the Chilcotin language programme, would prove an advantage through positive effect on learning.

In Chilcotin Indian Day School (Group 1) the same language programme had been given consistently, i.e., a great deal of oral language experience and the use of the Peabody Language Kit for both the English and the Chilcotin language programme. The Chilcotin language programme may have reinforced existing language and helped to develop more mature language. Both English and Chilcotin language could have been reinforced through the use of the same teaching materials since September, 1981.

In Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2) oral language experience had been used through the teaching materials available in early childhood education in social studies, health and care of pets. The Peabody Language Kit was not used until January as part of the English language component. The Chilcotin language programme did not take place until January and only made use of the Peabody Language Kit materials in April, 1982. Any reinforcement in both English and Chilcotin languages through the use of the same teaching materials would have taken place from April through June.

The information from this study may shed some light on the question of language development among Chilcotin speaking and Chilcotin-English dialect speaking kindergarten children which could, perhaps, form a basis for the language component of an early childhood education programme for Chilcotin Kindergarten children.

In Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten the following results were obtained: (a) there does not appear to be an increase in language acquisition in Chilcotin (L1) for this experimental group from December to June, 1982 and (b) there does not appear to be an increase in language acquisition in English (L2) for this experimental group from December to June, 1982.

In Redstone Indian Day School kindergarten the following results were obtained: (a) there does not appear to be an increase in language acquisition in Chilcotin (L1) for this experimental group from December to June, 1982, and (b) there does appear to be an increase in language acquisition in English (L2) for this experimental group from December to June, 1982.

There were statistically significant Pearson Product-Moment correlations at the .01 level between scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Form B, Score 2) and the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test (Score 3) for the Chilcotin Indian Day School (Group 1) and the Redstone Indian Day School (Group 2). The correlations indicate a relationship between the scores achieved at both sites on vocabulary development in English (L2) as measured by the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Form B, Score 2), and on vocabulary development in Chilcotin (L1) as measured by the Chilcotin Auditory Comprehension Test (Score 3).

## Generalizations

There are two major generalizations from this study. The first is concerned with the nature of the Chilcotin language. At Chilcotin Indian Day School kindergarten, the initial fluency in Chilcotin does not appear to be markedly increased when the Chilcotin language programme is given at a site to kindergarten children where the ancestral language is relatively stable. This could indicate that where Chilcotin is relatively strong the exposure to the language programme, at kindergarten, does not increase the Chilcotin language acquisition but could reinforce and maintain it. As pointed out in Chapter IV, the children at this site could be learning in Chilcotin rather than learning Chilcotin during the Chilcotin language lessons. At Redstone Day School kindergarten, the ancestral language has increased, but not at a statistically significant level, throughout the programme indicating that where Chilcotin is relatively less strong the exposure to the Chilcotin language programme at kindergarten may possibly increase the Chilcotin language acquisition.

The second generalization is concerned with the nature of the English language. The English language acquisition has increased at both schools indicating that the English language programme has met its goal of developing oral English, vocabulary and comprehension.

## Conclusions

It would appear that the following conclusions may be drawn from the research carried out at the two sites from September, 1981 through June, 1982. The first conclusion is that initial fluency in Chilcotin does not appear to be a distraction to the acquisition of English in a site where the children are already completely, or almost completely, fluent in Chilcotin and where there is a strong language development programme at the early childhood level.

The second conclusion is that initial fluency in Chilcotin does not appear to be vitally increased where the Chilcotin language programme is given at a site to five year old children whose ancestral language is relatively stable.


A third conclusion is that partial fluency in Chilcotin appears to be strengthened as a result of the Chilcotin language programme. A fourth conclusion is that partial fluency in Chilcotin does not appear to be a distraction to the acquisition of English in a site where the children use the Chilcotin-English dialect and where there is a strong language development programme at the early childhood level.

A further speculation could be made that the use of the Peabody Language Kit for both the English (L2) and the Chilcotin (L1) language programmes may have reinforced and facilitated learning and encouraged the children's competence in English through familiarity with the same stimulus materials in both teaching-learning situations.

In summary, it would appear that neither complete nor partial fluency exhibited at Site 1 and Site 2 proved a hindrance to the acquisition of the English language at both sites. It would appear relevant and meaningful that the language which demonstrated the greater growth and the stronger development at both schools, as measured by test instrumentation and correlated data, was English (L2).

Some differences in the schools chosen for the study could, possibly, have influenced language developments, adaptation to the classroom, and eventually the results of the test. Each site, of course, being uniquely 'itself'.

At both sites, the increase in growth of English (L2) could perhaps be the result of (a) the effectiveness of the English language early childhood programme, (b) the possible positive and reinforcing effect of the Chilcotin language (L1) and the Chilcotin language programme, and (c) the historic experiences, at both sites, in English (L1). In Chilcotin Day School these experiences were generated through exposure to the dominant language of instruction existing in the Day School. In Redstone Indian Day School these experiences were generated through the interaction with English-speaking people in employment situations and through the previous historic educational experience of the former generation. Where the Chilcotin language (L1) is maintained as at Chilcotin Indian Day School and where it is extended as at Redstone Indian Day School, it does appear to cause "cognitive confusion" (Downing, 1978) at the early childhood stage.



## Recommendations

The significance of the results of this study for an early childhood educator working with Chilcotin speaking or Chilcotin-English dialectical speaking kindergarten children seems clearly to address the issue of the inclusion of the ancestral language as part of a viable language component within the structure of the early childhood programme.

The study was undertaken to discuss the issue of the relationship of the Chilcotin language to the acquisition of English in five year old Chilcotin speaking children. It has attempted, through the evidence submitted, to address and examine the issue and to record its findings, its conclusions and its recommendations. Such findings may be pertinent for further educational development in the Chilcotin-Cariboo area among Native Indian people and among their children who will experience early childhood programmes.

Further and more extensive research on the subject of the study is needed with larger samples, other populations, different geographical areas and with different Native bands and cultures. Further research is also necessary to refine and expand the instrumentation used to assess the language of young Native children.

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## APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTATION PERTAINING TO THE CHILCOTIN INDIAN  
ENVIRONMENT, THE CHILCOTIN INDIAN LANGUAGE  
AND THE CHILCOTIN ENGLISH AUDITORY COMPREHENSION TEST

Material found in this appendix relates to the following:

1. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs statistics describing on-reserve population of the area containing the two sites of the study and a map of the area of the study.
2. A linguistic family map of the area, indicating the Chilcotin linguistic affiliation.

Translations of the Chilcotin language into the English language with initial literal translations indicating the structural differences of both languages.

The Chilcotin and English account of some of the history relating to Chief Anaham.

A description of the Chilcotin alphabet; a description of the vowel system and the consonant system in the Chilcotin language; a description of those consonants which are not similar to English consonants.

Material relating to the Chilcotin place names on the Anaham Reserve.

A copy of the paper on Learning English as a Second Language (King & Rathjen) being a contrastive analysis of Chilcotin and English sounds.

3. A sample of the Chilcotin English Auditory Comprehension Test in Chilcotin and in English.

A copy of the Pictorial Test Booklet.

A description of the 23 stimulus items described by the Chilcotin teacher aides at both sites which were considered to elicit environmental difficulty of comprehension for the kindergarten children at both sites.

Copy

TABLE 8 - REGISTERED INDIAN POPULATION BY INDIAN AFFAIRS' ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS AND ON- AND OFF-RESERVE RESIDENCE FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1976

DISTRICT NAME	POPULATION <sup>1</sup>		ON-RESERVE <sup>2</sup>	OFF-RESERVE
	N	%	%	%
BELLA COOLA	2,400	4.4	73.8	26.2
CAMPBELL RIVER	3,884	7.2	54.1	45.9
CENTRAL VANCOUVER	7,997	14.8	66.1	33.9
FORT ST. JOHN	1,013	1.8	66.3	33.7
NANAIMO	8,479	15.7	61.6	38.4
PRINCE GEORGE	4,573	8.4	66.8	33.2
TERRACE	13,030	24.2	58.5	41.5
VANCOUVER	9,144	16.8	66.8	33.2
WILLIAMS LAKE	3,656	6.7	75.4	24.6
TOTAL	54,176	100.0	63.9	36.1

<sup>1</sup>The total population has been adjusted for late-reporting.

<sup>2</sup>On-reserve includes on Crown land.

Source: Registered Indian population by sex and residence, for regions, 1976, Program Reference Centre, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program.

Prepared by: Research Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, D.I.A.N.D., 25-3-80.





## OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

School District # 27 (Cariboo-Chilcotin)

M E M O

TO: All English Teachers  
of Chilcotin students

November 21, 1979

FROM: Alan Haig-Brown  
District Co-ordinator of  
Indian Education

The attached papers are of a three line transcription-translation done by Maria Myers of Stone Reserve. I urge teachers at all levels to examine this work carefully. The differences in Chilcotin-English syntax are clear and well worth a close study. Teachers, particularly at the intermediate and secondary levels, should look closely at the third line of this translation. This line is a free translation of the ideas expressed in each Chilcotin sentence. You will note that the order and presentation is not what one would expect in an English composition. This represents a different cultural thought pattern or presentation of ideas that is often represented in Chilcotin student's English compositions.

I would be interested in hearing teachers comments on the usefulness of this type of material.

AHB/bw

Encl.

Sid Sid ystəg lha gwa huyenokhən a.  
me/I | first | I talk | not | about it | you guys think  
Don't you guys mind me talking first.

Su ?ech'ilh?eh silhtsin lha xats'ulh?a xagwo?ilid.  
precisely | last | I make it | not | one'll be aware | I assume  
I'm afraid people will ignore my news if I put it last.

?Esqax nenqayni ?ijegwedel?onx ?eguh gunzun jid gwadənised.  
children | Indian | they learn it | that | it is good | I think of it  
I think it is good for the children to learn about Chilcotin.

Lha jid gunzun jid midugh ghudli guyah gants'iz ?egan  
not | it is good | whiteman | we'll be | for nothing | that way  
We can't be good at being white, if we turn that way it wouldn't

naghulghelh kafataghet'inlh. Nendidah nenqayni nexwinlh'in  
we'll turn | we'll try | anything | Indian | it is keeping us  
be really us. If we lose all that is keeping us Indian,

?eyi gatə'i bidəghidin? ink'ed midugh ?etijel'in tax detaghetə'ilh  
that | all | we lose it | if | whiteman | they're poor | among | we'll live  
I think we will be living among the poor white people.

yenešen. ?Eguh hanh jid deni ts'uli. Lha nexwidagultšen.  
I think | that way | person | one'll be | not | it is good for us  
One shouldn't live that way. It is not good for us.

Midugh gan gubech'ih deni ghudli jayocəghin, k'asel  
whiteman | their way | person | we'll be | they thought | almost |  
The whiteman thought we would live their way, they almost

?ajegunlagh hajint'ih. Shunk'ah belhdan gojoyenišen sajint'i.  
they succeeded | they are | still | some | they think it | they must be  
succeeded. There must be some who still think it.

Lha gajenilhan nexwejut'in hilah gant'ih hajet'in. Gubech'ih deni  
not | all of them | they like us | it is | eventhough | they do | their way | person  
They do it eventhough if most of them don't like us. If we live

te?idli ?eguh ?aghal nexwejeneyud sughet'i. Sek'i ?elhanx  
we'll be | then | easily | they order us | it would be | cow | around |  
their way then they would easily order us around. It wouldn't be

nats'aneyud lha wote'en ?elam?eyuwuh gulah sagughet'i.  
one herds it | not | toward | different from each other | it would be  
any different from herding around cattle.

Gagunlhna? nenqayni ch'ih yabalhtəg yenešen ?  
always | Indian | way | you (pl.) are going to talk | you (pl.) think  
Do you think you'll always talk Chilcotin?

Nenqayni belhdan yedənx rusiqi midugh dəwah ch'ih yajelhtəg  
Indian | some | already | their children | white | only | say | they talk  
I see some Indian parent's children already talking only in

Sid sid yastag lha gwa huyenelken a.  
me/I first I talk/not/about it you guys think  
Don't you guys mind me talking first.

Su ?ech'ilh?ah silhtsin lha xots'ulhfa xagwe'ilid.  
precisely/last I make it/not/one'll be aware I assume  
I'm afraid people will ignore my news if I put it last.

?Esqax nengayni ?ijegwedel?anx ?eguh gunzun jid gwadenised.  
children Indian they learn it that it is good I think of it  
I think it is good for the children to learn about Chilcotin.

Lha jid gunzun jid midugh ghudli guyah gants'iz ?egun  
not it is good/whiteman we'll be for nothing that way  
We can't be good at being white, if we turn that way it wouldn't

naghulghelh xafataghet'inlh. Mendidah nengayni nexwinlh'in  
we'll turn we'll try anything Indian it is keeping us  
be really us. If we lose all that is keeping us Indian,

?eyi gats'i bideghidiny ?ink'ed midugh ?etijel'in tex detaghet's'ilh  
that/all we lose it if whiteman they're poor/among we'll live  
I think we will be living among the poor white people.

yeneŝen. ?Eguh hanh jid deni ts'uli. Lha nexwidagultŝen.  
I think that way person one'll be/not it is good for us  
One shouldn't live that way. It is not good for us.

Midugh gan gubech'ih deni ghudli jeyonoghil'in, k'asel  
whiteman their way/person we'll be/they thought almost  
The whiteman thought we would live their way, they almost

?ajegunlagh hajint'ih. Shunk'ah belhdan gajeyenŝen sajint'i.  
they succeeded/they are still some they think it they must be  
succeeded. There must be some who still think it.

Lha gajenilhan nexwejut'in hilah gant'ih hajet'in. Gubech'ih deni  
not/all of them they like us it is eventhough they do their way/person  
They do it eventhough if most of them don't like us. If we live

te'idli ?eguh ?aghal nexwejenyud sughet'i. Sek'i ?elhanx  
we'll be/then/easily they order us it would be cow/around  
their way then they would easily order us around. It wouldn't be

nats'enyud lha xots'ea ?elhxafeyuwah gulah sagughet'i.  
one herds it/not/toward/different from each other it would be  
any different from herding around cattle.

Gagunlhnaŝ nengayni ch'ih yatalhtag yeneŝen ?  
always Indian way you (pl.) are going to talk you (pl.) think  
Do you think you'll always talk Chilcotin?

Nengayni belhdan yedax xusiŝi midugh dazah ch'ih yajelhtag  
Indian some already their children white/only way they talk  
I see some Indian parent's children already talking only in

gubenis<sup>in</sup>sh. ?Eguh ?aghal ?esgul ?ijegwedetal?anx belh ?egun  
I see them | then|easily|school|they'll learn| with|there|  
English. They think their children will easily learn and

jiz jedetanish jeyeni<sup>zen</sup>. Nawh ch'ih yajelhtag ?eguh yedanx  
in|they'll be smart|they think| two|ways|they talk| already  
be smart in School. They already know more than whites

midugh ch'a gwelan ?egwiji<sup>zen</sup> hajint'ih. ?Gubini nawh jid  
whitemen|then|lots | they know it| they are | their mind| two |  
by speaking in two ways. Their mind works

Panat'in. ?Adex gubesiqi ch'idajeni<sup>zen</sup> jaded gubelh  
it works| later|their children|they grow up|themselves|with them  
two ways. Their children will be mad at them when they (children)

ts'aghenalch'ox hagunt'ih. ?Ena lha?al<sup>hah</sup> guban belh jaghenilch'osh  
one'll be mad| it will be | shuswap|several|their mother|with|they get mad  
grow up. Several shuswaps say they get mad at

jedenish. Nenduw<sup>h</sup> gajedenish, "Hunlht'aga lha ch'ih yasestag  
they say| this|they say it| why |not|(my)way|I talk |  
their mothers. They say this, "Why didn't you make me talk

sinlhtsil any?" Lha ?ena hidlih gan xun chuh nexwesiqi gajedetanilh  
you make'me | not|shuswap|we are|but|us|too|our children|they'll say it  
my way I assume our children will also say the same things

gune<sup>z</sup>ilid. Lha ch'ih yats'elhtag lha nenqayni  
I assume | not|way|one talks| not|Indian  
eventhough if we are not shuswaps. If one doesn't talk in one's

ch'ih xadanit<sup>s</sup>'es<sup>z</sup>ed ts'elish. Lha nendid ninlin  
way|one thinks about themselves|one becomes | not|what|you are  
language one comes to think they are not Indian. You don't know

?egwini<sup>zen</sup>.  
you know  
what you are.

Maria Myers  
November 1979

1. bilingual

Sid sid yrsteg lha gwa huyenansen a.  
me/I first I talk not about it you guys think  
Don't you guys mind me talking first.

Su ?ech'ilh?ah silhtsin lha xats'ulh?a xagwe?ilid.  
precisely last I make it not one'll be aware I assume  
I'm afraid people will ignore my news if I put it last.

?Esqax nenqayni ?ijegwedel?anx ?eguh gunzun jid gwa?ani?sed.  
children Indian they learn it that it is good I think of it  
I think it is good for the children to learn about Chilcotin.

Lha jid gunzun jid midugh ghudli guyah gants'iz ?egun  
not it is good whiteman we'll be for nothing that way  
We can't be good at being white, if we turn that way it wouldn't

naghulghelh xafataghet'inlh. Nendidah nenqayni nexwinlh?in  
we'll turn we'll try anything Indian it is keeping us  
be really us. If we lose all that is keeping us Indian,

?eyi gat?i bideghidiny ?ink'ed midugh ?etijel?in tex detaghet?ilh  
that all we lose it if whiteman they're poor among we'll live  
I think we will be living among the poor white people.

yene?en. ?Eguh hanh jid deni ts'uli. Lha nexwidagult?en.  
I think that way person one'll be not it is good for us  
One shouldn't live that way. It is not good for us.

