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August 4, 1990

THE EXTENT OF SPOKEN CROW AND CHEYENNE AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS
OF THE CROW AND NORTHERN CHEYENNE INDIAN RESERVATIONS

by

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A professional paper submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

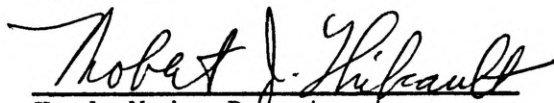
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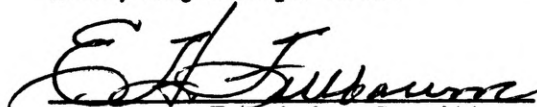
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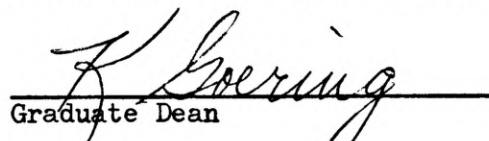
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Abstract

In the fall of 1969, schools from the Crow, Northern Cheyenne, and Rocky Boy Indian Reservations decided to cooperate in a joint bilingual education program to be funded under the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII - ESEA).

In order to meet certain minimum requirements for funding under Title VII, the existence of a true bilingual school population had to be established. All three reservations had a bilingual school population, but no study had previously been made to determine to what extent the native languages existed among school-age children.

A study was then conducted in the schools throughout the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations to determine certain essential facts.¹ Those facts were:

1. How many Indian students spoke their native languages as a primary or dominant language?
2. How many Indian students spoke their native languages as a secondary language?
3. How many Indian students spoke only English?
4. Were the Indian languages diminishing?
5. Population trends, school census data, etc.

All the students (Grades 1-12) totalling 3626, of which 2020 were Indian, had their lingual characteristics assessed. The schools on or near the two Reservations participated in the study. The author with the assistance of Indian-speaking interpreters visited each classroom and conducted the study.

The study revealed the following. On the Crow Reservation, 82% of the Crow students were dominant Crow speakers; 8% were secondary Crow speakers; 10% spoke only English. Of the Cheyenne students, 55% were dominant Cheyenne speakers; 18% were secondary Cheyenne speakers; 27% were speakers of only English.

Both reservations showed a steady increase in Indian enrollment. No statistical evidence was discovered which would suggest that either language was diminishing among the young.

¹The Rocky Boy schools were not included in the study.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In 1965, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to assist the nation's schools in meeting the demands of modern education. Among the several acts making up the whole of ESEA was the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII). This act was hailed by many educators to be answer to certain school problems because it promised to provide funds and technical assistance to schools having a bilingual school population.

The bilingual child, e.g., the Spanish and Indian child, on the average, shows a dramatic lack in oral English ability when he enters school. He also usually brings with him a culturally different background. His lingual characteristics and cultural differences create immense problems for the schools which are normally geared for the monolingual English speaking child with a middle-class background. Bilingual and culturally different school populations, however, do not exist in complete isolation except in a few rare cases. Normally, sizable groups of children, whether they be from the dominant culture or not, co-exist within the same general area. Thus the schools are faced with a dilemma--what to do with culturally and linguistically diverse groups of children within the context of the school.

The early efforts in bilingual education under Title VII were mainly attempted in the Spanish speaking communities of the United States. Educators reasoned that:

The basic problem was the inability of the school to cope with the language and cultural assets of the Spanish-speaking youngsters. Many of these young people came to school speaking Spanish with a limited or non-existent communication skill in English, and frequently the youngster was functionally non-communicative in both languages...As a means of hastening his acquisition of English, speaking of Spanish was forbidden at school. The result was that the Spanish-speaking child might spend more than two years learning English, isolated from the rest of his classmates for a large part of the school day. The inevitable happened: The youngster was caught in a language and culture conflict between his home and school. He began to doubt his identity as a member of a family with a treasured language and culture, and to suspect the motives of the school in insisting that he reject his linguistic and cultural diversity in order to meet the standards of the system...¹

Educators from Montana Indian reservations, aware of the similarity between their school problems and those of the Spanish speaking communities, began to recognize the potential of bilingual educational programs. In the fall of 1969, the Montana State Department of Public Instruction called together educators and lay persons from the seven Montana Indian reservations. The purpose of this meeting was to (1) outline the eligibility requirements for

¹Armando Rodriguez, "The Necessity for Bilingual Education," Wilson Library Bulletin, (March 1970), pp. 726-7

assistance under Title VII and (2) to seek a cooperative bilingual education proposal from all interested school districts.

Three school districts representing three Indian reservations, the Crow, the Northern Cheyenne, and the Rocky Boy (Chippewa-Cree), decided they could meet the requirements for assistance, viz., a high-incidence of children from low-income backgrounds and a significant number of children speaking a language other than English as a dominant language. It was then decided that a cooperative bilingual education proposal (preliminary) would be submitted to the U.S. Office of Education for review. It was also decided that School District 17-H (Hardin) would act as the fiscal agent, should such a program be funded. The Hardin administration released the author of this paper to develop both the preliminary proposal and the final proposal.

Just what is meant by bilingual education? The U.S. Office of Education has defined the purposes of a bilingual education program to be a program which:

...is designed to meet the special educational needs of children who have limited English-speaking ability, who come from environments where the dominant language is one other than English, and who come from low-income families.¹

¹Manual for project applicants for programs under Bilingual Education Act (Title VII ESEA) March 20 draft, 1970, p. 1.

