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**A STUDY OF INDIAN ENGLISH
AND ITS EFFECT ON
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE**

by

Pamela Dale Hansen

B.A. (special), University of Alberta, 1976

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (EDUCATION)**

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of

Education

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ABSTRACT

The present study examined the speech of forty Grade 6 and Grade 9 Native and non-Native students in one school district in British Columbia to determine whether or not the speech of Native students showed dialect features distinctive from their non-Native peers and to examine the pedagogical implications of perceived and real speech differences. The two speech situations were the Teacher/Student interview and the Student/Student film narrative, which required one student to tell another of the same ethnic background about a film they had just seen. The speech samples were analysed for: (a) nonstandard grammatical and vocabulary features, (b) intonation differences via subjective and objective means, (c) differences in the use of the historical present or past tense in film narrative, and (d) conformity to Labov's normal narrative. Results indicated that there were no significant differences between ethnic groups in the use of nonstandard grammar or vocabulary. Native students showed slightly more variation in intonation than their non-Native peers at the Grade 6 level. There was no difference in the use of main tense between Native and non-Native students at either grade level. Native students at both the Grade 6 and Grade 9 level tense-switched less frequently than their non-Native peers. There was no difference between the two groups in conformity to Labov's narrative format at the Grade 6 level. At the Grade 9 level,

more non-Native students used Evaluation than Native students. More Grade 9 Native students perceived themselves as Native-sounding than did Grade 6 Native students. This finding contrasted with that of the Teacher/Listener who was able to identify only one-fifth of Grade 9 Native students as opposed to four-fifths of the Grade 6 Native students. The results suggest that nonstandard speech cannot be identified as an inhibiting factor in school for this particular group of Native students, that these Native students do not have a flatter intonation than their non-Native peers, and that there is some indication that other factors must be contributing to older students' self-perceptions of differentness.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEM	1
Objective of the study	1
Research questions	7
The nature of the study	11
Methodology	11
Summary	12
CHAPTER TWO - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	14
Dialect research	14
Oral and written discourse	22
Past and historic present	28
Film narrative	29
Intonation	30
Summary	31
CHAPTER THREE - METHOD	33
Subjects	33
Selection procedure	35
Listeners	36
Apparatus	36
Procedure	37
Discourse medium	39
Grammatical features	40
Narrative form	41
Intonation	41
Past and historic present	42
Summary	42
CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS	44
Introduction	44
Grammar	44
Use of past participle for simple past/Deletion of auxiliary	45

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Double negative	46
Other non-standard features	46
Frequency of tense-switching	48
Labov's normal narrative	51
Main tense	57
Intonation	61
Center for speech technology research data	61
Teacher/Listener intonation opinion	63
Student opinion poll	68
Summary	70
 CHAPTER FIVE - DISCUSSION	 72
Introduction	72
Discussion of non-standard grammar	73
Discussion of intonation	73
Labov's narrative framework	74
Discussion of tense-switching and main tense	78
Register change	80
Discussion of dialect	82
Conclusions	83
Suggestions for further research	86
Pedagogical implications	87
 APPENDIX A - Film questions and procedures	 92
APPENDIX B - Film descriptions	97
APPENDIX C - Center for Speech Technology Research: Sentences analyzed	100
APPENDIX D - Kent's study of fundamental frequency	105
APPENDIX E - Coding manual	108
APPENDIX F - Transcripts of No Main Tense (NMT) narratives	111
APPENDIX G - Dialect opinions	114
REFERENCES	120

LIST OF TABLES

		<u>Page</u>
TABLE 1	Number of Native (N) and non-Native (nN) Students in Each Experimental Group	40
TABLE 2	Grade 6: Number of Tense Switches in Film Narrative	49
TABLE 3	Grade 9: Number of Tense Switches in Film Narrative	50
TABLE 4	Total Number of Switches in Film Narrative	50
TABLE 5	Grade 6: Number of Students in Each Category of Labov's Normal Narrative	53
TABLE 6	Grade 9: Number of Students in Each Category of Labov's Normal Narrative	54
TABLE 7	Grade 6: Use of Direct Speech	55
TABLE 8	Grade 9: Use of Direct Speech in <u>Awful Fate of Melpomenus Jones</u> (AFMJ)	56
TABLE 9	Grade 6: Number of Non-Native Students Who Used Past (P) and Historic Present (HP) For Their Main Tense	57
TABLE 10	Grade 9: Number of Native and Non-Native Students Who Used Past (P) and Historic Present (HP) as Their Main Tense	60
TABLE 11	Grade 6 Film Narrative: Normalized Standard Deviation	62
TABLE 12	Range of Normalized Standard Deviation	63
TABLE 13	Grade 6: Teacher/Listener Opinion on Group Identity	65
TABLE 14	Grade 6: Teacher/Listener Perception of Register Change	66
TABLE 15	Grade 9: Teacher/Listener Opinion on Group Identity	66
TABLE 16	Grade 9: Teacher/Listener Perception of Register Change	67

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
TABLE 17 Do Native People Speak Differently?	68
TABLE 18 Do Native People Speak Differently?: A Summary	69

CHAPTER ONE

Objective of the study

This research was undertaken to determine whether or not a dialect which has been loosely termed "Indian English" exists in the speech of a group of Native Indian school children in a British Columbia school setting. The basis for this study was a plethora of research in Britain and the United States in the 1970s and early 1980s examining Black American and British Black dialects of English. At the same time, researchers were examining varieties of American Indian English. The research on Black dialects of English was primarily focussed on the effect of non-standard speech on Black children's academic performance while the Indian English research focussed on ancestral language interference. In Canada, research on non-standard dialects of English and their effect on school performance was virtually non-existent, yet there was little doubt that the speech of a large minority population was a concern among Canadian educators. This minority comprised Native people. Colliou (1965) wrote of Indian students' lack of fluency in English; Lane (1970) wrote of Indian students' "impoverished language"; Sawyer (1976) stated that Indian students had developed an interlanguage; in 1982, Nakonechny and Anderson wrote of a predominant belief that Native students' problems in school would be solved if they learned to speak the standard dialect.

The dialect controversy initially focussed on how the language differences shown by American Native Indian students were related to first language interference. Leap (1974, 1978) studied the relationship of ancestral languages to present day Indians' English speech in order to identify why some forms deviated from standard English. One of the uses made of this approach was to concentrate the teaching of language to the speakers on these deviant forms. In British Columbia, Mulder (1980) and Burton (1982) studied the Tshimshian and Carrier forms of English speech in a similar manner. Focussing language instruction on error correction has since been proven pedagogically unsound for numerous reasons, not least of which is the assumption that one spoken dialect is intrinsically superior to another.

By the 1970s, many, and by the 1980s, most Native children in British Columbia were coming to school already speaking English. More, Macdonald, Stringer, and Willey's (1983) survey of British Columbia projects and programs in Native Education shows that virtually all British Columbia Native language programs were operating as second language programs. Despite the fact that Native children know very little of their ancestral language, their English speech is still seen as inadequate by many teachers for the school situation. Davis (1970) reported that the "problem" of Native children's language was not that a Native language was spoken at home and English at school, but that the variety of English learned and

used at home often differed considerably from that used in school. Burnaby (1982) stated that some educators believed that "Indian English" was the cause of Native students' language problems. The implication was that Native children must learn to speak the school's English. In Britain and the United States (Edwards, 1985, Richards, 1978; Trudgill, 1975) research was showing that not only did changing a child's manner of speech not necessarily improve his or her school performance, but that trying to change a child's speech could have negative repercussions. These discoveries did not seem to lessen the concern about non-standard speech, but to lead to more ingenious ways of eradicating the speech differences. The instructions to teachers of these non-standard speakers evolved from stringent phonological and structural drills (Bereiter & Englemann, 1966), to learning the dialect themselves (Klesner, 1982; Trudgill, 1975) and using it as a teaching medium (Rosen and Burgess, 1980), to developing materials in the dialect (Labov, 1972), to accepting it in their students but nonetheless trying to change it (Province of British Columbia, 1982) to finally ignoring it and hoping it would go away (British Community Relations Commission enquiry, 1976, cited in Edwards, 1984, p.66).

The terms, "deficient", "impoverished", and "disadvantaged" (Bereiter & Englemann, 1966; Lane, 1970; Sawyer, 1976) are no longer used to describe speakers of nonstandard dialects en masse. However, the controversy on the

effects of dialect in the school situation has not disappeared, at least in the area of the speech of Native people in the mainstream classroom. There is still a belief that Native students' speech is one of the sources of their lack of academic success (Burnaby, 1982; Nakonechny and Anderson, 1982). Nonetheless, many researchers have shifted their focus in recent years from how students speak to how they use the language. The reasons for this shift and the implications for classroom practice will be explored in Chapter Two.

The question of a dialect of English spoken by Native Indian students is particularly intriguing because of the 1981 British Columbia Ministry of Education Resource Book combining English as a Second Language (ESL) with English as a Second Dialect (ESD) methodology. The language goal of the combined program was to "develop communicative competence at a level commensurate with the student's peers, according to the full extent of the student's potential, in the areas of listening, speaking, reading and writing" (p. 4). The manual also stated that:

Each dialect is fully adequate and appropriate for use among other speakers of that dialect. The conflict arises when speakers of dialects considered non-standard encounter the dialect accepted as standard by the educational system." (p. 61).

Clearly, discomfort with non-standard speech was still a problem in the school system. The following year, the Ministry

of Education curriculum guide, Language arts for Native students, (Klesner, 1982) stated:

A teacher's knowledge of the local dialect is essential to effective planning in Standard English. . . . For many native students oral language learning at school will be the main source of academic success (p. 18).

Several important factors were disregarded in this Ministry guideline to teachers.

First among these factors was the finding that the spoken language, non-standard or otherwise, can be a strong group identity marker so that trying to change it could in fact have the opposite effect of actually strengthening it (Eastman, 1985). Second, a child will change his or her manner of speaking if he or she sees an advantage in doing so and/or the possibility of acceptance into a social group the child admires or feels will benefit him or her (Trudgill, 1983). Third, that while there is wide-spread support for having a standard written form of the language which is largely adialectal (Hartwell, 1980), there is little evidence that standardizing speech has a positive affect on academic achievement. Lastly, the phrase, "Native students' oral language learning" does not distinguish between how Native students pronounce the language and how they use it. Granted, much of the above-cited research is more recent than the Ministry publication; however, nothing has been published since to correct misunderstandings that may arise from the statements in the manual regarding Native

children's speech. Six years have passed.

The terms dialect and standard are not easily defined except in a very general manner. Dialect, according to Trudgill (1975), is a variety of a language that differs grammatically from any other form of the same language and which may also differ phonologically and lexically. Standard English, which Trudgill stresses is also a dialect, may be defined as the language commonly taught in school, broadcast through the media, and spoken by educated people (Trudgill, 1975).

The point of this study is not necessarily to prove that a group of children use the education system's idealized English, but to determine whether or not Native children's speech differs sufficiently in grammar, vocabulary, and intonation from their non-Native peer group to warrant the label, dialect. As there are no set number of speech variations that designate that one is now speaking a dialect other than the standard, this study will look for forms that are obviously non-standard and which have been identified as non-standard by other researchers of Indian English and non-standard varieties of English. Deletion of the auxiliary verb "to have" or "to be" in a present perfect form (I done it; he gone); deletion of -ed; deletion of -s; inconsistent verb tense; and article absence (Anderson, 1987, p. 57) are some of the forms that will be counted in this study. According to Schmidt & McCreary (1977), "all native [=first language] speakers speak dialects

which are in some ways non-standard" (p. 428). It will be interesting to see if this is true for the age and ethnic groups in this study. If, for example, non-Native speakers use just as many ungrammatical forms as do the Native students, then a major portion of what constitutes dialect can be ruled out for this population. For the purposes of this study, non-Native shall refer to children not of North American Indian ancestry and who have English as a first language, and Native shall refer to children of North American Indian ancestry who also have English as a first language.

Research questions

The specific questions that this research addresses arose first from the lack of research in the area of the alleged dialect called Indian English in British Columbia, and second from the suspicion that dialect in and of itself does not adversely affect school performance. Why was the attention of educators of Native students in British Columbia directed to a supposed dialect that had only been studied in isolated cases by means of a linguistic enquiry into its ancestral roots (Burton, 1982, 1983; Mulder, 1980)? If such a dialect did exist, what empirical evidence was there that (a) trying to change the dialect would be successful or, (b) the change would improve the child's performance at school? Yet the fact that no dialect had been documented and no evidence existed that changing a child's first dialect was possible or necessary, did

not deter educators here from following trends in the United States and Britain long after they had proven unsuccessful there. The history of dialect research in Chapter Two will examine these trends.

In order to determine whether or not Indian English exists or not, Native and non-Native students in the Chilliwack School District were taperecorded. Two speech situations were set up to give students both a formal and an informal setting in which to produce language. The basis for the two speech settings was Lund and Duchan's (1983) study which stresses the well-known notion that children may code-switch according to the formality of the situation they are in. A code-switch may result in a difference in the sounds, vocabulary, or grammar produced. Since dialect is most often described in phonological, grammatical and lexical terms, using at least two speech settings makes sense. In addition, Halliday (1967) states that English intonation contrasts are as grammatical as tense, number, and mood. My first question addresses the situational effect on these aspects of language:

(a) Are there systematic differences in grammar and vocabulary between Native and non-Native students in either a formal or informal speech situation?

(b) Are there systematic differences in intonation between Native and non-Native students in a formal and informal speech situation?

Two age groups, Grades 6 and 9, were chosen to determine if a

dialect present at Grade 6 changed, disappeared, or intensified by Grade 9. Both Richards (1979) and Leap (1974) state that non-standard English speakers often use their form of language as a means of intimacy and identification. If Native children in this research are speaking a distinct dialect, then it is likely that some aspects of it may become more pronounced in the teen years when the need for a sense of identity is strongest. The second question is therefore:

Will the dialect, if present in Grade 6, intensify in Grade 9?

Third, a simple and direct method of finding out whether dialect was an issue among the school children themselves was to simply ask the children whether they thought there was such a thing as Indian English. A perception of language difference both by themselves and by their peers could be an alienating factor for Native children that could affect school performance. The third question is:

(a) Will non-Native school children perceive speech differences in their Native peers?

(b) Will Native school children perceive speech differences between themselves and their non-Native peers?