Midugh gan gubech'ih deni ghudli joycnoghi?in, k'asel  
whiteman their way person we'll be they thought almost  
The whiteman thought we would live their way, they almost

?ajegunlagh hajint'ih. Shunk'ah belhdan gajeyeni?en sajint'i.  
they succeeded they are still some they think it they must be  
succeeded. There must be some who still think it.

Lha gajenilhan nexwejut'in hilah gant'ih hajat'in. Gubech'ih deni  
not all of them they like us it is eventhough they do their way person  
They do it eventhough if most of them don't like us. If we live

te?idli ?eguh ?aghal naxwejeneyud sughet'i. Sek'i ?elhanx  
we'll be then easily they order us it would be cow around  
their way then they would easily order us around. It wouldn't be

nats'enyud lha gwets'en ?elhxa?eyuwah gulah sagughet'i.  
one herds it not toward different from each other it would be  
any different from herding around cattle.

Gagunlhna? nenqayni ch'ih yatalhteg yene?en a?  
always Indian way you (pl.) are going to talk you (pl.) think  
Do you think you'll always talk Chilcotin?

Nenqayni belhdan yedanx gusiqi midugh dzach ch'ih yajelhteg  
Indian some already their children white only way they talk  
I see some Indian parent's children already talking only in

gubenis<sup>finsh</sup>. ?Eguk ?aghal ?egul ?ijogvedetal?uk belh ?egun  
I see them | then|easily|school|they'll learn| with|there|  
English. They think their children will easily learn and

jiz jedetanish jeyeni<sup>zen</sup>. Nawh ch'ih yajelhtag ?eguh yedanx  
in|they'll be smart|they think| two|ways|they talk| already  
be smart in School. They already know more than whites

midugh ch'a gwelan ?egwiji<sup>zen</sup> hajint'ih. ?Gubini nawh jid  
whitemen|than|lots | they know it| they are | their mind| two |  
by speaking in two ways. Their mind works

Panat'in. ?Adex gubesi<sup>qi</sup> ch'idajeni<sup>zen</sup> jaded gubelh  
it works| later|their children|they grow up|themselves|with them  
two ways. Their children will be mad at them when they (children)

ts'aghenalch'ox hagunt'ih. ?Sna lha?al<sup>hah</sup> guban belh jaghenilch'osh  
one'll be mad| it will be | shuswap|several|their mother|with|they get mad  
grow up. Several shuswaps say they get mad at

jedenish. Nenduw<sup>h</sup> gajedenish, "Hunlht'aga lha ch'ih yase<sup>st</sup>ag  
they say| this|they say it| why | not|(my)way|I talk |  
their mothers. They say this, "Why didn't you make me talk

sinlhtsil any?" Lha ?ena hidlih gan xun chuh nexwesi<sup>qi</sup> gajedetanilh  
you make me | not|shuswap|we are|but|us|too|our children|they'll say it  
my way I assume our children will also say the same things

gune<sup>zilid</sup>. Lha ch'ih yats'elhtag lha nenqayni  
I assume| not|way|one talks| not|Indian  
eventhough if we are not shuswaps. If one doesn't talk in one's

ch'ih xadanit<sup>s'esdzed</sup> ts'elish. Lha nendi<sup>d</sup> ninlin  
way|one thinks about themselves|one becomes | not|what|you are  
language one comes to think they are not Indian. You don't know

?egwini<sup>zen</sup>.  
you know  
what you are.

Maria Myers  
November 1979

1. bilingual

WISS' ELOIN ANAHAM  
CHIEF ANAHAM

Yax Bella Coola deni ghili  
over there/Bella Coola/person/ho (Chief Anaham) used to be  
Chief Anaham used to live in the Bella Coola country.

?etsu gadah an.  
granny (Mrs. Anaham)/she said/it is/  
granny said.

?Egun diyeh yist'in ?ego ?egun deni ghidli,  
there/ boy/ I got/ so/over there (Bella Coola)/person/we stayed/  
I (Mrs. Anaham) married Chief Anaham, so around that part of  
the country

?egun ghici.  
there/we lived/ we lived.

?Egun ?ech'an ?esqi, su ?ech'an ?egun ?esqi hest'in.  
and then/first time/baby/ well/first time/there/baby/ I had/  
That's where I had our first baby.

Qat's'i ts'edah, Lhaghembilh ts'edah, ?iyen gebeghen ghici.  
Weaved Basket/he's called/Fish Net / he's called/them/ by them/we stay.  
We lived with "Weaved Basket" and "Fish Net".

?An chunchoh ?iyed xanasit'az ?ink'an Anahim Lig nitt'adenicah.  
and/ again/ there/we came up/and then/Anahim Lake/we settled/  
We came up from Bella Coola and settled in Anahim Lake.

?Iyed xwe midugh qi lhe?alnah gulin aghint'i,  
there/our/workers / a lot / there was/it was/  
We had alot of our workers there,

k'an gughedlash qungh gunchagh gughil?a.  
so / a gathering place/house/ big / we had /  
so we had a big gathering house for potlatches.

Xwe midugh qi ts'en najidish,  
our/workers / towards/we call /  
Chief Anaham and myself called for our workers,

diyehqi ?iyen ?ego ?etsen tah oe?ajedet'in.  
boys / them/ and/ meat / like that/they are looking for/  
and the boys were hunting for things like meat.

Gu?adai ?iyen ni?t'an qe?ajedet'in.  
 their wives/them/ berries/they are looking for/  
Their wives were looking for berries.

Nejedeltsi, qungh ?ilhed ts'egwedelbinsh.  
 they are gathering/house/one place/they fill it up/  
At one house, they filled it up with whatever they got.

?Ego yax ?et?elex deni qajets'enish,  
 and then/over there/people put stuff/person/they are called for/  
Then they called people to where they saved up their food,

Ni?a? ?ego Menchat'in tah qajets'enish.  
 far away/and/ Carriers/ like that/ they are called for/  
and people like the neighbouring Carriers were invited.

?Ego ha ?iyed de?ilt?i, nexwinachets'agheldilh.  
 so / it is/there/we are staying/people gather around us/  
So we all stayed there and people gathered around us.

Deni hudzish ?ink'an ?anexwets'elh?ish,  
 person/we name/and then/they do for us/  
It's only when we name a person that they come for us,

gwa xenadit'ish ?iyed ?ink'an ?anexwets'elh?ish nih.  
 for/we get ready/there/and then/they do for us / she said/  
so we get ready for them.

An chunchoh ?ilhes nexwesiqi ghilan,  
 and/ again/ really/our children/they became many/  
Our children were becoming many.

?etsu xeded lhe?alhad hest'in, diye?qi  
 granny (Mrs. Anahan)/herself/quite alot/I had / boys/  
and I had many boys

ch'idanagheyilh.  
 they are growing up/ growing up.

Hughulht'i nexwesiqi jetunax, nenjan ?enay nen ghili,  
 How / our children/they will eat/ here/B. Coola/land/it used to be  
"How are our children going to survive in this land that was once owned  
 by Della Coola Indians,

?onay gwach'anajendah, lha jegut'in ts'edah, gwach'anajendah,  
 S. Coolas/ they moved/ not/ they like/it's said/they moved/  
and they didn't like it, so they moved?"

jigredilyan,  
 we heard it/ as we heard it.

?Ink'an begen ?iyen galhoshh, "lha xwidagugholt'in ?at'ah.  
 and then/her husband/that one/I told him/not/it will not suit us/it will  
I told my husband, "It will not be good for us,

lha xanelhyish choh xanelhyax, nen gweni<sup>h</sup>ek'e<sup>h</sup>.  
 not/ potatoes/ too/ it grows/ land/it's cold/  
because potatoes can't even grow; and it's cold around here.

?Esgax choh lhan te<sup>h</sup>it'in, din T<sup>h</sup>silhgooz nateghuda."  
 children/too/ many/we're getting/this way/Chilcootin River/let's move be  
Besides we're starting to have many children, so let's move back to the  
 Chilcootin country."

?egoh ?ink'an selh gu<sup>h</sup>st'in, ?egoh ?ink'an nendin nanidah.  
 and then/finally/with me/he agreed/then/ finally/this way/we moved bac  
Finally he agreed to move back to the Chilcootin country.

Xwe widaugh qi lha greched lhan hilah ?iyen xwelh nagedelh,  
 our/workmen / not/not much/many/it is/them/ with us/they are coming/  
Only some of our workmen were coming back with us,

?egoh beladan nenk'iyed jedilhts'ah gebanate<sup>h</sup>idah.  
 so/ some of them/ there / they are staying/we moved from them/  
and the others we left them behind.

?Egua menjan ninanidah, sex helish ?ilhax xwet'anajedish  
 and then/here / we moved back/a long time/ time / one/ they move after  
One after another, they were moving back to the Chilcootin country after

gajet'in, xerink'an ?ilhos gat<sup>h</sup>s'in xwet'anaje<sup>h</sup>edah.  
 they are doing/ finally/'really/everybody/they moved back after us/  
and finally everybody of our people moved back after us.

Yuni Fry Pijen ghinda, gwetsux nani<sup>h</sup>stl'un nintl'un,  
 west of Anahan/Frank/Pigeon/he stayed/below / fence / it's fenced/  
West of Anahan, where Frank Pigeon used to stay;

ditch ?iyed ah ts'edalt<sup>h</sup>s'i.  
 ditch/there/it is/where people stayed/  
we and our people stayed around the ditch.

hikalhejud ts'elagh ts'edilhts'ah.  
teepees / they are left/they are staying/  
They were living in teepees.

Gu deni gungu gwatish gu tl'ughezen tah nalh?as,  
and/person/teepees/between/it is/ snake / like that/they're crawling  
Where we settled, there were snakes crawling between the teepees,

Lha gut'in ?ink'an, guyen nits'il?in ?nahim?iyen,  
not/like it/ so / that one/ Chief / Anaham/ that one/  
so we didn't like it so Chief Anaham said,

"Sa na?lhiny ch'enughulih, ts'edilhts'ish gugas?es," selh  
for/horse / saddle it up / a place to stay/I'm going to look for/he t.  
"Saddle up the horse for me, I'm going to look for a better place to l.

?Ink'an ba na?lhiny ch'ene?ilha nah ?etsu, ?iyen gadah.  
so / for him/horse / saddled up/ said/granny/ her/ she said/  
"So I saddled up," said granny (Mrs. Anaham).

?Ego nendin na?lhiny na?elhjid dzin ?aghet'in  
and so/this way/horse / he rode the horse/day/ he did. /  
He rode all day, around the place,

nenduh na?lhiny nalhjid,  
here / horse / he rode/ where Anaham Reserve is now at.

"K'an ?ink'an ts'edetalts'ilh guzun nexwa gwech'i?iz.  
now / finally/a place to stay/it's nice/for you/I spotted/  
"I finally spotted a nice place to stay for you to live.

?Egun ts'en nateghuda." nexwelhnah.  
that way/towards/let's move back/he told us/  
Let's move there." Chief Anaham told us.

?Ego ?egwez xanaghidah.  
so / from there/we moved back/  
So that's how we moved from there (where Agnes Pigeon presently stays) i  
where Anaham Reserve is now situated.

Yatsin tl'aday ?iyed ah ?etsu ?iyed ah su?ech'an ?iyed  
down there/edge of a hill/there/it is/granny/there/it is/first time/ther

nininah.  
she moved/  
Granny (Mrs. Anaham) first moved at the edge of the hill below Anaham  
Reserve.

?Iyed och gwachdash gunch gurchagh guchil'a.  
 there/too/ a gathering/house/ big / we had /  
We had a big gathering house there too.

Xwe midagh gi ts'en najidish ?ego ?etsen tan gafats'elot'  
 our/workmen / towards/we call/ What's how/heat / like that/they look for.  
Again we called to our workers and they looked for meat.

Doni hc'idlay, nenchat'in yak gusawh jedeni,  
 person/we invited/Carrier / there/out that way/they're from there/  
We invited people, and Carriers from around the area came,

yak "Dechen Jidi'an" jedeni, yak Lhusch'e<sup>h</sup> jedeni.  
 there/stick / is on there/they're from there/there/Kluskus / they're from  
like from Klusko and Kluskus.

Gat's'i kwats'en nindil.  
 everyone/towards us/they came/ Everybody came.

Yanes "Et'asantl'un" tets'edindil, ?ets'etistsi.  
 way up there/a fence meeting each other/they were coming/somebody shot/  
When the people who were invited came to about the other end of Anaham  
 Flats, somebody shot a gun.

Shinchoh nanjan juni tl'aday gwanit's'aghi'stan ?iyed ?ets'etistsi.  
 again / here / west/hilltop/watched out for/ there/somebody shot a gun  
Just when they got to the hill the west end of Anaham, somebody shot a  
 gun again.

?Iyed ?ink'an ?Ul Alphones belh ?ink'an ?iyen Tsihum badi saghir  
 there/finally/old/Alphonse/with/ and / that one/Tsihum/his niece/it was  
It was there when Old Alphonse Adams and probably Tsihum's niece

"Magrit" ts'edaghini, gan jeyi jiyelhnagwedelyax ?egoh  
 Margaret/she was called/but/with her/they tease her / then/  
called Margaret, who they teased and then

"Dixox" jiyellmah jiyuzash.  
 Dixox / they tell her/they name her/ called "Dixox".

?Iyen ?Albones shu guno's Nenchat'in tedindil, Nenchat'in dijelh  
 her/ Alphonse/and/from west/ Carrier / they came up/Carrier / they met  
met the Carriers that came up.

Tah guts'elt'i, guts'in Ki's'il'in sedex ?iyed ts'enin  
 amongst/they got welcomed/down there/ Chief / he stays/there/they came  
They welcomed the Carriers and came to where the Chief stayed.

na'lhiny ch'ets'etilex, na'lhiny sunibits'enilhni.  
horse / they unsaddled/ horse / got taken care of/  
and they unsaddled the horses and were taken care of.

?Ink'an xats'enaday, ts'enedash, Dixox shu ?Albunes  
and then/they started dancing/they're dancing/Dixox/and/Alphonse/  
They started to dance, and while they were dancing, Dixox and Alphonse

shu tah guts'elt'i, ?Albunes ?iyen Tl'egwash yanaday.  
and/amongst/they got invited/Alphonse/ him/ Tl'egwash/he danced for/  
got invited to dance, so Alphonse danced for Tl'egwash.

Tl'egwash lhesni ?iyen ?Antuwan beta ghili ?alhesni.  
Tl'egwash/I call/that one/Antoine/ his father/he was/I mean/  
I mean, "Tl'egwash" was Antoine Harry's father.

K'an Dixox ?iyen lha ?iyen ba ts'enidash saghint'i.  
and so/Margaret/her / not/that one/for/danced for/it probably was/  
Probably "Dixox" (Margaret) wasn't danced for,

Nonk'ed guzun jid xelhdelh?at'in, guzun jid nedash,  
but / it's nice/that way/helping herself/it's nice/that way/she's d  
She was helping herself and dancing alright,

?Iyed ?ink'an lha lhe?agulhde? jid ts'ilghelh.  
there/and then/not/not enough / that way/shaking her head/  
but she wasn't shaking her head enough.

"Atsu ts'il?u?" ts'edenish  
You're not shaking your head enough (in Carrier)/they were telling her/  
Mrs. Anaham said the Carriers were telling her, "You're not shaking your head enough."

"Gweched sish ts'ilghelh ts'edish salhts'edaghini,  
hard / really/shake your head/she was told/she was probably told/  
They likely told her to shake her head more,

an Nenchat'in ts'edit? i texa.  
and/ Carrier/ heard / it was not/  
because who can understand Carrier?

