A STUDY OF SAULTEAUX CULTURE WITH EMPHASIS ON LANGUAGE

AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOLING

IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the cultural and linguistic background of Saulteaux Indian children and its relationship to the language difficulties the primary pupils experience in school where English is the language of instruction.

The research was done while the investigator was employed as a teacher in the elementary school in the Saulteaux village of Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba from 1952 to 1967. The data were collected by means of formal and informal interviews and conversations with informants, by observation of children and adults, and by keeping records of these interviews and observations.

The analysis of data revealed that although Euro-Canadian contact has affected the religion, the social organization and the economy of the Red Sucker Lake Saulteaux, the hunting, trapping, and fishing economy has not yet disappeared. Analysis of linguistic data disclosed the fact that Saulteaux concepts regarding their environment, and their concepts of space and time are reflected in their language and differ from the concepts expressed in the English language. The resulting linguistic difficulties which primary children have in meeting the objectives of the Language Arts Program were presented. The investigator offered several suggestions, regarding teachers and the school program, which would be considered useful in facilitating the language program of these pupils.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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PHONETIC KEY

The following key is presented as a guide for the pronunciation of the Saulteaux terms employed in this report. It does not represent an analysis of their whole phonemic system. It is largely a combination of the keys used by Soveran[1] and Rogers.[2]

Vowels:
    a   as in pun
    aa as in father
    e   as in fate
    i   as in pin
    ii as in feet
    o   as in put
    oo as in folk

Semi-Vowels:
    y as in yes
    w as in well

Consonants:
  Stops:
    p as in purpose
    t as in waited
    c as in hitching
    k as in hiking

  Nasals:
    m as in man
    n as in man

  Fricatives:
    s as in hiss
    š as in hush

  Glottal Fricative: h as in high

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[1]Marilylle Soveran, From Cree to English (Saskatoon: Indian and Northern Curriculum Resources Centre, 1970) p. vii.

[2]Edward Rogers, The Round Lake Ojibwa (Toronto: Art and Archeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, 1962) p. x.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Most Canadian children, by the time they are of school age, are well equipped with background experiences and linguistic ability to operate successfully according to the expectations of the society in which they live. This includes children from Indian as well as non-Indian communities. However, for many Indian children the school environment and the language of instruction in school are unfamiliar and quite different from that which they have known in their pre-school years.

The Saulteaux children of Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba, are a group of such youngsters. Their community, almost 400 miles north-east of Winnipeg, (see Map, Figure 1) consists of about thirty-five Saulteaux families, plus two Hudson's Bay Company employees and two teachers. The village, lying in a setting of forests, lakes, and rivers, and lacking roads, railways, and television, is relatively isolated, and can be reached only by air. Many families still follow the pattern of hunting, trapping and fishing. In their homes the Saulteaux language is used almost exclusively. In this environment the socialization of the children takes place.

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THE PROBLEM

The school at Red Sucker Lake, as schools in most
Indian communities, is a place where two cultures, and two
languages representing these cultures, come in contact. That
this results in special linguistic difficulties for Saulteaux
children will hardly be denied by their teachers, for their
aim is generally to help these Saulteaux pupils reach the
objectives of a language program which has been devised
primarily for teachers of English-speaking, non-Indian pupils.

Anthropologists claim that languages do not consist
merely of words but "are strictly relative to the culture of
their users."[1] "Linguistic forms are relative to cultural
milieu and apart from it are incomprehensible."[2] Hence
Saulteaux language would be relative to the culture of the
Saulteaux people, and the English language would be relative
to the culture of another people--the people for whom the
school program was designed. Therefore, when investigating
the possible reasons for some of the language problems of

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[1]Douglas G. Haring, "Cultural Contexts of Thought and
Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 37: 163, April,
1951.

[2]Haring, P. 171. (This refers to the work of Haring
cited in the footnote above.) In this thesis the first
reference to a certain work will include, in the footnote,
the title, author, publisher, etc., and repeated citations
from the same work will be made by surname of author and
page of citation only. If one author is cited for two or
more of his writings, each subsequent footnote includes the
name of the author and enough of the title of the work to
identify it.
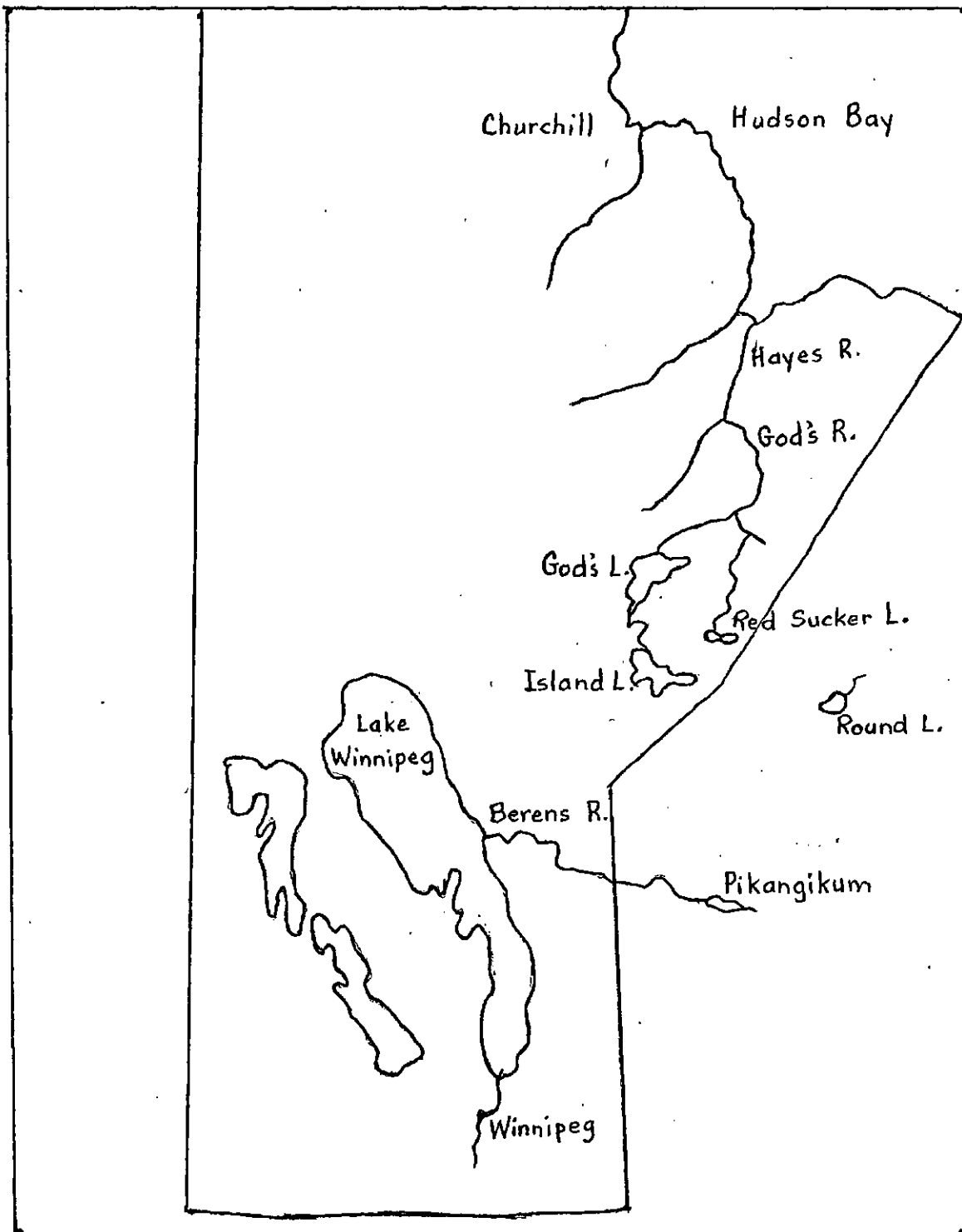
Figure 1

Map of Manitoba Showing Red Sucker Lake
and Surrounding Area

Saulteaux pupils, it would seem important that some consideration be given by educators to the cultural and linguistic milieu in which the children have lived before they came to school and in which the majority of them continue to feel most comfortable.

This study proposes to examine the relevant aspects of the cultural background of Saulteaux pupils, with emphasis on language, as observed at Red Sucker Lake and as revealed in the literature, and their relationship to the linguistic difficulties primary pupils manifest when they are taught through the medium of the English language. The following questions indicate the areas to be included in the investigation.

1. How can the cultural background of the Saulteaux children be seen to contribute to their linguistic difficulties in communicating in English?

2. What similarities or differences between cultural content of Saulteaux and English languages can be perceived?

3. How can the development of communication skills be facilitated in schools with Saulteaux pupils?

DELIMITATIONS

The population concerned with in the description of the cultural background of pupils includes the approximately 220 Saulteaux of Red Sucker Lake. Those aspects of culture and language that are believed to be related to the performance of primary pupils in spoken English in school will receive

consideration. Although children who are being taught in the language of another culture are known to have various types of difficulties throughout their school life, in this study the linguistic difficulties of primary pupils will be dealt with.

Observations are confined to the period from 1952 to 1967. The tense used here is the ethnographic present, that is, using the time that the observation was made as the present.

LIMITATIONS

Since the Saulteaux language spoken at Red Sucker Lake appears to have elements of both Cree and Ojibwa, and since, to the investigator's knowledge no anthropological research has been done on the language of this area, the linguistic information available for both Cree and Ojibwa needs modification. Because the data here from the writer's personal observation and interviews were recorded without background in formal linguistic training, they may not be completely accurate.

This study was not anticipated at first, hence the work was not set up as a research project. Although records on language were carefully kept from the beginning, other information regarding beliefs, social organization, etc., was not adequately recorded. Because the researcher was engaged in teaching full time, the time required for school work limited the time available for interaction with people in the

community.

ASSUMPTIONS

As the review of the literature indicates, many
anthropologists believe that language interpenetrates culture
--that there is a strong connection between language and
culture. Assuming that this relation is, in fact, important
leads one to the assumption that children who speak Saulteaux
and are growing up in a Saulteaux community have problems
beyond those of learning a set of new words when they begin
formal education in the English language, which is related to
another culture.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

English speaking teachers instructing Saulteaux
children are frequently frustrated when they observe apparent
lack of success in pupils who attempt to learn through the
medium of the English language. Though they may be aware of
some of the readily-observable cultural differences, they may
not be aware of how the culture and language of the children's
environment contribute to the linguistic difficulties which
they experience in school. It is hoped that this study will
be of interest to teachers who face this type of frustration,
for it is believed that an awareness of what is involved in
language-changing is essential in facilitating the formal
education of Saulteaux or other Indian children.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Some of the critical terms used in this study are here
defined to show their meaning as used in this particular work.

Culture: This term refers to the "integrated sum total of
learned behavior traits which are manifest and
shared by the members of a society.[3]

Formal education: This refers to education which is obtained
in school, as opposed to the learning which takes
place in the home environment through the process
of socialization. The term is used interchangeably
with "schooling."

Informant: This is a person who supplies cultural and
linguistic data in response to interrogation by an
investigator.

Language Arts Program: In some provinces called the Curricu-
lum Guide, this is the program authorized by the
Department of Education of Manitoba, as a guide for
teachers in Manitoba schools in developing their
pupils' communication skills: listening, speaking,
reading and writing.

Primary Pupils: These are children in their first three
years of formal schooling, excluding Kindergarten.

Saulteaux Indians: This is a group of North American Indians,
who in the "patterns of their speech and manner of

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[3]Adamson Hoebel, "The Nature of Culture," Man, Culture
and Society, ed. Harry Shapiro (New York: Oxford University
Press, 1960) p. 168.

life ... belong to a much larger and geographically widespread ethnic and linguistic group--the Ojibwa."[4] Skinner shows the divisions within the Ojibwa as follows:

1. The Ojibwa proper in Minnesota, Northern Wisconsin, etc., who are (i.e., in terms of pre-White-contact tradition) an agricultural, rice-gathering group.

2. The Chippewa in Lower Michigan and South-Eastern Ontario, who are also agricultural but more sedentary.

3. The Southern Saulteaux, around the north shore of Lake Superior, who are non-agricultural.

4. The Northern Saulteaux, in Northern Ontario and Manitoba east of Lake Winnipeg, who are an offshoot of the Southern Saulteaux but have lost many of their southern traits and have acquired others from the Eastern Cree.

5. The Plains Saulteaux, west of Lake Winnipeg.[5]

The Red Sucker Lake Indians could be considered to be "Northern Saulteaux." Since they refer to themselves as "Saulteaux," this term will usually be employed when speaking of them; when referring to the writings of others the writers'

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[4]A. Irving Hallowell, Culture and Experience, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955) p. 112.

[5]Alanson Skinner, Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, (New York: Anthropological Papers of American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 9, Part 1, 1911) p.117.

terms will be used. Thus at times "Ojibwa" and "Saulteaux" will be used interchangeably. Hallowell, on some occasions calls the Berens River people "Saulteaux"[6] and at other times refers to them as "Ojibwa."[7]

The Saulteaux are named after Sault St. Marie, Ontario, the place where the French first met them in 1640.[8]

Saulteaux Language: This is the language spoken by Saulteaux

> Indians. It is related to the Swampy Cree of
> Northern Manitoba and to the Ojibwa of the Lake
> Superior and Minnesota regions.

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[6]Hallowell, p. 112.

[7]Hallowell, p. 115.

[8]Stephen Taylor Boggs, "Ojibwa Socialization: Some Aspects of Parent Child Interaction in a Changing Culture." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1954) p. 7.

Chapter 2

COLLECTION OF DATA

The investigator was employed as a teacher in the
elementary school at Red Sucker Lake from 1952 to 1967, first
by the Department of Education for two years and then by the
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. There
was an absence of one year, 1964-65, while on education leave,
attending the University of Saskatchewan. Although the study
was not anticipated from the beginning of the period of
employment, it is considered necessary to include the entire
period in this study.

It became apparent very soon after arrival in September,
1952, that the investigator was a "foreigner" in the community
and could converse in English with only about half a dozen
individuals. Lack of communication was even more apparent
between pupils and teacher in school. For the children it
was the first introduction to formal education and they mani-
fested extreme fear and timidity. In order to be able to
communicate at all, and thus be able to understand some of
the children's and teachers' frustrations, an attempt was
made almost immediately to begin to learn their language, and
thus to learn something of their way of life. The year of
education leave, together with another year of attendance at
university in 1967-68, was advantageous in that access to

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anthropological information to some extent enhanced the
ability to collect, analyze and interpret data.

During the fourteen years spent in the community data
were collected by constant observation of children in school
and of others in the community; and by formal and informal
interviews, some of which were recorded.