Finally, as current discourse research stresses the importance of looking at language in context (Hatch & Long, 1980), a study parallel to part of that of Motzer (1986) and Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis's (1968) will be undertaken to

determine if Native children use language differently than non-Native children. Motzer described her subjects' use of the historical present (HP) tense when telling about a film in relation to the school-learned rules: (a) "Answer a question in the same tense in which it is given", and (b) "Once a story is begun in a particular tense, that tense should be maintained throughout the narrative." As it has been implied in many contexts that Native children inadequately control the English of the school system and consequently the English tense system, the two groups, Native and non-Native, will be compared for adherence to these two rules as they tell a friend of the same ethnicity about a film they have just seen. Hence the term, "film narrative" will be used here to describe the entire speech sample produced by each subject in relating the film they had seen to their peer. All students will be given the same prompt--a series of questions to facilitate recall of the film (see Appendix A). Narratives will also be analyzed according to Labov et al.'s (1968) description of a "normal" narrative (see Chapter Two for complete description).

Consequently, the fourth question is:

(a) Will Native children differ in the amount of tense-switching in the film narratives from the non-Native children?

(b) Will Native children's narratives conform to Labov's model as often as non-Native children's?

Once it is determined whether or not a dialect named Indian

English exists or not in the group of students studied, a broader discussion of the effect of non-standard language and related factors on a child's school performance will be presented.

The nature of the study

Because of the extent of the analysis, the number of subjects is limited to 40 subjects, 20 Native and 20 non-Native. It is hoped that the results of this research will clarify the issue of an alleged dialect named Indian English on three accounts. First, the results will show if for this particular population the dialect does or does not exist. The dialect analysis is limited by the use of a set number of non-standard grammatical forms, a technical and observational description of intonation differences, frequency of tense-switching in film narrative, and conformity to Labov's normal narrative. Second, regardless of whether there is surface evidence of dialect, this study will show whether the students themselves perceive language differences between the two groups. Lastly, some suggestions for further research into language-related study are explored that are more likely to result in improved school performance than will a focus on how children speak.

Methodology

To address the questions described above, the following

methodology was used. A short film was shown to 20 Grade 6 students and 20 Grade 9 students. At each Grade level, 10 were Native and 10 non-Native. Each student told the story of the film to another student of the same ethnic group who had not seen it, prompted by a list of questions. Each student also had a private interview with this researcher to provide the second interview setting. During this latter interview, the student was asked whether he or she perceived Native people to speak a dialect of English. All interviews were tape-recorded.

The speech samples were then analyzed in the following order for the following aspects: (a) grammatical and vocabulary differences, (b) intonation differences, (c) differences in the use of the historical present and amount of tense-switching in film narrative, (d) conformity to Labov's normal narrative.

Summary

In this chapter it has been stated that many educators believe that Native children speak a dialect of English which is loosely referred to as Indian English. A further claim has been made that this alleged dialect has an adverse affect on Native children's school performance. These perceptions have not to date been substantiated by empirical evidence.

In British Columbia, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Branch publications implied that a dialect speaker's speech must be changed to avoid conflict with the English of the schools. The present research will critically

examine the field of dialect study and specifically, the speech of a small sample of Native and non-Native students to (a) provide empirical evidence for or against the notion of Indian English, (b) examine the influence of dialect on school performance, and (c) suggest language-based research that would lead to improvement in school performance.

CHAPTER TWO

This chapter reviews past and current literature on dialect research in the areas of Black English in the United States and Britain and Indian English in the United States and Canada to establish a framework for the examination of the subjects in this study. This look at the development of dialect research over the last twenty years is necessary to understand the implications of current teacher practice with non-standard speakers. The manner of speaking English used by Native North Americans is referred to in this study as "Indian English" in reference to American studies where research has already labelled it as such. This term is not used in reference to Canadian Native people. The effect of spoken language differences on school performance is examined to justify the further study of differences in language use. The description of language use in this study will be restricted to a study of the alternation of historic present with past tense in film narratives as well as conformity to Labov et al.'s "normal" narrative form. In addition, children's and teachers' perceptions of language differences will be examined.

Dialect research

In Canada, the notion of dialect has not received much attention from educators or linguists probably because the regional variations in speech are barely noticeable in

comparison to those in the United States or Europe. While many Canadians may attest to differences between "Easterners" and "Westerners", these differences are rarely linguistically based. In other parts of the world, a speaker's origin can be determined the moment he opens his mouth and begins to speak. A Texan cannot be mistaken for a New Yorker, nor can a Londoner be taken for someone from Yorkshire. There are few people, on the other hand, who can distinguish the ~~speech~~ of an anglophone Quebecker from that of an Albertan. Yet when this researcher mentioned to the secretary of one of the schools where this research was to be carried out that the project was trying to determine whether or not Native people spoke a dialect of English, she said, "Is there any doubt?"

Despite this lack of regional variation in Canadian English speech, there has been an undercurrent of postulation about a dialect of English that Native people speak. Mulder (1980), Tarpent (1981), and Burton (1981, 1982) have documented, with a linguist's ear, characteristics of specifically Indian manners of speech with which they are familiar. According to Labov et al. (1968), there are two ways to approach the study of a particular group's language patterns. You may begin with the assumption that the group's speech is different and document all the variants which differ from Standard English and disregard all the similarities with the Standard. In this way, you may claim that all the variants compile the "true" or "pure" dialect. Such research

methodologies have led to claims of verbal or cultural deprivation among speakers who use nonstandard forms of English. Conversely, you may record the vernacular in an excited and spontaneous interaction, be accountable for everything that was said, and examine the uses of that language in that situation. In British Columbia, the English of Native people has not been systematically studied, but teachers have been advised to compile lists of dialect forms that differ from the standard (Klesner, 1982) rather than making an attempt to understand their use in the spoken situation. Labov et al. (1968) were able to refute a number of earlier studies on the deficiencies of Black English by recording the vernacular and concentrating on the speech act itself rather than on the variant forms of English produced by the speakers. This study will do the same for a group of Native school children.

Labov et al. (1968) and Darnell (1985) also stress the importance of the power relation between speakers as regards the amount of speech produced. This is an important point for the study of "Indian English" as Native students are often found to be the "silent ones" in the classroom (Anderson, 1987; Nakonechny, 1986; Phillips, 1972). Labov gives an example of a Black child's simple and unelaborated responses in a test situation, which Labov describes as "asking a lone child questions to which he [the investigator] obviously knows the answers, [and] where anything the child says may well be held against him " (1968, p. 341). Labov then contrasts this speech

sample with the speech produced by the same child in an interview with a close friend about something that excites him. The fact that a child produces more language in comfortable situations than in uncomfortable ones is no great revelation. However, if no comfortable speech production situation is available to nonstandard speakers in the classroom, then teachers' perceptions of a child's oral ability will obviously be skewed. In light of Labov et al.'s (1968) well-substantiated findings of twenty years ago regarding the richness of the dialect called American Black English, it seems incredible that the later studies in the 1970s on Indian English did not draw from his wisdom.

Prior to the 1970s, most remarks on the manner of speech of Native Americans were purely subjective. Colliou (1965) wrote of Native students' "stultified sentences"; Lane (1970) claimed that the English of Native children was an "inadequately controlled" language; Davis (1970) referred to Native children's "reserve-English" that differed "considerably" from the language of their white classmates. At the same time in the United States, Bereiter and Engleman (1966) were referring to the disadvantaged lower class (of which Native and Black people make up a disproportionate percentage) as not only suffering from "cultural deprivation", but as responding to teaching as if they were "mentally retarded or devoid of language altogether" (p. 33). The necessity for some substantive research was obvious.

The initial thrust of research into Indian English was to examine the influence of the ancestral language on the present-day English speech of Native Americans. Leap's (1974, 1978, 1982) and Wolfram's (1979) studies of various Indian English codes recognized that there were distinct varieties of Indian English, that not all Native people spoke English alike, just as a Scandinavian or a German would speak English differently even though their mother tongues are closely related. This branch of research, however, had no useful pedagogical application. Whether or not as Leap (1974) maintains, Native people are fluent in their particular kind of Indian English is irrelevant if educators still perceive that Native children do not have a "satisfactory" level of English (Scott, 1960).

Several excellent reviews of the literature in dialect study pertaining particularly to the English of Native Americans already exist. The currency of these papers is clear evidence that the manner of speech of Native children is still puzzling to educators and requires further research. The dialect discussions of Toohey (1986), Nakonechny (1986), and Anderson (1987) were prompted by the confusion surrounding not only the issue of dialect/language use and school performance, but also the labelling of a particular manner of speech as a dialect altogether.

Toohey's (1986) examination of the literature points out the arbitrariness of the labelling of one speech pattern as a dialect and another as a separate language. For example,

Norwegian and Swedish have far more similarities than do Swiss German and Hochdeutsch, yet the former are separate languages and the latter are considered dialects of the same language. According to Trudgill (1975), there seems to be no set number of features that marks the boundary between dialect and separate language. Such boundaries are set by historical accident or through political and economic forces.

Nakonechny (1986) examines the different expectations of the Native and non-Native cultures regarding the use of language in the classroom. The dominant non-Native culture of the classroom demands talk that conforms to an unwritten, but "understood" list of rules. These rules are often alienating to the Native child because they are unfamiliar to Native culture. Some of these rules include (a) the student responding to a teacher-centred lesson where the child is required to perform before having observed and learned, (b) the student answering questions that the teacher already knows the answer to, and (c) the teacher creating a situation where silence is regarded as ignorance or defiance. While Nakonechny's (1986) research deals primarily with how Native students use language and which teaching strategies will work best with them, she does mention that the dialectal and prosodic features of "Native Indian" English could create an uncomfortable distance between teacher and students.

Anderson's (1987) examination of the effect of dialect on school performance comes to the same conclusion as Toohey

(1986). Both researchers concede that for some educators Native students' manner of speech is a "problem", but neither sees any point in belaboring the issue to the detriment of studying language use by Native students. Anderson's (1987) literature review found no correlation between nonstandard dialectal and rhetorical features found in Native students' writing, and educators' attempts to correct these features. Despite this research, many Native students are conscious that they speak differently and have been conditioned into believing that they cannot do anything right because of their inability to express themselves in the classroom. Some comments collected by Anderson illustrate the alienation felt by Native students in the mainstream:

* I don't like the way I talk I sound like a little boy

* I sound like a backwoods Indian

* It's embarrassing . . . especially if you do a mistake and they all laugh at you

* I'm scared I might sound stupid . . .

* If ya get little things wrong, they bug ya so that's why I don't say nothin' out in class. (p. 136)

The above comments by Anderson's students may in part be due to the Special Education nature of the Outreach program and not specifically to the fact that the students are Native.

However, her students' comments coupled with those gathered in this study show that the surface features of dialect are still

an issue for some students and educators. In spite of her students' unease with the sound of their speech, Anderson feels that the dialectal aspects of language are not as important as a concern for students' oral and written language development.

In the same vein, Toohey (1986) concludes that it is not necessary to prove over and over again that nonstandard dialects are "systematic and logical" (p. 136). Perhaps, however, it is necessary to demonstrate empirically to some people whether or not Native people use language differently from their non-Native peers, whether it be grammatically, intonationally, or functionally.

Evidence abounds in the literature that knowledge of learning styles (Phillips, 1972), cross-cultural communication (Darnell, 1985), and tolerance of dialectal differences (Trudgill, 1975) would make a great deal of difference in the success of the nonstandard speaker in the school system. However, probably the most difficult aspect in the teaching arena to change is attitude. This viewpoint is upheld by Gumperz (1982) who describes some minority groups' inability to improve their social acceptability despite increased ability in English. For the nonstandard speaker who does wish to change his or her manner of speaking, there appear to be barriers other than linguistic ones.

Both Richards (1979) and Edwards (1985) describe the effect of linguistic change from the speakers' point of view. Because speech is so much a part of ethnic identity, the nonstandard

speaker will not change his or her manner of speaking unless he or she can see some advantage in doing so. Most often the speaker does not. Some speakers would see linguistic change as a betrayal of ethnic identity; for others it is simply an unrealistic expectation. It seems that no matter how many times linguists assert that change in language is neither "progress" nor "degeneration", but perhaps "a reflection of cultural change" (Trudgill, 1984, p. 30), non-specialists continue to place a status value on manners of speech according to the social position of the speaker and the power and influence of the speech community (Grimshaw, 1981).

Oral and written discourse

One way of changing one's perspective on the continued controversy surrounding the influence of phonological and grammatical differences of speakers from different cultures on school performance is to examine the body of research in oral and written discourse across cultures.

Tannen's (1980) comparative analysis of the oral narrative strategies of Greeks and Americans reveals the influence that culture can have on thought and therefore on speech production. The subjects of her experiment were asked to retell the story of a film. The content of their film narratives was then analyzed and compared for stylistic variation, description of events, and interpretation of events, among other things, to determine if there were culturally distinctive narrative

attributes. Polanyi (1979) states that:

What stories can be about is, to a very significant extent, culturally constrained: stories, whether fictional or non-fictional, formal and oft-told, or spontaneously generated, can have as their point only culturally salient material generally agreed upon by members of the producer's culture to be self-evidently important and true. (p. 207)

What Tannen (1980) found was that not only did the narratives of two distinct cultures contain "culturally salient" material, but that the structures used also differed. Tannen (1980) discovered that the Greeks in her experiment mixed tenses more often than did the Americans. She also found that the Greeks valued being good storytellers whereas the Americans saw themselves as sophisticated film critics. This observation regarding tense-switching in story-telling narratives is substantiated by Wolfson's (1982) description of "performed stories." Wolfson (1982) concludes that it is the tense-switching itself which indicates what the narrator thinks is most important. She also mentions that direct speech, asides, repetition, expressive sounds, sound effects, and motions and gestures are all present in performed stories. However, she was not working from a cross-cultural perspective. Whether all these elements of performed stories are present across cultures has not yet been studied. Wolfson (1982) also claimed that acquiring good speech samples for the study of the

conversational historic present (CHP), which contained a lot of tense-switching, was not possible in a formal interview situation, but only by means of casual conversation.

Labov et al. (1968) combined the elements of culture, structural analysis, and casual interview in his massive documentation of Black English. Labov et al. recognized the cultural implications of situation on speech production in his research by having subjects from Black gangs relate stories about death and fighting. They found that subjects had no problem producing a great deal of rich language in these "real" situations. They identified parts of a normal narrative for their subjects' informal narratives and defined them through the questions they answered:

- a. Abstract: what was this about?
- b. Orientation: who, when, what, where
- c. Complication action: then what happened?
- d. Evaluation: so what?
- e. Result: what finally happened?