## THE CHILCOTIN ALPHABET

CONSONANTS:	b	d	d1	d2	dz	j	g	gw	gg	ggw
	p	t	t1	tš	ts	ch	k	kw	q	qw
	t'	t1'	tš'	ts'	ch'	k'	kw'	-	-	'
	(m)	lh	š	s	sh	-	wh	x	xw	h
	m	n	l	ž	z	y	-	-	gh	w
VOWELS	i	i	e	a	o	u				
ACCENT or TONE:	senén	'my land'	senen	'my backbone'	beyí	'inside it'	beyi	'his son'		
ž	d1g	'squirrel'	yaq1g	'ball'	i	k'i	'willow'	ʔetš1	'head'	
	d1g	'saskatoon'	gweneq1g	'it is	i	ʔechi	'tail'	nišdžun	'owl'	
	tet1lh	'it kicks'	bouncing'		i	galhusn1	'I'll tell him'	nanq1n	'two'	
ž	ʔelht1lh	'sharp-tailed grouse'			i	desnih	'I said'	xi	'winter'	
e	ʔel	'pine needle'	gex	'rabbit'	a	ʔel1	'hand'	yelhq1n	'dawn'	
	b1lh	'with him'	ʔetš1n	'meat'	a	ʔet'1h	'pocket'	dz1x	'gum/pitch'	
E	deni	'person'			A	dzah	'not perfect'	ʔedzagh	'ear'	
	shen	'song'				nabi	'muskrat'	t'aš	'cottonwood'	
o	chos	'body feather'	yeq1x	'river'	u	tu	'water'	nuš1y	'pail'	
	deld1n	'drum'	ch'ox	'porcupine'	u	nun	'wolf'	x1n	'us'	
o					y	su	'well/good'	s1x	'robin'	
								ʔetšul	'etšul	'tongue'

b	bén	'tent'	d	deni	'person'	d1	dlun	'mouse'
B	ch'eb	'blackbird'	D	dán	'summer'	D1	d1g	'squirrel'
d2	dželh	'snow mt.'	dz	dz1x	'gum/pitch'	j	nenj1n	'here'
Dž	džinaš	'midday/noon'	Dz	ʔedzagh	'ear'	J	jaš	'spring salmon'
				ʔedzi	'heart'		jenš	'fish hook'
g	ʔeg1n		gw	gwelt1'és	'it's muddy'	gg	ʔesggidan	'ancestors'
G	yaq1g		Gw	ʔegwéd	'bone'	Gg	h1gg1d	'we shake it'
	guli			gwets'én	'towards'			
ggw	heggwes	'he is ticklish'	p	dep1d	'flat'	t	tu	'water'
Ggw			P	dilpéd	'thud'	T	tay	'three'
				danapes	'turnips'		ten	'ice'
t1	t1agh	'lard'	tš	tš1nlh	'axe'	ts	ts1	'beaver'
T1	t1ntl1d	'you jump'	Tš	ʔetš1	'head'	Ts	ʔets1	'grandfather'
				tš1ch'unš	'kingfisher'		ʔetsu	'grandmother'

ch dechen 'stick' chen 'rain'	k tl'askal 'butterfly' 'keyayú 'credit'	kw kwishkwish 'Stellar's jay'
Ch chel'ég 'coyote'	K nadalkalh 'spinning'	Kw
q yáqíg 'ball' yecóx 'river'	qw qwén 'fire/light'	t' ?et'á 'feather' ?et'án 'leaf'
Q ?esqi 'child'	Qw qwes 'a cold'	T' t'isk'én 'charcoal'
tl' tl'ulh 'rope' ?etl'áh 'waist'	tš' tš'íg 'osprey' tš'iný 'grave'	ts' ts'i 'boat' ts'et'an 'thin'
Tl' ?etl'ax 'bottom'	Tš' gatš'in 'everybody'	TS' ts'u 'spruce tree'
ch' ch'i 'birch tree' yech'éd 'on it'	k' k'á 'arrow' k'un 'roe'	kw' kw'eš 'cloud' dekwen 'fragile'
Ch' ch'ox 'porcupine'	K' k'elés 'barbecue'	Kw' ?elhk'enz 'cutting with scissors'
? chel'ég 'coyote' še2?i 'my uncle'	(nn) (lhinn 'dog') (segem 'dried')	lh lhuy 'fish' lhéd 'smoke'
? ?elá 'hand' ?ash 'snowshoe'		Lh lhan 'many/lots of'
s ší 'belt' šíd 'curlew'	s sa 'sun' ses 'bear'	sh shanš 'wart' shen 'song'
S jaš 'spring salmon'	S síd 'I'	Sh ?ash 'snowshoe'
wh nawh 'two pairs' dinwh 'four pairs'	x xi 'winter' xex 'goose'	xw xwes 'cactus/thorn' xwinajaš 'it is snowing on us'
Wh ?enwh 'behind/ beyond'	X gex 'rabbit'	Xw
h ?et'áh 'pocket' hejen 'he sings'	m nembay 'waasel' midugh 'whiteman'	n ?enín 'face' q'q'q' chan 'rain' p'p'p' 'hook'
H	M ts'emán 'salmon'	N nun 'wolf'
l ?elá 'hand' daldal 'red'	z ?elé2 'skin' sa2i 'my mouth'	z jiz 'inside' sasi 'my steel'
L	z	Z nezun 'he ...'
y yeš 'snow' ?úy 'eddy'	gh ?eghá 'hair' tlagh 'lard'	w ?ewen 'thigh' wejen 'he'll sing'
Y muy 'island'	Ch ?eghú 'tooth'	W gwedanwenlgash 'you walk down

Clothing:

1. Kenchief - (ts') ts'iaox
2. Hat - (ts) - tsinagay
3. Cap - (ts') - ts'ish hoghifak
4. Straw Hat - (E) - ?esolugh had
5. Barrettes - (ts) - ts'iga?ah
6. Curlers - (d) - Deni tsigha ghalindzay
7. Blouse - (e) - ?ech'ed gwash
8. Glasses - (n) - naqadelya
9. T-Shirt - (i) - ?iyax gwash
10. Bralette - (y) - yinch'enint'i
11. Knives - (i) - ?iyaxses
12. Long-johns - (i) - ?iyaxses dinaŋ
13. Slip - (i) - ?iyax tl'ases
14. Sweater - (e) - ?eswides
15. Dress - (ti') - tl'asês / san

43. Ankles - (E-e) - ?eqits'el  
 44. Foot - (E-e) - ?eqi  
 45. Sole - (E-e) - ?eqitl'ax  
 46. Toe - (E-e) - ?eqilach'igh  
 47.                                   ?eqilasged  
 48.                                   ?eqilariz  
 49.                                   ?eqilagha  
 50.                                   ?eqilasts'ed  
 51. Heel - (E-e) - ?eqilasgwed  
 52. Toenails - (E-e) - ?eqilasgen  
 53. Skin - (E-e) - ?e'ez  
 54. Heart - (E-e) - ?edzi  
 55. Liver - (E-e) - ?e'zed (:)  
 56. Kidneys - (E-e) - ?ekw'e(n)z  
 57. Rear-end - (E-e) - ?etl'a  
 58. Tat - (E-e) - ?ek'ex  
 59. Tail-bone - (E-e) - ?etl'agwed  
 60. Backbone - (E-e) - ?echi(n)sh  
 61. Waist - (E-e) - ?etl'ah

The Vowels in the Chilcotin Alphabet is in this order:

i, ì, a, e, u, o

The consonants in the Chilcotin Alphabet is in this order.

b, p, m,

ç, t, t', nn, n,

dl, çl, tl', lh, l,

dz, ts, ts', s, z,

dz, ts, ts', s, z,

j, ch, ch', sh, y,

g, k, k',

gw, kw, kw', wh,

ee, e, x, çh,

egg, qw, xw, w.

PARTS OF THE BODY:

1. Hair -- (E-e) -- ?etšigha
2. Head -- (E-e) -- ?etši
3. Skull/Brain -- (E-e) -- ?etšastš'ul
4. Forehead -- (E-e) -- ?etšishgwelh
5. Brow -- (E-e) -- ?enaštš'ul
6. Eyelashes -- (E-e) -- ?enagh bagha
7. Eyes -- (E-e) -- ?enagh
8. White part of the eye -- (E-e) -- ?enagh k'el
9. Nose -- (E-e) -- ?etsish
10. Cheek -- (e-) -- ?eninbešen
11. Ear -- (E-è) -- ?edzagh
12. Lips --

13. YOUTH - (E-e) -
14. Teeth - (E-e) - ?eghu
15. Tongue - (E-e) - ?etšil
16. Chin - (E-e) -
17. Neck - (E-e) - ?ekw'eš
18. Adam's Apple - (E-e) -
19. Shoulder - (E-e) - ?egaslagh
20. Back - (E-e) - ?enen / ?eder
21. Armpit - (E-e) - ?ets'idzex
22. Chest - (E-e) - ?eyed
23. Bosom - (E-e) - ?etš'u
24. Stomach - (E-e) - ?ebed
25. Bellybutton - (E-e) - ?etš'iy / ?etš'iny
26. Nibs - (E-e) - ?echay / ?echany
27. Arm - (E-e) - ?egan
28. Elbow - (E-e) -
29. Muscles - (E-e) - ?ech'uš / ?ech'unš
30. Wrist - (E-e) - ?elachen
31. Hand - (E-e) - ?ela
32. Fingertips - (E-e) -
33. Thumb - (E-e) - ?elackh
34. Pointer - (E-e) - ?elasged
35. Middle Finger - (E-e) - ?elaniz
36. Awkward/Index - (E-e) - ?elagha
37. Body Finger - (E-e) - ?elasts'ed
38. Palm of the Hand - (E-e) - ?elatax
39. Finger nail - (E-e) - ?elagan
40. Leg - (E-e) - ?eqits'en
41. Thigh - (E-e) - ?ewen
42. Knees - (E-e) - ?etšigwed

12. (y/Y) ?iyi (that one)                      guyi (that one)  
               biyaz (his/her colt)                guyax (down there)  
               nuy (island)                        yes (snow)
13. (g/G) ?egan (arm)                        guli (skunk)  
               gu (maggots)                      yaqig (ball)  
               gex (rabbit)                        gunsh (back there)
14. (k/K) nalkal (it's spinning around)  
               kayax (credit)  
               tl'askal (butterfly)  
               lhek'el (white)
15. (wh) nawh (two pairs)                      ?enuwh (back)  
               nenduwh (whereabouts)
16. (w) ?ewen (thigh)                        weldax (Coast Indians)  
               ?elhinewel (bell)                watsish (care-taker)  
               gavenax (He/she can go ahead)
17. (h) hejon (he/she's singing)                ?et'ah (pocket)  
               haghralh (he/she's screaming)  
               ?egon (there)
18. (z)    The consonant z may be similar to English, but  
               in some words, it's not similar to English.  
               sazi (my niece)  
               diray (it's dry)  
               gwedized (he/she spit on it)

-----  
 These are the rest of the consonants that are not similar to English.

19. (t')    ?et'a (feather)                        t'is (black)  
               gunt'in (he/she's happy)                gwet'ah (in the corner)  
               bet'ay (behind her/him)                t'agultin (he/she's old)
20. (tl)    detli (soft)                                tlagh (lard)  
               tintlad (you jump / you run away)  
               gweztled (he/she slapped something against it)
21. (tl')    tl'az (backwards)                        tl'ugh (grass/hay)  
               tl'ulh (rope)                        ?et'la (50¢)  
               Tl'etingox (Anaham)                Tl'esqox (Riske Creek)
22. (ts)    tsa (beaver)                                ?etsi (grandpa)

- ʔetsu (grandmother)  
datsanyr (crow)
- (23.) (ts') ts'u (apple tree)  
ts'elh (frog)  
ts'at'an (rain)
- (24.) (ch') ch'i (baby basket)  
gwech'am (before)  
ch'iz (after)
- (25.) (k') k'i (willow)  
k'an (new/now)  
k'un (fish eggs)
- 26.) (kw') kw'eŋ (cloud)  
bekw'enz (his/her liver)  
dekw'en (fragile)
- (27.) (dz) dzin (day)  
dzan (dirty)  
dzax (pitch/gum)
- (28.) (dz) dzelh (crow mountain)  
gwezdzaŋ (it's crowded)
- (29.) (ts) ts'i (rock)  
datsa (dead body)  
tsinlh (axe)
- (30.) (ts') ts'iny (graveyard)  
bats'iny (his/her delirium)  
nigats'in (everybody)  
dizts'a (his/her mouth is open)
- (31.) (dl) dlun (mouse)  
yadlan (they were born)  
gwedlen (hilly)
- (32.) (lh) lh'in (dog)  
lhod (smoke)  
lh'in (bread/dirt/sand)
- (33.) (sʔ) s'i (belt)  
najas (it's snowing)  
shans (wart)
- (34.) (z) sezi (my mouth)  
ʔeʔed (liver?)  
chinaʔ (otter)
- (35.) (gw) ʔegwed (bone)  
gwatich (in the middle)  
gwani (he/she's happy)
- ʔetsen (it's dark)  
raven (datsun)
- ts'i (nest)  
ts'ici (girl)  
kots'a (brother)
- ch'eb (blackbird)  
ʔl'ech'iz (meadow)  
yech'ed (on it)
- k'ati (shell)  
k'a (arrow)  
dink'an (caught on fire)
- ʔekw'enz (liver)  
bekw'es (his/her nasal)  
ʔelhk'enz (he/she's outstaying)
- ʔedzi (heart)  
ʔaldzi (moon)  
ʔedzagh (ear)
- niʔdzun (owl)  
ʔelhijudzi (they argue)
- ts'a (cry)  
betsuy (his grandchild)  
ʔetsi (head)
- ts'ag (osprey)
- tishalaŋ (secret)  
deldled (lobs of blood)  
dlag (squirrel)
- lhuy (fish)  
nolh (white water)  
lhun (mud/sand)
- tsaŋ (bed)  
ʔl'ases (dress)  
sandilh (widow)
- nonaʔ (it's long)  
diyeʔ (toy)  
ʔeʔeʔ (skin)
- gwan (away)  
gwech (carry)  
gweʔel (it's so)

- (36.) (kw) kwishkwish (Stellar's Jay)
- (37.) (q) yeqox (river)                   ?esqi (baby)  
 gwngn (house)                   yagag (ball)  
 ?esqan (children)               qi (shoes)
- (38.) (qw) qwen (fire)                   qwes (cold)  
 ?ingwel (mom)                   qwent'ay (behind the house)  
 tizwi (he/she threw up)       qwentoh (in the town/village)
- (39.) (x) xi (winter)                   sadax (a long time ago)  
 xilh (backpacks)               sux (robin)  
 zex (goose)                   sax (a long time)
- (40.) (gh) tlagh (lard)               nenchagh (it's big)  
 ?egha (hair)                   ?eghu (tooth)  
 tl'ugh (grass/hay)           biyagh (it's his/hers)
- (41.) (xw) xwes (cactus)           nexwa (for us)  
 xwelh (with us)               xwatish (between us)  
 xwinajas (it's snowing on us)
- (42.) (gg) ?esgidam (ancestors)   higgad (we shake it)
- (43.) (gsw) heggwes (he/sh's ticklish)
- (44.) (?) ?aba (dad)                   de?ax (no)  
 ?iyen (that person)           ?elh?i (night)  
 ?ets'en (wrong way)          chel?ig (coyote)
- (45.) (nn) lhinn (dog)               segern (dried)

\* When the consonant "sh" is used at the end of a word, it is pronounced differently than when used at the beginning of a word. Example:

- (sh) ?ash (snowshoes)               nedash (he/she's dancing)  
 bedsish (caribou)               gwezish (camp robber)

\* The Consonant "z" can also be not similar to English. Example:

- (z) jiz (inside)  
 ch'iz (after)

Maria Myers

2 August 79

## PREDICATE NOMINALS

- |   |                          |         |            |
|---|--------------------------|---------|------------|
| 1. bilugh an.<br>knife be?                  | It is { a }<br>{ the }   | knife.  |            |
| 2. ?eyi bilugh an.<br>that knife be         | That is { a }<br>{ the } | knife.  |            |
| 3. John an.<br>J be                         | He is John.              |         |            |
| 4. ?cyen John { * ø }<br>that J { an }      | That is John.            |         |            |
| 5. John ?eyen an.<br>J that                 | John is that one.        |         |            |
| 6. John deyen an.<br>J doctor               | John is { a }<br>{ the } | doctor. | short form |
| 7. John deyen hant'ih.                      | John is { a }<br>{ the } | doctor. | long form  |
| 8. sid desyen { as<br>I! doctor { hast'ih } | I am { a }<br>{ the }    | doctor. |            |

Questions are made by a change in the intonation:

- A. bilugh an ?                      B. bilūgh an .

## BASIC SENTENCE TYPES

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 9. t̂si gweda+gh+c   mel.<br>rock down+past+it+roll     | The/a rock rolled down.                 |
| 10. t̂si gwedaghemel a ?<br>rock Q                      | Did the rock roll down?                 |
| 11. t̂si lha gwedalmelh .<br>rock NEG roll down         | The/a rock didn't roll down.            |
| 12. t̂si lha gwedalmelh a ?                             | Didn't the rock roll down?              |
| 13a) John t̂si { ye } tît̂sid .<br>J rock { it } threw | John threw the rock.                    |
| b) *t̂si John tît̂sid.                                 | (could only mean 'the rock threw John') |
| c) *John t̂si batît̂sid.                               |   |
| 14. John t̂si lha tîŝelh.<br>J rock NEG               | John didn't throw the rock.             |
| 15. John lha t̂si tîŝelh.<br>J NEG rock throw         | as above                                |

William Befunqi (William Billyboy's fishing place)

Lashwi Be?unqi (Lashway Sam's fishing place)

?Andedi Be?unqi (The late \_\_\_\_\_ fishing place.)

Haneli Be?unqi (Henry Petal's fishing place across from Alexis Creek.)

Alexis Creek gwach'ax (A fishing place this side of Alexis Creek.)

Alexis Creek gwan (A fishing place across from Alexis Creek.)

George Cooper Befunqi (George Cooper's fishing place.)

PLACE NAMES FOR AROUND THE ANAHAM MEADOWS AREA: Reserve #2

Tl'ech'iz (Anaham Meadow - Reserve #2)

Ben Chau (The Lake at Anaham Meadow)

Gex Chanats'adelts'ish (A-1 Meadow at the meadows)

Tl'iyabaxilghil (Graham Meadow)

Bilughtsel (Duck's Lake - meaning, "The tip of a knife")

Tugulin (Pelican/Stump Lake - meaning, "There is water")

Ts'u Dina? (Edward Stump's place by Pelican/Stump Lake)

Naghataneqed (Henry Petal's place by Pelican/Stump Lake)

Mus Midu (Moose Meadow)

Horse Shu Lake (Horse Shoe Lake)

?Agad Bebiny (Agatha's Meadow)

?Alegem Betl'ech'id (Alegem's Meadow)

Meqcm Midu

Tl'egwezash Nagwezga?

Xenats'aghdel?ish

Johnny Tl'edaghint'ish (Where Johnny Harry used to cut hay)

?Adihis Tl'edeghint'ish (Where Blacknose Johnny used to cut hay)

Maghshel Midu (Marshall Meadow)

Nugh?elh (Casimir Bob's Meadow)

Sach'ebiny (Gravel Lake)

Tsibas (Grey Mountain)

Tagwedechen (Johnny Harry's old cutting place in the meadows,  
meaning, "sticks in the water-edge")

Gwalaloh'ed (Swamp Meadow)

Tsi Madil'ah (Rocky Point)

Lhis Bay (Sand Meadow)

Telhad (Palmer Lake - Thomas Elkin's meadow)

Qungh Guna? (The late Joe Elkin's place \*meaning "long house")

Tilhtsa Gulin (Thomas Elkin's meadow \*meaning "there are water-  
bugs".)

Tisht'en Gulin (Thomas Elkins meadow \*meaning, "there are sea-  
plants".)