OBSERVATION

There were countless opportunities to observe and to
participate in Saulteaux life in the community. This included
observation of the ordinary day-to-day life of families in
their homes, as well as the special occasions of births,
marriages or deaths, feasts, sports days, and gatherings
around seriously ill persons. Attending to some of the
medical needs of the community as lay dispenser for Department
of Indian and Northern Health Services gave opportunities to
observe attitudes and conversation regarding illness, injury,
and accidents. Many out-of-school hours were also taken up
with activities like sealing and recording furs for the
Ontario Department of Lands and Forests; registering births,
marriages and deaths for the Department of Vital Statistics;
and assisting individuals with correspondence regarding Old
Age Pensions, Family Allowances, and other concerns. All
these activities provided opportunities to learn to know the
Saulteaux people and their language and, of course, the daily
contact with the children in school was a constant source of
information. In fact, the way they spoke, the way they wrote,

and the way they reacted in general certainly had a part in instigating this study.

INTERVIEWS

Among the four or five adults at Red Sucker Lake who, in 1952, could perhaps be described as being bilingual, was one competent informant who contributed much information regarding the language and culture of the Saulteaux. There were, however, long periods of time when he was out trapping or fishing, when his services were not available. A second bilingual informant was a young Saulteaux man from a neighbouring settlement belonging to the same band as the people of Red Sucker Lake. He was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company as a manager of the store at Red Sucker Lake for approximately two years--1955-1957. Both of these informants were familiar with the Cree language as well as Saulteaux and English. With them more or less structured interviews could be used.

The text, Cree--An Intensive Language Course, by Mary Edwards,[1] was one of the guides used and as much as possible of the Cree vocabulary in the text was translated into the local Saulteaux dialect. A Cree Grammar by H. E. Hives[2] was used in part, and Cree grammatical patterns

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[1]Mary Edwards, Cree--An Intensive Language Course (Meadow Lake: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission, 1954).

[2]H. E. Hives, A Cree Grammar (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1948).

were compared to Saulteaux patterns. Frequently questions based on specific problems encountered by the researcher in daily contact with the Saulteaux were prepared and discussed with informants. Working with informants formally was usually done in the investigator's home. No informant was hired. Mutual interests in language were discovered and then formal sessions were agreed upon. These were of one or two hour duration and were of necessity held in the evenings, since both the informant and the investigator were employed during the day. At times this occurred two or three times a week, and at other times there were weeks or even months with no formal sessions; but some progress was made nevertheless, with informal conversations constantly taking place. A great many of these unstructured interviews and conversations were held with almost every person in the village, where subjects of conversation varied from linguistic problems to village gossip or legends. These took place in the village homes, at the investigator's home, at the trapline, in the berry patch, or wherever the people happened to be.

In all the interviews, formal and informal, useful insights into the thought and life of the people were gained besides the linguistic information that was obtained.

RECORDS

The structured interviews with informants were recorded in notebooks during the interview, mostly in Syllabics, a system of writing which was devised by James Evans for the

Crees at Norway House and dates back to 1840. See Appendix D
for a sample of Syllabic writing.

The use of this method of recording was a response to
the difficulty encountered in the use of several grammar
texts in which orthographic patterns differed, and in the
long run it was found to be more adequate. Besides trans-
lation from the text books, information about local usage was
recorded.

Most other records began basically with lists of
Saulteaux vocabulary, recorded during informal conversation
or immediately after. A pencil and paper were kept in con-
venient places for this purpose. Since the information
initially recorded was often inaccurate in linguistic form,
it was discussed with bilingual informants and modified as
necessary before being entered in the notebook. Explanatory
notes regarding forms of words, related words, grammatical
rules, etc., as well as the names of informants and occasion
of utterance were often added.

The pupils' original writing in school, regarding
their families, their experiences at the trapline, their
aspirations for the future, as well as expressing their re-
actions to visits from "outsiders" were valuable. Some of
these were kept on file.

The investigator's personal diary furnished data that
are helpful in reviewing events in chronological perspective
and in recognizing changes that have taken place over the
years.

SUMMARY

Besides the literature which will be reviewed in the next chapter the major part of the data has come from the Saulteaux themselves. They furnished opportunities in their community for participation and observation. Besides the so called "informants" many other individuals were anxious to have a share in "teaching the teacher" through informal conversation. The written records were a more permanent form of the data which they provided.

Chapter 3

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Some of the literature that is believed to be pertinent
in this study has been explored and a review of these writings
is considered helpful in putting the study in proper perspec-
tive. This resumé includes, first of all, several reports of
anthropological research which has been done in various
Saulteaux communities east of Lake Winnipeg. These help to
organize the observations made at Red Sucker Lake, for,
although Red Sucker Lake culture may not be identical in all
respects to any of the areas described, it has much in common
with other Saulteaux communities. Also included are the
writings of anthropologists and linguists who give insight
into the relationship of a language to the culture of its
users. In the third group are studies done to investigate
some of the difficulties encountered in cross-cultural edu-
cation, especially where the language of instruction is not
the pupils' mother tongue.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN SAULTEAUX COMMUNITIES

Alanson Skinner's notes on the Northern Saulteaux were
given in Part Two of his book,[1] in comparison to those of

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[1]Skinner, pp. 117-175.

Eastern Cree in Part One,[2] and are general in character, not focussing on any one particular community. The Saulteaux of Red Sucker Lake and surrounding area are said to have traits from both these groups,[3] so both parts of the book furnish background information. In spite of the fact that by 1911, when the book was published, some cultural changes had already taken place as a result of contact with Europeans, the light which it throws on aboriginal culture helps in an understanding of more recent descriptions of Saulteaux culture.

A. Irving Hallowell is the author of numerous publications concerning the Saulteaux, especially those on Berens River (See map, Figure 1, page 3) where he conducted field work from the 1930's to the 1950's. His book, Culture and Experience, proved to be particularly valuable because he dealt, in three separate chapters, with the cultural patterning of concepts of space, measurement and time. He observed that "the development of man's mastery of space and the abstract concepts that have evolved along with it cannot be explained in any psychological terms which ignore the cultural factors involved."[4] He stated that concepts of measurement of Berens River Saulteaux remain on an elementary level,[5] and that their means of temporal orientation are "local, limited in their application to the immediate future,

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[2]Skinner, pp. 117-175.   [3]Skinner, p. 117.

[4]Hallowell, p. 201   [5]Hallowell, p. 214.

the recent past ... and phenomena dealt with in their own environment."[6]

In "Ojibwa Ontology, Behaviour, and World View" Hallowell gave an insight into the cognitive orientation of the Saulteaux by considering some of the "ethno-linguistic" problems.[7] Such an orientation no doubt has an influence on the child's thinking and learning through the medium of the English language.

In a fairly detailed account of Ojibwa life at Round Lake, Ontario, Edward Rogers related his observations of the interrelationships between social organization, economic system and religion. He included a lengthy Glossary in which were listed the Ojibwa terms employed in the book with their English equivalents.[8] This Glossary proved to be useful in organizing some aspects of Red Sucker Lake vocabulary since the two dialects have many similarities. The work of collecting data for the Round Lake Ojibwa vocabulary was largely that of Mrs. Jean Rogers. She reported more fully on the phonology and morphology of that dialect in her own publication, Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology.[9]

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[6]Hallowell, p. 234.

[7]A. Irving Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior and World View," Culture in History, Part 1, ed. S. Diamond (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960) p. 23.

[8]Edward Rogers, The Round Lake Ojibwa (Toronto: Art and Archeology Division, Royal Ontario Museum, 1962) pp. 2-16.

[9]Jean H. Rogers, Survey of Round Lake Ojibwa Phonology and Morphology (Ottawa, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Paper No. 4, 1963.

R. W. Dunning's research focussed on the social and economic change that has taken place on the Pikangikum Reservation in Ontario since European contact. His description of kinship and marriage patterns,[10] together with Fred Eggan's chapter "The Role of Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Ojibwa,"[11] and Ruth Landes' discussion of cross-cousin marriage among the Ojibwa of Emo, Ontario,[12] have served as a background in describing the Red Sucker Lake kinship system and especially in accounting for the kinship terminology, some of the characteristics of which persist in the language even after the practices which produced them have been abandoned.[13] Although obsolete among many Ojibwa or Saulteaux groups, the practices in question have still not quite disappeared at Red Sucker Lake.

WRITINGS OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND LINGUISTS REGARDING THE RELATIONSHIP OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Some of the anthropologists mentioned in the foregoing pages have given some insight into the relationship that exists between the Ojibwa language and Ojibwa culture in specific areas, notably Hallowell and Rogers. A language,

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[10] R. W. Dunning, Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) pp. 72-162.

[11] Fred Eggan, The American Indian. Perspecitives for the Study of Social Change (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966) pp. 78-111.

[12] Ruth Landes, Ojibwa Sociology (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1969, Reprint of 1937 ed.) pp. 53-86.

[13] Eggan, p. 91.

whether English or Saulteaux, is not an isolated phenomenon,
but has developed within the framework of a distinct culture.
As the review of the literature is contined, consideration
will be given to how anthropologists and linguists have seen,
in a general way, this relationship between language and
culture.

Here Dorothy Lee's definition of language serves as an
introduction, for she aptly expresses what is understood by
language, but she does not define it apart from the matrix of
culture and thought in which it develops. A language is a
system of symbols by means of which the individual punctuates,
categorizes, shapes physical reality, transforming it into the
world of sensory perception and concept.

> It is not a system of names for passively sensed
> objects and relations already existing in the
> outer world; but neither does it fit experience
> into predetermined molds. It is a creative
> process, in which the individual has an agentive
> function; it is a part of a field, which
> contains, in addition, the world of physical
> reality, the sensing and thinking individual,
> and the experienced reality. In this way, each
> word, each grammatical formation is not an
> empty label to be applied; it has meaning, not
> because meaning has been arbitrarily assigned
> to it, but because it contains the meaning of
> the concrete situations in which it participates
> ... and which it has helped to create ... By
> language, I do not mean only oral or written
> expression, but the entire system of codification
> underlying all verbal expression.[14]

Regarding the relationship between culture and thought
of a people on the one hand and their language on the other,

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[14]Dorothy Lee, Freedom and Culture (Englewood Cliffs,
N.J., Prentice Hall, 1959) p. 79.

Edward Sapir believes that human beings are very much at the
mercy of a particular language which has become the medium of
expression for their society. "It is quite an illusion," he
says

> to imagine that language is merely an incidental
> means of solving specific problems of communi-
> cation or reflection. The fact of the matter is
> that the "real world" is to a large extent
> unconsciously built up on the language habits of
> the group ... We see and hear and otherwise
> experience very largely as we do, because the
> language habits of our community predispose
> certain choices of interpretation.[15]

Sapir further states that it is often naively assumed
that language is merely a "more or less systematic inventory
of the various items of experience which seem relevant to the
individual" but he believes that it is also a "self-contained,
creative, symbolic organization ... which defines experience
for us by reason of its formal completeness and because of
our unconscious projection of its implicit expectations into
the field of experience.[16]

Benjamin Whorf supports Sapir's view, and the fact
that the title "Sapir-Whorf hypothesis" includes both names
shows that there must be some agreement on the idea that
language influences, and even directs thought and behavior.
Whorf explains that "language is not merely a reproducing

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[15]Harry Hoijer, "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis," Language
in Culture, ed. Harry Hoijer (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, American Anthropological Association, Memoir No. 79,
1954) p. 92.

[16]Hoijer, pp. 93-94.

instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself a shaper of ideas, the ... guide for individuals' mental activity ... We dissect nature along lines laid down for us by our native languages."[17]

Whorf also spoke of a "linguistically determined thought world"[18] which seems to endorse Sapir's theory that human beings are "at the mercy of a particular language." Yet it appears, upon closer examination of his writings, that Whorf had a more flexible view of this relationship when he claimed that

> there are connections but not correlations or diagnostic correspondences between cultural norms and linguistic patterns. There is a relation between language and the rest of culture of the society which uses it. There are cases where the "fashions of speaking" are closely integrated with the whole general culture, whether or not this is universally true, and there are connections within this integration, between the kind of linguistic analyses employed and various behavioral reactions...
> These connections are to be found ... by examining the culture and the language (always and only when the two have been together historically for a considerable time) as a whole.[19]

To the question of which was first historically,

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[17]Benjamin Whorf, cited by Lewis S. Feuer, "Sociological Aspects of the Relation Between Language and Philosophy," Theory in Anthropology, eds. Robert Manners and David Kaplan (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968) p. 417.

[18]Benjamin L. Whorf, "The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language," Language, Thought, and Reality, ed. John B. Carroll (Cambridge: Massachusets Institute of Technology Press, 1956) p. 154.

[19]Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality, p. 159.

language patterns or the cultural norms in this network of
language, culture, and behavior, Whorf replies, "In the main
they have grown up together, constantly influencing each
other."[20] This is but an indication that when language
changing is to take place in school, it of necessity involves,
not only languages, but cultures as well.

Like Whorf, J. O. Hertzler emphasizes that he sees
both culture and language as causal factors in this relation-
ship.

> The content, form and uses of the language
> of each community mirror its physical setting,
> its historical events and contacts, its cultural
> level and mental climate, its cultural history
> and texture ... The language of a group is an
> index of most of its characteristics.
> Conversely, cultural and social structures
> are affected by the language system ... The
> language system and the socio-cultural context of
> a society cannot be separated. Each reflects the
> other; each is both cause and effect of the other.[21]

In his summary of what could be considered a modifi-
cation of Sapir's view, Harry Hoijer declares, "The fact of
the matter is not that linguistic patterns inescapably limit
sensory perceptions and thought, but simply that together with
other cultural patterns, they direct perception and thinking
into certain habitual channels."[22]

Hoijer claims that if the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is

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[20]Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality, p. 156.

[21]J. O. Hertzler, "Towards a Sociology of Language,"
Social Forces 32: 111-12, December, 1953.

[22]Harry Hoijer, "The Relation of Language to Culture,"
Anthropology Today, eds. A. Kroeber and others (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1953) p. 560.

valid, it is evident that language plays a significant role in the totality of culture.