(p. 300)

Labov et al.'s observation of cultural differences in narratives involved the use of internal and external evaluation. Labov et al. defined the evaluation of the narrative as:

the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its raison d'etre, why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at. (1968, p. 297)

The two types of evaluation that Labov et al. reported were "external", where the narrator commented on the events of the story as an outsider, and "internal" where the narrator's evaluation was made as a performer in the story. They found that the form of evaluation used was a function of class, that lower class types would most often use internal evaluation. To Labov, it is the evaluation that determines the interest value of the narrative. The narrators in his research were under a subtle pressure to make their narratives interesting to avoid the withering rejoinder "So what?" from their peers. The subjects in the present research were also under a certain amount of pressure to both make their narrative interesting for their listener who was one of their peers and to perform well for the researcher. In addition, Labov et al. (1968) mentions that only Complicating Action is necessary for recognizing a narrative and that the Abstract, Orientation, and Evaluation are part of an effective narrative. This criterion will be used to evaluate the narratives of the subjects in this study.

The interview situation in the present study differs from both Labov et al. (1968) and Motzer (1986). Labov claimed that his elements of "normal" narrative, (see page 24 for description), would not be present in narratives of "vicarious" experience, such as perhaps, a film narrative. Motzer, who used film narration for her data collection, found this to be untrue, largely because Labov's "normal" narrative form is a typical structure for written narratives as well, and her

subjects were all university-educated with a great deal of experience in the written narrative format. The subjects in the present study belong to two different groups, Native and non-Native, and are between the ages of eleven and fifteen. While they will certainly have had some exposure to the typical written narrative structure, it is quite likely that for many, this structure will not yet be well-established. That is not to say that they will not be able to produce the structure orally, only that there may be other factors influencing the organization of their speech. Some of these are explored in the following studies.

It is generally believed that oral competency precedes written competency developmentally, yet some researchers (Purcell-Gates, 1988) have given evidence that a child's speech will contain written narrative structures if that child has been well read to and others (Tannen, 1982) have shown oral strategies used in the written medium. Rather than pursuing the chicken or the egg line of thought, it is important to recognize the interconnectedness of orality and literacy (Tannen, 1982, 1988). The connection between oral and written language will be explored further below.

Both Labov (1972) and Phillips (1972) in their respective studies of the speech of Black and Native Americans argued that the silence of these two ethnic groups in the classroom was largely due to an absence of culturally appropriate speech situations. Anderson (1987) recognized the influence of a

culturally-based oral and written strategy in her development of classroom activities designed to increase the oral production of Native students and influence their ability to transfer oral strategies to strategies for writing. She had her students work from a narrative genre, in this case a personal impressionable experience, to an academic one where students had to objectify the subject matter. Students were encouraged to ask questions throughout the writing process, hence the name, "talk-write." Because of students' negative experiences with speaking out in class, largely due to teachers' prejudices against Native students, they preferred to write rather than talk. However, due to the intimate relationship between researcher and students in Anderson's study, the talking out of ideas before writing was found to be useful.

Scollen & Scollen (1984) hypothesized that the Athabaskans' object in storytelling was to flesh out their abstract of the story so that the listener could make up their own abstract. Their respect for the listener as an individual precluded there ever being only one version of the story. The Scollens' research is an example of narrative based on an oral tradition. Some of the frustration that a non-Athabaskan might experience listening to an Athabaskan child's story is in a perceived inaccuracy or extreme brevity in the retelling of the story.

Tannen (1982) found that many middle-class families employ

strategies associated with the literate tradition in correcting their children's speech. Examples of these might be: "get to the point" and "two negatives make a positive". Tannen also claims that:

Creative writing is a genre which is necessarily written but which makes use of features associated with oral language because it depends for its effect on interpersonal involvement or the sense of identification between the writer or the characters and the reader.

(p. 14)

It could therefore be concluded from the works of Tannen, Labov et al., and the Scollens that the oral narrative is a culturally based convention, that the literate tradition of the middle class has an effect on the form of the oral narrative, and finally that a culturally appropriate situation for speech production is paramount for an accurate portrayal of the child's oral ability.

Past and historic present

The use of the past and historic present tenses in the narrative was a key element in the work of Tannen (1982) and Motzer (1986). Tannen looked at tense-switching as a factor of cultural influence on oral narrative by taping Greeks and Americans. Motzer looked at tense-switching to challenge the tense continuity rule (see Chapter 1) in respect to how English as a Second Language teachers should approach the teaching of

tenses. Her subjects were monolingual Canadian university students. Tannen found that tense-switching occurred more often in one ethnic group than in the other. Motzer found that there was very little tense-switching in the academic situation in which she collected her data. Both studies used a film as the stimulus for their recorded narratives.

The present study differs from the previous two studies in that the recording situation is not academic and that the two groups in the study are both speakers of English. Both the Grade 6 and the Grade 9 students tell about their particular film to a friend from the same group, not an impartial listener. Therefore, like Labov et al.'s (1968) subjects, the students in this study have a stake in making their story interesting to their peers. The groups in this study are Native Indian and non-Native. The former's speech is being examined for dialectal, structural, and narrative differences from their non-Native peers. One of these structural differences is tense-switching. Although the sample of students in this study is small, a difference in the amount of tense-switching across the two groups may show a tendency for one group that could bear further research.

Film narrative

Motzer (1986), Tannen (1980), and Chafe (1980) use the film narrative to study, respectively, the verb tense continuity/alternation rule for oral narratives and its

applicability to teaching English as a Second Language students, cultural differences in the oral narrative form, and deployment of focuses of consciousness. The film narrative is obviously a rich source of information about discourse patterns, all aspects of which are beyond the scope of one study. Information regarding tense-switching, main tense, use of direct speech, and adherence to Labov et al.'s normal narrative form will be examined in this study with subjects of two different age levels and belonging to either the Native or the non-Native group through the medium of the film narrative. The present study does not claim to be comprehensive in its examination of the film narrative, but to provide some conclusive data regarding the existence of a presumed dialect in one community in British Columbia.

Intonation

Three terms are basic to the present study. They are fundamental frequency, pitch, and intonation. According to Borden & Harris (1980), fundamental frequency (F_0) is the number of vibrations of the vocal chords per second; pitch is perceived frequency; and intonation is perceived changes in fundamental frequency, also called the pattern of modulation and inflection in connected speech. In essence F_0 and pitch are the same thing, the former being the objective analysis of sound frequency, the latter being the subjective, psychological sensation of sound frequency. A study of intonation was

included in this research because although it was the nonstandard grammar of Native children that was mentioned most often in the literature, the monotonal speech of some Native students was considered irksome by many teachers. Nakonechny (1986) mentions in her study the "levelled intonation" of Native students which is maligned by teachers who favour "reading with expression". Although her study does not deal specifically with intonation, Nakonechny believes that this lack of expression is a transference from the original Native languages rather than a signal of disinterest (1986). Colliou (1965, p. 78) also refers to Native students' "atonal English". Preston (1986) in her ethnographic study of local Native people made a subjective assessment of the supposed flatter intonation and lower pitch of Native people in a continuum from young to old. Halliday (1967) claims that "English intonation contrasts . . . are just as much grammatical as are those, such as tense, number, and mood expounded by other means." (p. 10). As a study of dialect examines grammatical differences, intonation was included in this study. A small sample of student speech will be analyzed to explore the intonation patterns of Native and non-Native students. The manner in which this will be done will be explained in Chapter Three.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed research on dialect over the past twenty years to provide a background for the direction of

research regarding the speech of Native people in Canada.

The speech elicitation techniques of Labov et al. (1968), Tannen (1982), and Motzer (1986) have been compared and contrasted to support the present study's methodology. In addition, Tannen's and Motzer's use of film narratives and study of tense-switching make clear the reasoning behind the use of film as speech elicitation medium and comparison of speech between Native and non-Native students.

Scollen & Scollen's (1984) work with Athabaskan children has been examined in conjunction with Nakonechny (1986) and Anderson's (1987) to present an understanding of cultural alienation for the Native child in the non-Native classroom. These researchers' work provides evidence of cultural influence on the oral narrative.

CHAPTER THREE

Subjects

Subjects were ten Native and ten non-Native Grade 6 students and ten Native and ten non-Native Grade 9 students at two schools in a semi-rural school district in British Columbia. The total school population in the district (June, 1986) was 7199 students, 427 of whom were Native (6%). The percentage of Native students at the elementary school used in this study was 2.1% and at the Junior Secondary, 11.3%. This district was chosen for a number of reasons: (a) reports of "Indian English" are more common outside urban areas, (b) the Native community in this school district was active in developing both Native language materials and Native Studies materials, and (c) the School District, the Band Office, and the Native Home-School coordinators were very supportive of the project.

While no systematic data was gathered about the subjects' background or academic performance, the following information was revealed in their interviews, both with the other students and with the researcher. Some of the Native students had had exposure to an Indian language when they were small, either through a grandparent or a primary teacher. None of them could still speak the language. Both the Native and non-Native population were quite transient and had lived in many places in British Columbia and Alberta. At the Grade 6 level, seven

Native and three non-Native students had lived in places other than Chilliwack although among the Native students only one had lived outside a two hundred-mile radius of Chilliwack (Edmonton) whereas all three of the non-Native students had (Medicine Hat, Prince George, Terrace). At the Grade 9 level, three Native and three non-Native students had lived elsewhere. All the Native students had lived within the two hundred-mile radius of Chilliwack, whereas all of the non-Native students had come from much further away (Edmonton, Prince George, Montreal). This radius is mentioned to suggest that the Native group is perhaps a more homogeneous one than the non-Native group. When asked what they liked about school, all the Grade 6s found something they liked about school, usually Mathematics. Two Grade 6 Native students talked of white prejudice among the RCMP and in school and one expressed anger at having been held back in reading although she said she really liked reading and spelling. At least two of the Native and one non-Native Grade 6s were identified as being in low reading groups. The socio-economic background of the non-Native Grade 6 children seemed to be mostly working class, some of whom had been recently laid off. Some of the parents' occupations were: hayer, milker, garage attendant.

The Grade 9s were not as forthcoming with personal information as were the Grade 6s. Only one Native and one non-Native Grade 9 student mentioned their parents' occupation. The Native student's mother was a university student and the

non-Native's mother was a dental assistant. Two Native and one non-Native Grade 9 mentioned being in Learning Assistance. Three of the Native and three non-Native students mentioned going either to college or university. At each grade level, only one Native student mentioned a friend who was not Native.

Schools with sufficient numbers of Native students were identified with the help of the Native Home-School Coordinators and all students were selected with the help of the school principals. Native students were not necessarily Status Indians, as this is a legal definition of ethnicity and not a culturally valid one. Consequently, some of the Native students lived on reserve and some did not. None of the students had seen the films used in the study.

Selection procedure

It was stipulated before the selection procedure began that all students have English as their first language. Because of the grade level restriction, finding the numbers for the Native half of the selection was a problem. At both schools, there were exactly 10 Native Grade 6 students and 10 Native Grade 9 students. I was therefore not able to select them randomly. The non-Native students were selected randomly by assigning each student a number and having ten numbers drawn from a container. Subsequent to the sample selection, parent consent forms were sent home to the twenty students selected at each grade level. No attempt was made to have even numbers of

boys and girls although in both Native groups of students there were equal numbers of boys and girls, whereas in the the non-Native groups there were in each case six boys and four girls.

Listeners

There were two interview situations in this study. In the Student/Student (S/S) situation, Native students spoke to a Native peer and non-Native students spoke to other non-Natives telling them about the film they had just seen. In the Teacher/Student (T/S) situation, students were speaking to this researcher about topics of interest to them.

Apparatus

There were five films used in this study. The interviewing took place on Mondays and Wednesdays over a period of a month. This schedule was set up (a) to accommodate school timetables and extraneous events, such as testing, (b) to minimize the block of time students had to spend out of the classroom, and (c) to avoid students getting tired of the interviewing process over successive days. Each student missed more than an hour of class time: 10-15 minutes watching the film; 15-20 minutes talking about the film; 15-20 listening to a peer talk about a film; and 15-20 minutes talking to me. To avoid students talking about the films between taping sessions and to provide new material for each interview, several films were selected.

Films were selected on the basis that they be short and interesting, and that they provide good discussion material. All films were National Film Board productions. Gurdeep Singh Bains (GSB) (11 minutes, 55 seconds) tells about the life of a Sikh boy in the Chilliwack area; Rice Harvest (RH) (11 minutes, 40 seconds) tells about the wild rice harvest in a Native community in Northern Manitoba; The Purse (TP) (11 minutes, 36 seconds) tells the story of an old lady who steals a purse left on the bus by a younger woman and their moral dilemmas around that incident; Ted Baryluk's Grocery (TBG) (10 minutes, 19 seconds) tells the story of an immigrant's small neighbourhood business and how it has changed; and The Awful Fate of Melpomenus Jones (AFMP) (7 minutes, 48 seconds) is an animated film portraying the foibles of a priest who could not say "No." For more complete descriptions of the films, see Appendix B:

In order to provide for the possible different interests of the two grade levels, Grade 6s were shown TP, AFMP, and GSB; and Grade 9s were shown AFMP, RH, and TBG.

Subjects' narratives were recorded on a Sony TC 110 cassette recorder and listened to on a Phillips 08267 double deck sound machine.

Procedure

Ten Grade 6 students were shown TP, five saw GSB, and five saw AFMJ. The number of students seeing each film was dependent on the time available for the S/S interviews to take

place directly afterwards. After students had seen the film, they were sent back to their classroom and called back with another student who had not seen the film. In all but one case, Native students spoke to Native students, and non-Native students spoke to other non-Native students. This procedure was easier at the Grade 6 level because the students were all in the same classroom. Students spoke to each other over a tape recorder either in the staff room or in the library. The Grade 6 teacher requested that I be present although I sat off to one side and was as unobtrusive as possible.

Nine Grade 9 students saw AFMJ, six saw RH and four saw TBG. One student was away each time a film was shown, so I asked him to talk about a film he had recently seen called Threads. Students spoke to each other over a tape recorder in the Vice-principal's office. Students were alone in the office. Other conditions were the same as for Grade 6.

All students who were giving the film narration were given a typed sheet of questions to act as a guideline for discussion of the film (see Appendix A). Students were instructed to talk about the film they had just seen using the sheet as a guideline if they needed it. The listener was allowed to ask questions if he or she did not understand something. In all instances, the last question on the sheet related a problem in the film to personal experience. Examples of these questions are as follows:

(a) AFMJ: Have you ever been in a situation where you

wanted to leave but didn't know how to ask?

(b) GSR: Do you know a group of people in Chilliwack who are culturally different?

(c) TP: Describe a similar incident where you or a friend found something that wasn't yours. What did you do?

(d) RH: Have you ever been ripped off before or known anyone who has?

(e) TBG: How does what you want to do and what your parents want to do differ?

Students were then asked to discuss topics of interest to them for the remainder of the fifteen-minute taping session. All students were recorded the same day they saw the film.