Tish To'enindez (Thomas Elkin's meadow \* meaning, "Part under  
the water.")

Ts'ash Chugh Gulin (Mosquito Lake \*meaning, "There are big  
mosquitoes".)

Ts'elhiyaz Dilhts'ash (\*meaning, "There sits little frogs.")

Del'ay Chugh Gulin (Tehardi Lake \*meaning, "there are big trouts.")

Lhis Bexox (Lhos Bako - Raymond Alphonse's trap-line \*meaning,  
"son's creek.")

Taxakti (Tony Patal's Hunting Place)

PLACE NAMES FOR THE ALEXIS CREEK AREA:

Tsi'ul Tahbiny (Top of Alexis Creek \*meaning, "Pile of rocks  
besides the lake.")

Tigulhdzin (Alexis Lake)

Tebisdad

Tsiyi (Bull Canyon \*meaning "Between/inside the rocks")

Tselyu Ts'ishtled (Bull Canyon \*meaning the cigarette jumped down".)

Tsi Dilhts'ish (Past Telford's ranch \*meaning, "Rocks are sitting  
down.")

Gunish (\*meaning Alexis Creek - direction from Anaham)

Gudah (\*meaning Lee's Corner - direction from Anaham)

Gunan (\*meaning Stone - direction from Anaham)

## Relations with possessive pronouns

### Dad:

?aba (dad)  
 se?aba (my dad)  
 ne?aba (your dad)  
 be?aba (his/her dad)  
 nexwe?aba (you (pl) dad)  
 gebe?aba (their dad)

### Mom:

?ingwel (mom)  
 se?ingwel (my mom)  
 ne?ingwel (your mom)  
 be?ingwel (his/her mom)  
 nexwe?ingwel (you (pl) mom)  
 gebe?ingwel (their mom)

### Younger Sister:

sediz (my younger sister)  
 nendiz (your younger sister)  
 bediz (his/her younger sister)  
 nexwediz (your (pl) younger sister)  
 gebediz (their younger sister)

### Younger Sisters:

sediziqi (my younger sisters)  
 nendiziqi (your younger sisters)  
 bediziqi (his/her younger sisters)  
 nexwediziqi (your (pl) younger sisters)  
 gebediziqi (their younger sisters)

### Younger Brother:

sechel (my younger brother)  
 nenchel (your younger brother)  
 bechel (his/her younger brother)  
 nexwechel (your (pl) younger brother)  
 gebechel (their younger brother)

### Younger Brothers:

secheliqi (my younger brothers)  
 nencheliqi (your younger " )  
 becheliqi (his/her younger " )  
 nexwecheliqi (your (pl) younger " )

### Father:

seta (my father)  
 nenta (your father)  
 beta (his/her father)  
 nexweta (you (pl) father)  
 gebeta (their father)

### Mother:

ban (mother)  
 seban (my mother)  
 nemban (your mother)  
 beban (his/her mother)  
 nexweban (you (pl) mother)  
 gebeban (their mother)

### Older Sister:

sadi (my older sister)  
 nadi (your older sister)  
 badi (his/her older sister)  
 nexwadi (your (pl) older sister)  
 gebadi (their older sister)

### Older Sisters:

sadiqi (my older sisters)  
 nadiqi (your older sisters)  
 badiqi (his/her older sisters)  
 nexwadiqi (your (pl) older sisters)  
 gebadiqi (their older sisters)

### Older Brother:

sunagh (my older brother)  
 nunagh (your older brother)  
 bunagh (his/her older brother)  
 nexwanagh (your (pl) older " )  
 gebunagh (their older brother)

### Older Brothers:

sunaghqi (my older brothers)  
 nunaghqi (your older " )  
 bunaghqi (his/her older " )  
 nexwanaghqi (your (pl) older " )

Grandmother:

?etsu (grandmother)  
 se?intsu (my grandmother)  
 ne?intsu (your grandmother)  
 be?intsu (his/her grandmother)  
 nexwe?intsu (your (pl) grandmother)  
 gebe?intsu (their grandmother)

Aunt:

?abes (aunt)  
 se?abes (my aunt)  
 ne?abes (your aunt)  
 be?abes (his/her aunt)  
 nexwe?abes (your (pl) aunt)  
 gebe?abes (their aunt)

Child:

?esqi (child/baby)  
 sesqi (my child/baby)  
 nesqi (your child/baby)  
 besqi (his/her child/baby)  
 nexwesqi (your (pl) child/baby)  
 gebesqi (their child/baby)

Daughter: (Woman)

seyats'i (my daughter)  
 neyats'i (your daughter)  
 beyats'i (her daughter)  
 nexweyats'i (your (pl) daughter)  
 gebeyats'i (their daughter)

Son: (Woman)

seyaz (my son)  
 neyaz (your son)  
 beyaz (her son)  
 nexweyaz (your (pl) son)  
 gebeyaz (their son)

Grandchild: (Woman)

sechay (my grandchild)  
 nenchay (your grandchild)  
 bechay (her grandchild)  
 nexwechay (your (pl) grandchild)

Grandfather:

?etsi (grandfather)  
 se?intsi (my grandfather)  
 ne?intsi (your grandfather)  
 be?intsi (his/her grandfather)  
 nexwe?intsi (your (pl) " " )  
 gebe?intsi (their grandfather)

Uncle:

se?zi (my uncle)  
 ne?zi (your uncle)  
 be?zi (his/her uncle)  
 nexwe?zi (your (pl) uncle)  
 gebe?zi (their uncle)

Children:

esqax (children/babies)  
 sesiqi (my children/babies)  
 nesiqi (your children/babies)  
 besiqi (his/her children/ " )  
 nexwesiqi (your (pl) " " )  
 gebesiqi (their children/ " )

Daughter: (man)

setsi (my daughter)  
 nentsi (your daughter)  
 betsi (his daughter)  
 nexwetsi (your (pl) daughter)  
 gebetsi (their daughter)

Son: (Man)

seyi (my son)  
 neyi (your son)  
 beyi (his son)  
 nexweyi (your (pl) son)  
 gebeyi (their son)

Grandchildren: (Woman)

sechayqi (my grandchildren)  
 nenchayqi (your grandchildren)  
 bechayqi (her " " )  
 nexwechayqi (your (pl) " " )

Grandchild: (Man)

setsuy (my grandchild)  
 nentsuy (your grandchild)  
 betsuy (his grandchild)  
 nexwetsuy (your (pl) grandchild)  
 gebetsuy (their grandchild)

Cousin:

selhtes (my cousin)  
 nelhtes (your cousin)  
 belhtes (his/her cousin)  
 nexwelhtes (your (pl) cousin)  
 gebelhtes (their cousin)

Wife:

se?ad (my wife)  
 ne?ad (your wife)  
 be?ad (his wife)  
 nexwe?ad (your (pl) wife)  
 gebe?ad (their wife)

Wives:

ce?adqi (my wives)  
 ne?adqi (your wives)  
 be?adqi (his wives)  
 nexwe?adqi (your (pl) wives)  
 gebe?adqi (their wives)

Mother-in-law:

sets'iyān (my mother-in-law)  
 nents'iyān (your mother-in-law)  
 bets'iyān (his/her mother-in-law)  
 nexwets'iyān (your (pl) " " " )  
 gebets'iyān (their mother-in-law)

Daughter-in-law:

seyas?ad (my daughter-in-law)  
 neyas?ad (your daughter-in-law)  
 beyas?ad (his/her daughter-in-law)  
 nexweyas?ad (your (pl) " " " )  
 gebeyas?ad (their daughter-in-law)

Grandchildren: (Men)

setsuyqi (my grandchildren)  
 nentsuyqi (your grandchildren)  
 betsuyqi (his grandchildren)  
 nexwetsuyqi (your (pl) " " " )  
 gebetsuyqi (their grandchildren)

Cousins:

selhtesiqi (my cousins)  
 nelhtesiqi (your cousins)  
 belhtesiqi (his/her cousins)  
 nexwelhtesiqi (your (pl) " " )  
 gebelhtesiqi (their cousins)

Husband:

segen (my husband)  
 nengen (your husband)  
 begen (her husband)  
 nexwegen (your (pl) husband)  
 gebegen (their husband)

Husbands:

seqenqi (my husbands)  
 nenqenqi (your husbands)  
 beqenqi (her husbands)  
 nexweqenqi (your (pl) " " )  
 gebeqenqi (their husbands)

Father-in-law:

seti (my father-in-law)  
 nenti (your father-in-law)  
 beti (his/her father-in-law)  
 nexweti (your (pl) " " " )  
 gebeti (their father-in-law)

Son-in-law:

seghandan (my son-in-law)  
 neghandan (your son-in-law)  
 beghandan (his/her son-in-law)  
 nexweghandan (your (pl) " " " )  
 gebeghandan (their son-in-law)

Brother-in-law:

seghi (my brother-in-law)  
neghi (your brother-in-law)  
beghi (his/her brother-in-law)  
naxwaghi (your (pl) brother-in-law)  
gebeghi (their brother-in-law)

Sister-in-law:

seghi (my sister-in-law)  
neghi (your sister-in-law)  
beghi (his/her sister-in-law)  
naxwaghi (your (pl) sister-in-law)  
gebeghi (their sister-in-law)

VERBS:

tasbilh (I'm going to swim.)  
 tagħzambilh (You're going to swim.)  
 tabilh (He/she is going to swim.)  
 tagħzambilh (We are going to swim.)  
 tabilh (You (pl) are going to swim.)  
 jetaobilh (They are going to swim.)

ghesbilh (I'm swimming.)  
 ghimbilh (You're swimming.)  
 ghebilh (He/she is swimming.)  
 ghibilh (We are swimming.)  
 gherbilh (You (pl) are swimming.)  
 jabilh (They are swimming.)

nesbin (I swim.)  
 nimbin (You swim.)  
 ħembin (He/she swim.)  
 nahbin (You (pl) swim.)  
 nibin (We swim.)  
 jembin (They swim.)

yatastġ (I'm going to talk.)  
 yatagħalhtġ (You're going to talk.)  
 yatalhtġ (He/she is going to talk.)  
 yatagħalhtġ (We are going to talk.)  
 yatalhtġ (You (pl) are going to talk.)  
 yajetalhtġ (They are going to talk.)

yastġ (I'm talking.)  
 yahtġ (You are talking.)  
 yahtġ (He/she is talking.)  
 yahtġ (We are talking.)  
 yahtġ (You (pl) are talking.)  
 yajelhtġ (They are talking.)

lha yasustġ (I will not talk.)  
 lha yatenagħalhtġ (You will not talk.)  
 lha yatalhtġ (He/she will not talk.)  
 lha yatesagħalhtġ (We are not going to talk.)  
 lha yatezaltġ (You (pl) will not talk.)  
 lha yajetalhtġ (They are not going to talk.)

ġitin (I'm sleeping.)  
 ġintin (You're sleeping.)  
 ġetin (He/she is sleeping.)  
 ġitiz (We are sleeping.)  
 sahtiz (You (pl) are sleeping.)  
 jastiz (They are sleeping.)

gunest'in (I'm glad.)  
 gumint'in (You are glad.)  
 gunt'in (He/she is glad.)  
 gunant'in (You (pl) are glad.)  
 gumit'in (We are glad.)  
 jegunt'in (They are glad.)

ghesgah (I'm walking.)  
 ghilgah (You are walking.)  
 ghelgah (He/she is walking.)  
 ghelhgah (You (pl) are walking.)  
 ghilgah (We are walking.)  
 jalgah (They are walking.)

hesjen (I'm singing.)  
 henjen (You are singing.)  
 hejen (He/she is singing.)  
 nahjen (You (pl) are singing.)  
 hijen (We are singing.)  
 jejen (They are singing.)

?anast'in (I'm working.)  
 ?anant'in (you are working.)  
 ?anat'in (He/she is working.)  
 ?anant'in (You (pl) are working.)  
 ?anat'in (We are working.)  
 ?anajet'in (They are working.)

tastlelh (I'm going to jump/run away.)  
 taghantlelh (You are going to jump/run away.)  
 tatlelh (He/she is going to jump/run away.)  
 tahtlelh (You (pl) are going to jump/run away.)  
 taghatlelh (We are going to jump/run away.)  
 jetatlelh (They are going to jump/run away.)

?eskw'ez (I'm cutting.)  
 ?ilkw'ez (You are cutting.)  
 ?elkw'ez (He/she is cutting.)  
 ?elkw'ez (You (pl) are cutting.)  
 ?ilkw'ez (We are cutting.)  
 ?ejelkw'ez (They are cutting.)

nasesdlash (I'm cold.)  
 nasindlash (You are cold.)  
 nasdlash (He/she is cold.)  
 nasahdlash (You (pl) are cold.)  
 nasidlash (We are cold.)  
 najesdlash (They are cold.)

tasbelh (I'm going to swing.)  
 taghambelh (You are going to swing.)  
 tabelh (He/she is going to swing.)  
 tabbelh (You (pl) are going to swing.)  
 taghabelh (We are going to swing.)  
 jetabelh (They are going to swing.)

lha hust'in (I don't like him/her.)  
 lha hunt'in (You don't like him/her.)  
 lha yurt'in (He/she doesn't like him/her.)  
 lha huht'in (You (pl) don't like him/her.)  
 lha hut'in (We don't like him/her.)  
 lha jiyut'in (They don't like him/her.)

lhuy hest'as̄ (I'm cutting fish.)  
 lhuy hent'as (You're cutting fish.)  
 lhuy hot'as (He/she is cutting fish.)  
 lhuy haht'as (You (pl) are cutting fish.)  
 lhuy hit'as (We are cutting fish.)  
 lhuy jet'as (They are cutting fish.)

qwen aslagh (I made fire.)  
 qwen alagh (You made fire.)  
 qwen ?alagh (He/she made fire.)  
 qwen ?alhagh (You (pl) made fire.)  
 qwen ?alyagh (We made fire.)  
 qwen ?ajilagh (They made fire.)

?ech'ede?esjes (I'm writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?injes (You are writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ejes (He/she is writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ahjes (You (pl) are writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ijes (We are writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ejjes (They are writing.)

FUTURE, PRESENT & PAST VERBS:Future:

?ech'edetasjes (I'm going to write.)  
 ?ech'edetaghajez (You are going to write.)  
 ?ech'edetajes (He/she is going to write.)  
 ?ech'edetahjes (You (pl) are going to write.)  
 ?ech'edetaghajez (We are going to write.)  
 ?ech'edejetajes (They are going to write.)

Present:

?ech'ede?esjes (I'm writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?injes (You're writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ejes (He/she is writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ahjes (You (pl) are writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ejes (They are writing.)  
 ?ech'ede?ijez (We are writing.)

Past:

?ech'ede?esijez (I wrote.)  
 ?ech'ede?esinjes (You wrote.)  
 ?ech'ede?esjes (He/she wrote.)  
 ?ech'ede?esahjes (You (pl) wrote.)  
 ?ech'ede?esijez (We wrote.)  
 ?ech'edejez (They wrote.)

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Future:

?igwedetas?ax (I'm going to teach/learn.)  
 ?igwedetaghaj?ax (You are going to teach/learn.)  
 ?igwedetal?ax (He/she is going to teach/learn.)  
 ?igwedetalh?ax (You (pl) are going to teach/learn.)  
 ?igwedetaghaj?ax (We are going to learn.)  
 ?ijegwedetal?ax (They are going to learn.)

Present:

?igwedetas?ax (I'm learning/teaching.)  
 ?igwedil?ax (You are learning.)  
 ?igwedel?ax (He/she is learning.)  
 ?igwedelh?ax (You (pl) are learning/teaching.)  
 ?igwedil?ax (We are learning/teaching.)  
 ?ijegwedel?ax (They are learning.)

Past:

?igwedetas?in (I learned.)  
 ?igwedal?in (He/she learned.)  
 ?igwedaghil?in (You learned.)  
 ?igwedalh?in (You (pl) learned.)  
 ?igwedaghil?in (We learned.)  
 ?ijegwedal?in (They learned.)

Future:

- ?etasqwes (I'm going to drive.)
- ?etaghahqwes (You are going to drive.)
- ?etalhqwes (He/she is going to drive.)
- ?etahhqwes (We are going to drive.)
- ?eashhqwes (You (pl) are going to drive.)
- ?ejtahhqwes (They are going to drive.)

Present:

- ?asqwes (I'm driving.)
- ?aghahqwes (You are driving.)
- ?alhqwes (He/she is driving.)
- ?ahhqwes (You (pl) are driving.)
- ?aghilqwes (We are driving.)
- ?ejahhqwes (They are driving.)

Past:

- ?enilhqas (I drove.)
- ?enilhqas (You drove.)
- ne?elhqas (He/she drove.)
- ne?eshhqas (You (pl) drove.)
- ne?esilhqas (We drove.)
- nejelhqas (They drove.)

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Future:

- tasdlox (I'm going to laugh.)
- taghdlox (You are going to laugh.)
- tadlox (He/she is going to laugh.)
- tahdlox (You (pl) are going to laugh.)
- taghadlox (We are going to laugh.)
- jetadlox (They are going to laugh.)

Present:

- tesdlox (I'm laughing.)
- tindlox (You are laughing.)
- tedlox (He/she is laughing.)
- tahdlox (You (pl) are laughing.)
- tidlox (We are laughing.)
- jetedlox (They are laughing.)

Past:

- tasdluy (I laughed.)
- taghindluy (You laughed.)
- tadluy (He/she laughed.)
- tahdluy (You (pl) laughed.)
- taghidluy (We laughed.)
- jetadluy (They laughed.)

Future:

Tl'etingot' in taslax. (I'm going to become a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in taghalax. (You are going to become a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in talax. (He/she is going to become a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in talhax. (You (pl) are going to become a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in taghadlax. (We are going to become a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in jetalax. (They are going to become Chilcotins.)