> Far from being simply a technique of communication, it is itself a way of directing the perception of its speakers and it provides for them habitual modes of analyzing experience into significant categories. And to the extent that languages differ markedly from each other, so should we expect to find significant and formidable barriers to cross-cultural communication and understandings.[23]

But Hoijer hesitates to accept this and his comments should be an encouragement to all teachers in bilingual schools. He adds that it is easy to exaggerate linguistic differences and the consequent barriers to intercultural understanding. He does not think that any culture is wholly isolated, self-contained and unique. The important resemblances in all known cultures stem in part from diffusion and in part from "the fact that all cultures are built around biological, psychological and social characteristics common to all mankind." Hoijer insists that no matter how wide the difference between cultures may be, intercultural communication is not impossible. "It is simply more or less difficult, depending on the degree of difference between the cultures concerned."[24]

In this connection Douglas Haring believes that although most people can "learn to shift mental gears and acquire new phonemes, vocabulary and even grammar," in inter-

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[23]Hoijer, _Language in Culture_, p. 94

[24]Hoijer, _Language in Culture_, p. 94.

cultural communication "the really tough problem inheres in conceptual relativity--the incommensurability of thought-ways." He explains the problem thus:

> Although the neural mechanisms of human brains are identical throughout the species, people living in different cultural areas learn to use those brains so differently that their thought forms, categories and "codifications of reality" are mutually incompatible.[25]

The "thought-ways" that Haring referred to would perhaps approach what Mary Black meant by "ideational order of reality,"[26] or "ideational culture."[27] She believed that in order to probe into this area of culture an "exploitation of forms of linguistic communication seems an appropriate place to start."[28] Black attempted to do some of this "exploitation" by an investigation of the world-view of the Minnesota Ojibwa. She sought to elicit from her informants information about the world of "living things."[29] In this way grouping was done according to the category labels given them by the culture, so that "the language itself may be an avenue of access to a semantic system."[30] In her dissertation Black has supplied considerable access to this

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[25]Haring, p. 167.

[26]Mary Black, "An Ethnoscience Investigation of Ojibwa Ontology and World View" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1967), p. 2.

[27]Black, p. 10.   [28]Black, p. 42.

[29]Black, p. 121.

[30]Mary Black, "Eliciting Folk Taxonomy in Ojibwa," Cognitive Anthropology, ed. Stephen A. Tyler (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1969) p. 166.

"semantic system" of the Ojibwa, especially in regard to categorization of "living things" in their ideational culture.

Black compared the data she obtained from the Ojibwa of Ponemah, Minnesota, in 1965 to those concerning ontology and world-view that Hallowell had earlier collected at Berens River, Manitoba, and found considerable similarity. Hallowell pointed out that although the grammatical structure of the language of these people formally expresses a distinction between "animate" and "inanimate" nouns, these particular labels were imposed upon Algonkian languages by Europeans "because it appeared to outsiders that Algonkian differentiation of objects approximated the animate-inanimate dichotomy of Western thought." Superficially it seems to be the case but

> if we wish to understand the cognitive orientation
> of the Ojibwa, there is an ethno-linguistic
> problem to be considered: What is the meaning
> of animate in Ojibwa thinking? ... It must not
> be forgotten that no Ojibwa is aware of, or can
> abstractly articulate the animate-inanimate
> category of his language, despite the fact that
> this dichotomy is implicit in his speech. Con-
> sequently the grammatical distinction, as such,
> does not emerge as a subject for reflective
> thought or bear the kind of relation to individual
> thinking that would be present if there were some
> formulated dogma about the generic properties of
> these two classes of objects.[31]

It could be assumed that all these factors, which link the linguistic aspects of a culture to the culture as a whole, bear upon the Saulteaux child's learning of a language that is foreign to his culture.

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[31]Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology," p. 23.

WORKS PERTAINING TO LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS

IN THE CLASSROOM

Cross-cultural education occurs not only in Canada,

but in many other countries as well. Concern about the

problems students face in these confrontations are expressed

by individuals from diverse locations and appear to be

basically similar to those faced by Saulteaux pupils.

John Gay and Michael Cole speaking of an African group

in Liberia state

> The Kpelle are in schools we have chosen,
> Western-style schools, where the culture bears
> little resemblance to the culture of their
> homes ... They are being forced to adjust
> themselves to a Western, technological world
> which is absorbing them whether they wish it
> or not. In school they are confronted with
> new and difficult problems.[32]

Gay and Cole claimed that one type of problem that

impedes progress, even in mathematics, is the linguistic type.

The Kpelle language and the local Liberian pidgin have a

phonology "sharply divergent from standard English," and a

vocabulary that "has many items which radically distort the

usual English meanings."[33] Although this case study focused

on mathematics, Gay and Cole believe that perhaps the reader

can use this material to "gain an understanding transcending

mathematics"[34] and for groups other than Kpelle[35] and indeed

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[32]John Gay and Michael Cole, The New Mathematics and
an Old Culture (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1967) p. 2.

[33]Gay and Cole, pp. 31-32.   [34]Gay and Cole, p. 2.

[35]Gay and Cole, p. 31.

he can, for language is not limited by subject area boundaries but is the medium of communication in every part of the school program. Their emphasis of the need for teachers to be familiar with local culture and language and, in teaching to begin with materials and ideas of indigenous culture[36] is relevant to the Canadian situation of Saulteaux children in English schools.

Miles Zintz, of the University of New Mexico, has undertaken wide scale research in education of minority groups in the Southwest United States. In Education Across Cultures, the ninth and tenth chapters in particular have a bearing on this study, for they deal with teaching English as a second language. The particular difficulties of Spanish-American and Navajo children[37] would not necessarily correspond to those of Saulteaux children, but the linguistic principles involved in teaching English are applicable, and are listed below.

1. Language is oral.

2. Language is habit.

3. Language is arbitrary.

4. Language is personal.

5. Language of a given group of people is neither "good" nor "bad"; it is communication.

6. Language is more than words.

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[36]Gay and Cole, P. 94.

[37]Miles Zintz, Education Across Cultures (2d ed.; Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1969) pp. 255-60.

7. Language is culturally transmitted.[38]
This present study emphasizes the last two principles in
particular.

Of the many participants in Zintz's research study,
only Condie and Ulibarri will be mentioned here. Le Roy Condie
conducted an experiment in an attempt to improve second-
language instruction of five year olds in New Mexico schools.
The results showed that youngsters whose teachers had had
special training in second-language instruction, and had
learned to elaborate the curriculum to provide wider learning
experiences were superior in vocabulary and reading readiness
to the control group, whose teachers lacked the particular
training.[39] That special teacher training is important is
also emphasized by Haracio Ulibarri's study, in which he
showed that teachers are often not aware of the socio-cultural
differences that impinge on the education of children from
ethnic groups. In his enumeration of ten educational problems
of minority groups, he lists "language development" second.[40]

The study of formal education in a small Kwakiutl
village on Canada's west coast, by Harry Wolcott, is an
example of the picture that emerges when, by virtue of their

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[38]Zintz, p. 263.

[39]Le Roy Condie, "An Experiment in Second Language
Instruction of Beginning Indian Children in New Mexico Public
Schools," (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of New Mexico,
1961).

[40]Haracio Ulibarri, "Teacher Awareness of Socio-
Cultural Differences in Multi-Cultural Classrooms" (Unpublished
Doctor's dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1960) p. 14.

separate origins, the school and village are separate entities. "The frustrations issuing from miscommunications inherent in cultural differences are numerous and intense," according to Spindler in his introduction to the study.[41] Wolcott believes that inadequate facility with language or "linguistic deprivation" is a major factor contributing to the lack of school achievement for village pupils, and that it is a problem the school can attempt to do something about.[42]

When teaching pupils who have difficulty producing certain sounds of the English language, the teacher's understanding of the English sound system is a great asset. A description of this is provided by Marilylle Soveran together with a description of the Cree sound system.[43] Many of the differences pointed out for Cree and English sound systems also apply to Saulteaux and English, so the specific teaching suggestions are in many cases also applicable.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the literature reviewed has been divided into three sections. In the first place, reference was made primarily to the descriptions of specific cultures

[41]George and Louise Spindler, Foreword to A Kwakiutl Village and School by Harry Wolcott, p. vi.

[42]Harry Wolcott, A Kwakiutl Village and School (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1967) p. 129.

[43]Marilylle Soveran, From Cree to English (Saskatoon, Indian and Northern Curriculum Resources Centre, 1970) pp. 5-13.

of the Saulteaux communities of Berens River, Round Lake and
Pikangikum, as described by Hallowell, Rogers and Dunning.
Secondly, the works of linguists like Sapir, Whorf, Hoijer,
Black and others have been used to show the relationship of
language and culture in general. And in the final section the
focus was on the classroom where linguistic problems come to
light. Here it was mainly Gay and Cole, Zintz and his
associates, Wolcott and Soveran whose reports were reviewed.

These contributions tend to show that behavior
orientations, for living in general, are likely to be heavily
influenced by characteristics of one's mother tongue, such as
verbal categories or grammatical relationships. These may
differ very significantly from those in other languages, just
as their related cultures contrast in values and patterns of
experience in general non-linguistic ways as well. Specifi-
cally in the context of school experience, relative incompati-
bility between home language and school language may impose
considerable practical handicaps, which can be mitigated when
the language problem is faced clearly, to be dealt with by
well-designed, sensitive procedures.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS OF ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

INTRODUCTION

The data collected for this study, from the Saulteaux themselves, and from reports of ethnographers, linguists and educators, have been organized and reported, not as an isolated ethnographic sketch that would be of anthropological interest only, but as a description of the background of the Saulteaux child who comes to school at the age of six. These six years of pre-school experience that he has had in his own cultural setting where his language provided him with a satisfactory medium of communication in his community, are often ignored by the school system into which he is trans-planted. This results in distressing problems for the pupil and for the teacher. These problems, some of which are linguistic, cannot be ignored if any degree of success is to be achieved in his formal education.

Efforts are being made to grapple with these problems. Within the Manitoba Teachers' Society a Committee on Inte-gration of Indians of Manitoba Schools has been working since 1966 seeking to uncover some of the "integration problems" when Indian and Metis students are "integrated" into schools whose educational system presupposes that children have a more or less middle-class, non-Indian background. The

Committee's findings indicate that the origin of some of the problems can be traced to the background of the Indian children, to the school and the teacher. In a report to the Annual General Meeting of the Manitoba Teachers' Society in 1967, the Committee stated that because of their background the children suffer "deprivation of all sorts." It stressed especially the linguistic background as a source of difficulty when it spoke of

> Lack of communication--Indian children think in one language but the school program is arranged in another language. The white culture is a talking culture. Indian culture has always been a silent one. There is no language background and very little provision for kindergarten where a language background may be acquired ... Lacking the English language and background that white children have, they (i.e., Indian children) soon fall behind, retardation of progress sets in early in school life and is compounded as school work becomes more difficult.[1]

To further support the idea that the pupil's background plays an important part in giving rise to these problems, the Committee suggested that in order to proceed more auspiciously in Indian education, educators would do well to re-examine the basic traits of Indian and non-Indian society. Among others, the following are prominent examples.

1. Indian society in the past has not required oral language for all purposes and all occasions to the extent that white society has. When away on the hunt silence is, even now, more profitable than speech. They are able to

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[1]Report of the Special Committee on the Integration of Indians in Manitoba Schools to the Annual General Meeting of Provincial Council of the Manitoba Teachers' Society, 1969.

relate to one another without oral language, but in many
situations they do speak freely and eloquently.

2. The Indian people do not have the benefit of full
literacy. Although many now can read and write, literacy
is not universally operative in their society. Their
record of the past, for instance, is still transmitted
orally by the older generation whereas white society is a
reading and writing society whose literary tradition is
well integrated in the total way of life.

3. Indian communities, at least in northern areas, are not
really part of industrialized society. Their production
of goods, food and services is still limited and mostly
restricted to their own needs. But for the majority
Canadian society the production of food and other goods
is industrialized. The twentieth century man manipulates
his environment constantly which increases his separation
from nature.

4. A large number of Indian societies are not yet fully
commercialized. They do not buy water or fuel, pay rent,
etc. The sharing pattern is still present in many
communities which prevents the accumulation of goods. In
white society the goods that are produced are purchased
through the use of money, so each one seeks to get money
to procure goods and services.

Many of these differences in traits illustrate what is
implied when the Committee Report suggests that the child is

not required merely to speak English but to "live in English."[2] This is what causes difficulties for the child who has learned to speak Saulteaux and to "live in Saulteaux."

CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF SAULTEAUX CHILDREN

In an attempt to show something of what it means to "live in Saulteaux," the sketch of the Saulteaux child's background which follows, includes a brief description of who he is historically, of his natural surroundings, of the social organization of his people, of the beliefs that his people hold, and of the way they communicate with one another.

Historical Setting

The history of the Northern Saulteaux best begins with the history of the Ojibwa in general. The Ojibwa Indians are said to be one of the best known and most widely distributed tribes of the Algonkian stock.[3] They were first identified in recorded history in 1640 when the French reported their presence near the site of the present Sault St. Marie.[4] The role of European fur trade was an important feature in the history of the Ojibwa. They first traded with the French, then became carriers and guides for the French and their successors, the Nor-Westers. Sometime in the eighteenth century the Ojibwa began moving northwest into the country east of Lake Winnipeg including the upper reaches of the

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[2]Report of Committee on Integration, 1968.
[3]Skinner, p. 117.   [4]Boggs, p. 7.

rivers that drain into Hudson Bay. Here again, as on previous occasions, the Ojibwa came in contact with the Cree, for as late as 1775 Alexander Henry found a Cree village at the mouth of the Winnipeg River. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the

> Cree were no longer to be found to the east, south and west of Lake Winnipeg. Bands of Ojibwa had displaced them ... In the whole area east of Lake Winnipeg, Ojibwa--the direct ancestors of the Berens River population and of other Ojibwa now occupying the eastern tributaries of Lake Winnipeg--had settled.[5]

Some of these families migrated from the Lake Winnipeg area "to seek unused lands in the north."[6] It could be assumed that some of these were the ancestors of the Red Sucker Lake Saulteaux. The demand for furs supported and encouraged the perpetuation of their ecological adaptation-- hunting.[7] In spite of the growing dependence of the Indians on commercialism, Dunning claims that there were many groups whose "hunting territories were remote from developing areas and therefore remained for a long period almost completely isolated from the new civilization."[8] Consequently, groups like those at Red Sucker Lake have retained a hunting and trapping culture to a certain extent.

The settlement of Red Sucker Lake proper became per-

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[5]Hallowell, Culture and Experience, p. 115.

[6]Dunning, p. 5.

[7]Hallowell, Culture and Experience, p. 119.

[8]Dunning, pp. 4-5.

manent less than fifty years ago, although the exact year is
difficult to determine as it was gradual. Previously the
people had lived at Island Lake, from whence groups of trappers
dispersed to their traplines every fall and returned the
following spring. For some groups this meant going as far as
Red Sucker Lake, a distance of about fifty miles, and beyond
that into Ontario. When the Hudson's Bay Company began to
operate an outpost on the shores of Red Sucker Lake and furs
could be sold there as well as essential items purchased,
the Saulteaux began to build log dwellings and remain for
longer periods of time. By the 1940's most of them went to
Island Lake for only a few weeks in summer to visit. The
Hudson's Bay Company built its first permanent post at Red
Sucker Lake in 1949.

Informants claim that the more aggressive of the
Island Lake Saulteaux were willing to leave the reserve and
establish themselves at Red Sucker Lake, where fish and game
were more abundant. Also in this way the trappers were not
so far removed from the trapping areas assigned to them by the
government. However, in 1967 the Red Sucker Lake Saulteaux
were still members of the Island Lake Band.