Discourse medium

Films were selected to elicit speech as the retelling of a film is a very common occurrence in our society and especially amongst the age groups examined. Teenagers are always telling their friends about movies they have seen, a fact evidenced in this study by the frequency with which the discussion of films came up in conversation outside of the assigned task. Film retelling was chosen not only because it is such a commonplace activity, but also because it would give the students something comfortable with which to open up their conversation.

The experimental situations were as follows:

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF NATIVE (N) ~~AND NON-NATIVE~~ (nN) STUDENTS IN EACH
EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

LEVEL	INTERVIEW SITUATION				TOTAL
	T/S		S/S		
	N	nN	N	nN	
GRADE 6	10	10	10	10	20
GRADE 9	10	10	10	10	20
TOTAL	20	20	20	20	40

T/S = Teacher/Student S/S = Student/Student
N = Native nN = non-Native

Grammatical features

Recordings were transcribed and marked for the frequency of occurrence of the following nonstandard grammatical features based on research citing these features as common features of the nonstandard speech of Native people and therefore part of their presumed dialect: absence of auxiliary; absence of past tense marker (-ed); absence of third person singular inflection (-s); and article absence. Other nonstandard features were

noted as well. The "inconsistent verb tense usage" was examined under the rubric of tense-switching in oral narrative. Both the S/S and the T/S speech situations were analyzed in this manner.

Narrative form

Following Labov's description of the "normal" narrative form, the film narratives of both Grade 6 and Grade 9 students were analysed for Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, and Result (see page 24 for description). The coding of these categories was done by the researcher.

Intonation

One sample was taken from the film narratives of each Grade 6 student (see Appendix C) and analyzed for variability of intonation at the Centre for Speech Technology Research at the University of Victoria using the MSL Pitch program. This program allows one to analyze speech data captured through a cassette tape recorder attached to the computer. The pitch analysis gives the duration of the speech sample; the number of frames analyzed, both voiced and unvoiced (voiceless sounds are not given a frequency value because there is no laryngeal vibration involved in the sound production); frame length; the pitch range analyzed and observed; as well as the mean, median and standard deviation of the pitch. The range of the frequency analysis was set at 150-350 Hz for this particular

age group. Usually when speech samples are being analyzed, speakers are separated into male and female groups because of different pitch range. However, according to Kent (1976), there is very little difference in pitch range at this age (see Appendix D).

Speech samples of both the S/S and T/S speech situations at both Grade levels were listened to by an impartial educator of Native students to see if he could distinguish Native from non-Native speech. This person is referred to as the Teacher/Listener.

Past and historic present

Each film narrative was coded for the use of past (P) and historic present (HP) and the two groups, Native and non-Native, were compared for frequency of tense switching between the two tenses. Imperatives (IMP) and Actual Present (AP) were also recorded but not used to indicate a tense switch. As the form of HP and AP does not differ, ~~HP~~ was understood to be such if it could logically be replaced by the past tense.

Summary

By using these methods, tendencies were looked for in the data to answer the questions regarding a comparison of:

1. Non-standard grammatical forms in Grade 6 and Grade 9 Native and non-Native speech.
2. Intonation patterns in Grade 6 Native and non-Native

students.

3. Tense-switching in Grade 6 and Grade 9 Native and non-Native students.

4. Adherence to Labov et al.'s normal narrative form for Grade 6 and Grade 9 Native and non-Native students.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction

This chapter compares the speech of Grade 6 and Grade 9 Native and non-Native students in terms of: (a) grammar, (b) intonation, (c) frequency of tense-switching, and (d) conformity to Labov et al.'s (1968) normal narrative. The reader is reminded that this study will not provide comprehensive evidence of all features of the dialects spoken by all subjects because there is no phonological analysis, but only evidence of the above-listed differences between two ethnic groups of school children of the same age. The purpose of this study is to determine whether or not Native children in a particular school district in British Columbia speak a dialect of English in relation to their non-Native peers and whether the dialect, if present, changes over time.

Two Grade 9 students' performances were deleted from the tense-switching and main tense data because they simply answered questions posed by the person they were sitting with. However, one of their performances was included in the Labov narrative data.

Grammar

Non-standard grammatical features were noted for each group, Native and non-Native, at each grade level for the two speech situations. It soon became evident that not much data

would emerge from this investigation. Most non-standard features occurred at the Grade 6 level. The two speech situations will be referred to as Student/Student (S/S) and T/S (Teacher/Student). The S/S situation encompassed the film narrative; the T/S situation was the interview format.

Use of past participle for simple past/Deletion of auxiliary.

There was evidence of the past participle being used in place of the Standard English simple past ("I seen" was the most common) occasionally by children of both groups in the S/S situation, but never in the T/S situation. One Grade 9 Native student used this construction once. Two Grade 6 Native students and two non-Native students used this construction occasionally. Of the two Native students, one also used the standard form, "saw", at another point in his narrative. The students deleted auxiliaries in the past continuous (He watchin'; I sittin'). Again, three Native Grade 6 students (not the same as above) and one non-Native Grade 6 student (one of the same as above) used this construction. One of these Native students and the non-Native student used the past continuous with the auxiliary in other parts of their narratives and/or interviews. It is interesting to note that one of these Grade 6 non-Native students was rated as a speaker of Native ethnic background by the Teacher/Listener (see Table 13 below). This could indicate that the deletion of the

auxiliary has become a usage attributed stereotypically to Native people whether the evidence bears this out or not.

Double negative.

Double negatives were also used occasionally by both groups at both Grade levels in both S/S and T/S situations. Two Grade 6 Native students and one Grade 6 non-Native student used double negatives in the T/S situation, but none of the students used this construction in the S/S situation. Three Grade 9 Native students and two non-Native students used this form in the S/S situation, and three non-Native and one Native student used it in the T/S situation. Overall, an equal number of Native and non-Native students used this form.

Other non-standard features.

There was no incidence of the third person singular "s" being dropped, nor was an article ever deleted in the data. On two occasions at the Grade 6 level nonstandard past tense forms were used ("choosed" and "stoled") in the S/S situation, one by a Native student, and one by two non-Native students in the S/S situation. In my experience, the latter usage is not uncommon at this age, especially when followed by "it". One Grade 9 Native student used "teached" in the T/S situation. Three Grade 9 Native students deleted "-ed" in the passive formation, "is harvest(ed)"; is "market(ed)" during the film narrative. Of those three, one produced the correct form, "is marketed",

at another point in the narrative.

As "ain't" was characterized by one of the non-Native students as a speech pattern of Native people (see Appendix G), the incidence of this non-standard form was counted. Three non-Native Grade 9 students used "ain't" as opposed to one Native Grade 9 student. One Grade 6 Native student used "ain't". All occurrences were in the T/S situation.

One usage that was peculiar to three Native Grade 6 students was with the word "much". The following examples illustrate this: "How much you get wrong?"; "not much houses"; "too much murders"; "not much cats"; "Do you get along? Not that much." One Grade 9 non-Native student used this form as well: "Don't know that place too much". Two points may be made here. First, the majority of students in the study had lived in several places in British Columbia and Alberta. One of the exceptions was this non-Native student who, in his own words, was "born here and raised." Consequently, this odd usage may be peculiar to the district, and not to either the Native or the non-Native group. Second, this non-Native student was rated as a speaker of Native ethnic background by the Teacher/Listener in the S/S situation. Reasons stated for this rating were this student's use of "fer" for "for", and his dropping of "/o/" in present participle constructions. Again, there may be a case for the stereotyping of Native speech as non-standard or simply sloppy.

Based on the lack of nonstandard grammatical forms in the

data, Native students do not speak any more or less standardly than non-Native students.

Frequency of tense-switching

Tense-switching is understood as the alternation between Historic Present (HP) tense and Past (P) tense in a narrative. The amount of tense-switching that occurs in a speech sample may be influenced by culture, education, or social status. Tannen (1980) found that her Greek subjects tense-switched more often than her American subjects. If story-telling is a culturally based art as Tannen argues, then one might expect some difference between the Native and non-Native students in frequency of tense-switching, considering the distinctive differences in Native oral narratives noted by Scollen & Scollen (1981, 1984), Nakonechny (1987), and Anderson (1986). An example of how the tense-switching was counted follows:

Kay. We watched (P) this movie about this guy, right?

This movie, it's called (HP) "Ted, Ted Bar, Baryluk's Grocery, right?"

And it's (HP) about this old guy right and he ... Shaddup!

You're making (AP) me laugh.

There is only one tense switch in the above example, from (P) to (HP). The (AP) or Actual Present is not counted as a tense switch as the person is stepping outside the narrative to make a comment that cannot be replaced by a past (see Chapter Three for definition of HP). The next tense-switch will be when the

speaker changes back into (P). Table 2 shows the frequency of tense-switching for each group.

TABLE 2
GRADE 6
NUMBER OF TENSE SWITCHES IN FILM NARRATIVE

NUMBER	GROUP	
	N	nN
3-9	4	4
10+	0	2
TOTAL	4	6

N = Native

nN = non-Native

Non-Native children tense-switched somewhat more often than Native children, evidenced by the higher number of non-Native students in the 10+ "Number of Switches" category.

Table 3 shows that Grade 9 Native students followed the same trend as the Grade 6 Native students of tense-switching less often than their non-Native peers. This is evidenced by the high number of non-Native students in the 6-10 "Number of Switches" category. To compare the total number of switches across grades and groups, the number of switches for each grade and group was counted. Table 4 shows the results.

TABLE 3

GRADE 9

NUMBER OF TENSE SWITCHES IN FILM NARRATIVE

NUMBER	GROUP		
	N	nN	TOTAL
1-5	2	5	7
6-10	0	4	4
11+	1	1	2
TOTAL	3	10	18

N = Native nN = non-Native

TABLE 4

TOTAL NUMBER OF SWITCHES IN FILM NARRATIVE

LEVEL	GROUP	NUMBER OF SWITCHES
GRADE 6	N	27
	nN	53
GRADE 9	N	18
	nN	59

N = Native nN = non-Native

Whereas at the Grade 6 level, Native students tense-switch about one-half as often as non-Native students, by Grade 9 they

tense-switch less than one-third as often. This difference in frequency of tense-switching between the two groups may indicate a difference in the perception of the film narrative as an academic task (Motzer, 1986) or as a conversational narrative (Wolfson, 1982). It may also indicate that not tense-switching is their dialect. This idea will be explored in Chapter Five.

Labov's normal narrative

Labov et al. (1968) identified five major elements of the narrative: the abstract, the orientation, the complicating action, the evaluation, and the result (see Chapter Two for further explanation). Labov noted a class difference in the form of evaluation--internal or external--used. He found that the working class tended to use internal evaluation more often than external and in his estimation therefore made better story-tellers. In brief, internal evaluation occurs when the narrator attributes characteristics or feelings to one of the characters in the story or otherwise brings the listener "into" the story. External evaluation involves comments from the narrator about the story as an observer. Examples are given below. Motzer (1986) found that all her subjects used the components of Labov's narrative, speculating this was so probably because it is a common format for the academic narrative, and all her subjects were university students. Scollen & Scollen's (1981) work described the differences in

narrative form between Native and non-Native people in one community. They found that the Athabaskan children gave much more cryptic narratives than the non-Natives, thereby demonstrating their respect for the listener to make their own sense of what they had heard. This characteristic of abstracting a story was part of the Athabaskans' oral tradition. For these reasons, this study will examine differences between the oral narrative of the two groups in this study.

Using Labov's criteria for oral narratives, we will see whether the data confirm that only Complicating Action (CA) is necessary for a narrative, but that Abstract (ABSTR), Orientation (ORIENT), and Evaluation (EVAL) make a more interesting story. Examples of these parts are:

ABSTR: " 'Kay. Basically this is about this family, Ted Baryluk, and his grocery store and it's in Winnipeg, I think and, uh, . . . (Grade 9 N, TBG).

ORIENT: "Okay. there's a boy. He lives on the farm and then he, um, they work on the farm and . . ." (Grade 6 N, GSB).

CA: " 'N~~o~~so the lady decided she wasn't going to give it back" (Grade 6 nN, TR).

EVAL: External - "I think the lady wanted him to stay but her husband didn't really want him to stay" (Grade 9 N, AFMJ).

Internal - " He [insurance man] thought that she was

lying but. . ." (Grade 6 nN, TP).

The Result part of the narrative, also called Coda by Labov, simply signals the listener that the narrator is finished speaking: "And that was what the film was mostly about." (Grade 6 nN). Labov noted that this part of the narrative appeared least frequently of any other part. Tables 5 and 6 show the number of students who had the five narrative parts in their film stories, compared across groups and grade levels.

TABLE 5

GRADE 6

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN EACH CATEGORY OF LABOV'S NORMAL NARRATIVE COMPONENTS OF NORMAL NARRATIVE

GROUP	ABSTR	ORIENT	CA	EVAL	RESULT
NATIVE	5	10	10	8	7
NON-NATIVE	4	9	10	7	9
TOTAL	9	19	20	15	16

ABSTR = ABSTRACT

ORIENT = ORIENTATION

CA = COMPLICATION ACTION

EVAL = EVALUATION

As Table 5 shows, there is not a great deal of difference between the two groups as far as adherence to Labov's normal narrative is concerned. Differences of one student in either group are regarded as negligible because of the small sample.

This data also indicated that the ABSTR was the least commonly used part of the narrative, not the Result. In adherence with Labov's criterion for a narrative, every narrative contained CA.

TABLE 6

GRADE 9

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN EACH CATEGORY OF LABOV'S NORMAL NARRATIVE COMPONENTS OF NORMAL NARRATIVE

GROUP	ABSTR	ORIENT	CA	EVAL	RESULT
NATIVE	8	9	9	3	7
NON-NATIVE	7	8	10	5	7
TOTAL	16	17	19	8	14

ABSTR = ABSTRACT

ORIENT = ORIENTATION

CA = COMPLICATION ACTION

EVAL = EVALUATION

Both groups seem to have deteriorated as story-tellers by Grade 9 with considerably less evaluation than at the Grade 6 level. At this level, two more non-Native students than Native students used evaluation. The Grade 9 students overall use the ABSTR more often than the Grade 6s which may indicate their increased familiarity with the literate mode of expression which dictates that you state what you are writing about before

proceeding. This will be explained in further detail in Chapter Five.