Bilingual education can be further defined as:

...the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures.¹

In even greater detail, bilingual educational programs are programs which possess the following characteristics:

1. English is recognized and taught as a second language to a child whose dominant language is one other than English.
2. The child's dominant language is recognized and taught as a first language.
3. The child is taught one or more academic subjects in his dominant language, at least until he has mastered enough English.
4. The child whose dominant language is English is taught the dominant language of the other children.
5. There is provision made for increasing the instructional use of both languages for both groups in the same classroom.
6. The child is taught the history and cultural heritage which reflects the value system of speakers of both languages.

A. Statement of the Problem(s)

Among the numerous and important considerations which had to be examined before a formal bilingual proposal could be developed (in fact,

¹Bilingual Education Manual, op. cit., p. 1.

that which went to the heart of the proposal) was the extent to which bilingualism actually existed in the reservation area school populations. Heretofore, no study had been made on either the Crow or the Northern Cheyenne Reservations which could point to (with a reasonable degree of accuracy) the extent that bilingualism existed among school age children.¹

Reservation area teachers and administrators were fully aware of the large numbers of speakers of Crow and Cheyenne in their schools. But they could not say, for example, to what extent the native languages existed. Thus the author of this study was faced with the task of determining a number of facts, some directly related to the question of bilingualism itself, and some related necessarily to the question of whether a bilingual education program was relevant, feasible, etc.

In order to establish these facts and the educational inferences which could be drawn from them, and after considerable consultation with local educators, persons from the State Department of Public Instruction and others, the author decided to conduct a study.

In developing the study the author was faced with a series of problems which divided themselves into three (3) main categories. These three categories were:

¹Personnel from the Rocky Boy Reservation conducted their own bilingual study.

1. The problem of who was to be involved in the study, i.e., which schools should be involved?
2. The problem(s) of what was to be ascertained about bilingualism on both the Crow and the Northern Cheyenne Reservations.
3. The problem(s) of how such was to be measured, recorded, etc.

The Problem of Who

It was decided to involve all school age children (Grades 1 - 12) from the schools on or near the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations.¹ It should be noted that the two reservations are adjacent, both sharing a common border, with the Crow Reservation lying to the west of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. The decision to also include schools near the two reservations was based on the fact that many of these schools have sizable Indian enrollments. All the schools involved in the study had Indian students in attendance.

Six different school systems exist on or immediately near the Crow Reservation with a total of nine separate school sites. The largest of these systems, Hardin, administers elementary schools at Crow Agency and Fort Smith, besides Hardin. The other public schools are Lodge Grass, Wyola, Edgar, and Pryor. Two Catholic mission schools, St. Xavier and St. Charles are also found on the Crow Reservation. These schools vary in enrollment from 1350 students down to 40 students. Three school systems exist on the Northern Cheyenne

¹Northern Cheyenne students attending Colstrip Public School were not included in the study.

students down to 40 students. Three school systems exist on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation: Busby (BIA); Lame Deer (Public); and St. Labre (Catholic Mission). (see Table 1 for individual school breakdowns)

The Problem of What

The problem(s) of what subdivided into two categories. These were (1) determining the bilingual characteristics of all students in the schools named above and (2) gathering school census data, determining growth patterns, etc.

Bilingual Characteristics (of each reservation)

The following questions were considered basic to the information about bilingualism which was sought:

1. How many Indian students spoke the Indian language as a primary or dominant language?
2. How many Indian students spoke the Indian language as a secondary language?
3. How many Indian students did not speak the Indian language? In other words how many were monolingual English speakers?
4. Did fewer Indian students (proportionately) speak the native or Indian language today than did in the past, i. e., between grades one and twelve? In other words were there significant signs that the Indian tongue as a dominant language was diminishing?

Census Data, etc. (by individual school and by reservation)

The following census information was considered basic to the whole question of bilingual education:

- a) How many Indian students were enrolled?
- b) How many white students were enrolled?
- c) What were the percentages of both Indians and whites?
- d) In what grades were the greatest concentration of Indians and whites found - were there any growth patterns unfolding?
- e) Other data, e.g., what other Indian tribes were represented other than Crow and Northern Cheyenne?

The Problem(s) of How

When the study was being conceived, the author devised a questionnaire which could be filled out by the classroom teacher. Such a questionnaire was designed to get answers to the questions listed above. However, when an analysis was made of the data which were going to be determined by the questionnaire, the questionnaire was rejected as a means for obtaining such data for the following reasons:

1. Too much data were being sought via an instrument such as a questionnaire.
2. The nature and complexity of the study required identical assessing methods and procedures if the study's results were to have any validity.
3. Considerable confusion among educators existed as to the questionnaire's terminology, e.g., dominant language, bilingualism, etc.

4. Gathering such data was a time-consuming task and as such was an imposition upon both teachers and administrators.

In lieu of a questionnaire, and faced with a federal deadline of one month in submitting a preliminary bilingual proposal, the author decided that the most practical, expeditious, and effective way to conduct the study was to do so in person. He, therefore, decided to visit each school and each class of each school. After explaining to the various school administrations the purposes of the study, etc., permission to visit the schools for the express purpose of conducting the study was asked. Permission in every case was granted.

In order for the recording of the data to be uniform, a recording sheet for each class with appropriate spaces for identifying the class, school, etc., plus the data being sought was developed by the author.

Determining certain data, e.g., the number of Indians and whites in each class, created no special problems. However, the data relating to bilingualism itself were of a unique nature and assessing and recording them accurately was a special problem.

Assessing the bilingual characteristics of the children required the services of native speaking interpreters. With the older children, getting this information presented no particular problem. But with the younger children, particularly those in the elementary grades, the presence of native speakers was absolutely necessary.