Ecology and Economy

Red Sucker Lake, located near the intersection of 94th
west meridian of longitude and 54th north parallel of latitude,
empties into the Red Sucker River, which flows via God's River
and then Hayes River into Hudson Bay. This area of Manitoba

is underlain by Precambrian rocks forming part of the
Canadian Shield. The whole landscape is studded with lakes
and tracts of muskeg that are linked by streams and rivers.
Coniferous as well as deciduous forests cover the land area.

A great deal of food is still obtained from the
forests and lakes, but not to the same extent that it was
done half a century ago. Their sustenance includes fish,
large game like moose, small game, waterfowl, and wild
berries. With the presence of a Hudson's Bay store in the
community, store-bought food is becoming more and more
important to supplement the natural food supply, and some-
times could be considered the main source. The introduction
of welfare cheques in recent years makes it much easier to
neglect the fish nets.

Game is not plentiful enough in any one area to
support a large population, so need drives the people far
apart. Trapping units were traditionally extended families
or groups of close relatives and this was still the case at
Red Sucker Lake in the 1950's. In fall the family, dogs and
most necessary items such as blankets, cooking utensils, etc.,
were transported to the trapline by canoe, and in late
December they returned by dog team.

The pattern of hunting subsistence has undergone signi-
ficant changes at Red Sucker Lake since about 1960. Most of
the women and children remain behind in the village while the
men go trapping. In this way the children's attendance at
school has improved and the amount of income from furs has

declined, since less time is spent trapping and air transportation absorbs a great deal of the profit.

This does not mean that children are completely out of contact with trapping. Most of the primary pupils in 1967 had spent part of their lives at the trapline, and now when many of them no longer go trapping as a family, the school-aged children together with their mothers and grandparents still enjoy trapping the weasels and muskrats that can be found near the village. So, although changes in the original hunting patterns have been introduced, hunting and trapping still form a part of the background of Saulteaux children.

Social Organization

The social environment of the child is no less influential than the natural environment in the formation of concepts and thought patterns which his language reflects.

Kinship organization. Besides the parents, other members of a Saulteaux community contribute to the training of children. Since residence patterns are largely patrilocal, the village is so organized that the child's immediate neighborhood consists mainly of paternal relatives. Children often help with chores in relatives' homes, receive meals there and receive instruction and even reprimand from certain "uncles." Children become aware at an early age that certain individuals in the neighborhood are potential marriage partners and others are not. For example, the tradition of cross-cousin marriages has not yet fully disappeared from

Red Sucker Lake society and the children's behavior towards "cousins" in the "sibling" cetegory is different from that towards "cousins" in the "potential mate" or "in-law" category. A fuller explanation of this pattern is given in Chapter 5 where the terminology connected with it is discussed.

Very few "outsiders" are introduced into Red Sucker Lake society for most marriage partners are selected, by parents, from within the village or at least from within the Island Lake Band. Thus the Red Sucker Lake community appears to be a fairly closely knit social group.

Life cycle. Child training the world over is in certain important respects identical. In all societies the helpless infant gets his food, digests it, evacuates waste products and bites and kicks at will. He must be changed into a responsible adult obeying the rules of society. The way in which this change is brought about differs from one society to another. A brief survey of how this training takes place in Saulteaux society, or in the community of Red Sucker Lake in particular, furnishes further background information on the experiences and ideas that a child brings to school and which the teacher tries to understand.

Whether a child is born in a hospital or at home, during the first week or two he has usually been introduced to the "mossbag." In this wrapping, with moss used as an absorbent, the child spends the major portion of his first year--sometimes longer. The bag is fastened to a tihkinakun

(cradleboard) and on the mother's back, the baby accompanies
its parent while she does her chores, goes to the store, etc.
Every effort is made to make children independent at an early
age. Physical punishment is rarely used. Forms of punish-
ment that have been observed are withholding food, ignoring
the child or teasing him until he cries. Threats about the
wintiko or the okima (store manager) are used as deterrents.
for deviant behavior.

The transition from childhood to adulthood is an
important phase in the development of a Saulteaux individual.
Although girls at Red Sucker Lake, when reaching the age of
puberty, are not confined to an isolated lodge without food,
as Skinner claims they were in years gone by,[9] they are
barred from community functions and do not attend school for
a week or more. When they again appear in public they are
known as "young women," not as children. Boys are prepared
for their role as a hunter from the time of their birth.
Often toy guns and slingshots dangle from their mossbags and
duck's tail feathers adorn their caps as babies. Every grouse
or muskrat that a boy kills is a step toward manhood and with
great pride he accompanies his father or older brothers on
the hunt and learns the details of correct procedures. Al-
though vision-seeking does not appear to be practised at
Red Sucker Lake now, boys are still taught that they must be
adequate to themselves, and many of their activities prepare

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[9]Skinner, p. 152.

them for a more or less lonely life as a hunter.

Old people are honoured, obeyed and respected. Grand-children are expected to do chores for them and often live with them temporarily in order to help, or stay there on a permanent basis.

The life cycle of Saulteaux individuals is divided into a number of stages from infancy to old age. The terms used by the Red Sucker Lake Saulteaux to describe these stages are approximately as follows: (The terms employed at Berens River differ slightly).[10]

Oskawasis	— newborn infant (first few weeks)
Katakopisoc	— baby in mossbag (to 1 year)*
Kapapampahtoc	— toddler (age 1-3)
Napesis, Ihkwesis	— boy, girl (age 4 - puberty)
Oskiniki, Oskinihkwe	— Young man, young woman (puberty to marriage)
Nape, Ihkwe	— man, woman (married people)
Kisenini, Nocikewis	— old man, old woman (aged)

*Ages are approximate.

Religion

In 1958 - 59 when Rogers was engaged in anthropological research at Round Lake, Ontario, he came to the conclusion that the religion of the Ojibwa there consisted of two parts--the aboriginal and that derived from Christian missionaries. "Objective ritual is primarily Christian," he says, "while

[10]Hallowell, Culture and Experience, p. 231.

other beliefs and attitudes are predominantly native ... At many points Christianity and native religion merge, or are inter-locked ... Ill luck, for example may be explained as due to witchcraft or to God who has withheld his favour."[11]

Undoubtedly, the coming of Christian missionaries has substantially changed the religious beliefs and practices of the Ojibwa, and has weakened their traditional religious system. However, some of the persisting beliefs included in the world view of the Ojibwa can be identified by an investigation of their classifications of phenomena--"through the semantic aspect of their language."[12] Black made a study of the arrangements of "living things" that exist in the ideology of the Minnesota Ojibwa and arrived at the conclusion that the heart of their belief system rests in the semantic contrast between two categories of living things.

1. anišinabeg (human beings) are those who do not inherently have "control power."

2. adiso.kanag (spirits) are those who inherently have "control power."[13]

The Ojibwa domain of "those who are living" includes the following: "all varieties of human beings; of animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects; of plants and trees and of supernatural beings." In addition some natural elements

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[11]Edward Rogers, p. D 2.

[12]Black, Ethnoscience Investigation, p. 1.

[13]Black, Ethnoscience Investigation, p. 170.

(i.e., sun, moon, winds, stones, one kind of shells) are included and others (i.e., clouds, another kind of shells) are not.[14] However, stating these in English language categories is misleading. In particular, said Black, the classes "supernatural beings" and "natural elements" are not distinguished by informants when responding in Ojibwa. Hallowell recognized a class of beings, the members of which are not in the Ojibwa class anišinabeg (humans) but are closer to human beings than the other classes of the animate world. He chose to call this class "persons who are not human beings." This explains why a bear, for example, is considered not as an animal with ursine properties only, but rather as an animate being who has ursine attributes and also person attributes, for a bear "understands what you tell him."[15]

Table 1 has been constructed from a simplification of the information given by Mary Black in Figure 4C "Minnesota Ojibwa Taxonomy."[16] The items included in Column 2 are only a small sample of those given by Black for each category. Many of the boundaries of categories can not be thought of as rigid for transformations can take place. An Indian, for example, can be transformed into a cannibal giant and vice versa.

A word of explanation about the overlapping of categories should help to clarify the relations. Any of the

[14]Black, Ethnoscience Investigation, pp. 171-72.

[15]Hallowell, Ojibwa Ontology, p. 36.

[16]Black, Ethnoscience Investigation, pp. 104-106.

categories in Column 1, may also be included in <u>adiso.ka.nag</u>
(Column 4)--either by possessing inherent "power" or by
"power" conferred upon them. But any of these categories may
also be considered <u>pawa.jiganag</u> (Column 5). For example,
when a crow appears in a dream it may become an <u>adiso.kan</u>
(spirit helper), but since it appeared in a dream, rather
than by some other means, it is also in the <u>pawa.jiganag</u>
category.

Religion to the Saulteaux does not have sharp
boundaries, for religious concepts and practices overlap with
many other areas of their lives. For example, their concepts
concerning animals and fish as being capable of possessing
"spirit power" (See Table 1, Column 4) would likely influence
their hunting and fishing practices. The hunter himself
cannot be successful without "power."

In spite of ambiguities and lack of sufficient infor-
mation in some areas, the categorization of "living things,"
as discussed by Black and Hallowell, indicate that in the
belief system of the Ojibwa there appears to be no clear
distinction between human and animal categories, for a bear
belongs to both; between natural and supernatural, for the
sun and the <u>wintiko</u> (cannibal giant) are in the same category;
between living and non-living, for some stones are said to
possess life while others do not.

The non-Indian teacher and the teaching materials used
in school, however, presuppose that these distinctions are
precise and the way various phenomena are presented in school

Table 1

Classification of "Living Things" of Minnesota Ojibwa
as Elicited by Black

1 Ojibwa Categories	2 Items	3 Nearest English Equivalent	4 5 Overlap of Other Categories
aniŝinabeg	Indians Whites Negroes	human beings	
awasi.yag	lion bear	large animals	
manidoweyisag	mink mouse	small animals	adiso.ka.nag (with derived power)
manidosag	snake	reptiles	
	ant fly	insects	
binesi.yag	eagle crow	birds	
gigo.yag	sturgeon whitefish	fish	pawa.jiganog (spirits that appear in dreams)
netawigingin	trees grass	plants	
Adiso.ka.nag (spirits)	culture hero canoe spirit thunderbird cannibal giant	supernatural beings	
	sun moon stones winds	natural elements	adiso.ka.nag (with inherent power)

--a bear as strictly animal, the sun as strictly natural, and stones as strictly non-living, etc.--is bound to be perplexing to the child. The pupil's own arrangement of concepts and feelings, as his vocabulary indicates, are apt to make a practical difference when he tries to comprehend the teacher's behavioral world or to speak in English about his own.

Language

Spoken language is not the only means of communication and Saulteaux people have language habits that are non-verbal but are well understood by members of the group. The cultural kineses or body movements that accompany speech are really a part of it. English speakers move hands, arms, shoulders, eyebrows, etc. but the Saulteaux largely restrict their body speech movements to the head and its parts. "Pursing the lips, extending the lower lip and pointing with the chin are the most notable," says Sealey.[17] To the untrained eye these may appear to be "impolite" but perhaps no more so than the waving of arms appears "impolite" to one unaccustomed to it. Because of the need for silence in a hunting and fishing economy Indians developed forms of non-oral communication, and many of these are still with them.[18] Much learning takes place without the use of language for "a child learns by

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[17]Bruce Sealey, "Language Problems of Cree Indians" (Winnipeg: Lecture to Teachers of Frontier School Division #48, approximately 1968).

[18]Andre Renaud, "Education from Within," (Paper presented at the Ontario Conference on Indian Affairs, November, 1965, London, Ontario).

watching adults ... Verbal instruction is rare and brief."[19]
Nowadays, however, occasions that call for oral language
probably exceed those that call for silence and the precise,
clear and beautiful Saulteaux language[20] is appreciated and
used extensively.

The language spoken in this Manitoba community has, in
this study been referred to as Saulteaux, and it has been
pointed out that it contains elements of both Cree and Ojibwa
languages. In fact, if the series of dialects, from the
Ojibwa of the Great Lakes region to the Cree in Alberta, could
be considered a chain and the particular dialect of each
community as a link in this chain,[21] it is not surprising
that Round Lake and Berens River dialects are similar but not
identical to the Red Sucker Lake dialect. That the vocabulary
and grammatical structure is more closely related to what is
described as Ojibwa (where Cree and Ojibwa are divergent--in
many areas their structures are the same), and that Rogers
has identified the language of this area as Northern Ojibwa[22]
in spite of maps by Skinner[23] and Driver[24] showing Red Sucker

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[19]Boggs, p. 114.

[20]Bruce Sealey, "Indians and Metis: Canadians Plus or
Minus?" English Quarterly 3: 29, Spring, 1970.

[21]Richard Diebold Jr., "Determining the Centres of
Dispersal of Language Groups," International Journal of
American Linguistics 26: 5, 1960.

[22]Jean Rogers, p. 94.   [23]Skinner, p. 10.

[24]Harold Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1961) Map 42.

Lake in the Cree area, should not be considered to be a
matter of confusion but a verification of the fact that the
dialects occur in a series, each related to that of a
neighboring community but not necessarily identical to it.
Not only are Cree and Ojibwa both languages of Algonkian
stock, but there has been frequent contact between the two
groups of Indians throughout history to the present. Hence,
the linguistic boundary is not clearly defined,[25] and Red
Sucker Lake is in this undefined area.

As far as the practical linguistic difficulties of
Saulteaux pupils in school are concerned, the identity of the
language may be of little significance. The difficulties
that children of various dialects experience, can be expected
to emanate from similar sources. The fact that Red Sucker
Lake Saulteaux is but a link in a chain of related dialects,
and the fact that there is a considerable degree of intelli-
gibility between it and Swampy Cree, as well as between it
and the Ojibwa farther east, may well have certain advantages.
Research findings, that result in teaching helps being devised
for teaching English to pupils of one dialect, would, no doubt
have implications for pupils of other dialects. Teachers who
have familiarized themselves with the linguistic aspects of
one group of people could, in transferring to another group,
make use of previous knowledge and experience in overcoming
language problems.

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[25]Dunning, p. 6.

The use of English is, at Red Sucker Lake, confined to the classroom since most parents are unable to converse in English. Only one pupil, out of the sixty in school in 1967, had parents who were both bilingual, but in this home as well as in all others, Saulteaux was the language spoken. All the adults, with very few exceptions, are able to read and write their language in Syllabics. This system of writing, although first used for Cree, is easily adapted to Saulteaux and other Algonkian languages, in fact, it seems to minimize dialectical differences. Literature published in Algonkian languages is limited but Cree Bibles can be found in every village home. Cree and Ojibwa pamphlets are also read. Letters to relatives in other areas or in hospitals are written frequently. If "illiterate" means "unable to read or write" it does not describe the Saulteaux of Red Sucker Lake.