Motzer mentions that very little direct speech was used in her subjects' narratives. In contrast, direct speech was used quite frequently for certain films in the present data. Motzer showed her subjects a non-dialogue film which may account for the lack of direct speech. Of the five films shown to the students in this study, only one contained steady dialogue, (AFMJ), and one other, TP, contained a little towards the end. As previously mentioned, Labov described internal evaluation as a means of showing closeness with the characters in the narrative. In using this type of evaluation, the narrator would sometimes attribute feelings to characters that were totally made up from what was seen or heard. As direct

TABLE 7

GRADE 6

USE OF DIRECT SPEECH

GROUP	FILM				OUTSIDE NARRATIVE
	AFMJ		TP		
	SAW	USED	SAW	USED*	
N	2	2	5	1	5
nN	3	3	5	1	4

*SAW = NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO SAW THE FILM

USED = NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO USED DIRECT SPEECH

speech brings both the narrator and the listener closer to the story, it may be described as a form of internal evaluation according to Labov. Therefore, its use has been charted. The Grade 6s saw TP and AFMJ. The Grade 9s saw only AFMJ. Their informal conversation after the narrative (OUTSIDE NARRATIVE) was also marked for use of direct speech. Tables 7 and 8 show the Grade 6s' and Grade 9s' use of direct speech.

TABLE 8

GRADE 9

USE OF DIRECT SPEECH IN AFMJ

GROUP	SAW	USED	OUTSIDE NARRATIVE
N	4	1	1
nN	5	5	5

SAW = NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO SAW THE FILM

USED = NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO USED INDIRECT SPEECH

Native and non-Native grade 6 students are virtually equal in their use of direct speech within and outside of the film narrative. The picture has changed considerably by Grade 9. Whereas all of the non-Native grade 9 students used direct speech in their film narratives, only one out of four Native grade 9 students used it. In addition, only one of the Native students used direct speech outside the film narrative, whereas five of the non-Native Grade 9s did. The possible reasons for this difference will be explored in Chapter Five.

Main Tense

Main tense was documented because the subjects in Tannen's and Motzer's studies varied in their use of Past (P) as the main tense in their film narratives, 10-75% of the time respectively. It was of interest to see if a difference appeared between the age groups and groups used in this study. Tables 9 and 10 show the data for the film narratives of the Grade 6 and Grade 9 students. Historic Present (HP) refers to the use of present tense where it can logically be replaced by a past tense. Comments such as asides and general

TABLE 9

GRADE 6

NO. OF NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE STUDENTS WHO USED PAST (P) AND HISTORIC PRESENT (HP) FOR THEIR MAIN TENSE

MAIN TENSE	GROUP		
	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	TOTAL
HP	2	1	3
P	8	8	16
NMT*	0	1	1
TOTAL	10	10	20

*NMT = No Main Tense where each tense was used between 45%-55% of the time.

truths were coded as Actual Present (AP) but do not appear in

Tables 9 and 10 as they were not counted. The Past (P) is simply any form of the past tense. Both groups preferred P as their main tense for the film narrative (used sixteen times out of twenty).

As Table 9 indicates, the data revealed the interesting phenomenon of No Main Tense in one case. This non-Native student switched back and forth between P and HP throughout his dialogue. Part of the dialogue has been included to illustrate this. See Appendices E and F for transcription conventions and a full transcription of this narrative.

N' there's (HP) this other lady

She she gets (HP) off the bus n' leaves (HP) her purse there n'

this old lady that was (P) on kind of like a fixed income like 'cause she's not . . . doesn't (HP) have that much money.

She like she takes (HP) the purse, right?

She doesn't (HP) plan on gettin', givin' it back 'n she thinks (HP) about, uh, what, like what she did (P) 'n then she feels (HP) kinda guilty but

'n this lady put (P) an ad out in the paper about the the wallet, the purse that was missing (P) right?

'N so the lady decided (P) she wasn't going (P) to give it back though so she walked (P) to the, this store, right?

'N there's

She was standing (P) by the counter looking at things
'N then she goes (HP), um, 'n then she watches (HP) this
kid steal something. . .

HP = 10; P = 8

The same phenomenon occurs at the Grade 9 level. One Native and one non-Native student have no predominant tense in their narratives. Excerpts of their narratives (full narratives are in Appendix F) follow, then Table 10 on Main Tense for Grade 9 students.

Native student:

The movie was (P) about, um, a bush pilot and some Indian
'Kay, and it's (HP) where, um, how did they grow (P) rice
'n well it's (HP) all this rice,

"Rice Harvest" the movie's called (HP) and the rice, um
grew (P) in, um, some shallow lake, shallow lake in. . .

This movie was taken (P) by . . .

The rice is harvested (HP) by this machine pulled by two
canoes with a motor on it.

HP = 4; P = 4

Non-Native student:

(a) OK, there was (P) this man. . . [What was his name?]

Melpomus or whatever. See * this word here. That's *
his name. [Melapolomenus. OK]

Ya, that's * right. And he went (P) to this . . . he was

(P) on vacation, right?

He was (P) a minister or priest or something like that.

I don't know what it's called. * [Is this a cartoon?]

Yes, it was (P) a cartoon.

Little stick men walkin' around, you know. *

And so he went (P) to this, his friend's house just to

visit for the afternoon and the lady was (P) there.

And she goes (HP), "Do you want (HP) tea?"

And so he goes (HP), "OK", right?

He sits (HP) down and he's drinkin' (HP) tea here and just sittin' there and we're watchin' (HP) them drinkin' tea.

P = 7; HP = 6; * statements are AP

TABLE 10

GRADE 9

NO. OF NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE STUDENTS WHO USED PAST (P) AND HISTORIC PRESENT (HP) AS THEIR MAIN TENSE

MAIN TENSE	GROUP		TOTAL
	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	
HP	3	5	8
P	4	4	8
NMT *	1	1	2

* NMT = No Main Tense if the number of verbs in each tense was between 45%-55% of the total.

Grade 9 Native and non-Native students seemed to show no preference for either P or HP in their film narratives.

Intonation

Center for speech technology research data.

Because of the many references to Native students' monotonal speech (Colliou, 1965; Nakonechny, 1986), the expectation was that the Native speech sample would show a flatter intonation. To determine the range of the student's intonation, the standard deviation was looked at. This figure, given on the pitch analysis printout for each speech sample, would show the degree of variation of the speaker's pitch. The theory was that if the standard deviation is small, the speaker's intonation is flatter. See Chapter Two for definitions concerning intonation. The standard deviations were "normalized" to account for differences in mean fundamental frequency, as there is a direct correlation between a rise in the mean fundamental frequency and a rise in the standard deviation. The normalized standard deviation was calculated by dividing the standard deviation by the mean fundamental frequency for each speech sample. These figures were given on the pitch analysis printout. If the answer to the question of whether or not Native students have a flatter intonation proved affirmative, then the normalized standard deviations for the Native group would be smaller. The normalized standard deviation for each Grade 6 student is

listed from largest to smallest in Table 11. Tables 11 and 12 are based on the analysis of one declarative sentence in the film narrative (see Appendix C for more detail).

TABLE 11
NORMALIZED STANDARD DEVIATION
GRADE 6 FILM NARRATIVES

	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE
1.	.286	.202
2.	.179	.143
3.	.149	.140
4.	.137	.138
5.	.127	.132
6.	.125	.121
7.	.116	.116
8.	.101	.091
9.	.086	.083
10.	.079	.083
<hr/>		
MEAN =	.139	MEAN = .125
<hr/>		

As the data shows, the Native group has a higher mean normalized standardized deviation than the non-Native group. If we determined expressiveness solely by means of variation in pitch, then this information would indicate that this particular sample of Native students tend to speak more

expressively than non-Native students. As the data is based on speech samples taken from one declarative phrase in the film narrative, more examples would be needed to affirm this tendency. The range of the normalized standard deviations collapsed in Table 12 shows that the difference between the two groups is minimal.

TABLE 12
RANGE OF NORMALIZED STANDARD DEVIATIONS

	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	
	N	nN
.200+	1	1
.100-.200	7	6
UNDER .100	2	3
TOTAL	10	10

What the data does indicate is that Native students' intonation in film narrative is by no means flatter than their non-Native peers.

Teacher/Listener Intonation Opinion.

An experienced teacher of Native students with some linguistic training was asked to listen to a sample of the tapes to determine if he could discern a distinctively "Native" accent. This was done both to provide a comparison with the students' opinion on Native speech (to follow) and also to

support (or otherwise) the data from the Center for Speech Technology Research. This teacher had taught Native students in Kamloops, Burns Lake, and New Aiyansh, and was therefore familiar with a variety of Native speech patterns in British Columbia. He knew none of the students in the project, nor had he listened to the tapes before. Listening sessions were spaced out over a few days so that he would be fresh each time he listened to the data. The following charts describe the accuracy of his opinion for both the Teacher/Student (T/S) and Student/Student (S/S) situations and the Grade 6 and Grade 9 students. The accuracy is given as a percentage of number correctly rated over number listened to. For the Grade 6 data two students were deleted from this analysis because of a speech impediment (nN) and poor reproduction (N). For the Grade 9 data one student (N) was deleted because his speech was practically inaudible. In the S/S speech situations, the full forty students in Grades 6 and 9 were listened to. For the T/S speech situation, a random sample of five Native and five non-Native students at each grade level were listened to. The person giving the impressionistic assessment of the students' accent is hereafter referred to as the Teacher/Listener. Table 13 displays the assessment of the Grade 6 students' accents in the S/S and T/S situations. The overall accuracy of the Teacher/Listener's opinion for the T/S speech situation was 90%.

To check if students' register changed from S/S to T/S

interview, a cross-check was done between the opinion rating of

TABLE 13

TEACHER/LISTENER OPINION ON GROUP IDENTITY

GRADE 6

SPEECH SITUATION	NO. OF STUDENTS	NO. CORRECT	ACCURACY
S/S	9 N	7	78%
	9 nN	8	89%
TOTAL	18	15	
OVERALL ACCURACY			83.5%
T/S	5 N	4	80%
	5 nN	5	100%
TOTAL	10	9	

the five students of each group in the S/S situation and the five students of each group in the T/S situation. If a student were rated differently (N/nN) in the two speech situations, then it would show a tendency for a student to code-switch between speaking to his or her peers and to a teacher. Table 14 shows where a register change may have taken place for the Grade 6 students. Two Grade 6 students (one N and one nN) changed from a Native to a non-Native rating in the T/S situation. One student changed from a non-Native to a Native rating. Table 15 shows the opinion of the Teacher/Listener for Grade 9 students.

TABLE 14

GRADE 6

TEACHER/LISTENER PERCEPTION OF REGISTER CHANGE

GROUP	RATING IN SPEECH SITUATIONS	
	S/S	T/S
N	N	nN
N	N	N
N	N	N
N	N	N
N	nN	N
nN	nN	nN
nN	nN	nN
nN	nN	nN
nN	N	nN
nN	nN	nN

TABLE 15

TEACHER/LISTENER OPINION ON GROUP IDENTITY

GRADE 9

SPEECH SITUATION	NO. OF STUDENTS	NO. CORRECT	ACCURACY
S/S	9N	2	22%
	10nN	9	90%
T/S	5N	1	20%
	5nN	5	100%
OVERALL ACCURACY			58%

The data in Table 15 seem to indicate that very few Native students "sound" Native at this age to this observer. Table 16 shows if the Teacher/Listener perceived a register change from S/S to T/S speech situation.

TABLE 16

GRADE 9

TEACHER/LISTENER PERCEPTION OF REGISTER CHANGE

GROUP	RATING IN SPEECH SITUATIONS	
	S/S	T/S
N	nN	nN
N	nN	nN
N	nN	nN
N	N	N
N	nN	nN
nN	nN	nN
nN	nN	nN
nN	nN	nN
nN	nN	nN
nN	N	nN

N = NATIVE

nN = non-NATIVE

T/S = TEACHER/STUDENT

S/S = STUDENT/STUDENT

Only one student at the Grade 9 level showed a register change from S/S to T/S and this was a non-Native boy. This lack of change could indicate that the students were either very

comfortable with this researcher or that they were used to speaking casually with their teachers by this age. In this particular sample of Native students, only two out of nine students or 22% had a distinctively "Native-sounding" voice.

Student Opinion Poll

To determine whether the students themselves thought Native people spoke differently, each student was asked the question, "Do Native people speak differently?" This "difference" was explained to the students by the researcher as a difference in accent, vocabulary, and grammar. Examples were given of different-sounding accents and dialects such as British English and Texan English. More detailed statements by the Grade 6 and 9 students appear in Appendix G. Table 17 shows the results. Two Grade 9 students, one Native and one non-Native, were absent on this researcher's last two visits to

TABLE 17

DO NATIVE PEOPLE SPEAK DIFFERENTLY?

GRADE LEVEL	N		Nn		TOTAL
	YES	NO	YES	NO	
GRADE 6	3	7	6	4	20
GRADE 9	6	3	6	3	18
TOTAL	9	10	12	7	38

the school, so their opinions are unknown.

Table 17 indicates that more Native students in Grade 9 perceive themselves as "different-sounding" than in Grade 6. This information is in contrast to the Teacher/Listener's opinion (see Tables 13 and 15) who discerned less accent at the Grade 9 level than at the Grade 6 level. Why is there this discrepancy? The non-Native students' opinions remain constant at both grade levels.

For an overall look at the numbers of students that thought Native people spoke a dialect, Table 17 has been collapsed in Table 18.

TABLE 18

DO NATIVE PEOPLE SPEAK DIFFERENTLY: A SUMMARY

GRADE LEVEL	OPINION		
	YES	NO	TOTAL
GRADE 6	9	11	20
GRADE 9	12	6	18
TOTAL			38

More Grade 9 students (67%) felt Native people spoke differently than Grade 6 students (45%). This increase could be due to several factors: a child's ability to perceive language differences increases with maturity; the Grade 9 Native students clearly socialized together more than the Grade 6 Native students (see Appendix G on Grade 9 dialect comments)

so they would tend to be perceived as a "different" group and also perceive themselves as a different group, just as "punks" or "rockers" would be categorized in other schools; prejudices may be more ingrained at this age so that non-Native students might be reacting more to students as Native and a different colour and culture rather than as variant speakers; likewise, Native students could at this age perceive themselves as a culturally separate entity, although not necessarily a linguistic one.

Finally, several students had difficulty describing exactly what was different about Native speech (see Appendix G). The vocabulary the non-Native students attributed to the Native students--"ya"; "Hey, man"; "ain't"; /InIt/--can hardly suffice to legitimize the designation, "dialect."

Summary

This chapter has presented the following findings:

1. Native students do not speak any more or less standardly in terms of grammar than their non-Native peers.
2. Non-Native students tense-switched in the film narratives more frequently than Native students at both Grade levels.
3. Overall, Grade 9 students used evaluation in the film narratives less often than Grade 6 students. Grade 6 Native students and Grade 9 non-Native students used evaluation slightly more often than their peers.