Fortunately, getting interpreters proved to be no problem. Each school had Indian personnel present, e.g., teacher aides, Head Start assistants, cooks, home-school liaison, etc., and these persons were incorporated into the study as the author went from school to school. Also, several classroom teachers were native Crow speakers and assisted the author. One, Mrs. Josephine Russell, a classroom teacher at Crow Agency, accompanied the author throughout most of the Crow Reservation and, of course, proved to be invaluable. The reader should be made aware of the following facts. Of the 230 classroom teachers serving both the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations, only 7 have an Indian heritage. Approximately 40% of the students from schools on or near the Crow Reservation are Indian.¹ In the Northern Cheyenne Reservation schools, 90% are Indian.²

B. Procedures Followed in Conducting the Study.

After it was decided what was to be determined by the study, the permission to visit the school granted, etc., the procedures listed below were then followed.

¹As verified by this study.

²Ibid.

Upon arrival at each school, the administrator, either the superintendent and/or principal was contacted. A short review of the study's purposes was then given. Also, at this time the administrators were asked to recommend a native speaking person(s) from their staffs who might assist the author with the study.

The author then contacted these people, explained the purpose(s) of the study, and asked for their assistance. Without exception the native speaking Indian people agreed to assist the author. The next step was to go into detail with the interpreters as to the exact nature of the bilingual characteristics being assessed.

After this was accomplished, the next step was to visit the classrooms. The following routine was then followed.

Step 1 - After asking permission from the teacher to visit her class, apologizing for the interruption, making the introductions, etc., a brief explanation was given to both the teacher and the class about the purpose of the visit. The amount of detail depended upon the age of the group.

Step 2 - A classroom census was taken - how many Indians, how many whites, how many students absent, etc. The names of the absent students were recorded for later reference.

Step 3 - The bilingual characteristics were assessed. Usually, the interpreters began asking general questions in the

native language, i.e., either Crow or Cheyenne and directing them to the Indian students. Almost without exception, the interpreters already knew the individual children and whether they were dominant Indian speakers or not. The interpreters noted the responses to their questions and made their recommendations to the author. When they were in doubt about a child, i.e., whether he spoke his native language as a dominant or a secondary language, more concentrated questions were asked of that child, e.g., what is your father's name, where do you live, etc. The interpreters (two or more were usually present) and the classroom teacher would then reach a conclusion about that particular child. The author would then record their recommendations.

Finally, the absent students were accounted for in terms of their bilingual characteristics. This did not prove to be too difficult since both the teacher and the interpreters already knew a great deal about the child and his family.

Great pains to be consistent in the approaches were taken by the author as he visited each school. Normally, he began with the first grade children and then worked up to the next grade.

To account for the older Crow Indian students who were attending out-of-state boarding schools, the author visited the tribal education

officials and obtained information about the students, their families, etc. With the help of native speaking people, their bilingual characteristics were inferred. This information is included in the Appendix.

The routine described above was followed from school to school. The school visits took over two weeks. After the compilations of all the data were made, they were put into breadowns by individual schools and by reservations and then sent to the cooperating schools for their scrutiny.¹

C. Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to answering only those questions posed in the Statement of the Problem. It did not attempt to measure in any way, nor should it be construed by the reader to have measured, the proficiency in either the native language or in English which the Indian students possessed.

Generally speaking, the Indian student who spoke his language as a primary or dominant language showed a serious deficiency in his oral English ability. There were, of course, Indian students who were equally facile in both languages, but they were truly in the minority.

¹The author did not visit Edgar Public School. The Edgar Superintendent, Fred Trimmer, was familiar with the design of the study and made the assessment with the assistance of his staff.

It must also be recognized by the reader that many Indian students, who are dominant native speakers, have insufficient development in their own language when compared to other native speakers of their peer group. But the author repeats, this study did not attempt to measure either the Indian or the English oral proficiency of the Indian students.

D. Definitions of Words Used in the Study.

Bilingual - The word "bilingual" and its variance as used in the study referred to the ability to speak two or more languages. The word bilingual, however, did not imply, in terms of the study, mastery of either language (or degrees of mastery).

Bilingual Student - The words "bilingual student" referred to students who, because of a family and/or peer relationships, had some ability in either the Indian or English languages. Being such a student did not imply mastery of either language or degrees of mastery.

Indian - For purposes of the study the word "Indian" was defined as a person who was enrolled as a member of an Indian tribe.

Primary or Dominant Speaker - Both the words "primary" and "dominant" were considered as synonymous in the study. They referred to the Indian student who learned to speak his native language first at home,

who continued to speak such language at home, and who spoke his native language in his peer relationships.

Secondary Speaker - A "secondary" speaker was defined as an Indian student who had a slight conversational and/or listening ability in Indian. English was obviously the primary language of the student. Such a student had some exposure to the Indian language when he was very young or in his peer relationships. Such students could respond accurately to simple questions and commands in Indian. Usually, such a student could understand more in Indian than he could say. He responded in English rather than Indian to simple Indian queries.

Monolingual Speaker - A "monolingual" speaker was defined as an Indian student who spoke only English.

CHAPTER II

A Discussion of the Bilingual Characteristics, Census Data and Other Related Factors

Crow Reservation

The study examined a total of 2665 students for their bilingual characteristics. Of this number, 1131 were Indian and 1534 were non-Indian. Of the 1131 Indian students, 1102 were members of the Crow Tribe. Of this number 906 or 82% spoke Crow as a dominant language. A total of 86 or 8% of the Crow students spoke Crow as a secondary language. Only 110 or 10% of the Crow students spoke just English. (see Appendix for tables on individual school and reservation breakdowns)

There was no evidence to conclude that the Crow language was on the wane, i.e., that it was diminishing proportionately between first and twelfth grades. Of 162 Crow first grade students, 134 or 82% spoke Crow as a dominant language. Of 44 Crow twelfth graders, 35 or 79% spoke dominant Crow. The highest percentage of Crow dominant speakers was found in the ninth grade - 90%; the lowest percentage was found in the eleventh grade - 72%.