SUMMARY

The need for research into the underlying factors related to the cause of the linguistic problems of Indian children when learning English was seen in the concern expressed by Manitoba Teachers' Society. Therefore by a study of the historical, economic, social, and religious environment of the children, an insight can be gained into what surrounds the child, and what things would be of interest to him. For a six-year-old child to make a sudden shift from "living in Saulteaux" to "living in English" in school can be upsetting. A teacher's familiarity with the pupil's background would

certainly be an asset in incorporating into the program and activities of the school, some of this Saulteaux life, thus making the shift less painful and the school environment more compatible for the child.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC DATA

This chapter is not intended to be a complete analysis
of the Saulteaux language. It is an attempt to use the
collected data to show how a Saulteaux child's first language,
which he has used exclusively during the first five or six
years of his life, has provided him with an entirely satis-
factory medium of communication for his way of life.

VOCABULARY AND CULTURE

When anthropologists consider language in terms of its
lexical, morphological and syntactic components, they claim
that it is in the lexical aspect "that we find the most
reliable correlations between the rest of culture and language."[1]
It is the relationship of the Saulteaux vocabulary to the
cultural patterns of the Saulteaux people that will be dis-
cussed here. Greenberg claims that "vocabulary holds, as it
were, a mirror to the rest of culture"[2] but does not mean that
the English vocabulary holds a mirror to Saulteaux culture.

[1]Charles F. Hockett, "Chinese Versus English: An
Exploration of the Whorfian Theses," Language in Culture ed.
Harry Hoijer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) p. 108.

[2]Joseph H. Greenberg, "Linguistics and Ethnology,"
Language in Culture and Society ed. Dell Humes (New York:
Harper and Row Publishers, 1964) p. 28.

Henle is in agreement with Hockett and Greenberg when he states:

> We see every reason to believe that as part of our common sense psychology a people should have words for objects with which they are concerned and that they should lack words for objects with which they have fewer dealings.[3]

Vocabulary and Environment

> Since culture is largely dependent on the environment, especially where technology is relatively undeveloped, we have an argument suggesting at least that vocabulary and general ways of acting are effects of a common cause, so one may be the index of the other.[4]

In other words, Henle suggests that both vocabulary and culture are to some extent related to the environment, so they could reflect one another. There is no doubt that the Saulteaux's role in relation to the environment has changed considerably from what it was traditionally, but compared to technology in urban centres, the technology of the Red Sucker Lake Saulteaux could still be considered "relatively undeveloped." And since their "natural" surroundings include lakes, rivers and forests, one can understand that their "general ways of acting" would include employment such as fishing and hunting; consumption of fish and game as part of their diet; and that rivers and lakes would be used for transportation in summer and winter. Saulteaux vocabulary is

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[3]Paul Henle, "Language, Thought and Culture," Language, Thought and Culture ed. Paul Henle (Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 1958) p. 4.

[4]Henle, p. 6.

precise in describing these activities and objects which they are concerned about. For example the general term "water" is usually translated as nipii, but "open water" (after all the ice is gone) is saakakamin, "open water along the shoreline" (when the ice begins to recede in the spring) is waasotoskotek, and "he falls into the water" is pakopise. None of these terms contain the general word nipii, yet in English "water" must be used in a phrase or a whole sentence to describe each of the phenomena. (See Table 6, page 79).

Another example is the concept of seasons, where again Saulteaux vocabulary is more precise than English, for seasons and weather are important to a people who must of necessity spend a great deal of time outdoors. To English speaking Canadians a year generally consists of four seasons, whereas the Saulteaux Canadians speak of six seasons, each with distinct characteristics and activities. (See Table 5, page 78).

Pipon (winter) is referred to as a "hard season" because of the extreme cold, deep snow, difficult travelling conditions and the economic difficulties resulting from the fact that supplies of food and money from fur have been exhausted during holiday feasts, yet cannot easily be replenished because trapping is poor when snow is deep. Even lifting fish nets and snaring rabbits take considerable effort during this time.

During siikwan (spring) the snow melts, the ice disappears, the ducks return and the people rejoice. There

is plenty of activity for it is the time for trapping muskrats and hunting waterfowl. This is followed by minohkamin (literally "good water"--the second spring) is a short season after break up when the air is comfortably warm yet is free from mosquitoes. Fur is sold and canoe travel and visiting begins.

Vegetation grows rapidly during niipin (summer) and berries ripen. Mosquitoes are abundant and the many outdoor social gatherings are accompanied by smudges to keep the insects away.

Takwaakan (fall) is the time when the lake freezes and the people prepare for winter by putting up wood, winterizing homes, fishing for the dogs and eventually proceed to the traplines. Travelling is difficult but it must be done, for this is when trappers go out for their main catch of the year. During pihcipipon (a second fall) the lake is covered with ice, extreme cold has not yet set in and the most extensive trapping of the year is done.

The human beings who surround an individual and with whom he interacts also form a part of his environment. A Saulteaux person has a network of relatives who can be identified by the use of a distinct vocabulary. Kinship terms have a more prominent place in Saulteaux vocabulary than they do in English vocabulary, because relatives are usually not addressed by personal names, but by terms of relationship. It has been observed again and again that only when needed for clarity will a relative be referred to

by name. If the term nimitet (my sister) would cause
confusion in the listener's mind, he would inquire which
sister was meant, and, even then, a description such as "the
one who is married" would be given, as if personal names were
used only as a last resort. Proper names are used in
addressing offspring, but Landes explains that "all other
relatives should be addressed by terms of relationship."[5]

Even more rigid seems to be the practice of not using
personal names in referring to the deceased. "The one who
left us," or "the one who is not" are commonly used if death
occured recently; if in the more distant past, he may be
referred to by terms of relationship.

The pattern of cross-cousin marriage has resulted in
an interesting pattern of kinship terminology. Actually it
divides a generation into two categories: "siblings" whom one
cannot marry and "cross-cousins" who are potential mates.[6]
Figure 2 shows these two categories in Ego's generation. The
symbols C, D, E, F, and G represent Ego's "siblings," while
A, B, H, and I represent her "cross-cousins." Hence the
males A and H in the "cross-cousin" category are her potential
mates. This makes the parents of A and H her parents-in-law,
and B and I her sisters-in-law potentially. Eggan has pointed
out that "marriages that do not fit this pattern are treated
as if they do as far as the application of terms is concerned."[7]

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[5]Landes, p. 14.   [6]Eggan, p. 88.

[7]Eggan, p. 88.

So if Ego does not marry A or H, but marries a non-relative, she would still use the term <u>nicahkos</u> (my sister-in-law) for the sisters of A and H, the same term that she would employ when referring to her husband's sister. (See Table 11, page 83) Eggan further claims that the terminology is retained after the behavior patterns change, but since the practice is declining, he predicts that the vocabulary will reflect this in the future.[8]

The type of terminology described in the preceding paragraph may sound confusing to the non-Saulteaux, but according to the Saulteaux child's categorization of relatives,

Key
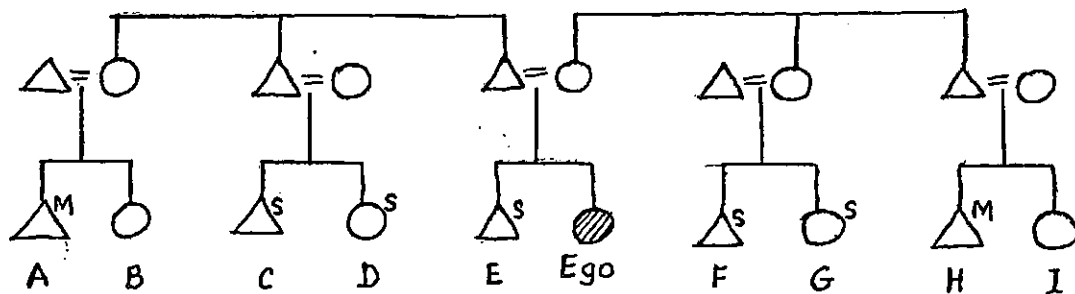
O = female

△ = male

M = potential mate

S = sibling

Figure 2

Categories of Saulteaux Siblings
and Potential Mates

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[8]Eggan, p. 91.

this is perfectly logical; it is the English system of cousins, aunts and uncles, that is well nigh incomprehensible for him.

Vocabulary and Concepts of Space and Time

The differences in spatial and temporal orientation of Saulteaux culture and of non-Indian civilization cannot be attributed to primitive mentality or maturational development or racial makeup. The process of socialization contributes experiential components that must be considered. Some of these acquired components of space and time perception are a function of the cultural milieu in which the individual has been reared.[9]

Hallowell's chapters regarding space, measurement and time furnish the basis of the discussion which follows.

Concepts of space and spatial attributes. In speaking of directional orientation the Saulteaux vocabulary has words that can be roughly equated with north, south, east, and west, but they rely on direct observation of natural phenomena to maintain directional orientation. It is more flexible and "less exact than our own."[10] For example waapanohk means "it is dawn" and is the term for "east." In that northerly region dawn appears in the "south-east" in winter and the "north-east" in summer, so "east" shifts considerably from season to season.

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[9]Hallowell, Culture and Experience, pp. 201, 234.

[10]Hallowell, p. 190.

Closely integrated with directional orientation is the knowledge of the topography. The men, in particular, possess a phenomenally rich knowledge of details of the terrain. Language crystallizes this knowledge through the customary use of place names[11] as in the case of the water route from Red Sucker Lake to Island Lake which was travelled frequently by canoe. When accompanying a Saulteaux family on a trip along this route it became very evident that each of the six portages enroute had a name, as did each tiny lake and creek. However, these were local place names and may not be known to Saulteaux of other areas.

The spatial attributes, according to Hallowell, include distance, length, and area. In measuring distance Hallowell emphasizes the fact that in the culture of English speaking Canadians distance away, distance apart, or length can be brought "under the same conceptual system of measures." Saulteaux, in their vocabulary do not have any such common units which are applicable to all classes of linear measure-ment. "This means that such measures as they employ are not comparable nor is it possible to convert measures of a lower order into those of a higher order and vice versa."[12]

Traditionally, the Saulteaux measured distance in units of activity. Journeys are measured in the number of times one will sleep enroute. The number of days a trip takes does not depend only on linear distance but also on weather conditions,

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[11]Hallowell, p. 192.   [12]Hallowell, p. 205.

size of load, etc. In terms of their calculation the distance between points travelled by water has been reduced with the introduction of the outboard motor; actual linear distance is inconsequential for them.

Where measuring manipulable length is involved, matching is the common method used, rather than with an intermediary step of using a ruler. When making moccasins the foot is placed directly on the moose-hide and the outline of the foot is scratched with a stick. Another example from observation is the recanvassing of a canoe. The new canvas is placed upon the inverted canoe and cut to the right size. Paces and arm-lengths are also used as measurements. It is amazing how uniform the mesh of a nylon fish net can be made using only the span of the thumb and forefinger as a measure. In manipulable area, excellent quantitative judgements can be made but not where area of considerable magnitude is concerned.

Certainly, nowadays, many Saulteaux have, through acculturation, been introduced to units of measure such as miles, yards and feet, but for many purposes their terms of measurement still "prove satisfactory under the conditions of life which their culture imposes."[13]

Concept of time. In Western civilization time is thought of as a collection of hours, minutes and seconds. Thus the habits of saving time and adding time have come into existence. Time can be divided or filled up, but such is

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[13]Hallowell, p. 207.

hardly the Saulteaux view for to them time is a sequence of experiences. To the question "How long ago?" the reply might be "When my father was a boy." "How old is your child?" was on one occasion answered with "He was born the year there were so many foxes." In Saulteaux communities time is not designated by meals as "after supper" for their meals are irregular. Their rhythm of daily activities "is elastic in the extreme and except when motivated by hunger or necessity, they are dictated to a large degree by circumstances and by whim."[14]

Until introduced by Europeans, the Saulteaux did not have clocks or calendars, nor were they needed. The terms in the vocabulary for both these items are related to the sun. Piisimohkan (clock) is an artificial sun and piisimomasinahikan (calendar) is a sun writing or book. With the coming of missionaries came the introduction of Sunday and the seven day cycle of weeks. The days of the week, which have no doubt been named after contact, are named in reference to Sunday as can be seen in Table 2.

It was pointed out earlier when describing the life cycle of a Saulteaux individual in Chapter 4, that, rather than a chronological year count, life is divided into a number of terminologically distinguished age grades corresponding to maturation stages. Many parents at Red Sucker Lake still prefer to use terms for age grades rather than the exact

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[14]Hallowell, p. 223.

Table 2

Days of the Week in English and Saulteaux

English	Saulteaux	Literal Meaning
Sunday	Ayamihewikiisika	Praying Day
Monday	Anohkikiisika	Work Day
Tuesday	Niisikiisika	Second Day
Wednesday	Aapitawahk	Half-way
Thursday	Kiciaapitawahk	Great-half-way
Friday	Pakwesikankiisika	Flour Day
Saturday	Maatinawekiisika	Rations Day

year count, when referring to the age of their children.

Events in the distant past are frequently correlated with the life span of certain deceased relatives. What can't be referred to in this way is simply described to have taken place "long ago." Hallowell claims the limit in attributing events to the past is about 150 years. Beyond that "we are plunged into a bottomless mythological epoch."[15]

It thus becomes evident that, although some of the Saulteaux understand and make use of standard measurements of space and time, for many there is little demand for these or for a high level of abstraction.

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[15]Hallowell, p. 231.

OTHER ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE

Besides the culture-reflecting vocabulary of the Saulteaux language, its sound system and its grammar differ from English patterns to such an extent that they contribute to the language problems young children have when they try to learn English.

Speech Sounds

The human speech organs are capable of producing a great variety of sounds, but only a selected number of these are used as important signals in any given language. A number of sounds that occur in English do not occur in Saulteaux, so have not been incorporated into the speech habits of Saulteaux children before they come to school.

Using Soveran's list of English speech sounds as a guide[16] the sounds used in the Saulteaux language are compared in Tables 3 and 4. The information regarding Saulteaux is that received from informants at Red Sucker Lake and from Jean Rogers. Where the sounds of the two languages are very similar, they are given as "similar," even though a phonetic specialist may not think of them as being the same.

An important difference between English and Saulteaux consonants is voicing. For example, in English the difference between /p/ and /b/ is that /p/ is unvoiced and /b/ is voiced.

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[16]Soveran, pp. 6-8.