Present:

Tl'etingot' in neslin. (I am a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in nilin. (You are a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in helin. (He/she is a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in nelhin. (You (pl) are Chilcotins.)  
 Tl'etingot' in nidlin. (We are Chilcotins.)  
 Tl'etingot' in jilin. (They are Chilcotins.)

Past:

Tl'etingot' in silin. (I became a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in wilin. (You became a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in selin. (He/she became a Chilcotin.)  
 Tl'etingot' in selhin. (You (pl) became Chilcotins.)  
 Tl'etingot' in sidlin. (We became Chilcotins.)  
 Tl'etingot' in jeslin. (They became Chilcotins.)

Future:

Lha Tl'etingot' in tezaslax (I'm not going to become a Chilcotin.)  
 Lha Tl'etingot' in tezahalax (You're not going to become a Chilcotin.)  
 Lha Tl'etingot' in taslax. (He/she is not going to become a " " ".)  
 Lha Tl'etingot' in tesalhax. (You (pl) are not going to become " " ".)  
 Lha Tl'etingot' in tezaghadlax. (We are not going to become " " " ".)  
 Lha Tl'etingot' in jetaslax. (They are not going to become " " " ".)

Present:

## LEARNING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

an Introduction to the

Contrastive Analysis of Chilcotin and English Sounds

Quindel King

Thought  
you might  
be interested  
in this book  
and I have  
John Rathjen

By the time you and I were five years old we had learned a language almost perfectly. We learned the language most useful to us in communicating with our family and friends. No one gave us lessons; our native language was something we learned by listening and imitating until we could understand and speak as well as those around us.

Success in school depends on language

If your native language was English, you had few problems when you went to school. There the teacher began to teach you how to read and write the language you already knew. But if your language was not English, you probably soon found yourself in trouble, because the teacher tried to teach you to read and write English before you had learned to speak it fluently. By listening and imitating you probably did learn a lot of English very quickly. Yet soon you found out you were a "slow" reader and began bringing home reports that said you were "working at the best of your ability at a low grade average". You may have believed your teacher's judgment that you were slow, and quit trying. Or you may have kept trying but become very frustrated because reading was so difficult. In either case, the chances are that you gave up before Grade Twelve - unless you had unusual drive and ability.

There are many reasons why Indian students drop out of school. Language and reading problems are only two of those reasons. But they are more important than most people realize, and should be looked at very carefully.

Our methods of testing or evaluating learning in the schools often cause unnecessary problems. Students are expected to do most of their learning by listening and reading. What they have learned is usually measured from their written work. When students with language problems do poorly, we blame them, rather than ourselves. If we could find other ways for students to show their knowledge I think we would find that many do much better in school.

Another way in which our schools cause problems to students from a non-English background is by failing to teach English as a language. In Grade One we begin by teaching reading. But the language is what we speak, and reading is just a way of "freezing" speech so that we can store what we have said for later use. Students who speak English as their first language are usually ready to start learning reading when they come to school. But for students from a non-English background, there is no point teaching reading until they have learned at least the basics of the English language. What is the point of learning to sound out or "recognize" words that you do not understand?

#### How do we learn a language?

Most teachers recognize a language problem when they see one. Very few, however, know what to do about it. Usually the student is left to "pick up" the new language in the same way that he learned his first one. Students do learn a lot of English by being with others who speak it. But they seldom learn it perfectly that way - for very good reason. Learning a second language is not just the same as learning a first!

Our language is a set of habits that we have learned very well; so well that they are difficult to change. Our ears are trained to hear certain sounds which are important in our native language. When we listen to the sounds of a new language

we can easily hear the sounds which are like those we are used to. But any strange sounds are very difficult to pick out. Often we cannot hear them at all; or when we do, we change them in our minds to sounds we already know. Trying to say new sounds causes the same problem. We will either leave them out altogether, or change them to the sounds that are closest to them in our own language. Chilcotin, for instance, has no /r/ sound. Someone who has not learned to make /r/ will have trouble with such words as "red" and "rose". He will probably say "led lose". Two other consonants which are in English but not in Chilcotin are /f/ and /v/. For a Chilcotin-speaking person, hearing and making these sounds will cause much more trouble than sounds which he already has in his language. An English-speaking person learning Chilcotin will have similar trouble hearing and making the first sound in the word for "dog", /χiin/. The /χ/ sound (a voiceless /l/ made by holding the tongue in the /l/ position and blowing air out the sides) does not occur in English.

A child has no trouble learning the sounds of his first language. It is only after he has practiced those sounds for several years that new sounds cause problems. The habits of our first language, then, make learning a second language difficult.

#### Why do we compare two languages?

There is more to a language than just sounds, of course. The sounds (phonemes) are put together into words (morphemes); and the words are arranged in an order (syntax) that gives meaning. The sound system includes how we raise or lower our voices, and where we pause (stress, pitch, and juncture). Very strict rules control how we put sounds together and arrange words. When we are small children we learn these rules as habits, and we use them in speech without thinking. But the rules are always there. When they start to interfere with learning a new

language it is very useful to know exactly what they are.

Describing the rules of two languages may seem like a lot of work, but it is really a short-cut for effective language teaching. Such comparison enables us to pinpoint the special problems a person will have changing from one set of language habits to the other. Teachers who know what those specific problems are can concentrate on them rather than trying to teach pupils by haphazard exposure. Teaching a second language can be very straightforward if the teacher understands how languages work and precisely where difficulties will arise.

Each system of a language (phonology, morphology, and syntax) can be studied scientifically and compared with other systems. In the "Comparative Analysis" to follow this paper we will look at the lowest level of comparison, phonology. Higher levels are much more difficult to compare. Before narrowing down to the sound systems, let's have a quick look at how our languages affect us at a "high" level.

Our language is our way of thinking.

Modern linguistics has taught us that language directs our thinking. Each of us is in touch with the world around; we see and hear the same things. But how we understand what we experience is directed by our language. A few examples will help to explain. In English we have many words for flying things: airplane, aviator, rocket, bird, and so on. In the Hopi Indian language, however, there is only one word for all flying things except birds.<sup>1</sup> Because traditional Hopi culture never experienced modern flying machines, the Hopis use the same word for planes and pilots as they do for insects. A more common example is the many words in Eskimo for the one English word, "snow". Naturally snow is less important to people at our latitude than it is to the Eskimos. It was even less important to the

Aztecs in South America, who used the same basic word for "cold", "ice", and "snow".<sup>2</sup> Chilcotin and English divide living things differently. In Chilcotin, the word "nuqt" includes all living things, while English separates them into "animals", "birds", and "fish".

There are some very important differences between Indian languages and English in classification of "things" (nouns), and "events" (verbs). In Hopi, for instance, "cloud" is a noun, while "lightning" is a verb. A cloud lasts long enough to be thought of as a "thing", but lightning happens so quickly that it is thought of as an event. In English both are nouns. Chilcotin classifies lightning as a verb, as well as some kinds of storms. Different again is the Nootka world view. In their monistic view, there are no "things". Even a "house" is an event. The way of saying "house" is to say "A house occurs" or "it houses", just as you would say "it burns" of a flame. The Nootkas use suffixes of the word for "house" to make it mean long-lasting house, future house, and so on.<sup>3</sup>

In Chilcotin, physical objects are classified by shape and texture. An English-speaking person might simply say, "I picked it up.", but a Chilcotin speaker would have to change the form of the verb to indicate whether the object being picked up was round and hard, stick-like, loose-textured, in a container, alive, plural, and so on. Chilcotin verbs change, too, to show whether a person travelling is going on foot, by horseback, by boat, etc.

From these examples it should be clear that learning a new language requires much more than mastering new sounds and rules. To move from one language to another we must learn to look at the world differently. Our old language habits often get in the way causing us to "see" the new language and culture through the eyes of the old.

People from one culture often criticize the actions of those from another.

They think of themselves in the same situation and say, "I wouldn't do that." What they do not realize is that in a different culture, the same behaviour may have a different meaning or intention, just as the same objects may have different names. Linguists can show us where some of these differences are and help us toward a genuine tolerance of cultures different from our own through respect of other people's ways of looking at things.

One language is not "better" than another one.

One very important way in which a teacher can show respect for a child is by appreciating his language for what it is. Earlier we noted that a child knows best the language which is most important to him. He learned that language as quickly and as thoroughly as anyone else learned his, and it is as useful as any other language. Linguistics has taught us that all languages can express the experiences common to their cultures, and deal with new experiences as they occur. Yet many teachers still consider Indian languages to be "primitive", and some even discourage students from using them. Others present English as if it were the only language, and treat students new to it as if they had never learned to communicate before. All these attitudes reflect a lack of respect for the child himself. We must remember that a person's native language embodies his closest personal relationships and his whole way of looking at the world. Any lack of respect shown for his way of communicating will be damaging to his self-respect and hinder his learning of new skills. The Second Language Teaching approach is built upon the kind of understanding that encourages respect because it works from knowledge about the languages it deals with.

What should a teacher know about languages?

How much should a teacher of English as a Second Language know about Chilcotin? Basically, he should know enough of the pronunciation and grammar of the language to be able to pinpoint its major differences from English. When he knows these differences he will be able to drill his students on the difficult areas, and not waste their time on the areas that cause no problems. So far, there is no official source of the information needed for comparison of Chilcotin and English. An alphabet has been worked out and much of the grammar has been analyzed.<sup>4</sup> But the job is far from done. The study which follows is only the beginning of the first stage - a comparison of the sounds of the two languages. It will show teachers where to expect pronunciation problems and how to go about drilling to overcome them.

While knowledge about the "new" language is important, a teacher of English must also know a great deal about his own language. Speaking his native language is an unconscious process, but teaching it must be very conscious and systematic. He cannot plan to help a student over trouble points unless he knows exactly what happens at those spots. At the same time, knowledge about the language cannot take the place of fluency with it. The teacher of English is the model for his pupils, and must speak the language with the naturalness of a native speaker. In the early grades children learning English should not be exposed to teachers who are not perfectly fluent themselves.

Learning the sounds is most important.

Our study may be only the "beginning of a beginning", but it covers a very important aspect of learning English. Learning the sound system is the essential first step in mastering the language. Linguistic analysts generally agree that a

person "knows" a language when he has effectively mastered:

- a. 90% of its phonology
- b. 50% of its structure or grammar
- c. 2% of its vocabulary<sup>5</sup>

From the formula it is clear that we approach language teaching backwards when we emphasize the least important aspect, vocabulary.

Earlier, I criticized the idea that a second language can be mastered solely by hearing and imitating it in a natural situation. Let me qualify that judgment now. The classrooms and playgrounds of integrated schools are "language-rich" environments where children have English around them all the time. Such exposure can be a very valuable part of their education - if they have been trained to hear all the sounds of English. A good example is the /d/ ending which is used to show past tense with English verbs (e. g. try, tried). Since their language does not put /d/ at the end of words, Chilcotin children often have trouble hearing it in that position. With some training, however, a student would notice the sound when it is used by his school-mates and soon learn to say "He tried," instead of "He try." A little sound training can go a long way!

#### Some general applications

I have tried to outline the Second Language approach to teaching English in general terms. The "Contrastive Analysis" will enable us to prepare some specific drills and techniques that can be used in the classroom. In conclusion here, let me suggest a few practical applications of the Second Language approach.

Teachers who have students learning a second language will find much of the prescribed curriculum unsuitable. They will often have to prepare material of their own, or screen commercial material on the basis of what they can learn about

their students' particular problems. When evaluating books for the classroom or library, they will have to look much more closely at structure and less at vocabulary as a measure of difficulty.

The general principles being applied to Chilcotin in this study apply to teaching students from any language background. The charts that are being prepared could be used in reverse to help an English-speaking person learn Chilcotin. They might also be used, tentatively, for predicting language learning problems of Carrier-speaking students since Carrier also belongs to the Athabaskan family of languages.

- the beginning -

Footnotes:

- 1 Benjamin Lee Whorf, "Science and Linguistics", in Applied English Linguistics, ed. Harold B. Allen, Appleton Century-Crofts, 1964, page 65.
- 2 Whorf, "Science and Linguistics", page 65.
- 3 Whorf, "Science and Linguistics", page 65.
- 4 Quindel King, Alexis Creek, has worked on analysis of the Chilcotin language for eight years. His formal analysis of Chilcotin phonology was submitted to the National Museum in 1968 and he has continued working on the grammar since then. Mr. King is providing the phonological material for this study.
- 5 Carson W. Martin, Canadian English, Teacher's Handbook, Book 1, New Canadian Publications, 1963.

SCREENING TEST FOR AUDITORY  
COMPREHENSION OF LANGUAGE

(CHILCOZEN)

Maria Myers

<u>Item</u>	<u>Stimulus</u>	<u>Correct Response</u>
1	Nenchagh	2
2	Daldal	1
3	Tetlad	3
4	'elheir' es	2
5	Kud nanqih teSelah	1
6	Guyi	2
7	Diny	3
8	Lhan	3
9	'atish Sedah	2
10	Nalgash	1
11	T&icqih lha ghesbilh.	1
12	Dusi q& phatish Sedah.	2
✓ 13	Beban t&icqih yaq&g yaai'an.	3
14	Nayeneghilbt'i.	2
15	Deyen& balin lhet'es belb lhek'el.	1
✗ 16	Deni quugh gwodiztl'es.	3
17	Uugaliy& n&ntish?	2
18	Lhin qa ne& Sedah.	1
✓ 19	T&icqih deyan& y&uwelh'in hayelh'in.	1
20	Yaq&g diulhdzan nenchagh.	3
21	Lhin deyen& n&ghen.	1
22	Deyen& d&chen n&dephing&ed.	3
23	'Lion' 'egh&oyer.	1
24	Lhuy 'ejuyan.	2
25	'ajerilht'is deyen& belb t&icqih lha j&et&stl&g.	3

SCREENING TEST FOR AUDITORY  
COMPREHENSION OF LANGUAGE  
(English)

Elizabeth Carrow, Ph.D.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Stimulus</u>	<u>Correct Response</u>
1	Big	2
2	Red	1
3	Jump	3
4	Pair	2
5	Coats	1
6	That	2
7	Four	3
8	More	3
9	Second	2
10	Bicyclist	1
11	The girl is not swimming.	1
12	The cat is between the cars.	2
13	Mother gave the ball to her.	3
14	Hitting	2
15	His puppy is black and white.	1
16	The man painted the house.	3
17	When do you sleep?	2
18	The dog is in front of the car.	1
19	She shows the girl the boy.	1
20	A large blue ball.	3
21	The boy is chased by the dog.	1
22	The man has been cutting trees.	3
23	The lion has eaten.	1
24	The fish are eating.	2
25	Neither the boy nor the girl is jumping.	3

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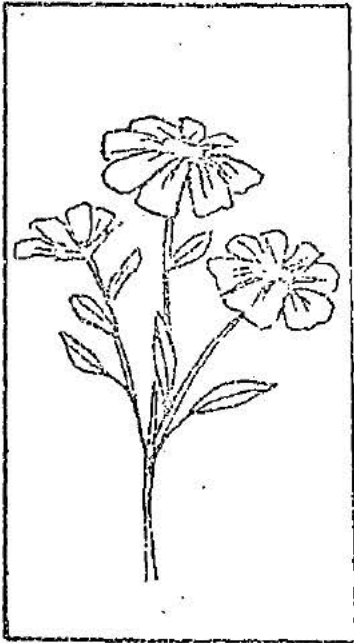
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TEACHER \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

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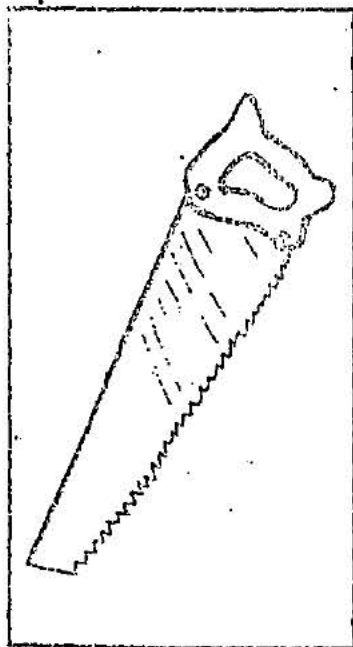