The data showed that for the first time, the Crow Indian enrollment in an individual grade exceeded that of the white enrollment. The first grades had 163 Indian students and 138 white students.

Contrasting this with the figures from the twelfth grades showed only 44 Indians enrolled as opposed to 95 whites. It should be noted by the reader that the apparent disparity between these figures is not really as great as it seems when the Indian potential enrollment is analyzed. Thirteen Crow twelfth graders were enrolled in out-of-state boarding schools. Also, the drop-out rate among Indians is higher than among the white students.

But an unmistakable trend is emerging. The Indian school population is growing proportionately faster than is the white school population. Reservation birth rates among Indians are quoted as three times the national average. This growth, plus the fact of dominant Crow speaking among the young, suggests that the bilingual dilemma referred to above will continue to plague the reservation area schools.

Only 24 Indian students from tribes other than the Crow were enrolled in Crow Reservation area schools. The tribes represented were the Blackfeet, Northern Cheyenne, Comanche, Chippewa-Cree, Sioux, Shoshone, Cherokee, and Gros Ventre.

Northern Cheyenne Reservation

The study examined a total of 961 students for their bilingual characteristics. Of this number 889 were Indian, and of this 730 were members of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe. Seventy-two students were white. Of the 730 Cheyenne students, 401 or 55% spoke dominant Chey-

enne. One hundred and thirty-three or 18% spoke Cheyenne as a secondary language, and 196 or 27% spoke only English. There was also no evidence to support the contention that the Cheyenne language was on the wane. Of 86 Cheyenne first graders, 40 or 48% spoke Cheyenne as a dominant language. Of 20 Cheyenne twelfth graders, 8 or 40% spoke dominant Cheyenne. The twelfth grade just mentioned represented the lowest percentage of dominant speakers. The fifth grade had the highest percentage - 54 students out of a total of 80 or 67%.

Similar to the Crow student population, the Cheyenne population has also shown steady growth. The reader should note that the white enrollment on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation has never been of much consequence in terms of numbers. Considerable land is deeded to whites within the exterior boundaries of the Crow Reservation. The same is not true on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation.

An interesting contrast in schools also exists on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. Two of the schools, Busby and St. Labre, are boarding schools. Busby, the only BIA boarding school in Montana, is located at the western edge of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. St. Labre, a Catholic Mission boarding school, is located at the eastern edge of the reservation. Lane Deer, the sole public school, is located in the middle of the reservation.

The presence of the two boarding schools accounted for the 159 Indian students who were not Cheyenne. The tribes represented were the

Crow, Sioux, Gros Ventre, Cree, Blackfeet, Arapaho, Assiniboine, Chippewa-Cree, Arikara, Flathead, Kootenai, Shoshone, Cherokee, Apache, Southern Cheyenne, Pima, Yakima, and Klamath.

However, rather than conclude this Chapter with just these statements of fact, although they satisfy the immediate purpose of the study, the author would like to discuss two important related aspects. These are (1) the existence of bilingualism itself on the two reservations and (2) whether there is a need for bilingual educational programs on such reservations.

Considering the latter aspect first, there are those educators who contend that continued bilingualism, i.e., the fact that the Indian languages will continue to prevail besides English, is too high a price to pay for retaining cultural diversity; that the assets of this kind of bilingualism are completely outweighed by the liabilities. To many of these educators, the introduction of bilingual instructional programs is a step backwards, an unnecessary and misguided bit of educational chicanery.

Such educators are fully aware of the educational handicaps the native speaking Indian child possesses when he enters school with an insufficient command of oral English. Whether or not this is true is not in dispute. The overwhelming majority of Indian students have serious, highly demonstrable deficiencies in oral English, the language which is inseparable from their education. No studies need

to be conducted on reservations such as the Crow and Northern Cheyenne to discover this fact. Only teaching exposure is necessary.

Many of these educators reason that if the Indian child did not speak his native language, he would speak only English. Therefore, he would have English competency, and the educational handicaps arising out of his native language such would cease.

The natives languages are no longer spoken by school age children on several other Montana Indian reservations. Yet, educators from these reservations report similar kinds of educational problems, viz., a substandard command of oral English, insufficient student achievement, irregular school attendance, a high drop-out rate, low educational and occupational aspirations, negative self-images, etc. Obviously, the existence of the native language is in itself of no major consequence in terms of whether or not the Indian child is getting "on" in education.

The fact that an Indian child speaks his native language is only one of many factors which contributes to the inability of the school to structure meaningful programs. The mere absence of the language is not going to solve the educational problems attendant to Indian children. If it were so, Indian children speaking only English would have tremendous advantages over native speaking Indian children. The evidence does not support such a conclusion.

Historically, the schools on both reservations have discouraged the use of the native languages. While no "official" reasons have been given for such a policy, the premises behind such a practice are readily apparent. Educators reason, for example, that the Indian children come from a small ethnic group; there are no "practical" reasons for the languages to exist in a "modern" society; the Indian must be prepared to live in a dominant white, English speaking society; English is rapidly becoming the second language in many other countries; the existence of the native languages is a hinderance in the development of English; the languages are not written; and consequently, no written curricular materials exist. Therefore, if the Indian child is discouraged from speaking Indian, he will speak more English, and the more English he speaks, the better he will get at it, etc., etc.