Table 3

Comparison of English and Saulteaux
Sound Systems - Vowels

English*		Saulteaux++
s<u>i</u>t	Similar	i m<u>i</u>si "firewood"
s<u>e</u>t	None	
s<u>a</u>t	None	
s<u>o</u>t	None	
b<u>u</u>t	Similar	a m<u>a</u>sinahikan "book"
p<u>u</u>sh	Similar	o anim<u>o</u>s "dog"
f<u>i</u>r	None	
s<u>ea</u>t	Similar	ii s<u>ii</u>pi "river"
<u>a</u>te	Similar	e t<u>e</u>pwe "truly"
b<u>oa</u>t	Similar	oo n<u>oo</u>kom "now"
t<u>oo</u>th	None	
b<u>oi</u>l	None	
s<u>ig</u>h	None	
cr<u>ow</u>n	None	
<u>ou</u>t	None	
f<u>a</u>ther	Similar	aa w<u>aa</u>sa "far"

Semi-Vowels:

<u>y</u>es	Similar	y ka<u>y</u>e "also"
<u>w</u>ell	Similar	w <u>w</u>aahkahikan "house"

*The sound referred to is that underlined in each English word.
++Showing the symbols used in this report.

Table 4

Comparison of English and Saulteaux
Sound Systems – Consonants

English*		Saulteaux[++]	
Stops:			
pill	Similar,	p	pipon "winter"
bill	(No distinction		
	p and b)		
tear	Similar,	t	tepakop "seven"
dear	(No distinction		
	t and d)		
coat	Similar,	k	kekat "almost"
goat	(No distinction		
	c and g)		
choke	Similar,	c	manicoos "insect"
joke	(No distinction		
	ch and j)		
Fricatives:			
fine	None		
vine	None		
thin	None		
this	None		
see	Similar,	s	saakahikan "lake"
prize	(No distinction		
	s and z)		
she	Similar,	š	mišiin "many"
treasure	(No distinction,		
	sh and s)		
hat	Similar	h	mistuhe "much"
Nasals:			
moon	Similar	m	maaskoc "maybe"
noon	Similar	n	nipii "water"
sing	None		
Others:			
rest	None		
last	None		

*The sound referred to is that underlined in each English word.
[++]Showing the symbol used in this report.

Grammar

By anthropological standards no language is considered primitive, for each language has a definite grammatical structure. Saulteaux grammar resembles that of other Algonkian languages, which all differ markedly from English in grammatical patterns. These differences will not be explored in depth here, but some of those which stand out as contributors to the difficulties experienced in learning English as a second language, will be pointed out.

In the Saulteaux language the verb is by far the most important part of speech, as it is in Cree.[17] It expresses action as in the case of the English verb.

Sakiha - He loves.

It also conveys thought as to subject and object.

Osakihan - He loves him.

In addition reference may be included as to the degree or extent the action was performed.

Sasakihan - He loves again and again.

Osakihakason - He pretends to love him.

It is in the verb that gender is expressed. In Saulteaux this does not refer to masculine, feminine and neuter but to "animate" and "inanimate" or as Hives puts it "the possessing or not possessing of life."[18] That this categorization is actually not quite accurate, since it is imposed by Europeans, is explained by Hallowell in "Ojibwa

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[17]Hives, p. 7.   [18]Hives, p. 8.

Ontology, Behavior and World View"[19] and was referred to in Chapter 3. Black's informants described sun, moon, and some stones as "living things," which differs from the European view but, in any case, the gender distinction is shown in the verb forms.

Ihkito nape — The man says (Animate Subject)

Ihkitomakan masinahikan — The book says (Inanimate subject)

Niwaapama — I see him (Animate object)

Niwaapantan — I see it (Inanimate object)

The Saulteaux verb refers to the number of both the subject and the object of its action.

Niwaapama — I see him (singular object)

Niwaapamak — I see them (plural object)

Owaapaman — He sees him (singular subject)

Owaapamawak — They see him (plural subject)

Saulteaux has another feature of number that is learned by Saulteaux youngsters but is strange to those outside of Algonkian circles. Where English is ambiguous in the first person plural, in Saulteaux this can be expressed more precisely by the use of the two forms, kiinawind (we – inclusive) which includes the speaker and the one addressed, and niinawind which excludes the addressee. When used in a sentence it is the verb that shows the distinction.

Kiwaapamamin — We (incl.) see him.

Niwaapamanan — We (excl.) see him.

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[19]Hallowell, Ojibwa Ontology, p. 23.

Perhaps the importance of the verb in the language is a reflection of the fact that in the Saulteaux culture, life seems to be one of events and activities rather than of things. The sentence, <u>Mahkisinihke</u>, which would generally be translated as "She makes moccasins" (pronoun-verb-noun), would be more accurately translated as "A-moccasin-making-activity-is-being-carried-on-by-her." Many sentences consist of inflected verbs rather than of subjects, verbs and objects.

SUMMARY

The world, as it is perceived by the child, is in large part filtered through the medium of his mother tongue. Consequently the Saulteaux child's perception of his environing world is reflected in his vocabulary, but not in the vocabulary of English--the language of the school. This culture-oriented vocabulary, as well as the system of sounds and grammatical structure of the Saulteaux language, are contributing factors that bear upon the child's acquisition of fluency in English.

Chapter 6

LINGUISTIC DIFFICULTIES OF SAULTEAUX PUPILS

According to the school program, "growth in speaking
ability is directly related to the experiences and oppor-
tunities for expression offered by the environment." But
the "speaking ability" that is required in school often has
little to do with the "experiences ... in the environment"
so it is not surprising that "growth" is often retarded. The
problems that cause this retardation appear to be numerous
and varied, and by examination of pupil performance against
the objectives of the program of studies light will be shed
on the type and extent of the difficulties. Since the emphas-
is in this study is on language, the logical subject area to
consult is the Primary Language Arts Program, particularly
the section on "Spoken" English.

It must be realized that Oral English in any school,
and certainly in schools with Saulteaux children, is not
confined to the first three years of school, for it is
developed continuously as a child progresses through school.
Nor is it confined to certain periods of the day when
Language Arts is scheduled on the time table, but it inter-
penetrates all school subjects and activities. Since Spoken
English is basic to Reading and Writing[1] it is extremely

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[1]Primary Language Arts, Grades I - III, Department of
Education, Province of Manitoba, 1968, p. 1.

important that this area receive particular attention in the beginning years of the child's school life in order to establish acceptable patterns that will facilitate further formal education.

The following four objectives are a summary of the nine objectives listed in the "Speaking" portion of the Primary Language Arts Program for Manitoba.[2] (See Appendix A for complete list).

1. To develop in the child the ability to articulate words clearly and pronounce them correctly.

2. To help the child establish acceptable patterns of language usage.

3. To help the child extend and enrich his vocabulary.

4. To help the child develop the ability to express thoughts and feelings about his experiences in the environment.

Keeping in mind the children's background, an attempt will be made to point out some of the difficulties that Saulteaux children have in meeting each of these four objectives of the Oral Language Program which are assumed to be objectives of the teachers as well.

SPEECH SOUNDS

The first objective is "to develop in each child the ability to articulate words clearly and pronounce them correctly." Children are hesitant to speak when an opportunity is given them in school, but when they do express an idea

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[2]Primary Language Arts, p. 7.

sufficiently audibly for the teacher to hear, it is discovered that they are saying "hiss" instead of "yes", and "Baun is shig" instead of "Paul is sick." Although it may appear at first as though the child is careless in pronouncing words, an examination of the Saulteaux sound system reveals the fact that English has certain phonemes which do not appear in Saulteaux. These the child has had no occasion to learn to say. By examining Table 3, page 64 and Table 4, page 65, it will be noted that in the English sound system the consonant stops consist of four pairs of voiced and unvoiced consonants; /p/-/b/, /t/-/d/, /c/-/j/, /k/-/g/. The Saulteaux child finds it difficult to hear the difference, since he is conditioned to consider variation in these pairs of sounds as irrelevant. This does not mean that in Saulteaux the /t/, for example, is identical in all words for it varies from unvoiced /t/ as in mitik (tree) to partially and fully voiced /d/ as in niikikentan (I know it).[3] But in Saulteaux it is never a signal that changes the meanings of pairs of words that are otherwise the same as in English in "time" and "dime," for example. Unless specifically taught to distinguish between them, a Saulteaux child's pronunciation of "pig" and "big" will be the same, as will "chop" and "job" or "crow" and "grow".

Then there are the fricatives, which in English are also in voiced and unvoiced pairs, /f/-/f/, /th/-/Th/, /š/-/ž/. The first two pairs are foreign to Saulteaux altogether. Not

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[3]Jean Rogers, p. 96.

only can the difference not be heard between unvoiced /f/ and voiced /v/, but many pupils encountering these sounds will confuse them with stops /b/ and /p/. Thus "Joseph" becomes "Chosep" and "five" becomes "pibe."[4] /Th/ and /TH/ also cause a great deal of difficulty and sometimes /t/ and /d/ will be substituted for them. Correct position of the tongue must be constantly stressed when teaching these sounds.

The unvoiced /s/ and /š/ are very similar in Saulteaux with only a slight shift in tongue position from one to the other. The voiced counterparts, /z/ and /ž/ are also used in Saulteaux but actually all four sounds are not distinguishing features, and a pupil would confuse "zip" and "sip" as well as "sip" and "ship". The /š/ is particularly hard for the children to articulate.

Also foreign to traditional Saulteaux are the sounds /r/ and /l/. Although they have been introduced into the language through proper names, most youngsters at Red Sucker Lake still have difficulty pronouncing /r/ and /l/ when they begin school. Usually /n/ is substituted for either /r/ or /l/ and the child has learned to say "Rosalie" as "Nosanie" and "Lester" as "Nesten." Once an individual is able to produce the sounds, the /l/ and /r/ are frequently confused. "Rose" becomes "Lose" and "Lazarus" becomes "Razarus."

The vowels seem to cause less difficulty than the consonants but a few troublesome ones should be mentioned.

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[4]Soveran, p. 22.

The long vowels heard in "eat," "ate," "boat" and "site" have equivalents in Saulteaux that are similar, but the vowel sound in "moon" is new and is often confused with /o/ making it "mone" (rhymes with "bone"). The distinction between the short vowels /e/ and /i/ are often confused. Further, short vowels of "cut," "cat" and "cot" will need special teaching if they are not to be produced as the same sound. Of course the English system of spelling does not help in clearing up the confusion, for seeing the words "look" and "moon" in writing would indicate the same vowel sound but confusingly enough this is not the case.

Considering the differences in phonemes in the two languages, the teacher can hardly assume that it is lack of intelligence or a faulty speech mechanism that causes the difficulties. Careful teaching of each individual sound can reduce problems related to articulation and pronunciation.

GRAMMAR

"To help each child establish acceptable patterns of language usage" is the second objective of the Oral English Program. In order to learn the grammatical patterns of a language, practice in listening to a good model and practice in using the language are essential. Yet for the Saulteaux child the teacher may be the only model he has, and practice in using the language may be restricted to the classroom. There may be an attempt on the part of the child to use English words in the patterns of Saulteaux grammar, but he will

find this unacceptable since there are significant differences in the two grammars.

As has been pointed out, the Saulteaux language is a language of verbs. Most teachers of Saulteaux children have in the course of time asked a pupil for the reason for his brother's absence from school and has received a one-word reply; "Work" or "Sick" or "Baby." Eventually the teacher learns that the brother is at home working, or is sick, or is watching a toddler while Mother washes clothes at the lakeshore. Only when the teacher is familiar, to some extent with the structure of the Saulteaux language will he understand that, in that language a verb can express concepts such

as: He works   - <u>anohki</u>

He works for him   - <u>otanohkawan</u>

He begins to work   - <u>maatanohki</u>

He pretends to begin to work - <u>maatanohkikaso</u>

In Saulteaux it is impossible to say the equivalent of the verb "work" (except in the imperative), without including the subject just as <u>anohki</u> does. In English word order is important, but in Saulteaux word order is of less importance than word form. The beginning syllables and endings of words give meaning, the order of words indicates emphasis. The pupil who attempts to arrange nouns, adjectives and verbs in complicated new patterns is bound to find it troublesome.

As a source of constant difficulty for children in their pursuit of the mastery of the English language, gender cannot be overlooked. It has been observed that even adults

who speak English fluently have difficulty here. "My grand-
father is sick, so the nurse gave her some pills," and
similar examples of the confusion of "him" and "her" and "he"
and "she" are common. In the transition from the categori-
zation of animate and inanimate, which was discussed in
Chapter 5, the Indian child must learn an entirely new concept.
And Sealey adds that "the new concept is never completely
understood by many Indians."[5]

Having only one form of first person plural in English
restricts the child who is accustomed to use both an
"inclusive" and "exclusive" form. (See Chapter 5). Having
learned to use "we" (inclusive) when referring to the speaker
and the persons being addressed--usually including the teacher
--he is at a loss as to the term to use at school when
speaking of himself and his family, for example, where the
one addressed is not included in "we" (exclusive). Again he
must re-categorize his thinking and learn that the English
"we" refers to both inclusive and exclusive pronoun forms of
the first person plural.

The addition of "onk" or "ink" to a Saulteaux noun
changes it to the equivalent of an English prepositional
phrase, so a child will often try to inflect the noun to
express position or place. In Saulteaux "house" is <u>waahkahikun</u>
and "in the house" becomes <u>waahkahikunink</u>, so the child trans-
lates this as "houseink." "From Winnipeg" becomes <u>Winnipegonk</u>.

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[5]Sealey, Lecture.

The patterns of language usage do not "come naturally" to a Saulteaux child of six or seven for he has not become accustomed to hear what "sounds right" in English. It will take much careful teaching and concentrated practice until words and sentences are constructed correctly without a great deal of conscious effort.

VOCABULARY

"To help each child extend and enrich his vocabulary" is another of the objectives of the program of studies. This implies that the child has a basic vocabulary which can be extended and enriched. True, the child has acquired an adequate vocabulary in his pre-school years, but since this is not English, it is of little or no use to him in school, and he must start from point zero in building up an English vocabulary. Besides, having learned to categorize and codify according to the Saulteaux vocabulary does not help him in learning English, for the categorization in the two languages is not the same.

The Saulteaux child finds the English vocabulary concerning the phenomena in his environment inadequate in some cases. The Saulteaux of Red Sucker Lake, including children, spend a great deal of time outdoors. Early in the life of a child it is common-sense knowledge that travelling by water cannot be done in a storm, that hunting moose can hardly be done on a calm day for wind is needed to carry sounds away from the animal, and that a layer of fresh snow is ideal for

hunting for it reveals recent tracks. For example, the concept of seasons which was described in Chapter 5, is much more a part of a Saulteaux child's understanding, than of a non-Indian youngster's. Table 5 illustrates the non-correspondence of Saulteaux and English categories of this phenomenon. It illustrates, at least in part, the cause for difficulty in the following example. One pupil described a canoe trip that he had taken with his family but he was unable to give the time of the event. It wasn't in "spring" since all the ice was gone from the lake and it wasn't in "summer" because there were no mosquitoes yet. The teacher, who is not aware of the six-season year of the Saulteaux, would not realize that the child was searching for an English equivalent for minohkamin, and that the Saulteaux child has difficulty thinking in terms of a four-season cycle.

The non-correspondence and lack of precision of English vocabulary as compared to Saulteaux can further be seen in Table 6, concerning the categories of "water."