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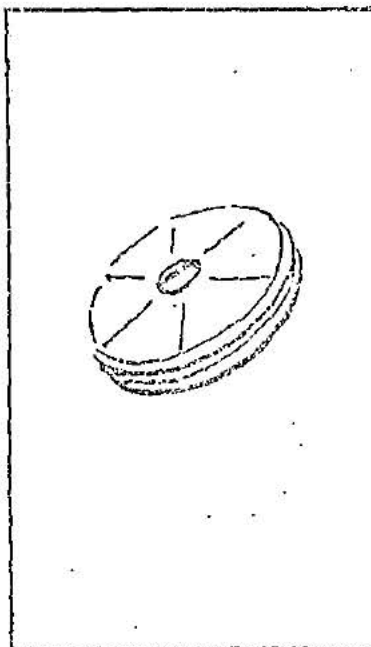
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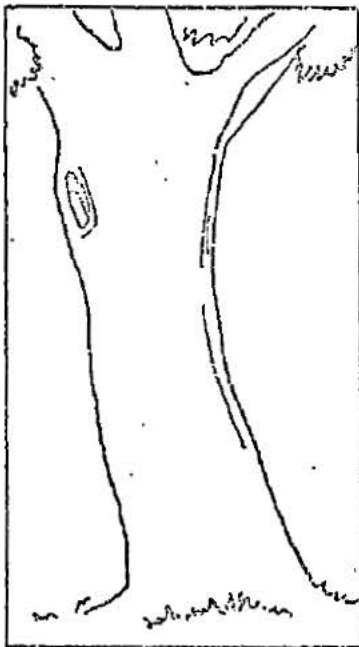
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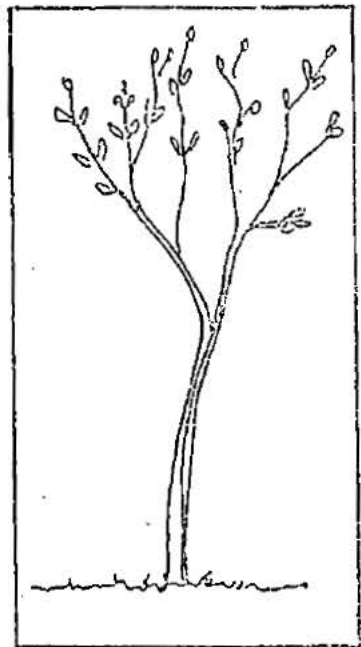
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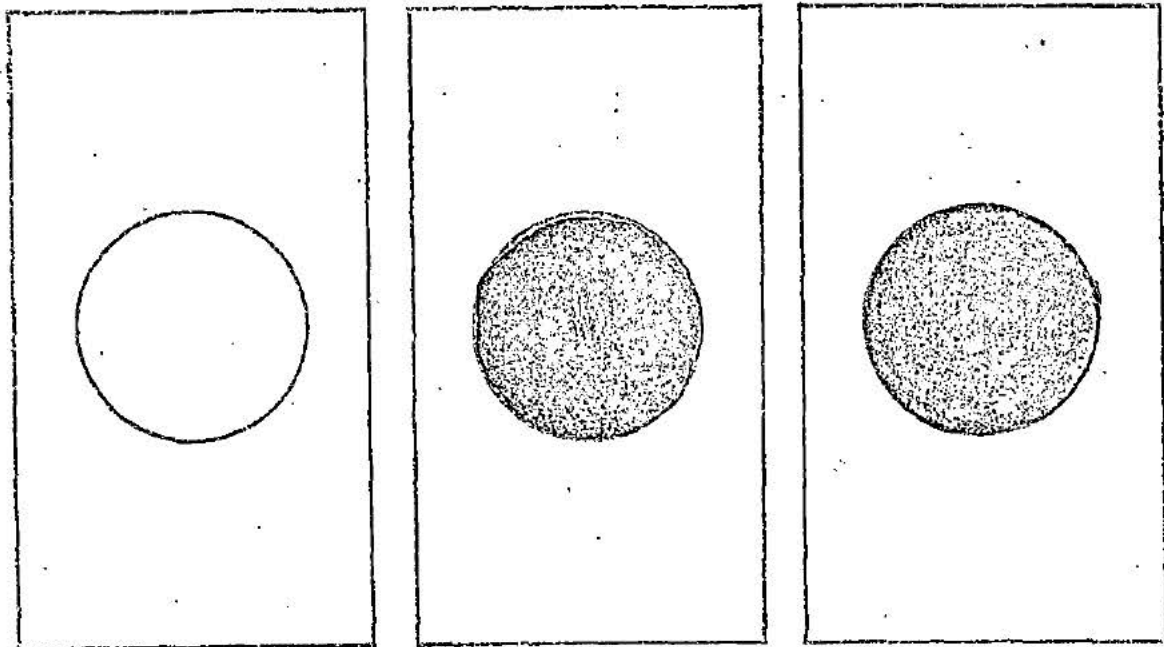


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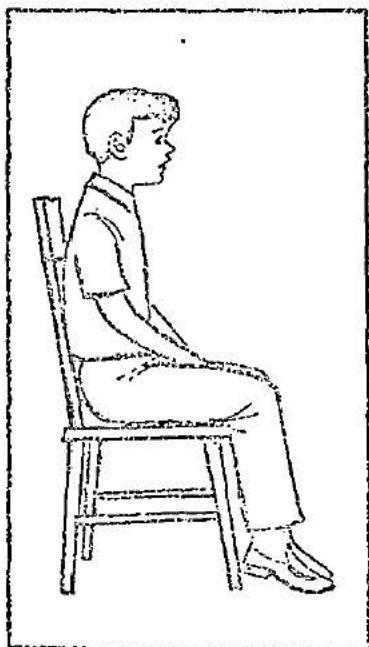
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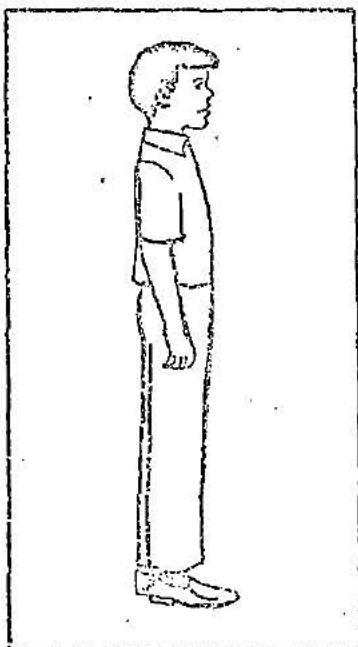
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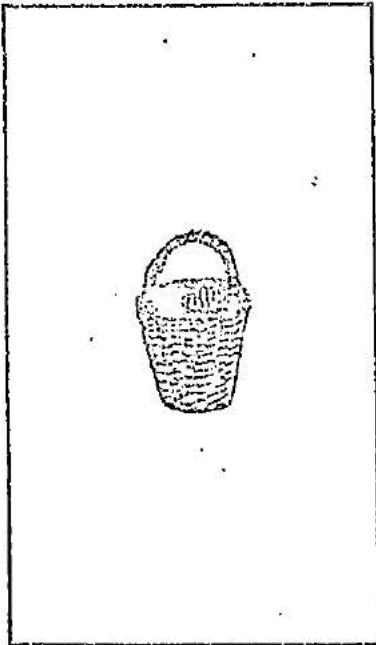
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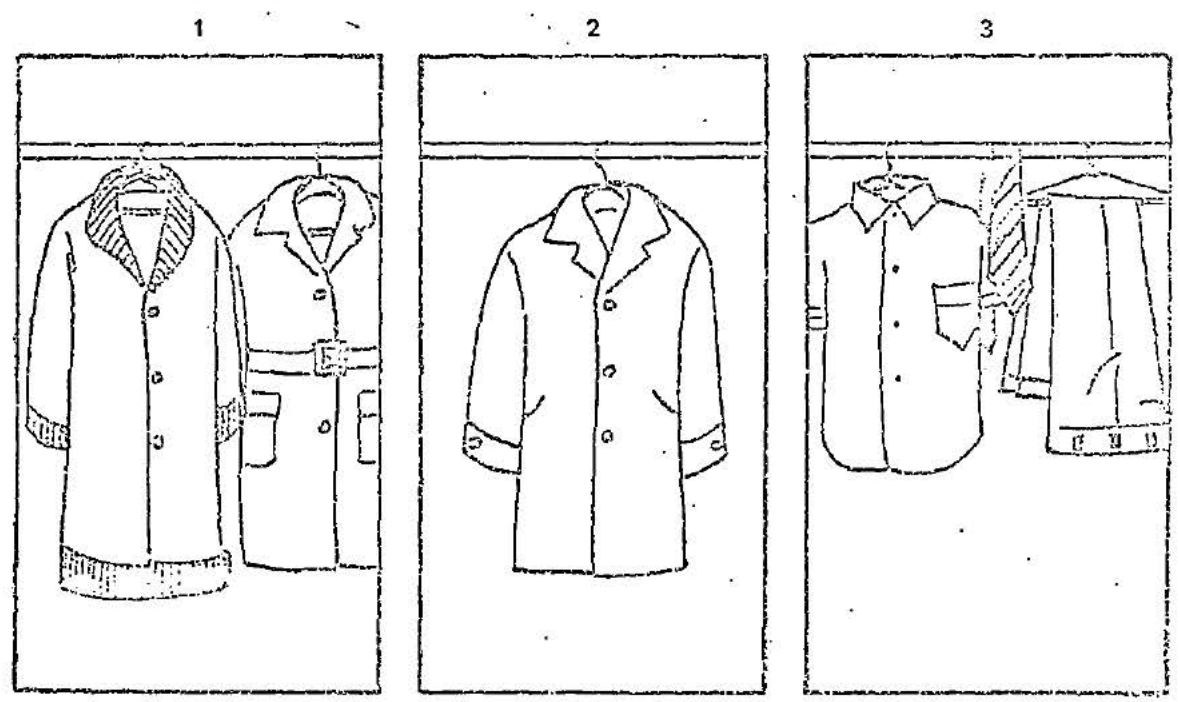


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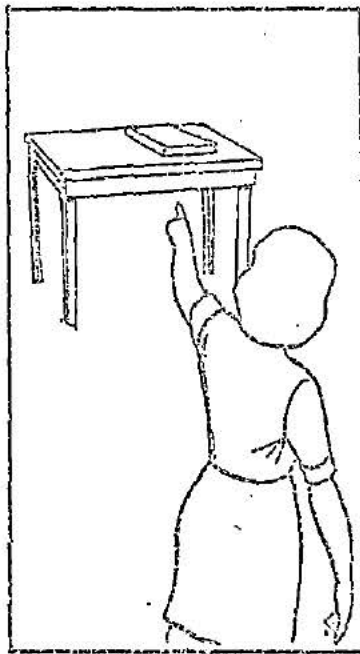




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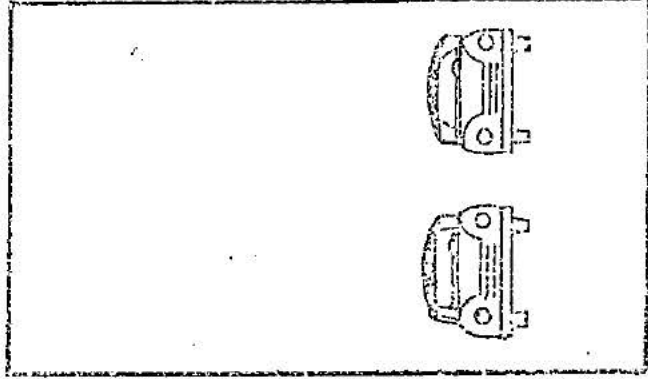
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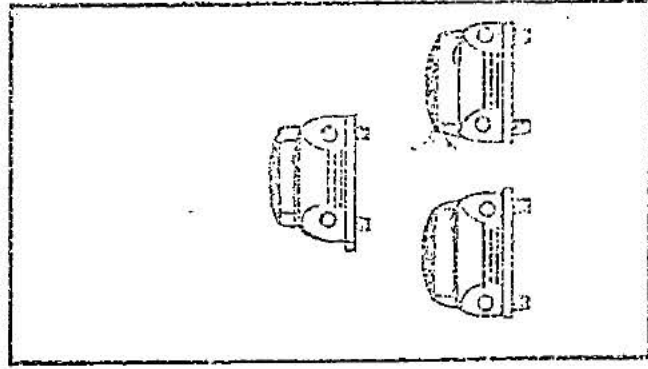
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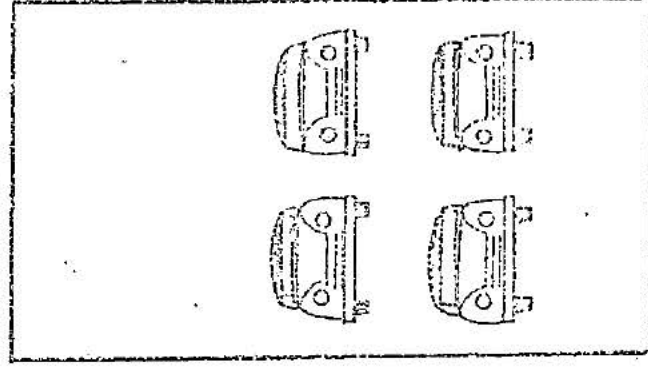
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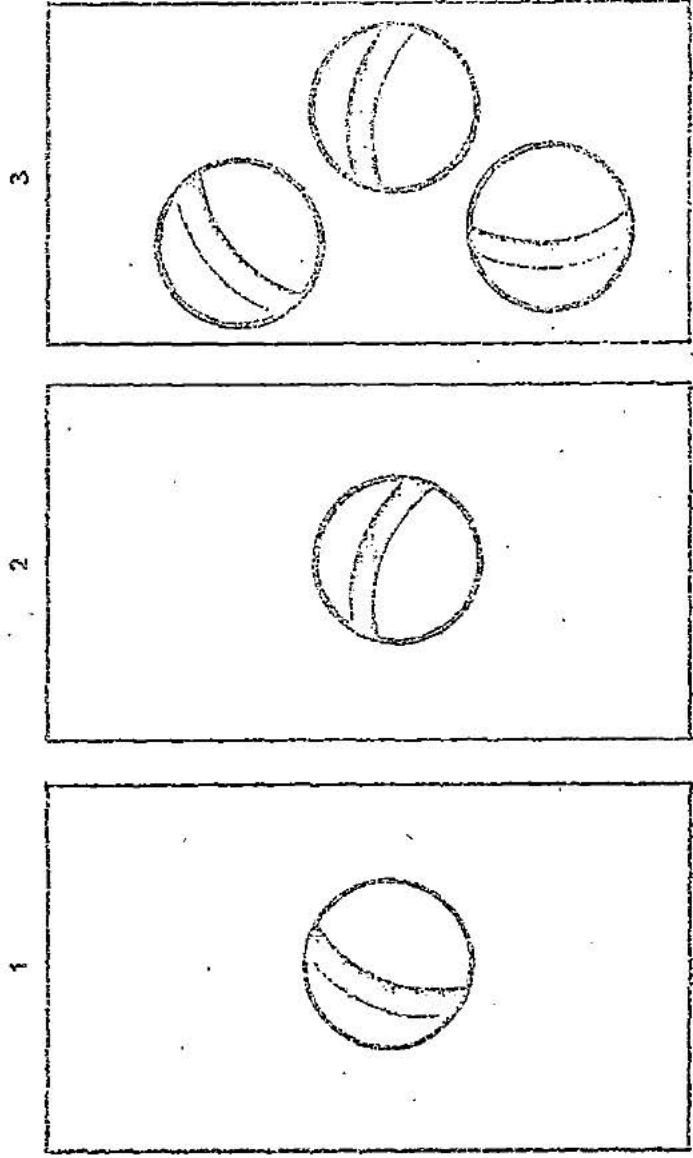
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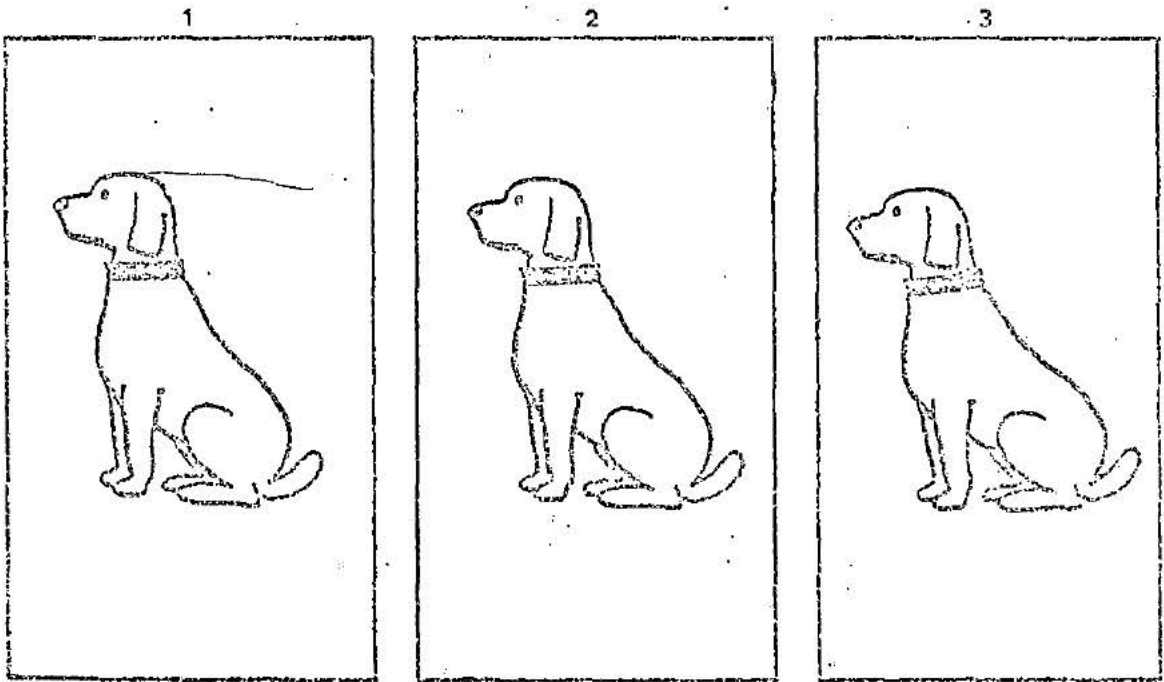


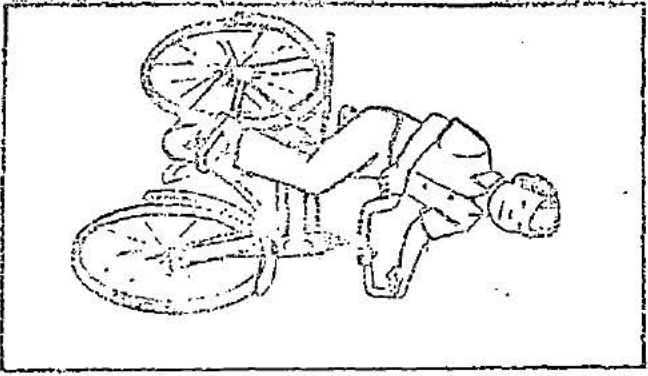
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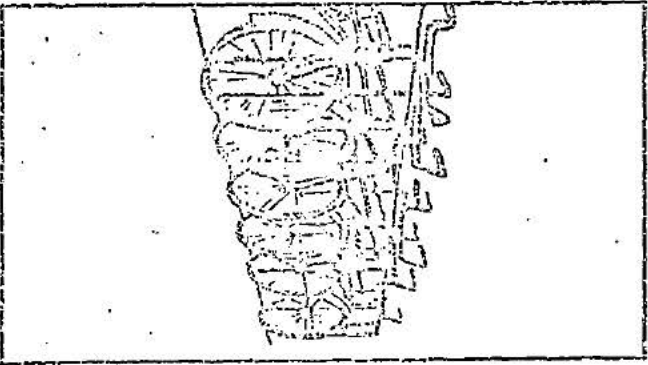
TEC Middle Course School