At first glance, such a rationale may seem reasonable. Indians are a small ethnic group; they must be prepared to live in a dominant white, English speaking society, etc. But when this rationale is carefully examined for what it has promoted in terms of the Indian child's education, the opposite view or conclusion might be reached, viz., that the Indian child should be encouraged to speak his native language at school and that such a language ought to be accommodated as a legitimate aspect of the child's education.

There is not an inverse relationship between discouraging, for example, Crow on one hand and improving English skills on the other. If such a relationship existed, the pragmatist could argue for discouraging Crow. The strong possibility exists that in discouraging the native languages - when it is the child's dominant language - it may in fact retard that child's eventual development in English. It is not difficult, for example, to distinguish between a native English speaking child learning in English, and the Indian child who is attempting to learn in English while he is learning English, particularly, when the native language is being discouraged or at best ignored.

Bilingual education as sponsored by the USOE affirms the primary importance of English, yet:

...it also recognized that the use of the children's mother tongue in school can have a beneficial effect upon their education. Instructional use of the mother tongue can help prevent retardation in school performance until sufficient command of English is attained. Moreover, the development in literacy in the mother tongue as well as in English should result in more broadly educated adults.¹

In view of (1) the high concentration of dominant (Indian) speaking children on both reservations, (2) the rapid growth in evidence of the Indian school population, (3) the fact that the languages are not diminishing proportionately among the young, and (4) the

¹Manual for project applicants for programs under Bilingual Education Act (Title VII ESEA) March 20 draft, 1970, p.1.

admitted failure of the school to accommodate children possessing such unique characteristics, the force of reason suggests that bilingual education may have some relevancy to Indian children.

If bilingual education should be held to be relevant, the next major question which then arises is what kind of bilingual program is relevant for these Indian children? The answer to that question is yet to be decided.

The bilingual education program mentioned in this paper has already been funded and will become operational in the fall of 1970. It will attempt to follow the bilingual objectives as outlined earlier in this paper. Some modifications are of course expected, particularly when compared to bilingual programs for Spanish-speaking children. The concentration will obviously be on the oral, not the written, native Indian language. Orthographies are yet to be developed, and when they are, as is anticipated, the extent of the written materials will be severely limited, largely confined to pre-primers and primers. A strong English as a second language (ESL) component is also to be incorporated into the bilingual programs, and undoubtedly, ESL will become a major point of focus.

The fact that languages such as Crow and Cheyenne continue to exist, particularly to the extent that they do, has both intrigued and confounded many educators. Various reasons can be given in explanation. Physical isolation is of course a factor. Yet, certain

Montana tribes such as the Blackfeet were no less isolated than the Crows. Few Blackfeet children, if any, speak Blackfeet today. Another reason given is that certain tribes have more "tenacity" in retaining their cultural identities than do others. Some hold that certain tribes have voluntarily abandoned their languages because tribal members felt it was too much of a handicap to retain the native language. A host of other reasons could be given. Indeed, the fact that one tribe has ceased to speak its language, and another has not, can only be explained by analyzing all the causes. One central factor, however, goes to the heart of the issue of why certain tribes have retained their languages and others haven't. And this factor has been shaped and is inextricably entwined throughout all the forces which have acted upon Indian reservations. This is the factor of intermarriage or the lack of intermarriage.

It makes little difference whether a Crow, for example, marries an Indian from another tribe or a white person. The end result with children from such unions is usually that they will become dominant English speakers. This is because English is the only common language of the home--the parents can usually only communicate to one another in English.

Occasionally, the Indian child will be raised in a truly bilingual home environment, i.e., with a balance of both languages spoken. Such a child rarely shows language handicaps and is usually fluent in both

languages.

In the case where the child's mother is a dominant Indian speaker, married for example to a white man, there is a good chance that such a child may possess considerable command of the native language along with English. The reverse of this, i.e., the dominant English speaking mother married to an Indian speaking father will rarely result in the child being able to speak much Indian.

Or in the case where the child is raised much of the time by his Indian grandparents or other relatives, which is not altogether uncommon with many Indian tribes, he may become a dominant Indian speaker. The peer associations of the young child will also be an influence in his language development, but it will be, normally, his home which will shape his language development the most. Thus, in many respects, it is intermarriage or the lack of it which shapes the destiny of most Indian languages such as the Crow and Cheyenne. The fact that 82% of all Crow children are dominant Crow speakers is mute testimony to the fact that the Crows have done little intermarrying with others.

CHAPTER III

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The immediate purpose of the study was to gather certain data, viz., how many Indian students spoke their languages as either a dominant or secondary language, whether or not the Indian languages were diminishing among school age children, census and other related data of the two reservations. These data would be used to substantiate a need for bilingual educational programs should the facts warrant such a need.

Once the methods were determined on how to measure the existing bilingual characteristics, who, i.e., what population was to be included in the study, and the other factors under consideration were determined, the next step was to get into each of the reservation area classrooms and conduct the study. Once this was accomplished, the data elicited could then be assembled and analyzed.

The study attempted to assess the bilingual characteristics of 3626 students, of whom 2020 were Indian, found in grades one through twelve of the Crow and Northern Cheyenne Reservations area schools. The study revealed the following facts. Eighty-two percent of the Crow students spoke Crow as a dominant language, and 8% spoke it as a secondary language. This meant that 90% of the Crow speakers were bilinguals. Only 10% were monolingual English speakers.

Of the Northern Cheyenne students, 55% spoke Cheyenne as a dominant language, and 18% spoke it as a secondary language. Thus, 73% of the Cheyenne students were bilinguals, and 27% were monolinguals.

There was no statistical evidence on either reservation to support the contention that the native languages were on the wane. The study showed that the prevalence of dominant Indian speaking did not vary appreciably throughout the different grades. The Indian enrollments on both reservations showed a steady growth.