4. More Native than non-Native Grade 6 students used direct speech outside the narrative and more non-Native than Native Grade 9 students used direct speech outside the narrative.
5. Grade 9 Native students used direct speech much less often than their non-Native peers in the film narratives, whereas Grade 6 Native and non-Native students used direct speech equally as often in the film narratives.
6. Overall, P was the preferred tense for the film narratives at both Grade levels.
7. Grade 6 Native students do not have a flatter intonation than their non-Native peers when giving a film narrative.
8. Fewer Grade 9 Native students sound "Native" than Grade 6 Native students to a trained listener.
9. Fewer Grade 9 students than Grade 6 students (one to three) changed register according to the Teacher/Listener.
10. More students at the Grade 9 level, Native and non-Native, perceive Native people to speak differently than at the Grade 6 level.

These findings are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

To blame a minority's disadvantages on the deficiency of its language rather than on discrimination legitimizes the privileges of other groups and the platform of assimilationist leaders in the minority. To attribute illiteracy or linguistic barbarity to deficient skill rather than to canons of correctness justifies the status of grammarians, debating coaches, literary critics, and others who make a living by defending and teaching linguistic prowess. To find prejudice reinforced by a sexist, racist, or classist language rather than merely residing within prejudiced persons supports the program of revolutionary and separatist leaders who rely on criticisms of institutional discrimination.

(Prol, 1987, p. 5)

Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the implications of the findings in Chapter Four regarding the students' grammar, intonation, tense-switching, and use of Labov's normal narrative format and how the two age levels and groups, Native and non-Native, differed in their speech produced under comparable circumstances. These aspects of the narratives will be discussed in a broader framework of dialect research and projects in improving the oral ability of Native students. The final section of this chapter suggests some practical

implications of this study for the teaching of Native students.

Discussion of non-standard grammar

As the evidence in Chapter Four indicates, there are little grounds for positing the existence of a dialect of "Indian English" in the speech of these students based on grammatical usage. The non-standard grammatical forms that appeared in the speech of the Native students are clearly as common to non-Native students of the same age. In my personal experience as a high school teacher, I have noted most of these forms are typical of casual speech among teenagers. The one idiomatic usage involves the word, "much", for which there is some proof that it is a usage distinctive to this area and not to Native students alone. More research would be necessary to confirm this assumption.

Discussion of intonation

Preston's (1986) ethnographic study of the communication patterns of a local band set out to dispel stereotypes of Native people, one of which was "Do Native people use a flatter intonation pattern?" (p. 45). She did not use acoustical measurements, but then neither do most lay people who declare that Native people speak "Indian English." She placed her participants on a continuum of old and young people and found that the older people had flatter intonation than the younger people. This finding is not unusual as most of the older

people are closer to the Indian language than the younger ones, so a different intonation pattern would be expected. The present study, which did use scientific analysis, found that Grade 6 Native students' intonation was slightly less flat than their non-Native peers.

Unlike the data gathered by Tannen (1980) on American and Greek narratives where the pitch was constant across the narratives for one ethnic group, the data in this study showed a wide range in pitch within both groups. If we assume that variation in pitch indicates interest or skill in the art of story-telling, then two conclusions may be drawn. This wide range could be indicative of their age group where some students have not developed the story-telling art yet, or it may indicate a range in the students' opinion of how interesting the film they saw was to them. Further speculation along this line is not within the scope of this study; rather the data show that as far as intonation is concerned, neither group has a set pitch pattern at this age. Consequently, while it may be said that the Native Grade 6 children on the whole displayed a wider pitch range in their narratives than the non-Native children, there is little consistency in pitch in either group.

Labov's narrative framework

Motzer (1986) claimed that the probable reason for all her subjects' adherence to Labov's normal narrative form was their

familiarity with the academic framework for narrative. The data in this study showed that Grade 9 students used the Abstract in their narratives more often than the Grade 6s. This may be due to Grade 9 students being more familiar with the academic framework for the narrative and the classroom composition dictum, "Introduce your topic before beginning to write." At both grade levels, Native and non-Native students were essentially equal in their use of the Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, and Result. The speculation here that Native students may be just as comfortable with the literate framework as non-Native students has not been borne out by other studies of Native school children (Anderson, 1987; Scollen & Scollen, 1981). Because this study did not involve student writing, this notion begs further research. Whether the students would be able to carry the oral narrative framework over into their writing is a topic for another study. Research says that it is quite likely that oral skills would be transferred to the written medium (Anderson, 1987; Purcell-Gates, 1988).

While only half of the Native Grade 6 students stated what the film was all about (ABSTRACT), all ten of them did give an Orientation (who, when, what, where) to the story before beginning. It was noted that if the narrators did not provide this information, it was often requested by the listener. The non-Native Grade 6s were virtually on par with the Native students in each of Abstract, Orientation, and Evaluation,

although one of the non-Native student's Abstracts was quite incorrect. One of the factors influencing the relatively low scores in the Result section of the narrative (seven out of ten for the Native students and nine out of ten for the non-Native students) was the film that three of the four students saw, GSB. The film had no definite ending as it was telling about a boy's everyday life, so as a result, the students did not signal an end to the narrative.

One area that showed a difference between the two groups and age levels was Evaluation. Grade 9 students, and in particular Native Grade 9 students, used evaluation less often than the Grade 6s. While it might be said that the Grade 9s took the film narrative task less seriously than the Grade 6s and therefore rushed through it without elaboration, the data also showed that the Grade 9 Native students used direct speech a lot less often than the non-Native students both in the film narrative and outside the narrative when they were just chatting with their friends. It may be concluded that for this particular sample of Native students, use of direct speech in narration was not a sociolinguistic practice in casual speech at the Grade 9 level.

Motzer (1986) found that direct speech appeared very occasionally with her adults. The students in the present study used direct speech almost all the time; dialogue was hardly ever reported, but quoted as closely to the original--with some elaboration--as possible. As previously mentioned,

the lack of direct speech in Motzer's data is probably due to her using a non-dialogue film. Direct speech was also not used for reporting in the non-dialogue films used in this study: GSE, RH, and TBG. However, even though the film, AFMJ, was narrated by a story-teller with the cartoon characters' comments interspersed, the majority of the students (eleven out of fourteen; see Tables 7 and 8) who saw this film chose to use direct speech rather than report the dialogue. In fact, all of the Grade 6 students and all of the non-Native Grade 9 students who saw the film used direct speech in their film narratives. In the film TP, dialogue was limited to a few comments by the characters near the end of the film. Here, eight out of ten of the Grade 6 students who saw it chose to report what happened rather than use direct speech. The major difference in the use of direct speech occurs between the Native and non-Native Grade 9 students. Non-Native students are still using direct speech 100% of the time for reporting the film, AFMJ, whereas Native students largely are not (one out of four). As direct speech has been considered a form of internal evaluation, this difference in the use of direct speech corresponds to the disparity in the use of evaluation altogether at the Grade 9 level between the two groups (see Table 6). The dearth of evaluative comment at the Grade 9 level could simply indicate that the Grade 9s enjoyed their task less than the Grade 6s. However, the combination of the Grade 9 Native students using the Abstract just as often and evaluation less often than their

non-Native peers could point to an attitude of "I know how to do it but I don't really like it."

Discussion of tense-switching and main tense

Contrary to the tense continuity rule of following the tense a question is asked in, one non-Native Grade 9 student switched tenses from question to answer:

Question: "Is this a cartoon?"

Answer: "Yes, it was a cartoon."

The analysis showed that, on the whole, Native students tense-switched less often than non-Native students (Table 4). This would indicate a tendency for the Native students to follow more closely the literate rule, "Continue in the tense in which you began." ~~or it~~ may indicate a characteristic of their speech. More data would be needed to confirm this. The preferred tense for the Grade 6 students' film narratives in this study was P which differed from the majority of Motzer's (1986) subjects who used HP as their preferred tense in their narration of a film they had just seen. The reason Motzer gives for the predominant use of HP is the subjects' familiarity with the academic mode of discourse. HP is the tense most often used for film, art, and literature reviews, and as her subjects were all university students, the preferred use of HP for the film narrative task was not surprising. Anderson (1987) seemed to suggest that discomfort with academic discourse was characteristic of her Native students because of

their history of the oral tradition and absence of literary materials in their homes. The age of the subjects in the present study would seem to rationalize this lack of familiarity with the use of HP in the formalized form of discourse used by Motzer's subjects. By Grade 9, the total number of students using P and HP is eight each. Within each group the use of P and HP is evenly split. The increase in the usage of HP at the Grade 9 level as opposed to the Grade 6 level could indicate an increased familiarity with formal discourse patterns.

From the amount of tense-switching found in this study (Table 4), it is evident that the non-Native students did not consider the task a literary discourse form as did the subjects in Motzer (1986) and Tannen's (1980) studies, but employed the convention of frequent tense-switching for the conversational narrative as described by Wolfson (1982). However, despite this difference in the amount of tense-switching, it is important to note that between the two groups at each grade level, there is no difference in preferred tense. As tense continuity is associated with formal written or oral narrative rather than oral narrative of personal experience, two possible conclusions may be presented: (a) the non-Native students were more relaxed in the S/S situation and/or took it less seriously than the Native students; and (b) the Native students had more familiarity with the formal oral narrative than non-Native students because of the tradition of listening to their elders'

long speeches at formal gatherings.

Three students out of the forty subjects displayed the No Main Tense (NMT) phenomenon. While this represents a very small number in this data, it would be interesting to see if this lack of adherence to a particular tense would also show up in their written narratives as would be predicted by Anderson (1987). On the other hand, this frequent switching could be what Wolfson (1982) terms Conversational Historic Present (CHP) which is found in performed stories. The non-Native Grade 6 and 9 narratives (see Appendix F) would fit into this category, but not the narrative of the Grade 9 Native student who was clearly confused by the combined task of giving a narrative and answering the questions on the sheet in front of her. Further study of the students' written work is necessary to confirm or deny their ability to control tense in a narrative format.

Register change

As the grammatical analysis shows, the double negative was used more often in the T/S situation than in the S/S. As well, "ain't" was often used in the T/S situation. This data would tend to belie research which suggests that students speak more standardly in a formal setting than in an informal one.

The Teacher/Listener found that according to his impressionistic rating only three of the Grade 6 students and only one of the Grade 9s changed their register between speech situations. The reasons for the register change in these four

students are speculative, but provide some interesting possibilities for further research. One Grade 6 Native student was rated N in the S/S situation because of his pronunciation of /l/ in the words "child" and "play". When he spoke to me, the "curious /l/" was less pronounced and he was rated nN. This change in pronunciation demonstrates the ability to control phonology across speech, even at this age.

Thirty-nine out of forty of the students in this study spoke to someone from their own group, either Native or non-Native, in the S/S situation. One N Grade 6 student came in with a nN friend, so presuming she would be more relaxed speaking to the person of her choice and wishing to avoid the awkward situation of asking her to change partners, I let them proceed. This N student was rated nN in the S/S situation and N in the T/S situation. Perhaps she felt a need to speak differently with her nN friend, but did not feel the same need when speaking to me (also non-Native).

The third Grade 6 student and the Grade 9 student were mentioned in Chapter Four. They were the nN students who were rated N because of dropping /ŋ/ at the end of participles in the S/S situation. According to the Teacher/Listener their speech changed in the T/S situation to nN. It was stated in Chapter Four that perhaps the dropping of /ŋ/ may have become a stereotypical usage of Native people. This is only partly true. Both N and nN people drop /ŋ/ it is true. But the difference arises in the pronunciation and intonation of the N

dropping of the / / which, because this study does not have a phonological analysis, does not show up. This may be a weakness of this study. On the other hand, if there had been a phonological analysis of the students in this sample, more than one nN dialect would have arisen as well as doubtlessly more than one N one.

Discussion of dialect

On each occasion, the Teacher/Listener was asked why he rated a student N as opposed to nN. Some of the reasons he gave were: elongated vowels as in /hæ:t/; the dropping of / /; rising intonation at the end of a sentence; a distinctive /l/ and /r/; the rhythm of the sentence; and different pronunciation of some words, such as /wɔkt/ for the standard /wɒkt/. On two occasions, for one Grade 6 and one Grade 9, a nN student was rated as a N student because they displayed some of these speech patterns. What does this and the rest of the information gathered on the students' speech tell us about the manner of speaking of the Native children in this study? The fact that the Teacher/Listener identified only phonological differences and that in many instances he could not say exactly what it was that was "different" both point to a manner of speaking that is difficult to describe, but which is identifiable as a particular accent in some Native people. This study has shown that whatever this "difference" is, it does not inhibit a Native child's ability to perform orally.

Conclusions

One of the factors influencing the Native group's manner of speech could have been dialect accommodation, discussed at great length by Trudgill (1986). In considering the present study's results, it should be remembered that this sample of Native students was not a random sample, and therefore presents an unbiased view of the speech of the Native population at these two schools and these two grades. While on the one hand Trudgill (1986) argues that dialect accommodation between two groups may over time become permanent given favourable attitudinal factors, he also maintains that such accommodation usually only takes place if there is a need to be understood. As the Native students made up a very small percentage of the population of each school (see page 33), one might conclude that peer pressure changed their speech; on the other hand, being understood was never an issue between these two groups. Trudgill (1986) further complicates the notion of accommodation by stating:

Even young children, however, are subject to limits on degree of accommodation, with certain more complex phonological contrasts and allophonic conditioning patterns not being acquired correctly unless speakers have been exposed to them in the speech of their parents.

(p. 38)

Here, Trudgill refers specifically to phonological contrasts that a child cannot eradicate unless his or her parents use

them. Phonological differences were often given by the Teacher/Listener as a reason for his "Native" rating of a student, although such differences were less evident at the Grade 9 level. Preston (1986) described the people in her ethnographic study as a "community in transition". It is obvious that the students in this study have almost become a homogeneous unit as far as speech ability is concerned. That is not to say that they perform equally well in school; those statistics would make an interesting comment on this study's results. Conclusions as to the social and political homogeneity of this community were not within the scope of this study, but it is believed that uniformity in those areas is yet to come.

While no statistics are available as to the secondary academic performance of Native children in this district, it is believed that it is comparable with that of other integrated districts. At Musqueam reserve in Vancouver, a reserve encapsulated by non-Native upper middle class society, no more than one-third of the children graduate from secondary school (Anderson, 1986). As this study clearly shows that oral ability is not inhibiting these Native children, then one must look at other factors for an explanation of school failure. As was mentioned in the discussion of dialect, some Native students do sound different. McDermott and Gospodinoff (1981) comment on what may be operating in the classroom:

The presence or absence of dialect in the children's

speech is not the crucial determinant of successful communication in school. Rather, dialect appears to function as a focus for the relational work of the children and the teacher. If the teacher and the children are alienated from each other, their dialects will take center stage and the teacher and the children will battle each other about the proper way to speak.