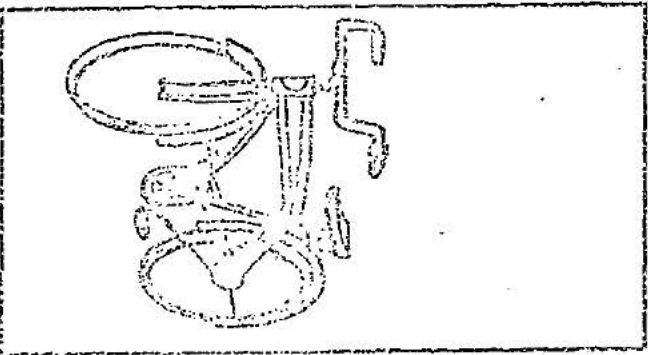




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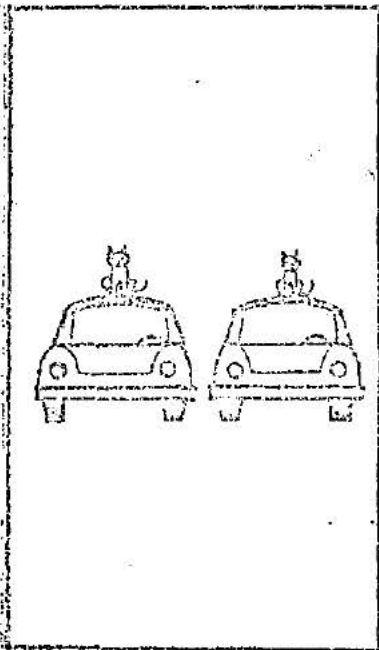
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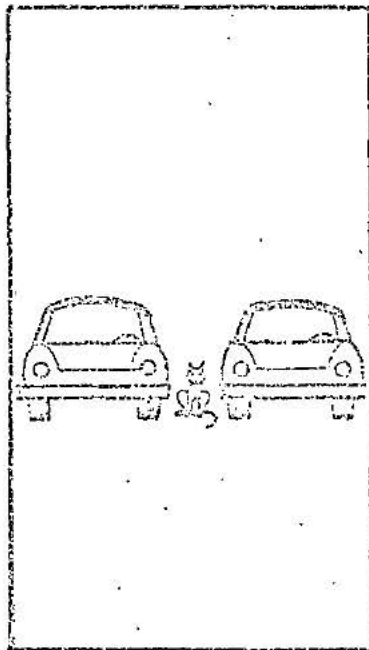
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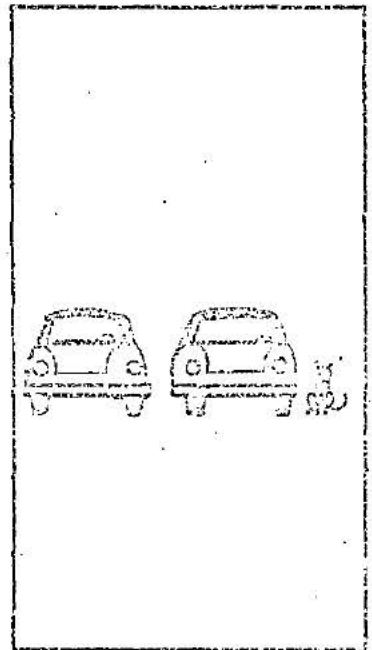
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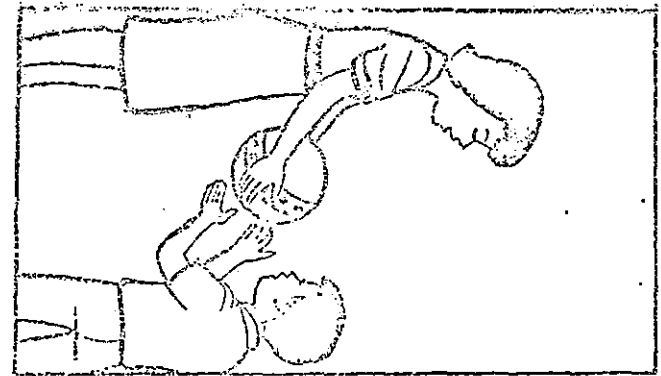


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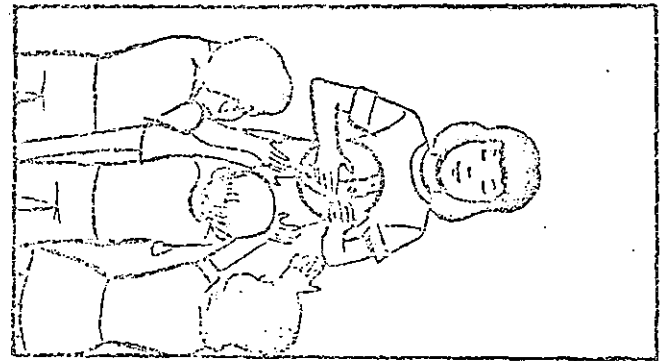


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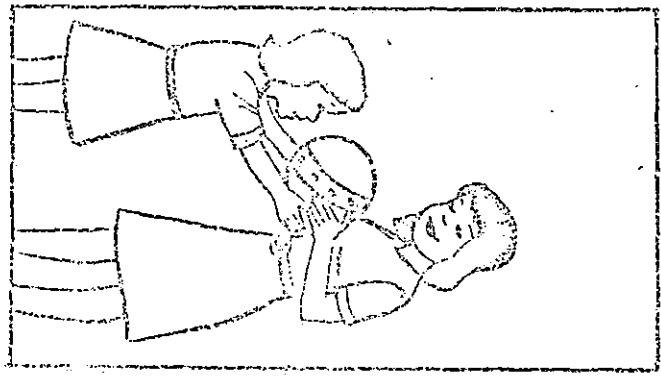




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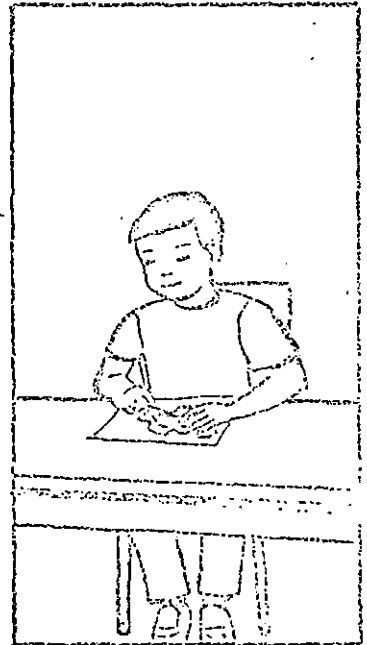
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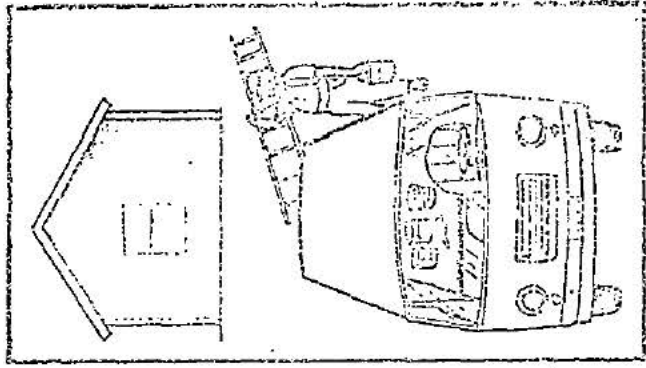
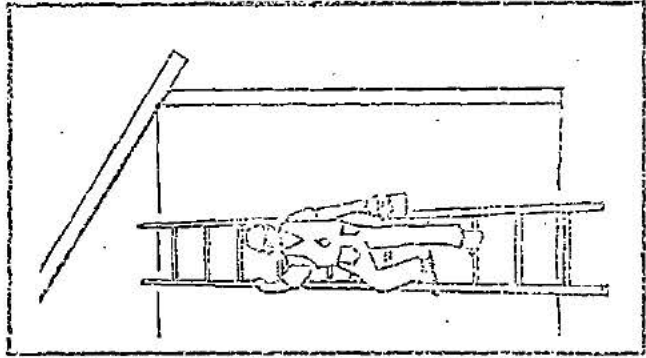
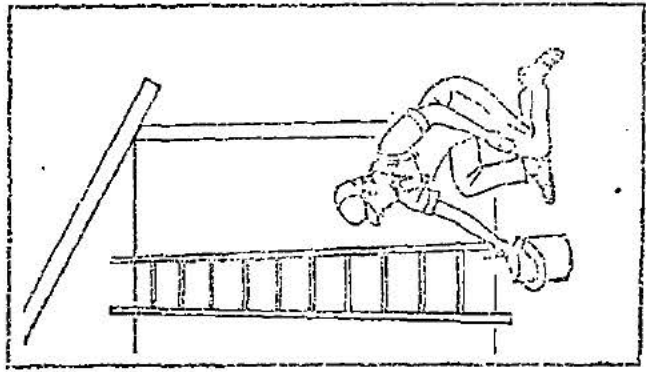


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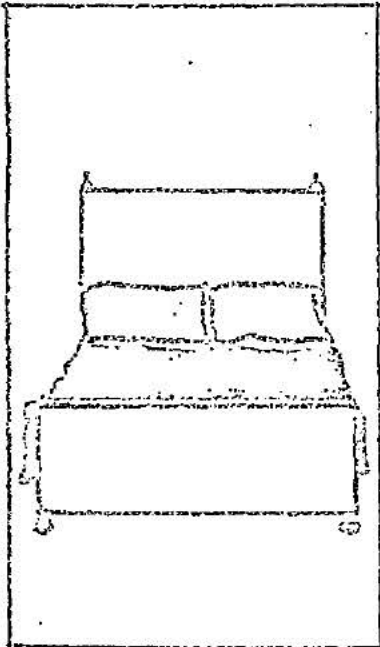


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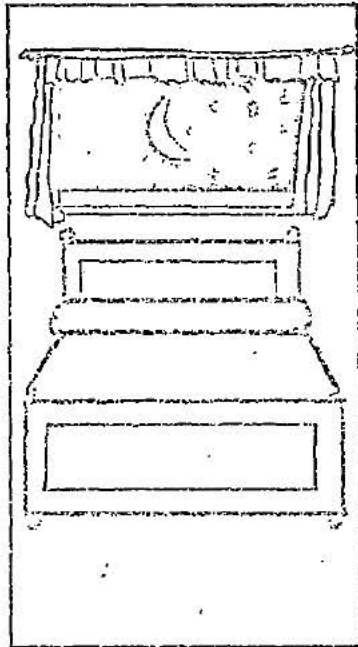




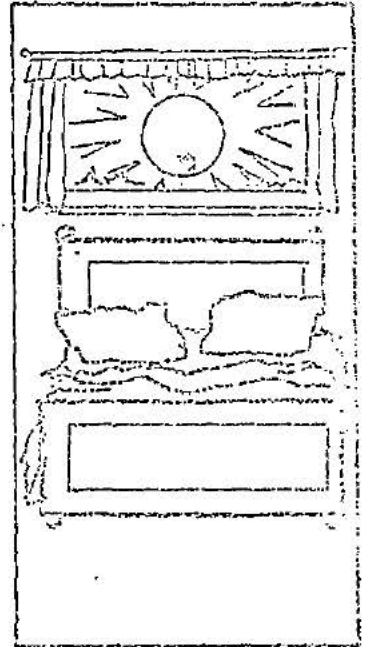
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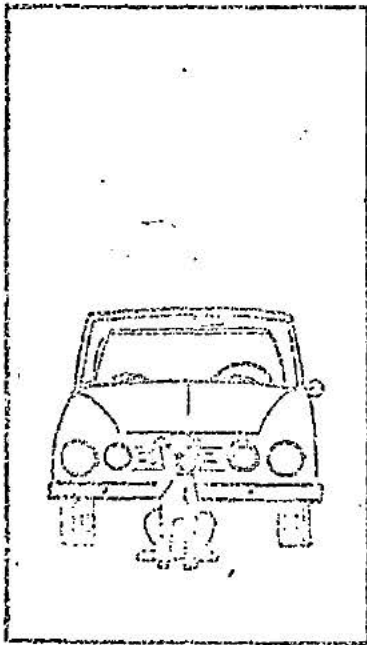
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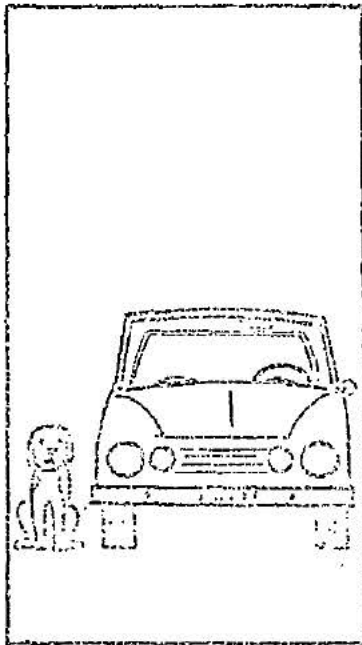
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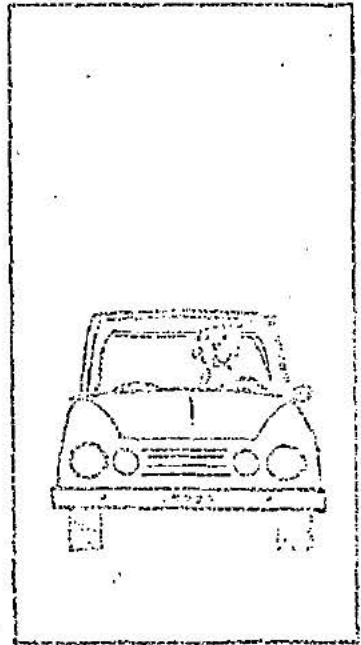
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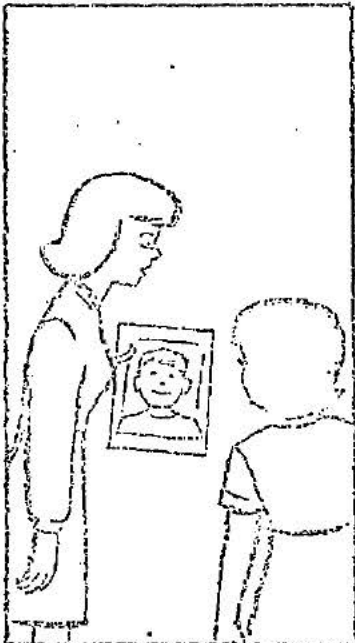
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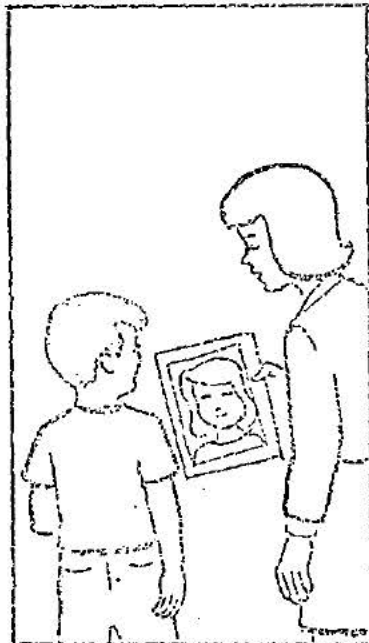
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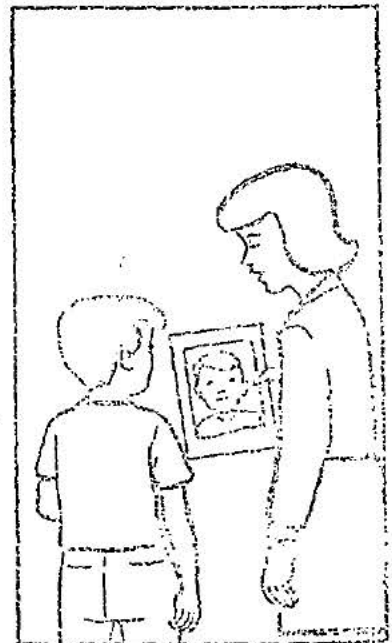
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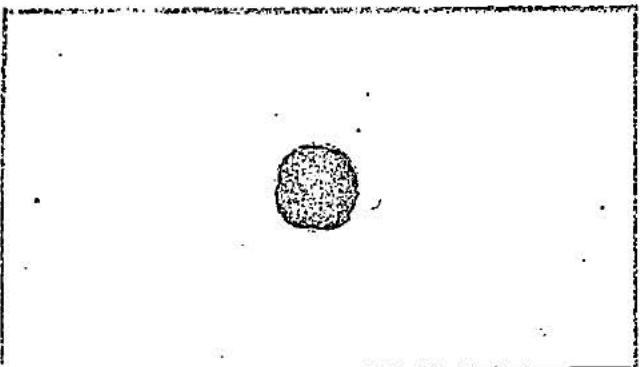