As can be interpreted from the data, the Crow language prevails to a greater extent among Crow school-age children than does the Cheyenne language among Cheyenne students. The degree of bilingualism is high, however, on both reservations, 90% on the Crow and 73% on the Northern Cheyenne. While drawing comparisons between the two reservations is inevitable, the author would like to stress that each tribe is unique and the reservations differ in many respects. Regardless, however, of the differences which do exist, the incidence of native speaking children is sufficient to warrant serious consideration of a bilingual educational program.

Of all the factors affecting the continuation of the native languages among the young, intermarriage or the lack of intermarriage is the most significant.

If the author's analysis is correct, then whether the Indian languages persist is largely beyond the control of the educational

community. If this be so, it then becomes a matter for educators to find ways to combat the admitted English deficiencies of many Indian children, in spite of the fact that the schools in the beginning are not responsible for such deficiencies.

Several issues then emerge for the schools to decide. Do or do not the reservation area schools have the responsibility to meet the linguistic needs of Indian children? And if they do, can the use of the Indian languages within the context of the schools be considered part of those linguistic needs? If the schools decide yes, then some form of bilingual education should be introduced into the reservation area schools.

Indian languages such as the Crow and Cheyenne will probably cease to exist in the future. When this will occur, no one knows. It may occur several generations from now, perhaps even later. Meanwhile, thousands of Crow and Cheyenne children will continue to come into school with insufficient development in English. This will continue to be one of their dilemmas. It will also be a dilemma of the school. The schools will attempt to reconcile the fact of bilingualism, and a great deal of frustration for both the students and the schools will be incurred, just as it has been in the past.

Neither is responsible for the language characteristics of the young child. But the schools do have control over what they do when the child is there. There are no easy answers for such difficult

questions as what to do with a bilingual child who has insufficient English developed when he comes to school. Bilingual education, while no final answer in itself, may be a positive step towards making education both more palatable and relevant to the Indian child and his school.

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APPENDIX

Explanation of Headings

To facilitate rapid review of these data, please make note of the following comments. The headings should be interpreted as:

I. = Indian

N. I. = Non-Indian

Total = the total of the Indian and the non-Indian enrollment by grade and by school.

Crow (or Cheyenne) = the number of Crow students. (note, the number of Indians listed under I. may not coincide with the number of students listed under Crow - this means that other tribes are represented)

Primary = refers to the language which is spoken at home and which was learned first by the student. The number of students having Crow, for example, as their primary language is shown by the number listed under the heading "Primary."

Secondary = refers to the Indian language being secondary, the English language being primary. In this category are those students who have some conversational and/or listening ability in the Indian language.

None = refers to the number of Indian students who do not either speak or understand their tribal language. In other words, these students are monolingual English speakers.

TABLE 1

SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS

Crow Reservation

<u>School</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Non-Indians</u>	<u>Total Enrollment</u>
Hardin Public (17-H)	173	1177	1350
Crow Agency (17-H)	225	51	276
Fort Smith (17-H)	<u>22</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>84</u>
17-H Totals	420	1290	1710
Lodge Grass Public	383	126	509
Wyola Public	69	18	87
Edgar Public	48	76	124
St. Xavier Mission	117	9	126
St. Charles Mission	49	2	51
Pryor Public	<u>39</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>40</u>
Totals	1131	1534	2665

Cheyenne Reservation

<u>School</u>	<u>Indians</u>	<u>Non-Indians</u>	<u>Total Enrollment</u>
Busby (BIA)	219	4	223
Lame Deer Public	272	27	299
St. Labre Mission	<u>398</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>439</u>
Totals	889	72	961

Totals - Both Reservations

2020	1606	3626
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*Does not include Head Start enrollment figures from either reservation.

TABLE 2

TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES

CROW RESERVATION¹

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>				<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u> ²			
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>% Primary</u>
1	163	138	301	162	134	9	19	82
2	124	139	263	122	93	6	23	76
3	108	124	232	106	88	6	12	83
4	130	140	270	127	104	15	8	82
5	95	127	222	91	72	4	15	79
6	104	127	231	102	86	13	3	84
7	95	123	218	93	80	7	6	85
8	66	141	207	63	50	10	3	79
9	73	130	203	72	65	3	4	90
10	67	129	196	65	56	4	5	86
11	38	110	148	36	26	6	4	72
12	49	95	144	44	35	1	8	79
Special Education	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Totals	1131	1534	2665	1102	906	86	110	

¹ Even though Hardin Public Schools and Edgar Public Schools are located off the reservation, they are included in the survey because Crow Indian students make up a significant proportion of the total enrollment of those schools.

² Approximately 82% of Crow students speak Crow as a primary language, 8% are secondary speakers, and 10% speak only English.

TABLE 3

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS

BY GRADE

Hardin

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>				<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u>		
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
First	13	103	116	12	12		
Second	10	102	112	9	7		2
Third	8	83	91	7	6		1
Fourth	9	100	109	8	6		2
Fifth	9	86	95	6	3		3
Sixth	5	88	93	5	5		
Sub-Total	54	562	616	47	38		8
Seventh	13	92	105	11	10		1
Eighth	20	119	139	17	13	4	
Sub-Totals	33	211	244	28	23	4	1
Ninth	23	117	140	23	22		1
Tenth	30	110	140	23	26		2
Eleventh	15	91	106	14	10	1	3
Twelfth	18	86	104	18	13	2	3
Special Ed.	6	11	17	6	6		
Sub-Totals	92	415	507	89	77	3	9
Totals	179	1188	1367	164	138	7	18

Percentage speaking Crow as a primary language:

Hardin - 84%

TABLE 4

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS

BY GRADE

Lodge Grass

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>				<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u>		
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
First	40	12	52	40	34		6
Second	40	11	51	40	30	2	8
Third	36	13	49	36	31	2	3
Fourth	52	9	61	52	41	9	2
Fifth	26	13	38	25	18	1	6
Sixth	44	10	54	43	35	6	2
Sub-Totals	238	68	305	236	189	20	27
Seventh	23	14	37	23	17	4	2
Eighth	24	13	37	24	19	4	1
Sub-Totals	47	27	74	47	36	8	3
Ninth	41	5	46	40	34	3	3
Tenth	26	10	36	26	19	4	3
Eleventh	13	10	23	13	9	4	
Twelfth	18	7	25	17	12		5
Sub-Totals	98	32	130	96	74	11	11
Totals	383	126	509	379	299	39	41

Percentage speaking Crow as a primary language:

Lodge Grass - 79%

TABLE 5

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS

BY GRADE

Edgar

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>			<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u>			
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
First		3	3				
Second		4	4				
Third		6	6				
Fourth		5	5				
Fifth	2	9	11	2	2		
Sixth	1	7	8	1	1		
Sub-Totals	3	34	37	3	3		
Seventh	1	6	7	1	1		
Eighth	1	8	9	1	1		
Sub-Totals	2	14	16	2	2		
Ninth	9	8	17	9	9		
Tenth	11	9	20	11	11		
Eleventh	10	9	19	9	7	1	1
Twelfth	13	2	15	13	13		
Sub-Totals	43	28	71	42	40	1	1
Totals	48	76	124	47	45	1	1

Percentage speaking Crow as a primary language:

Edgar - 95%

TABLE 6

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES

(Fort Smith)		Fort Smith and St. Xavier					
<u>Grade</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>			<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u>			
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
First	6	11	17	6	4	2	
Second	3	15	18	3	3		
Third	5	4	9	4	4		
Fourth	3	12	15	2	2		
Fifth	4	10	14	4	4		
Sixth	1	10	11	1	1		
Totals	22	62	84	20	18	2	

(St. Xavier)							
<u>Grade</u>	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
First	18	1	19	18	14	2	2
Second	17		17	17	15		2
Third	14	2	16	14	11	1	2
Fourth	14	1	15	14	12		2
Fifth	17	2	19	17	14	1	2
Sixth	9	2	11	9	7	2	
Seventh	15	1	16	15	15	6	
Eighth	13		13	13	11		2
Totals	117	9	126	117	99		12

TABLE 7

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES

(St. Charles)		St. Charles and Pryor						
<u>Grade</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>			<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u>				
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>	
First	9	1	10	9	6	3		
Second	8		8	8	7		1	
Third	8	1	9	8	6		2	
Fourth	8		8	8	8			
Fifth	6		6	6	5		1	
Sixth	5		5	5	4		1	
Seventh	5		5	5	4		1	
Eighth								
Totals	49	2	51	49	40	3	6	
(Pryor)								
<u>Grade</u>	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>	
First	5		5	5	4		1	
Second	7		7	7	6		1	
Third	9	1	10	9	7		2	
Fourth	5		5	5	4		1	
Fifth	3		3	3	3			
Sixth	1		1	1	1			
Seventh	7		7	7	6		1	
Eighth	2		2	2	2			
Totals	39	1	40	39	33		6	

Percentage speaking Crow as a primary language: St. Charles - 80%
Pryor - 84%

TABLE 8

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES

(Wyola) Wyola and Crow Agency							
<u>Grade</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>			<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u>			
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
First	14	2	16	14	10	2	2
Second	12	2	14	12	6	1	5
Third	5	2	7	5	4	1	
Fourth	8	5	13	8	3	4	1
Fifth	7		7	7	4		3
Sixth	7	5	12	7	5	2	
Seventh	10	1	11	10	8	1	1
Eighth	6	1	7	6	4	2	
Totals	69	18	87	69	44	13	12

(Crow Agency)							
<u>Grade</u>	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crow</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
First	58	5	63	58	50		8
Second	27	5	32	26	19	3	4
Third	23	12	35	23	19	2	2
Fourth	31	8	39	30	28	2	
Fifth	21	7	28	21	19	2	
Sixth	31	5	36	30	27	3	
Seventh	21	9	30	21	19	2	
Special Ed.	13		13	13	11	2	
Totals	225	51	276	222	192	16	14

Percentage speaking Crow as a primary language: Wyola - 63%

Crow Agency - 86%

TABLE 9

PERCENT OF INDIAN & NON-INDIAN BY INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

Crow Reservation

<u>School</u>	<u>Grades</u>	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total Enrollment</u>		
				<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Hardin	1 - 6	10%	90%	54	562	616
	7 - 8	14%	86%	33	211	244
	9 - 12	18%	82%	86	404	490
	Total	14%	86%	173	1177	1350
Lodge Grass	1 - 6	81%	19%	238	68	305
	7 - 8	63%	37%	47	27	74
	9 - 12	75%	25%	98	32	130
		75%	25%	383	126	509
Wyola	1 - 8	79%	21%	69	18	87
Crow Agency	1 - 7	80%	20%	225	51	276
Edgar	1 - 6	8%	92%	3	34	37
	7 - 8	13%	87%	2	14	16
	9 - 12	60%	40%	43	28	71
	Total	39%	61%	48	76	124
Fort Smith	1 - 6	27%	73%	22	62	84
St. Xavier	1 - 8	92%	8%	117	9	126
St. Charles	1 - 8	96%	4%	49	2	51
Pryor	1 - 8	97%	3%	39	1	40
Reservation Total-----		42%	58%	1131	1534	2665

TABLE 10

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES OF CROW

STUDENTS IN OUT OF STATE GOVERNMENT BOARDING SCHOOLS

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Crow Students</u>	<u>Crow Language Characteristics</u>		
		<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
1				
2				
3				
4				
5	1	1		
6				
7	6	2	3	1
8	7	5	2	
9	15	12	3	
10	28	25	1	2
11	29	28	1	
12	13	11	1	1
	—	—	—	—
Totals	99	84	11	4

84% of Crow boarding students speak Crow as a primary language.