(p. 218)

Many studies have detailed emotional reactions to manners of speech, whether they are distinct dialects or simply accents. Generally speaking and depending on where the study takes place, an English accent is rated more favorably than an American one (in Canada), an American one more favorably than a Hispanic one (in California), a French accent more favorably than a Quebecois one (in France). Where dialect and accent are not allowed to take center stage in the classroom, different-speaking students are more likely to perform well. Lucas and Borders (1987) vidoetaped such a classroom:

There is no barrier caused by dialect interference because there exists situationally appropriate language use and awareness of dialect diversity in both the teachers and the children. The absence of a barrier is not an accident, rather it is evidence for active sociolinguistic competence in the classroom.

(p. 136)

Given the discrimination that continues to operate in the

education of Native children (see below), the final section of this thesis outlines the direction of said education that will probably be of most benefit to Native people.

Suggestions for further research

The possibilities regarding the use of language that might have been investigated with this data are endless. Among the choices were: length of the film narrative; the use of fillers; the use of "right?" at the end of declarative sentences; self-correction; accuracy of film narrative; and frequency and quality of evaluation. A particularly interesting study would be a comparison of oral and written narratives for these age levels and groups. Native children are regularly formally assessed by means of a standardized written test (e.g. Canadian Test of Basic Skills) which often shows them performing below grade level. There is evidence in this study that their oral ability is on par with their non-Native peers, at least at the Grade 6 level. These oral skills should be tapped and incorporated into a child's educational assessment. Native Grade 9 students use evaluation less often than their non-Native peers but their performance is comparable in all other areas of the narrative. The tendency towards use of less evaluation should be studied by using a different narrative task.

Pedagogical implications

As stated above, the results of this study clearly indicate that Native students are quite capable of performing on par with their non-Native peers in an oral task. Whether this equality would extend to the written domain has yet to be studied. Despite these positive conclusions, there is still the reality of Native students' poor performance in the senior grades. What happens to these capable minds when they enter high school? Even in this study there is some indication that a separation between the two groups is beginning to take place in Grade 9, evidenced by the following comment by a Grade 9 Native boy:

But maybe that might have to do with school . . . but you don't really know the way they [white kids] talk from outta school cause you're not really around them. You know like Native kids usually stick together. Like * N * and us, you know, we're not really with non-Native guys.

(Appendix G)

Preston (1986) argues that the Mainstream (= non-Native) system of education is not flexible enough to accommodate the value systems and communication behaviours of Native students. Many different cultures representing a wide variety of value systems and communication behaviours have accommodated themselves to the "system" and have often attained success. The glaring difference is that Native people are not part of the immigrant population. The unstated but essential aspect of the whole

issue that Preston addresses is that Native people have a much longer history of being rejected by the Mainstream system than do immigrants. The result has been that not only has the Mainstream formed negative stereotypes of Native people as students but Native students themselves have formed negative impressions of what their success rate in the Mainstream will be. No one will contradict the facts surrounding the dismal success rate of Native students in the Mainstream system. It has been stated again and again that the non-Native system is not reaching the majority of Native students. Based on the outcomes of the present study, one might conclude that Native students have assimilated or been assimilated very well. Toohey (1987) also found no difference between N and nN primary school children in their sharing time stories. But these outcomes are not borne out by academic results. Of the Musqueam children, some of whom were used in Toohey's (1987) research, half of the K-8 children were assessed by their teachers as having language development delays when they entered kindergarten. By the intermediate grades they were, on average, seventeen months below grade norms (Anderson, 1986). In a demographic study of N students in Vancouver where the percentage of Native students was comparable to this study's (2%), it was found that considerably more N than nN students dropped out at all secondary grades (Hunter & Stevens, 1980). Nakonechny and Anderson (1982) sum up the Native student's experience in the Mainstream classroom:

Many Native students leave school because they are unable to keep pace with the expected levels of reading and writing achievement that have been determined by normative testing. . . . Very early in their schooling, many Native children are described as slow learners and segregated with others who are called slow learners in isolated reading groups. They are made to feel stupid while other children are made to feel clever--because the school values the home experience of one group but not the other. By the time students have arrived at the secondary level, their teachers' early expectations of their levels of achievement have usually been fulfilled.

(p. 47)

The current thrust of Native education is to develop their own schools and have their own people get the students to perform through culturally appropriate pedagogy. Many on-reserve schools have already experienced success (Alkali Lake, British Columbia; Sandy Bay, Manitoba; Nisga'a Elementary Secondary School, New Aiyansh, British Columbia). What is now required is a consistent funding plan. Evidence that this plan is imminent is noted in the 1988 Royal Commission Report on Education, Province of British Columbia, which recommends:

That the federal and provincial governments accord to Native bands and councils the appropriate authority and attendant resources to enable them to engage effectively in the self-determination of, or shared responsibility

for, the education of their children. Further, that financial resources commensurate with meeting the actual costs of educating Native learners be available to bands and councils. (p. 58)

One must, however cynically, recognize that the above represents recommendations which may or may not be implemented.

Other oppressed peoples have maintained their cultural heritage through their own schools, either at after-school or Saturday morning sessions. Native people as First Nations people deserve to have an independent school system and not be subject to continued studies of how they can best be fit into Mainstream schools. This study has shown that in one community for two Grade levels, Native students are, for the most part, keeping up with their non-Native peers in some areas of language. However, there is also evidence that interest in school tasks has begun to wane by Grade 9 and that the perception of Native students by non-Native students as "different" is greater than at the Grade 6 level. If we wait another 150 years, perhaps Native people will not require a separate system of education. The loss of their culture and heritage will be ours as well as theirs.

The present study has shown that for this particular group of Native students, language is not an inhibiting factor to performance in school. The Native students were not quiet or monotonal. Their speech did not contain more or less ungrammatical forms than non-Native students. In terms of

narrative form, the Grade 6 Native students performed as well as their non-Native peers. The Grade 9 Native students results were the same as their non-Native peers except in the area of evaluation, which would place them in Labov's terms as a less able story-teller. Despite this evidence, nearly half the Grade 6 students and two-thirds the Grade 9 students thought that Native people speak differently. Comments from the teachers in the area included: "Native students in the area have become more 'white' in the last few years"; "They [Native students] have to become more like us to survive"; "* name of Native student * talks as little as * name of Native student *- maybe because they're cousins." Stereotypes die hard. It is hoped that this study will dispel some.

APPENDIX A
FILM QUESTIONS AND PROCEDURE

Film QuestionsThe Purse (11:36)

1. How did the old lady get the purse off the bus?
2. What did the old lady see in the paper?
3. What did the young couple do about the theft?
4. What made the old lady change her mind?
5. What do you think the woman did when she got her purse back?
6. Describe a similar incident where you or a friend found something that wasn't yours. What did you/he/she do?

The Awful Fate of Melpomenus Jones (7:48)

1. What was Melpomenus' problem?
2. What was Mr. Jones doing on this day and why couldn't he leave?
3. How long did he stay?
4. How did they entertain him?
5. Did the people really want him to stay?
6. What did he look like after a few days?
7. How did he spend his days?
8. What eventually happened to him?
9. Have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to leave but didn't know how?

Gurdeep Singh Bains (11:55)

1. What does Gurdeep wear to show that he is a Sikh?
2. What sports does Gurdeep like?
3. What are some of his chores around the farm?
4. How old is he?
5. How do you milk a cow?
6. What's manure used for?
7. How did his mum and dad marry?
8. Where do they go to church?
9. What is the inside of the church like?
10. What else was interesting about the film?
11. Do you know a group of people in Chilliwack who are culturally different?

Ted Baryluk's Grocery (10:19)

1. Describe what Ted does.
2. Why is he retiring?
3. What does his daughter (not) want to do?
4. What are his customers like?
5. Has the neighbourhood changed at all over Ted's lifetime/
6. How does what you want to do and what your parents want to do differ?

Rice Harvest (11:40)

1. How does the bush pilot, Jim Johnson, get up to the rice fields?
2. How does the rice grow? Describe the rice fields.
3. How is the rice harvested? Describe the machinery.
4. How much can each Indian expect to earn in a good year?
5. Where is the rice usually grown (In what countries)?
6. Have you ever been ripped off before or known anyone who has?

Written procedure for narrators:

Consider the above points when you are telling your classmate about the film. Add any other information you think will help that person understand the film better. Discuss the last point with that person.

Oral instructions to narrators:

Use these questions as a guide to help you remember parts of the film. Tell * name of other student * about the film, then talk about anything that interests you both. You will talk for about 15 minutes. I will come and tell you when to stop talking.

APPENDIX B
FILM DESCRIPTIONS

The following films were shown to the Grade 6 and Grade 9 students and were the basis for their S/S film narratives.

Film Descriptions

The Awful Fate of Melpomenus Jones: Based on a story by Stephen Leacock, this film describes a pastor's visit to a parishpner's home on the first day of his holidays. Because he is so polite, he cannot refuse his hostess' exuberant requests that he continue to stay. As a result, he spends his whole six weeks holiday there, eventually passing away. (Animated, comedy).

The Purse: An elderly lady notices a purse left behind on the bus by a young woman. She takes it home and discovers that there is quite a bit of money in it, as well as the owner's name and address. While she deliberates over whether or not to return the purse, the woman who lost it applies for reimbursal from the insurance company. Both women have to face their own particular moral dilemmas, as the young woman receives the purse back after she has been reimbursed by the insurance company.

Gurdeep Singh Bains: Filmed in Chilliwack, this film describes the everyday life of a young Sikh boy and his family, showing how his life is very similar to, and different from, any other Canadian boy's life.

Ted Baryluk's Grocery: The corner grocery store is the focus of this Winnipeg-based film, and how an old man deals with his failing health, his daughter's decision to move away from the neighbourhood and the business he has spent his life building provide the framework for the plot.

Rice harvest: The wild rice fields of Northern Manitoba and the Native people who tend them provide the setting for this film. The film illustrates the harvest of the wild rice by means of canoe-type threshers and shows the bush pilots bartering with the local people over the price. This delicacy, which sells for as much as \$20 a pound on the world market is bought from these people for \$2 a pound. The effect of this trade on the people's lifestyles is mentioned.

APPENDIX C
CENTER FOR SPEECH TECHNOLOGY RESEARCH
SENTENCES ANALYZED

The following are the Grade 6 film narrative sentences analyzed at the Centre for Speech Technology Research, The University of Victoria. Three files are represented. Declarative sentences were chosen because of the predictable intonation contour Eady states:

"The intonation contour for declarative sentences in English is characterized by a general decline in F_0 from the beginning to the end of the utterance. . . . The F_0 pattern of the declarative sentence has been described as starting at a relatively high level and having a gradually falling slope that is interrupted by a rise in F_0 for stressed words or syllables and that resumes its decline to the end of the utterance."

Eady, 1982, p. 30

One problem encountered with the Grade 6 statements is that most of the students never ended their sentences but would go on and on using the conjunction, "and" endlessly. There is however a slight fall in intonation before the beginning of the next main clause. Three dots (. . .) are used to indicate a pause or the continuation of a previous or subsequent clause. If there were any prompts from the student they were talking to or other distracting noises, these "clunks" were simply erased from the speech sample although they are transcribed here to facilitate comprehension. Because the samples are taken from free narrative speech, they are not exactly alike. The only way they could have been exactly alike is to have had students

read a text. This would have complicated the data as reading skills would have had to have been taken into account. Statements were all taken from the S/S film narratives and the ethnicity of the speaker is stated.

Statements from the film, Gurdeep Singh Bains

(1) Native: They work on the farm 'n he has to milk, uh, collect all the cows 'n bring them into the farm to milk 'em.

(2) Native: Then next after that he hasta, to milk them for extra milk. He chases 'em back into the field. . .

(3) Native: . . . and they were like milking cows, and round-gathering the cows up and then after he finished, um, milking the cows he hadda, he hadda to, uh, squeeze the things to get the extra milk out and, um,

(4) Non-Native: Some of the chores he does around the farm are he milks, like he gathers the cows and takes them into the barn an' then he milks them and that like after they milk them they have to squeeze out the extra milk, just, you know, just in case.

(5) Native: He jus' milks 'n things like that with cows.

Statements from the film, The Awful Fate of Malcomenus Jones

(1) Native: He spend, he spent his days drinkin' tea and lookin' at the pictures.

(2) Non-Native: . . . he spent his days by looking at more pictures of photographs and tea and playing with the baby and stuff and, uh,

(3) Native: . . . they would always get him to look at these pictures and he'd go crazy over them.

(4) Non-Native: . . .and then after that he had thirteen more cups of tea and then said. . .

(5) Native: . . . he spent his days lookin' at photographs and drinkin' tea.

Statements taken from the film, The Purse

(1) Non-Native: . . . 'n she noticed she forgot it so she went over, snuck over 'n snuck it into her, ah, into her paper bag and took it home with her.

(2) Non-Native: Later she, um, put the purse in her bag, right? 'N then, um, 'n then [prompted by the other student with "After that. . ."]. Put it in her shopping bag 'n then she, they, she took, got off the bus 'n then went to her place, right?

(3) Native: The old lady took the purse and put it in her bag and she got off the bus.

(4) Non-Native: The old lady went and sat . . . she saw that there was a purse on the seat where the other lady was sitting. So she went and sat there an' then she, it was on the floor, so she just put her bag down there an' picked it up.

(5) Native: . . . and then the old lady went over and got the purse, put it in the bag.

(6) Native: The old lady went over there to go and get it and she took it home.

(7) Non-Native: She like, she takes the purse, right? She doesn't plan on gettin', givin' it back 'n then she goes home .

(8) Non-Native: They, um, the old lady got the, uh, purse out of the bus by, uh, by, uh, putting it in a shopping bag and, uh,

(9) Native: The other lady sat down and put it in her bag 'n she got out the bus and went home.

(10) Native: She walked over there, put it in her bag, she went home.

APPENDIX C

KENT'S STUDY OF FUNDAMENTAL FREQUENCY



American Speech-Language-Hearing Association

10801 Rockville Pike • Rockville, Maryland 20852 • (301) 897-5700 (Voice or TTY)

November 23, 1988

Ms. Pamela D. Hansen
1907 Banbury Road
North Vancouver, B.C. V7G 1W6
CANADA

Dear Ms. Hansen:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your request for permission to reprint a figure from Kent, R. D. (1976). Tutorial. Anatomical and neuromuscular maturation of the speech mechanism: Evidence from acoustic data. Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, 19, 421-447.