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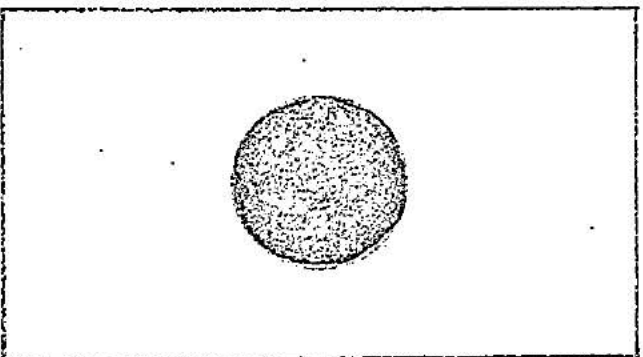


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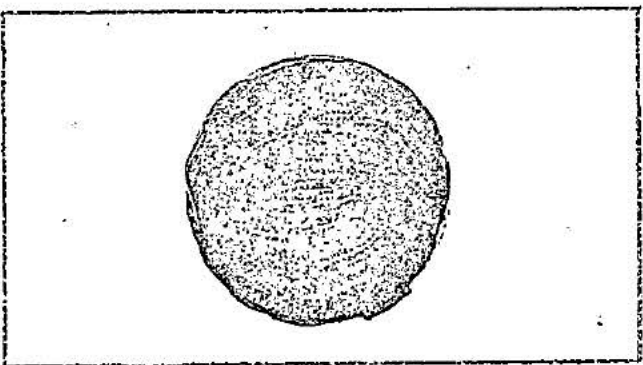




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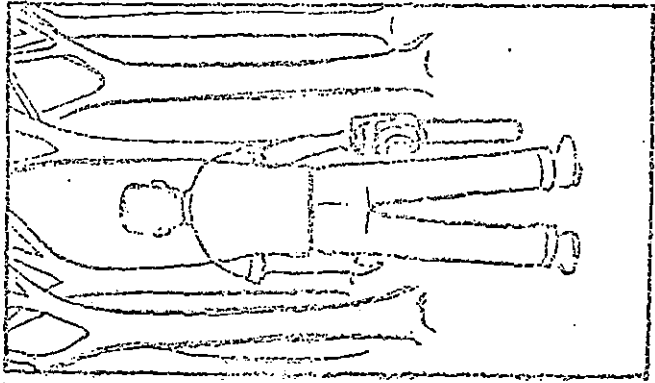
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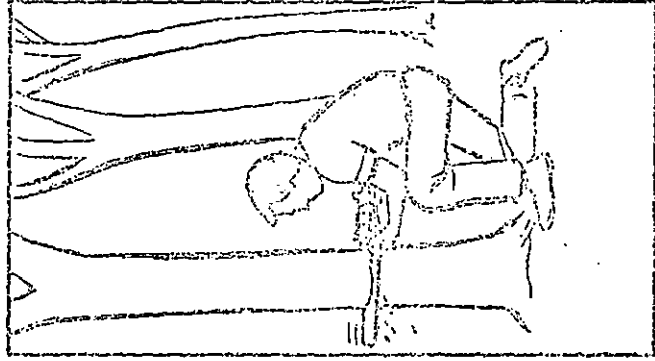
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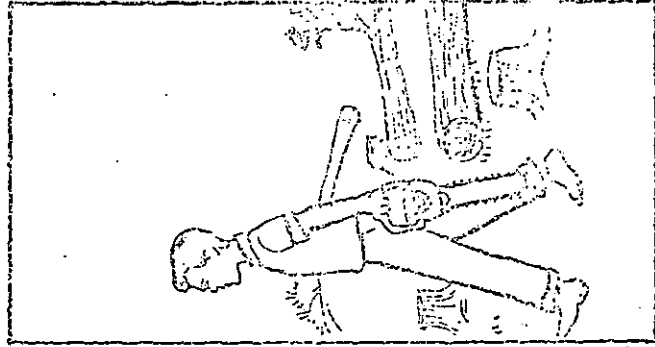
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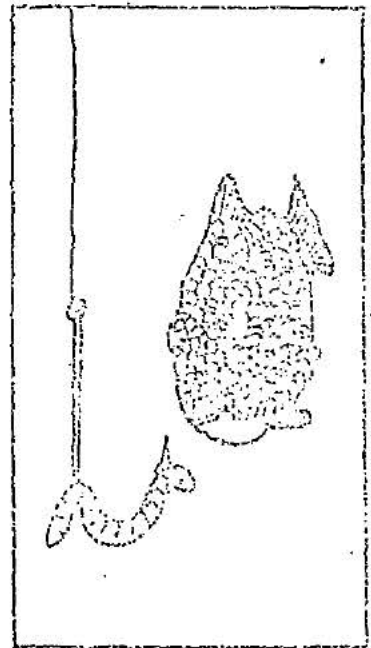
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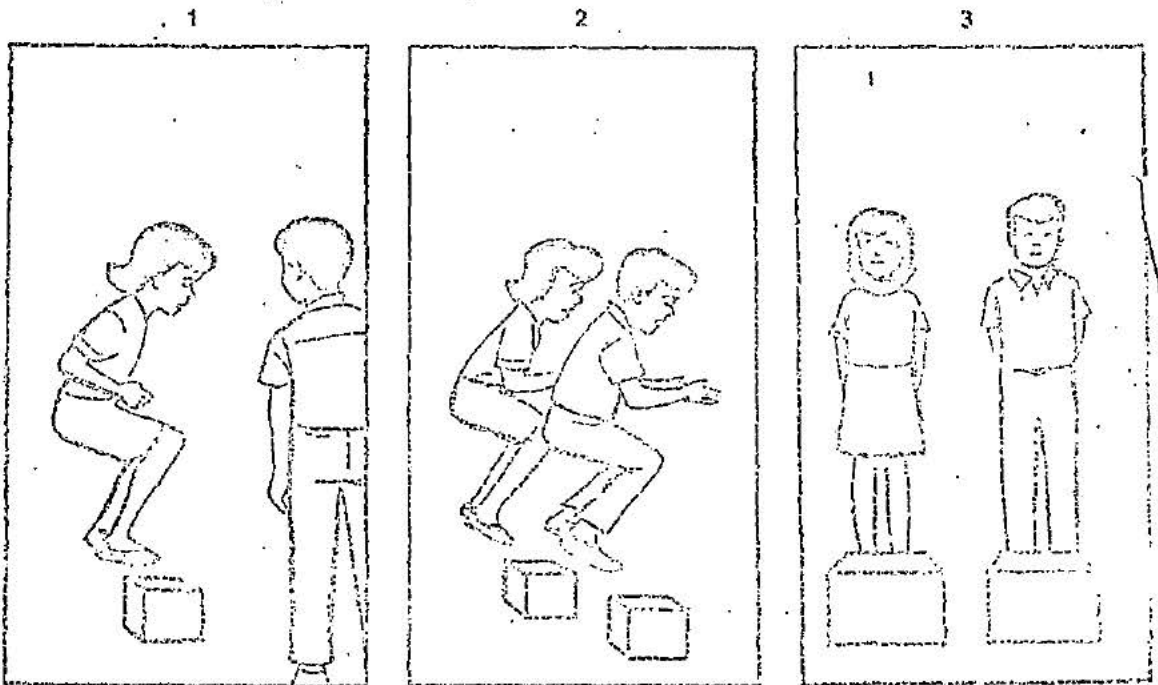


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Observations made by the Chilcotin teacher aides  
at both sites of the study describing possible  
stimulus bias in the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.

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<u>PPVT</u> <u>Stimulus item</u>	<u>Chilcotin</u> <u>Interoretation</u>	<u>PPVT</u> <u>Stimulus item</u>	<u>Chilcotin</u> <u>Interoretation</u>
Wasp Bee	Insect	Sewing	Mending
Winer	Hot dog	Caboose	Train
Envelope	Letter	Captain	Driver
Dial	'Phone	Capsule	Pills-vitamins
Hive	Box	Gnawing	Chewing
Ceremony/Idol	Rarely used	Pod	Peas
Filing	Drawer	Lecturer	Rarely used
Harvesting	Picking/Gathering	Archer	Bow
Stadium	Rarely used	Excavation	Digging
Erecting	Building	Stunt	Circus
Meringue	Pie	Appliance	Iron
Chemist	Drug store.		

## APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTATION PERTAINING TO THE ETHNOGRAPHIC  
BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF THE TWO SITES,  
THE INTERVIEWS HELD WITH EDUCATORS WHO HAVE  
LIVED AND WORKED IN THE CHILCOTIN-CARIBOO AREA

Material found in this appendix relates to the following:

1. Ethnographic information given by Sr. Teresa Bernard (Missionary/Sisters of Christ the King) (cited in Whitehead, 1981).
2. Ethnographic information given by Fr. John Hennessy (Oblates/Missionaries of Mary Immaculate) (Whitehead, 1981).
3. Ethnographic information given by Mr. William (Bill) Christie (retired Indian agent) in interview with the investigator in June, 1981.
4. Ethnographic information given by Sr. Ethel Devlin (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) in interview with the investigator in May, 1982.
5. Ethnographic information given by Mr. Donald Smith (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) in interview with the investigator in June, 1982.
6. Ethnographic information given by Sr. Edwina Dubé (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs) in interview with the investigator in June, 1982.
7. Ethnographic information given by Mrs. Emma Mack, (Home School Co-ordinator, Anaham Education Administration) in interview with the investigator in Spring, 1981.

1. Sr. Teresa Bernard (Missionary Sisters of Christ the King)

Sr. Teresa Bernard, who was a Nursing Sister in the Order of the Missionary Sisters of Christ the King, recalled her first impressions of Anaham village in those days and said:

So we got to Anaham and there was not an Indian on the Reserve. They were nomadic. They would all disappear in those days. There was not a soul on the Reserve. . . . There was a tiny little house belonging to the Oblate Father and the Indians had build another little log house on the side. This house had only three rooms. In front there was a parlour and two little rooms in the back. . . . We arrived there about August 27th, the end of August--school was supposed to start the beginning of September. Sister Marie des Anges and Sister Stanislaus were teachers. . . . There were two classrooms, those who had already been to school--they were about 12 I think--and in the other one there were maybe forty--they had never been to school. (Whitehead, 1981, pp. 77-80)

2. Fr. John Hennessy (Oblate Missionary of Mary Immaculate)

Fr. Hennessy, discussing his own history with Whitehead (1981) recalled his involvement in education, with particular reference to Redstone Indian community:

The one thing I did do was in 1941 I started a seasonal school at Redstone. In Redstone--which was off the beaten track--there was no education. They wanted a school but they didn't want to send their kids to what they called the Mission school. There seemed to be no possibility of getting a complete day care because they were still nomadic. They would be leaving with their families in the Spring to go fishing, hunting and trapping. Then, in summer and fall, they were working on their own lands haying or with white people. So from the end of October to the first of March seemed to be an ideal time.

The Indian Department volunteered to provide the books and to pay me. I was paid \$125 a month as a teacher, but I had no qualifications. None. I simply tried to teach them how to read and write. They used the church on what was known as Redstone Meadows, a church that was on the property in which the chief was living. A number of people had built their own little cabins there just for "priest time" as they called it. So in November the parents who were going back to the meadows to feed their cattle would simply leave the children

there with me. The older children looked after the younger children. And I was a sort of a watchman.

They enjoyed the school. The kids came willingly. We started about nine-thirty and we ended about two-thirty and there was no particular schedule. They learned to read and write. That's what they wanted. I wasn't equipped to give them a full education and they weren't ready to accept it, either. I got to know them better than I had before. The old Chief, Charlie Boy, would tell me some of their legends and traditions. I began to realise that they had a culture which was particularly theirs. (pp. 83-84)

3. Mr. William (Bill) Christie (Indian Agent, retired)

Mr. Christie, recalling his early days as Indian Agent in the Williams Lake District, in interview with the investigator said:

At Bella Coola we had a lot of day schools on the reserves. They also went to the Residential schools. When I got to Williams Lake I found that the only school was the Residential school, St. Joseph's Mission . . . and it was very difficult to get the children there at an early age for them to get passed Grade 3 education; they were eight or nine years old before they got to school. . . . I decided we should have some day schools on the reserves, some of the outlying reserves, 'cause 35% of the children didn't get any education at all . . . so I decided we should start with Anaham reserve, but the war was on, finally I did get a school going at Anaham and Redstone reserves. There was no money so finally there was an old log building at Anaham I decided we could make a two room school out of it and at Redstone the Priest said we could use the Church. . . . I had no desks so I decided I'd make desks . . . and finally, a local inspector said I could make small table, with seats, you know. The next thing I couldn't get any teachers. So I wrote to Archbishop Duke and he contacted some Sisters, who lived in Eastern Canada . . . so they moved and so all at once we had a Mother General and a Sister came up to take a look . . . and the next thing I had four Sisters on my hands . . . but they were good . . . eventually, Archbishop Duke built a Residence for the Sisters. So after that when the war was over we got schools at Alkali Lake, Anaham Lake, and Nazko, Canim Lake and Canoe Creek. . . . The Sisters looked after Anaham Reserve . . . we got education going in the fifties. (Interview with Mr. Christie in June 1981, at Williams Lake)

4. Sister Ethel Devlin (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs)

Sister Devlin described some of her experiences to the investigator, related to working at the Mission, with the Chilcotin Indian children:

It was an experience of real challenge. I worked at St. Joseph's Mission from 1966 and in those days we had 306 students to educate and care for. The Chilcotin students came from Anaham, Stone, Nemiah, and Redstone, with the majority of them coming from Anaham--this is the largest reserve in the area. There were three distinct tribes, the Chilcotin, the Shuswap and the Carrier with the greatest number of students coming from the Chilcotin and the least from the Carrier. The programme was from Grade 1 - Grade 8. Acceptance at the Mission was based on the life-style of the parents; if they were away for twelve consecutive weeks they were considered 'migratory' and the children could be admitted to the Mission. The day schools on the reserves provided education too, but, because of the nomadic life of the people, children were still admitted to the Mission. The students from Anaham and Redstone spoke their own first language. The Redstone students did have access to more English because their village was nearer the road and there was more exchange between themselves and English speaking people, in the working together conditions of logging, rural employment. The Anaham people kept to themselves. The Chilcotin people are a very proud and independent people. Since 1975 there have been some really important developments in education which has expressed the growth and the strength of the people and their involvement in 'opening up' their experience. (Interview with Sr. Devlin in May, 1982, in Williams Lake)

5. Mr. Donald Smith (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs)

Donald Smith, who was the District Superintendent of Education for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Williams Lake District, in the Chilcotin-Cariboo area for six years discussed, with the investigator, his perceptions of some of his experiences during that time:

There have been some tremendous changes in the area which really started to show after 1975 although it was probably happening before that. When I used to visit the reserves, when I first came to Williams Lake, the people would wait for me to give them the information they wanted--now they tell me what they want. Chilcotin people take time to consider before acting but once they have considered they act with

decision. They have shown a lot of growth in their interest in education--they are anxious to get involved and they are strong people.

I think even since The Indian Control of Indian Education was published in 1972 that had a lot to do with it, and then there was the "long hot summer of '75" when funding was returned by the people. Although Anaham (with Ulgatcho) was one of the places which did not give back the funding the difficulties and the situation which took place then gave the people a lot to think about how they could alter and change their circumstances themselves. Even though it was disturbing it was probably a good experience for everyone. A lot of growth happened after that. Then there were some differences made when we decided to bring the in-school and post-school counsellors into the office to work with the Chilcotin students. Sr. Devlin came in from the Mission and did a great deal there and so did Wally Hamm. And then Emma Mack became the first home-school co-ordinator for the Chilcotin and used to travel all over the place, and Charlene looked after the Cariboo area--Emma looked after everything west of the Fraser and Charlene looked after everything east of the Fraser. Now, of course, we have a lot of people doing an excellent job as home-school co-ordinators and committee workers. (Interview with Mr. Donald Smith in June, 1982, in Vancouver)

6. Sr. Edwina Dubé (Missionary Sisters of Christ the King)

Sr. Dubé who is the Grade 1 teacher at Chilcotin Indian Day School on Anaham Reserve, and who has held that position since the early 1970s, discussed some of her interpretations of her early experiences with the investigator:

In 1971, we had a kindergarten-nursery programme which was organized and taught by the Church. In those days the sessions went all day and certainly helped with the learning of English in the Grade 1 programme.

It was not unusual, when I first came to Anaham to teach, for my children to have no knowledge of English until March of the school year. We needed an interpreter then and I had one in the classroom. Chilcotin is still really strong in many of the homes, especially where there are elders living with the children. I really think that the Chilcotin people really want their children to learn English. I have noticed a difference since those days in the seventies. I think television may have something to do with it 'cause it's on most of the time and English is constantly heard in the homes then. The children too have grown much more verbal and will talk to anyone. The girls don't wear the long gingham dresses that they did in the seventies. Now everyone wears jeans. (Interview with Sr. Edwina Dube in June, 1982, at Anaham Reserve)

7. Mrs. Emma Mack (Home-School Co-ordinator for the Chilcotin area)

Mrs. Mack who had held the position of home-school co-ordinator for the Chilcotin area for approximately ten years discussed some of her memories of those earlier days, with the investigator:

When I first started this job I had the whole of the area and was out in all sorts of weather and on all sorts of roads. I wanted to let the parents know that education was important and I didn't mind the work. I had a truck and I'd just go off into the bush in it, and visit homes and talk with the children. You have to choose your time to do that. Now there are more people working I can do more here and there's still a lot of work to be done. We want our children to get a good education and to cope later on. I like to get the parents interested in education and to know what's happening. (Interview with Mrs. Emma Mack, in Spring, 1981, Anaham Reserve)

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A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT OF

FIVE YEAR OLD CHILDREN ATTENDING THE

CHILCOTIN INDIAN DAY SCHOOL AND THE

REDSTONE INDIAN DAY SCHOOL.

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28th January, 1983  
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