TABLE 11

TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS & LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES

NORTHERN CHEYENNE RESERVATION

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>			<u>Cheyenne Language Characteristics</u>				
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cheyenne</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>% Primary</u>
1	92	12	104	86	40	13	33	48
2	90	7	97	82	39	21	22	49
3	84	11	95	75	38	25	12	50
4	75	4	79	61	31	13	17	50
5	90	6	96	80	54	10	16	67
6	69	7	76	55	27	15	13	50
7	78	8	86	62	34	17	11	54
8	83	4	87	68	43	7	18	63
9	73	3	76	47	31	2	14	64
10	59	3	62	44	27	4	13	60
11	54	3	57	38	21		17	55
12	25	4	29	20	8	6	6	40
Special Ed (St. Labre)								
	17		17	12	8		4	66
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	889	72	961	730	401	133	196	

Approximately 55% of the Cheyenne students speak Cheyenne as a primary language, 18% are secondary speakers, and 27% speak only English.

TABLE 12

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES

Busby

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>			<u>Cheyenne Language Characteristics</u>			
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cheyenne</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
1	20		20	18	12	1	5
2	9	1	10	7	6		1
3	11		11	11	8	3	
4	13	1	14	10	7	2	1
5	19		19	18	14		4
6	11	1	12	8	6	2	
7	10		10	7	5	1	1
8	26		26	19	17		2
9	39		29	28	24		4
10	27		27	19	12	2	5
11	26	1	27	21	16		5
12	8		8	6	3	2	1
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	219	4	223	173	131	13	29

75% of the Cheyenne students speak Cheyenne as a primary language

TABLE 13

INDIANS ENROLLED OTHER THAN

CHEYENNE

Busby

<u>Tribes</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Language Characteristics</u>		
		<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
Crow	7	5		2
Sioux	18		7	11
Gros Ventre	4		1	3
Cree	3	1	1	1
Blackfeet	5	1	3	1
Arapaho	2	1	1	
Assiniboine-Cree	1			1
Assiniboine-Sioux	2		1	1
Chippewa	1		1	
Flathead	1		1	
Kootenai	1		1	
Shoshone	1		1	
Totals	46	8	18	20

TABLE 14

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES
AND INDIANS ENROLLED OTHER THAN CHEYENNE

Lame Deer

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>			<u>Cheyenne Language Characteristics</u>			
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cheyenne</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
1	45	8	53	44	17	7	20
2	48	3	51	47	19	13	15
3	39	6	45	37	12	14	11
4	33	2	35	28	16	6	6
5	30	2	32	30	18	2	10
6	26	2	28	24	10	8	6
7	27	2	29	29	11	10	2
8	<u>24</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
Totals	272	27	299	255	115	63	77

45% of the Cheyenne students speak Cheyenne as a primary language.

Indians Enrolled Other Than Cheyenne

<u>Tribes</u>	<u>Language Characteristics</u>			
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
Blackfeet	1			1
Crow	9	3	1	5
Sioux	3			3
Cherokee	1			1
Arikara	1			1
Cree	1		1	1
Apache	1			1
Totals	<u>17</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>

TABLE 15

ENROLLMENT AND LANGUAGE CHARACTERISTICS BY GRADES

St. Labre

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>			<u>Cheyenne Language Characteristics</u>			
	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cheyenne</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
1	27	4	31	24	11	5	8
2	33	3	36	28	14	8	6
3	34	5	39	27	18	8	1
4	29	1	30	23	8	5	10
5	41	4	45	32	22	8	2
6	32	4	36	23	11	5	7
7	41	6	47	32	18	6	8
8	33	2	35	27	14	4	9
9	34	3	37	19	7	2	10
10	32	3	35	25	15	2	8
11	28	2	30	17	5		12
12	17	4	21	14	5	4	5
Special Ed.	17		17	12	8		8
Totals	398	41	439	303	156	57	90

50% of the Cheyenne students speak Cheyenne as a primary language.

TABLE 16

INDIANS ENROLLED OTHER THAN

CHEYENNE

St. Labre

<u>Tribes</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Indian Language Characteristics</u>		
		<u>Primary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>None</u>
Crow	61	31	4	26
Arapaho	13	6		7
Southern Cheyenne	1			1
Sioux	14	2	2	10
Pima	1	1		
Yakima	1			1
Chippewa	1			1
Klamath	1			1
Totals	93	40	6	47

TABLE 17

PERCENT OF INDIAN & NON-INDIAN BY INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

Northern Cheyenne Reservation

<u>School</u>	<u>Grades</u>	<u>Percentage</u>		<u>Total Enrollment</u>		
		<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>I.</u>	<u>N.I.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Busby	1 - 6	96%	4%	83	3	86
	7 - 8	100%		26		26
	9 - 12	99%	1%	100	1	101
	Totals	98%	2%	219	4	223
Lame Deer	1 - 8	90%	10%	272	27	299
St. Labre	1 - 6	90%	10%	196	21	217
	7 - 8	90%	10%	74	8	82
	9 - 12	90%	10%	111	12	123
	Totals	90%	10%	398	41	439
Reservation Totals		92%	8%	898	72	961