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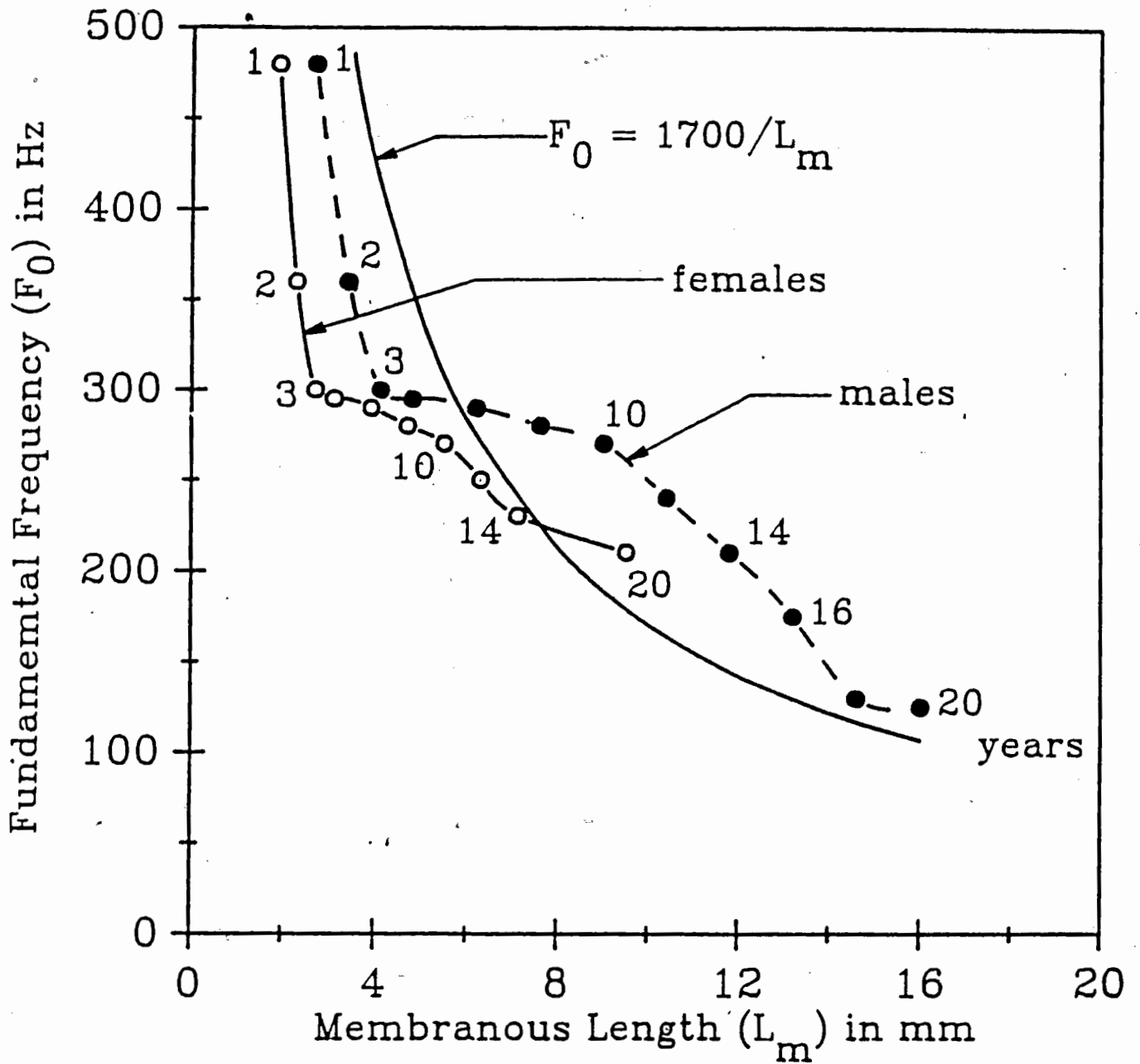
Sincerely,

Patricia K. Van der Meeren
Publications Division

cc: Raymond D. Kent, Ph.D.



The following diagram illustrates the relationship between mean speaking fundamental frequency and membranous vocal fold length for males and females. The diagram shows that up to the age of twelve, the F_0 of males and females is practically the same. Grade 6 students would be eleven and twelve years of age. This diagram was included to justify using the same fundamental frequency for the Grade 6 boys and girls (see Chapter Three).



APPENDIX E
CODING MANUAL

Transcription conventions

The following transcription conventions are used in the transcriptions in Appendix F and in Chapter Four. Students' informal use of phrases and words such as "hafta" (= have to); "gonna" (= going to); and the dropping of letters, "'n" (= and), "watchin'" (= watching) were transcribed as closely to the actual pronunciation as possible.

. Indicates sentence final falling intonation. In several cases, students connected sentences again and again with "and", so it was a long time before they finished their "sentence."

, clause final but not sentence final intonation.

? rising intonation, not necessarily a question.

[] short interruption by interlocutor

unintelligible

. . . long pause

Labov's normal narrative

File narratives were marked for the five parts of Labov's narrative: Abstract, Orientation, Complication Action, Evaluation, and Result.

Tense

File narratives were coded for three tenses: Past (P), Historic Present (HP), and Actual Present (AP).

Main Tense

The number of Past tenses and Historic Present tenses were counted and the predominant tense was cited as the main tense

for that narrative. If the number of Past and Historic Present was each 45-55% of the total, then the narrative was classified as No Main Tense (NMT). Actual Present, though coded was not counted in the Main Tense calculation.

Tense switches

Every switch from Past to Historic Present and from Historic Present to Past was counted as one switch. A switch from Past to Actual Present was not counted as a switch, nor was a switch from Historic Present to Actual Present. The total number of switches for each narrative was recorded.

APPENDIX E
TRANSCRIPTS OF NO MAIN TENSE NARRATIVES

No Main Tense narratives referred to in Chapter Four:

GRADE 6

Non-Native

(1) 'N there's this other lady, she, she gets off the bus 'n leaves her purse there in this old lady that was on kind of like a fixed income like 'cause she's not, doesn't have that much money. She like, she takes the purse, right. She doesn't plan gettin', givin' it back 'n then she goes home 'n she thinks about, uh, what like what she did 'n then she feels kinda guilty but, 'n this lady put an ad out in the paper about the the wallet. The purse that was missing right. 'N so the lady decided she wasn't going to give it back though so she walked to the, this store, right? 'N there's . . . She was standin' by the counter lookin' at things 'n then she goes, um, 'n then she watches this kid steal something 'n then she thinks about what she did 'n that she was just like him 'n then she goes outside 'n there's these Salvation Army guys playing this music, right? So she . . . it kind of makes her feel bad so she goes home, she phones this lady, right? 'N then like they came, the lady came and got the purse 'n she said that her friend found it not like that she didn't find it. 'N then so . . . then the lady, she said that she lost a hundred and ten dollars but she actually , she claimed that from the insurance but she only actually lost less than eighty because she spent some money. She bought the purse on sale. 'N that's about it.

Number of HP = 19

Number of P = 21

GRADE 9

1) Native

The movie was about, um, a bush pilot and some Indian . . . 'kay and it's where, um, how did they grow rice 'n well it's all this rice, "Rice Harvest", the movie's called and the rice, um, grew in, um, some shallow lake shallow lake in. . . This movie was taken by . . . The rice is harvested by this machine pulled by two canoes with a motor on it. [Did they have the motor right in the middle of the two canoes or something?] No, they had it at the back. [Oh, right]. Two guys. They were on each side and the two guys there was a handle and they just steered it or turned it and and, um, the Indians well the rice is market, it's about twenty pounds, one pound for twenty dollars. [One pound for twently dollars]. Ya, something like that. And the Indians only got paid two twenty-five per pound. And the rice is usually . . . talked about in hot climates. [Ya. Socials. Where'd they have the rice? --in water or stickin' like they have no rice]. Well, they're little plants and, um, they grow up they just took the seed, the top of the plant.

They just roll it. They just took the top off or top . . . I can't explain it.

Number of P = 12
Number of HP = 10

1) Non-Native

OK, there was this man . . . [What was his name?] Melpomus or whatever. See this word here. That's his name. [Melapoloenus. OK] Ya, that's right. And he went to this, he was on vacation, right. He was a minister or priest or something like that. I don't know what it's called. [Is this a cartoon?] yes, it was a cartoon. Little stick men walkin' around, you know. And so he went to this, his friend's house just to visit for the afternoon and the lady was there. And she goes, "Do you want tea?" and so he goes, "OK, right. He sits down and he's drinkin' tea here and just sittin' there and we're watchin' them drinkin' tea. [Afternoon tea] Right. OK, and then he goes, "Well, I really must go", right, and she goes, "Oh, don't go yet. Please stay." Right. And then he goes, "OK", so he has more tea and then he goes, "Well . . ." and she goes, "No, don't go yet." Right. And she invited him for supper and he couldn't get away. She wouldn't let him leave. [Why not?] Well, she wanted him to stay and then her husband came home and he wanted him to leave, right. And he came back the next day and he was still there? 'Cause he didn't know how to say he wanted to go. Right? 'Cause he didn't just want to be rude and say, "I don't wanna, I don't wanna stay." You know. "It's boring." Drinking tea. He stayed there for a whole month. Six weeks or something like that. [And that's it?] His whole vacation. He died . . . at the end. Nice movie, eh? He died, right. [We had to see one on rice.] Rice? Oh, my God. And so he stood there. And the guy, the lady's husband. She tried to say to him. He tried to say to him. She's, like joking, "Gees, you've been here a long time, don't you think it's time to leave?" And he didn't get it and he goes, then he goes like this he goes, "I might have to charge you room and board pretty soon." So the guy paid him, 'cause he thought that's what he wanted? And it's so funny. It's just stupid. 'Cause he didn't leave and he dies. So sad.

Number of P = 28
Number of HP = 28

APPENDIX G
DIALECT OPINIONS

Student responses to the question, "Do Native people speak differently?"

NOTE: Not all student opinions are included here as some simply said "yes" or "no."

[] indicate when this researcher interrupts the students, either to ask a question or to ask for clarification

() indicate where this researcher has added some explanation of what students are saying.

-- indicates a parenthetical thought by student.

Asterisks are used in place of a student's name.

* N * = Native student

* nN * = non-Native student

GRADE 9

NATIVE

1) I think there is but it all depends on how you're brought up. I was brought up speaking like dad (white). About seventy-five percent of our town is Native in Lytton. Somehow I didn't really speak that way, right? I don't know--it all depends on how you are and who're you're living with 'n stuff.

2) Well sure. There might be a little bit. Things like, you know, um, non-Native kids might use, um, you know bigger words or something longer words maybe that you can't understand or something. But maybe that might have to do with school. . . but you don't really know the way they talk from outta school cause you're not really around them. You know like Native kids

usually stick together. Like * N * and us you know, we're not really with non-Native guys. But, um, that's no hassle for us you know. . . we get along with them.

3) I don't know. Well, I don't know. I was watchin' a show like there a there's . . . I was thinkin' that too when I was watchin' that show, uh, some of those Indians in that movie sounded different from another person like. No, this was Channel Two in British Columbia here and, uh, I think I don't think some of them talk different than some other. It's wierd. Like my grandpa used to talk I don't know in a different way anyhow. I don' know how to explain it.

NON-NATIVE

1) Oh ya. Oh not really, sorta. Well some Indian guys talk you know really Indian sort of talk . . .depends on I don't know, what kind of family you come from.

2) Ya. You look at * N * and then somebody like * nN * or me or something and it's altogether different. * N *, * N *, they all talk differently, talk about rock and everything. They're into new wave rock. All their jackets have symbols of rock on it (redirected by me back to speech differences). Ya, a little bit of difference, um, they talk with a lot of "Man's" and "OK" like "It's OK, man" 'n that 'n I don't know, it's basically the same. If you were an Indian a hundred years ago, it'd be a lot different.

3) Probably is. Not much. There is a bit. Well, the way they

speak, it seems a lot more harsh or something than what, how we speak. Some of them are not like that though. I don't really think there's too much of a difference. Well, they're more slang, it seems. In some manner but then there's non-Natives that are like that too. So it's hard to say.

4) Ya. Well, they say a sentence they go, um, you'll say, I gotta think, um, "No, you're not", they'll say "No, you ain't" or something like that and swear words and something I don't say them [and non-Native kids don't use swear words?]. No, like they say it differently, like the sound is different. [Different accent, maybe?]. Ya.

5) Yes, they speak different, I think. Can't describe any differences--they say "Hey, man"--hard to explain--no difference in speed--hard to tell.

6) Well, kinda. I kinda think so. 'Cause they . . . I don't know. They just seem ta be more cooler. You know what I mean like, be more, uh, I forget the word, they're more . . . you know. They're quieter sometimes, um, they mumble a lot. . . I don't know. That's about it, I guess.

GRADE 6

NATIVE

1) A little bit. When I was small in kindergarten this teacher I knew knew how to talk Indian and I forgot when I got older and my grandpa tried to teach me but I don't know not'in. Only a little bit. Then he died. (Confused speaking Indian with speaking English differently--did concede that his grandfather

spoke English differently).

2) Not really. Cause when I first went to school I went to a better place like St. Mary's, like in Edmonton. Sifton Elementary and in smaller places and all that. [You think the school makes a difference?] Not really. They teach you more harder, teach harder and that's all. They teach you how to talk the right ways like, um, to say, "I seen a horse yesterday" they say, "No, it's correct, 'I saw a horse yesterday'". Correct yourself.

3) Kind of, I guess. [How?] I don't know. Some of them might have lower voices. How their "s's". Like I do, the way I say my s's. [How do you say your s's?] S's. I say my . . . [Say "seats"]. Seats. [That's no different]. Well like when I say "panacake". I say "panacake". I don't say it the way the other people say it. . . Same with my brother. He says that too. [Any other words you think are different?] No.

4) No. It's just that Native kids might not be as educated. Oh well like quite a few Native kids don't have as much help at home by parents.

NON-NATIVE

1) Well they might think we have an accent but sometimes I think they do but like they say, they say things like /InIt/ (= isn't it)--they shorten up words kinda. [Like what?] Like they say /InIt/ and stuff like that. Ya, they always say that. They say there's just different ones that they say--* N * talks

like that quite a bit. They, I don't know, they probably think we have an accent but they kinda have an accent--that's the only difference I know.

2) Ya, quite a bit. [Around here?] Well, some people. . . [What's the difference?] Well it seems like they talk through their teeth. They don't know the English language properly, not that I do or anything but . . . [What about up North--any difference there? (This student had lived in Prince George)] Not really.

3) Ya, there probably is. They learn to talk differently than other people have. They just grow up that way. They use different words than us but they talk the same.

4) Ya, a little. Well, they, they, uh, the, like when we say "yes", like most people say "yes" and most, uh, Indians say "ya". I say "ya" sometimes, but most of the time I say "yes".

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