On the other hand, there are some areas in which English is more precise than Saulteaux. Most of these are related to acculturation and the introduction of new phenomena into the environment by Euro-Canadians. They are not a part of the aboriginal environment, but these too, create problems for the children. Categories of "colours" and "vehicles" as shown in Tables 7 and 8, page 80, are but a few examples.

Another area of extreme difficulty in vocabulary is the kinship terminology. Learning the terms which a person uses

Table 5

Comparison of Categories of Seasons

Saulteaux Seasons	Months	English Seasons
Piheipipon	November	
	December	
Pipon	January	Winter
	February	
Siikwan	March	
	April	Spring
	May	
Minohkamin	June	
Niipin	July	Summer
	August	
Takwaakan	September	
	October	Fall
Pihcipipon	November	
	December	

Table 6

Comparison of Categories of Water

Saulteaux	Categories	English
Nipi	Water (General Term)	
Kiskaayiwa	Deep Water	
Paakwa	Shallow Water	Water*
Saakakamin	Open Water after ice is gone	
Waasotoskotek	Open Water along the shoreline	

*In each case "water" in English needs an adjective to express the idea.

in referring to his relatives is a part of the socialization process. But the categories in which Saulteaux children have learned to classify their relatives simply do not "fit" the English categories and vice versa. When a Saulteaux child learns that his younger male sibling is called "brother" he is quite confident in calling his younger female sibling "brother" also, but to his confusion, he is taught to use "sister" for a person who in his language is in the same category as "brother." Frequently it has been observed that "cousins" have been called brothers, sisters or sisters-in-law. It is not simply a matter of learning new terms and applying direct translation; it means becoming acquainted with an entirely new type of kinship system. To a child of six or seven this is difficult, especially if a non-

Table 7

Comparisons of Categories of Colours

Saulteaux	English
waapisi	white
	grey
mahkatewa	black
miskwa	red
osaawaskwa	green
	blue
osaawa	orange
	yellow
	brown

Table 8

Comparison of Categories of Vehicles

Saulteaux	English
otaapanahk	car
	skidoo
	toboggan
	bombardier

understanding teacher gives the impression that the system of
labelling kin that he has used heretofore is faulty. An
examination of Table 9, page 82, which contains only a
segment of kinship terminology should serve to gain an under-
standing of the cause of difficulty.

How can a child's vocabulary regarding time and space
be extended or enriched, when the vocabulary he does have is
so contrary to what he is introduced to in school? It
becomes, not a matter of enrichment of vocabulary, but of a
new beginning, and the child's formerly acquired concepts of
time and space, and the appropriate vocabulary to deal with
them, now become a barrier to him in the formulation of new
concepts.

The differences in time orientation does cause some
problems in a dual-cultural classroom. The term "nine o'clock"
appears to mean different things to the teacher and to the
pupil and his family. To the teacher it may mean that the
hands of the clock are in one certain position, but to the
pupils it may mean whenever they are up and ready for school,
or whenever the neighbour children can be seen going to school.
Children have been known to arrive at school as early as
7:45 A.M. and as late as 10:00 A.M., often not realizing how
far this was from the teacher's concept of "9 o'clock."

That the Saulteaux people's terms are less precise than
the English vocabulary since they lack the need for abstract
measurements can be seen in Tables 10 and 11 regarding time
and liquid measures.

Table 9

A Comparison of Some Kinship Categories
in Saulteaux and English

Saulteaux	Categories*	English
Nicahkos	My husband's sister (older or younger)	My sister-in-law
	My mother's brother's daughter (older or younger)	
	My father's sister's daughter (older or younger)	My cousin
Niinim	My mother's brother's son (older or younger)	
	My father's sister's son (older or younger)	
	My husband's brother (older or younger)	My brother-in-law
Niciices	My mother's sister's son or daughter (younger)	My cousin
	My father's brother's son or daughter (younger)	
	My male sibling (younger)	My brother
	My female sibling (younger)	My sister
Nimitet	My mother's sister's daughter (older)	My cousin
	My father's brother's daughter (older)	
	My female sibling (older)	My sister
Niteit	My mother's sister's son (older)	My cousin
	My father's brother's son (older)	
	My male sibling (older)	My brother

*Speaker is female.

Table 10

Comparisons of Categories of Time

Saulteaux	Literal Translation	English
ahki	earth, world, country	year
piisim	moon, sun	month
eisek	as it happens or as it goes	week
waakasi	as it goes around (i.e. hands of clock)	hour
tipahikanis	small measurement	minute
		second

Table 11

Comparisons of Categories of Liquid Measures

Saulteaux	Literal Translation	English
		gallon
		quart
minihkwaakan	a measure	pint
		cup

EXPRESSION OF IDEAS

"To help the child develop the desire and ability to express thoughts and feelings about his experiences in the environment," is an objective of the Oral English Course that is related to the three foregoing objectives. That the child's "ability" to deal with the phonemics, morphology and vocabulary of the English language is limited, has been pointed out. And what about the "desire" to speak? One must remember that the child's thoughts and feelings originate in the experiences that he has in his environment. And there is every reason to believe that the Saulteaux child's environment offers him a great many experiences and also opportunities to express his feelings and attitudes towards them. Yet, when given the opportunity for expression in the classroom, the primary child often responds with silence or "I don't know." When the teacher has the aim to develop in the child "the desire and ability to express thoughts and feelings about his experiences," yet is unable to elicit the desired response from the pupil, he may assume that the child lacks experiences, thoughts and feelings, or that he lacks a desire to express them.

However, if the same youngsters would be observed on their way home from school as they collect frog eggs in tin cans or in their pockets, shout to each other as they chase a gray squirrel up a tree; or at their homes when they watch Mother scrape and stretch a beaver pelt, or help Father select the right birch tree to make snowshoe frames, the

observer could not help but realize that the children con-
tinually have "experiences" and are expressing their thoughts
and feelings freely.

Then why the silent response in the classroom?
Although the answer to this question may be complex, the
writer believes that this type of response and the general
linguistic behaviour in the classroom is, at least in part,
attributable to the cultural and linguistic differences
between the teacher, who sets the stage in the classroom,
and the pupil who is expected to conform. The wealth of
experiences that the child has had in his environment is not
what he is assumed to have had according to teacher expec-
tations, so rather than be "wrong" the pupil hesitates to
speak. He is not certain that what he has to say about the
activities and customs of his people will be accepted and
respected.

When pupils do undertake to relate experiences such
as the one that will be described here, there is further
indication that they do have a desire to speak about the
things that surround them. Apparently the three year-old
brother of a member of the class had been missing from his
home one summer afternoon, and although the entire neighbor-
hood joined in the search, no trace of the boy could be
found. After several hours he emerged sleepily from under
the bed in a neighbor's house. The children explained that
the victim had been stolen by <u>Makacewaaskis</u> (a mythological
character who is known for his harmful deeds, done especially

to children) but, because of the concern of the parents, had been returned unharmed and placed under the bed.

It was one of the bolder pupils who began very cautiously to volunteer information about the incident described above, and when it was sensed that the story was not being rejected, others joined him with increasing enthusiasm. The result was a lively bilingual discussion, an extremely informative expression of their thoughts and feelings about an experience in their environment.

A teacher of the class just mentioned could react in several ways to the pupils' expression of ideas. In the first place, he could welcome this opportunity to listen in order to get information about the beliefs that prevail in the child's environment. This is information which the teacher needs, in order to operate successfully in a cross-cultural situation, and which can here be obtained without much effort. In the second place this could be an excellent opportunity to show tactful receptiveness of an idea that may be contrary to the beliefs of the teacher himself. There is little doubt that the child will sooner or later be exposed to views and beliefs that are different from those expressed in the foregoing example, and he may or may not decide to change his mind about his original beliefs, but that is not the point here. If the expression of ideas and beliefs that have become a part of the child's experience through earlier enculturation finds acceptance in the classroom, the channels of communication between the teacher and pupil will be opening,

and the latter can be expected to make further attempts at expressing ideas.

In contrast to the possible teacher reactions already mentioned, the teacher may hear part of the story and when it sounds too fantastic, dismiss the subject and ignore any further reference to it. Or some teacher might use the experience as an opportunity to impress upon the children's minds that this is a "superstitious belief" that must be abandoned if the child is to be successful in the school system. If such is the teacher's reaction, it is not likely that the child will volunteer expression of ideas again for a while. Earlier it was shown that the Saulteaux do not appear to have distinct categories of natural and supernatural phenomena or of animate and inanimate, yet the categories of the teacher's culture are quite distinct. The pupils are reluctant to speak for they do not know beforehand when they might be crossing the boundary between what "makes sense" to the teacher and what may be considered "ridiculous" and be laughed at. And having someone make fun of them is something that Indian children fear greatly, for in their culture ridicule and shame are used as a means of discipline.

When the teacher selects topics for discussion he prefers to talk about trains, or firemen, or a visit to the park, because he is familiar with these, and he may even receive support from the fact that these topics are suggested in the Curriculum Guide.[6] What should not be overlooked is

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[6]Primary Language Arts, p. 30.

that the children have no experiences related to trains
(except from pictures) and as a result have limited thoughts
or feelings to express about them. They are well able to
express ideas about frogs, squirrels or making snowshoes, in
the Saulteaux language, but this is not acceptable in school.
There seems to be, among some teachers at least, an increasing
awareness that the Saulteaux child's environment is a worth-
while topic for discussion, but it is required in most schools
that this discussion be in English. Even then, the teacher
feels less secure in this area because of his unfamiliarity
with the topics.

SUMMARY

During the first three years of school a child is
establishing patterns of speech that will greatly affect his
later school experiences, so that it is important that the
problems he faces in learning English be identified and
reduced early.

In the objectives of the Primary Language Arts Program
can be seen an emphasis on correct pronunciation of words,
the establishment of acceptable patterns of language usage,
vocabulary enrichment and the desire and ability to express
thoughts and feelings. A Saulteaux primary child arrives at
school half an hour before any other children one morning
with important news for the teacher: "I have a little sister.
Her name is Pilip." This is an actual case which, to some
extent, illustrates that there is difficulty in meeting the

objectives in the areas which have been discussed in this chapter.

It will be noted that the pupil said "Pilip" instead of "Philip." For this Saulteaux child, the differences of the sound systems of Saulteaux and English made learning of correct articulation of English words difficult. She further used "her" instead of "his" which shows that dissimilarities of the two grammars cause problems in using the English language correctly. Her use of "sister" instead of "brother" illustrates that the disagreement of the system of categorization and codification of phenomena impede progress in learning the English vocabulary. This particular pupil did manifest a desire to express her ideas in spite of limited abilities. However, the divergence of backgrounds of teacher and pupils frequently makes expression of ideas about experiences in the environment misunderstood, and the pupils are apt to feel discouraged from further expression of such ideas.

Chapter 7

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FACILITATION OF THE LANGUAGE
PROGRAM IN SCHOOL

Many of the pupils' difficulties in English appear to
be related to the lack of continuity between the Saulteaux
child's cultural background and the instruction he receives
in school. In order to overcome this lack of continuity
some changes will be necessary, and since the child is
already equipped with experiential and linguistic background
when he begins school, the place where changes can occur is
in the school. The suggestions which will be made here
indicate the direction in which, if not the full solutions,
at least some substantial alleviations of language problems
are believed to lie. Recommendations for the provision of
more effective teachers for Saulteaux children and for the
implementation of a more effective school program will be
included.

TEACHERS

According to the Primary Language Arts Program the
effectiveness of the language experiences offered by the
school will be measured by the child's growth in the ability
to communicate with others in English. If the children are
not growing in the ability to communicate, Sealey argues,

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"the solution to the problem lies with the teacher, not with the students."[1] Five suggestions regarding teachers in schools with Saulteaux pupils follow.

1. Of extreme importance is the rapport which a teacher establishes with his pupils. Nothing that the teacher has to give will help very much if it is offered with a resentful, patronizing attitude, says Goodwin Watson, in speaking of culturally deprived children.[2] But if the teacher respects the pupils enough to think them worthy of study and attention he can create an atmosphere of ease, friendliness and appreciation in which children are free to learn. When they feel that the school is not trying to erase their home language and their pre-school "education," the learning of a new language need not be such a formidable task.

Rose Colliou believes the main factor in the child's life in making the spontaneous shift from the language at home to spoken English in school is his feeling of acceptance by the teacher. She stresses that the young child "should not feel that his own language is being frowned upon."[3] This basic respect for his language, his values, his whole way of life, according to Hilliard, is related to the possibility for accuracy in communication; in fact, "pupils may forgive a

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[1] Sealey, Lecture.

[2] Goodwin Watson, Foreword to The Culturally Deprived Child by Frank Riessman, p. xi.

[3] Rose Colliou, The Basic Oral English Course (Ottawa: Education Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1960) p. 2.

teacher for almost any error or inadequacy except lack of respect."[4] Despite all other qualifications, it could be the respect for the children and their parents which becomes the deciding factor in determining the teacher's effectiveness.

2. In most Indian schools in Northern Canada, and certainly in all schools in the Red Sucker Lake area, the pupils' mother tongue is not English. Hence, their teachers would do well to receive special training in teaching English as a second language. Macpherson reported that in a study done in California in 1967, the Spanish children receiving instruction from teachers trained in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) acquired a larger speaking vocabulary and a greater ability to express themselves than did a matched group instructed by untrained second language teachers.[5]

Macpherson has developed a program of studies for teaching English as a second language for Indian, Eskimo and Metis students enrolled in the Experimental Teacher Education Course for the Northwest Territories. He feels that the following are the basic essentials that should be included in a TESL program for Indians:[6]

a. Linguistics, or a study of the nature of

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[4]Asa Hilliard, "Cross-Cultural Teaching," _Journal of Teacher Education_ Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring, 1967, p. 34.

[5]Norman J. Macpherson, "The Preparation of a Teacher Training Program for Indian, Eskimo and Metis Students of the Northwest Territories" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1968) p. 2.

[6]Macpherson, pp. 100-114.

languages in general should be undertaken.

b. In phonology the teacher should learn, not only to identify the sounds of English and know how they are produced, but also to master the techniques of presenting this material to his pupils.

c. The structure of English, or grammar, needs to be understood before the language can be taught well.

d. For contrastive analysis to take place attention must be given, not only to the study of the target language "but also to an examination of the native language in order to anticipate these problems and to isolate and teach the particular features that are different and therefore difficult to learn."

e. Teachers must realize the necessity of practising the patterns of language until their use becomes habitual. This Macpherson calls pattern practice.

f. Vocabulary learning occurs on two levels-- first the vocabulary necessary to operate the patterns and to illustrate the pronunciation of the language, then the learning of vocabulary for communication as citizens of twentieth century Canada.

g. The instructor's use of methods, materials and techniques cannot fail to enhance the effectiveness of his performance.

h. Practice teaching in classrooms where English is taught as a second language is thought to be useful for teacher trainees.

3. Teachers need to be trained to be dual-culture
conscious. Hickman feels that sometimes teachers "increase
the barriers to communication across cultural lines."[7] These
barriers could be decreased if teachers were aware of cultural
differences and were willing to accept and make use of these
differences. In order to meet this need the Committee on the
Integration of Indians in Manitoba Schools, a committee of
the Manitoba Teachers' Society, passed the following resol-
ution in 1968.[8]

> Whereas many Canadian Indians have a unique
> cultural and socio-economic background, and
>
> Whereas this background should be understood
> and utilized by teachers of Indian children;
>
> Be it resolved that the Manitoba Teachers'
> Society request the Faculties of Education in
> Manitoba to establish a course especially for
> teachers intending to teach Indian children.

Subsequently such courses were offered by the
University of Manitoba as well as Brandon University. For
example, Brandon University calendar for 1971-72 lists
courses such as: "The Strategies for Teaching Canadian
Indian-Metis Children" and "Introduction to Cree." Similar
courses are being offered in other provinces.[9] Thus educators

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[7]John M. Hickman, "Linguistic and Socio-Cultural
Barriers to Communication," Practical Anthropology 15:68, 1968.

[8]Report of Committee on Integration, Resolution 106.

[9]The University of Saskatchewan has pioneered in this
field and has offered special courses for teachers of Indian
and Metis children since 1961. The Committee capitalized on
this experience in negotiating with the University of
Manitoba.

recruiting teachers for Indian schools find that among the
applicants are an increasing number who have taken advantage
of such courses, and hence could be more suitable for these
schools than teachers who have not had such training. With
this training in cross-cultural education the teacher can
develop techniques for the adaptation of the program in
Language Arts and other subject areas to the needs of the
children in their particular setting.

4. According to Charles Fries, second language
teaching "is always a matter of teaching a specific language
to students who have a specific language background."[10]
Following this idea Macpherson insists that it will be neces-
sary for teachers of students of Indian origin "to take into
account their particular background and ability."[11] Teachers
require not only a general knowledge of how to teach students
from another culture, but also a knowledge of the specific
culture with which they come in contact. It may not always
be possible to acquire this knowledge before coming to the
community, so in-service training may be needed. It will be
necessary, very often, for the teacher himself to take the
initiative in becoming acquainted with the language of his
pupils, with the cultural environment in which they are being
reared, and with parents and relatives, if he is to effec-
tively help the child to learn to express ideas about these
in English and to learn through the medium of the English

[10]Charles C. Fries, Teaching and Learning English as
a Foreign Language (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,
1945) p. vi.

[11]Macpherson, p. 2.

language. In this way the teacher can have at least some understanding of the difficulties that the child has in learning to communicate in English.

5. Throughout this study reference has been made to non-Indian teachers in Indian schools and, while in most schools this is still the case, there are now Indian and Metis individuals who are choosing teaching as a career; Sealey, in 1970, stated that "Their impact on the educational system is even now beginning to be felt."[12] Since 1968 people of Indian ancestry, after a short period of training, have been employed as Kindergarten aides in classrooms in their own communities. They have to some extent helped to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers between teachers and pupils. Gina Harvey, the TESL consultant for Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona, feels that one of the most important factors in the child's success in learning English, is the attitude of his family and peers towards education, and that the use of such aides helps to establish a positive attitude. She "strongly supports the use of bilingual aides and teachers."[13]

Certainly the employment of Indian teachers in schools with Indian children can be considered a step forward in Indian education, for Macpherson believes that potential native teachers "will have a natural advantage through their

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[12]Sealey, "Indian and Metis," p. 30.

[13]The Rough Rock News (Chinle, Arizona), October 20, 1971, p. 2, col. 3.

understanding of the linguistic and environmental conflicts of their pupils, in promoting desirable habits and attitudes necessary for language learning."[14] The average native English speaker, says Harvey, "does not realize the illogic of his language," but a Navajo (or Saulteaux) who has become bilingual has gone through the learning process and knows how hard it is and what some of the snags are.[15] But at present far too few qualified teachers of Indian ancestry are available to staff the Indian schools. The rate at which they do become available needs to be increased, yet only a small percentage of Indian students complete high school and still fewer become qualified teachers. To meet exactly such a need the Brandon University has made provision for mature Indian and Metis students, who desire to teach and who appear to have the ability to do so, to receive teacher-training even when they do not qualify for university entrance. Its first class begins in 1971 with the hope that in 1973 or 1974 these students will be fully qualified teachers. A similar course was initiated in the Northwest Territories about four years ago. All this indicates that the number of qualified native teachers is on the increase.

Although Indian teachers have a "natural advantage" over non-Indian teachers, this does not eliminate the need for training in the teaching of English as a second language. Indian teachers may have a greater understanding of the

[14]Macpherson, p. 111.

[15]The Rough Rock News, p. 2, col. 3.

problems encountered, but a knowledge of the steps to be taken in teaching English is still required. When they use the prescribed course of studies for the province, they too need to realize that the curriculum needs adaptation.

The concept of "Indian teachers for Indian schools" does not in itself necessarily spell success. If, for example, a Kwakiutl Indian teacher were employed in a Saulteaux Indian community, he would likely share some of the frustration of a non-Indian teacher in the same position, because Kwakiutl language and culture are far removed from Saulteaux. However, because of the similarities that exist between Ojibwa, Cree, and Saulteaux culturally and linguistically, one would not anticipate major cross-cultural difficulties if they taught each others' children.

Another consideration here is the degree to which these Indian and Metis teachers have become acculturated. Having gone through the process of Canadian education in elementary school, high school and teacher training institutions where the emphasis is on "integration," they have adopted the language and also, to a certain extent, the way of life of the non-Indian society. In some cases they no longer fully share the sentiments and value systems of those who have remained in the home communities. In such instances they could experience difficulties similar to those of non-Indian teachers, yet would possibly have the advantage of being more readily accepted by the people in the community because of their Indian background.

THE SCHOOL PROGRAM

As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the Language Arts Program has been devised primarily for non-Indian pupils, and in trying to meet its objectives with Indian children, problems arise. Yet, even this program of studies in the hands of a skillful, resourceful, cross-culturally trained teacher, need not necessarily lead to negative results.

1. The Primary Language Arts Program for Spoken Language needs to be adapted to the situation at hand. One cannot reject, for instance, an objective that aims to "help each child extend and enrich his vocabulary" even for a Saulteaux child. It is just that such an objective needs adaptation according to the child's need. Likely for the Saulteaux child it should read, "To help each child lay the foundation of an English vocabulary and then to extend and enrich it."

2. The Basic Oral English Course, devised by Rose Colliou in 1960 and introduced into all Indian Affairs schools several years ago, is not merely an adaptation of the Language Arts Program, but a special course for teaching English to Non-English children. It outlines in detail each lesson for the child's first year of school. This course perhaps partly compensates for the lack of teacher-training in TESL, yet if it were followed intelligently, with minor adaptations to the particular group being taught, by a teacher with TESL training, its value could be increased.

3. What has been attempted thus far, has been to suggest ways of mitigating the deep-rooted and extensive language problems of Saulteaux children, but a certain amount of discontinuity is bound to exist in spite of these suggestions, when the child comes to school to face a teacher whose language seems to have no connection with that spoken at home. The use of the mother tongue for the initial experiences in formal education would seem to be a way of establishing a greater continuity between home and school. It has been recognized by UNESCO that "full self-expression can best be attained in the mother tongue" and therefore it believes that every child should begin his formal education in his mother tongue. It could be used as a bridge to learning a second language.[16]

If the child's own language were used as the language of instruction, the objectives of the Language Arts Program discussed in Chapter 4 would probably be more readily attainable. One could expect the child to have only minor difficulties with pronunciation in Saulteaux. The establishing of acceptable patterns of language usage as well as the extension and enrichment of the Saulteaux vocabulary would be a continuation of what has been learned in the home environment. In this way the child would have the opportunity to express his ideas about experiences in his environment in the same language in which he learned about them

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[16]William E. Bull, "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education," Language in Culture and Society ed. Dell Hymes (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1964) p. 528.

initially, for it is hard, if not impossible, for a Saulteaux speaking child to describe his home experiences in a language other than his own.

Using the mother tongue for the initial school experience does not imply that the English language would be eliminated from the entire school program. It would be introduced as a second language about the second year and receive increasing emphasis each year. Approximately by the fourth or fifth year, English would be used as the primary language of instruction, the native language being studied at that stage as a second language.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Since learning and teaching through the medium of the English language present intense language problems, and since many of these problems are believed to be related to the cultural and linguistic background of the pupils, it is recommended that:

1. teachers of Indian children make a special effort to establish rapport with their pupils and show respect for their language and culture.

2. teachers of Indian children receive training in teaching English as a second language.

3. teachers of Indian children be dual-culture conscious and receive training in cross-cultural education.

4. teachers acquire knowledge about the specific language and culture of their pupils.

5. where possible teachers of Indian origin be employed to teach Indian children.

6. the Primary Language Arts Program be adapted by individual teachers to meet the needs of that particular community.

7. the use of the Basic Oral English Course be continued in schools where children have no knowledge of English upon entering school.

8. that the child's mother tongue be used as the language of instruction in the primary grades.

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APPENDIX A

PRIMARY LANGUAGE ARTS PROGRAM
GRADES I - III

SPEAKING

Speaking is the skill used most often to express thoughts and emotions. It is the second of the language skills to develop. It is preceded by and is dependent upon the ability to listen. Growth in speaking ability is directly related to the experiences and the opportunities for expression offered by the environment. Speaking involves many factors which must be developed as far as is possible by each child as he matures. The school, then, must plan for the systematic encouragement of the attitudes, skills, and abilities so necessary for effective oral communication.

OBJECTIVES

General
         To help each child develop the ability to express orally, with ease and effectiveness, his thoughts and feelings.

Specific

1. To foster and develop in each child the desire to express orally his thoughts and feelings.

2. To develop in each child the ability to:

   a. verbalize experiences and ideas with confidence
   b. articulate words clearly and pronounce them correctly
   c. speak fluently, naturally, and easily
   d. control his voice so that it is pleasant and effective

3. To help each child:

   a. extend and enrich his vocabulary
   b. establish acceptable patterns of language usage.

4. To help each child develop the power to select, organize and express his thoughts so that his contributions are worthwhile

5. To encourage in each child the habit of speaking and responding courteously in any group situation

APPENDIX B

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON THE INTEGRATION OF INDIANS
IN MANITOBA SCHOOLS

Resolution No. 74 (Provincial Executive) 1968
M. H. Dudar - B. Lefteruk:

WHEREAS there exists a dearth of teachers academically
equipped to cope successfully with the special problems
existing in schools where students of Indian extraction are
enrolled; and

WHEREAS the number of classes containing students of Indian
extraction is increasing with the greater mobility of the
Indian people and the placement by the Indian Affairs Branch
of Indian Students into classes of non-Indian students; and

WHEREAS the teacher training institutions and teacher
recruiting agencies of this province are at present not
offering "before the job" and "on the job" professional
training to equip teachers to cope more successfully with
classes in which culturally deprived pupils are enrolled; and

WHEREAS there are educational problems which are common to all
culturally deprived and some culturally different groups
regardless of where they live;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Manitoba Teachers' Society urge the
following:

        The Department of Education of this province;
        The Faculties of Education of the Universities,
        The Indian Affairs Branch for Manitoba Region, and
        The Frontier School Division No. 48

to initiate the following courses of action as they apply to
their areas of involvement in teacher preparation and in-
service professional development;

  a) Establishment of student teaching assignments in more
     classes where culturally deprived students are registered.

  b) Initiation of pre-certification and post-certification
     inter-cultural courses.

  c) Preparation and authorization of curricular material
     adapted to the needs and experiences of the culturally
     different child.

APPENDIX B (continued)

d) Establishment of practicums for new teachers whose assignments will be in classes where the culturally different are enrolled.

e) Orientation programs to familiarize teachers with the problems of the culturally different student and with modified curricula.

SAMPLE PAGE FROM LANGUAGE COURSE
BY MARY EDWARDS

GROUP V   Lesson 23

1.   BASIC SENTENCES

It's summer.	Niipin.
Go for berries	Nitawi-mine.
Let's go for berries.	Maahti nitawi-minetaan.
Where shall we go?	Taanti ke-itohteyahk.
Camp.	Kapesi.
island	ministik
on the island	ministikohk
Let's camp on the island.	Kapesitaan ministikohk.
mosquito	sakimiis
There are many mosquitoes.	Sakimiiskaaw.
last summer	niipinohk
berries	miinisa
But last summer there were many berries there.	Niipinohk maka kii-miiniskaaw ekota.
It rains.	Kimiwan.
It's going to rain.	Wii-kimiwan.
yesterday	otaakosihk
day before yesterday	awasi-otaakosihk
It rained the day before yesterday	Kii-kimiwan awasi-otaakosihk
It is fall.	Takwaskin.

APPENDIX D

THE LORD'S PRAYER
IN CREE SYLLABIC CHARACTERS

ᑲᐳᐯ ᐧᒥᐦᕿ ᐅᑕᔪᒥᐦᐊᐧᐃ

ᓄᑕ ᐃᐧᐊ ᑭᐦᒥᑭᑯᒍ ᐁᐊᔪᕒ
ᑭᑕᑭᓀᐳᐦᒑᑲ ᑭᐃᐦᐅᐃ
ᑭᔪᐛ ᐃᐧᐃ ᑭᑕᐃᐅᒥᒢᕒᐸᕒ
ᐁᐅᐳᐦᑕᒪ ᑕᐃᐃᐦᑭ ᐅᑕ ᐊᐱ ᑭᐧ
ᑲ ᐃᑭ ᐃᐦᑭ ᑭᑯᒍ
ᒥᕒᐛ ᐊᓄ ᑲᑭᑭ ᕿ ᐅᐦᒥᐊᒪᐣᑭᕒ
ᐁᑲᐃᕒ ᐱᕒᕿᕒᐦᑕ ᓂᒪᕒᒍᐸᐃᐧᓂᐛᐊ
ᕿᐊᕒ ᐁᑲ ᐱᕒᕿᕒᐦᑕᒍ ᑲᒪᕒᒍᐸᐊᐃᕒᕐ
ᒪᕒᐧᐧᓂᐛᐧ ᑭᓕᐁᑲᒪᕒᒍᑕᒻ
ᐸᕒᐅᔪᐦᐊᒪ ᐃᐧᐛᐧ ᑲᒪᕒᔪᑕᐣ
ᐱᕒ ᑭᔪᐛ ᐃᐧ ᒥᐊ
ᐁᑲᓐᕒᐃᐧ ᒥᐊ ᑭᐦᕒᐃᐧᐧ
ᑲᕿ ᒥᐊ ᑲᕿ ᐁᒍᐧ